MEMORIALS
OF
THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD
THOMAS CRANMER,
SOME TIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

WHEREIN
THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,
And the Reformation of it, during the Primacy of the said Archbishop, are
greatly illustrated; and many singular matters relating therewith,
now first published (1894). In Three Books.

COLLECTED CHIEFLY FROM RECORDS, REGISTERS, AUTHENTIC LETTERS, AND OTHER
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

A NEW EDITION, IN TWO VOLUMES,
BY
PHILIP EDWARD BARNES, ESQ., B.A., F.L.S.,
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & CO., FARRINGDON STREET.
1853.
CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Anno 1553.

Queen Mary soon recognised. The Archbishop slandered and imprisoned.
The archbishop's and counsellors' concern with the Lady Jane. They
declare for Queen Mary: and write to Northumberland to lay down
his arms. The queen owned by the ambassadors. The archbishop
misreported to have said mass at Canterbury. Which he makes a
public declaration against. The declaration. Appears before the
commissioners at Paul's: and before the Council. The archbishop of
York committed to the Tower; and his goods seized: at Battersea,
at Cawood. Gardiner's passage of the two archbishops.—Page 1–9.

CHAPTER II.

Anno 1553.

Protestant Bishops and Clergy cast into Prisons, and deprived.

This reign begins with rigour. The Protestant bishops deprived. The
hard usage of the inferior clergy. Professors cast into the Mar-
shalsea. Winchester's alms. Peter Martyr writes of this to Calvin.
The state of the church now. The queen leaves all matters to
Winchester. The queen crowned. The service still said. The
queen's proclamation of her religion. Signs of a change of religion.

Page 10–16.

CHAPTER III.

Anno 1553.

The Archbishop adviseth Professors to fly.

The archbishop adviseth to flight. Cranmer will not fly. Whither the
professors fly: and who. Duke of Northumberland put to death.
His speech. Sir John Gates his speech; and Palmer's. The duke
labours to get his life. Whether he was always a Papist.

Page 17–22.
CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IV.
Anno 1553.
Peter Martyr departs. A Parliament.

CHAPTER V.
Anno 1558.
The Archbishop attainted.

CHAPTER VI.
Anno 1553.
A Convocation.

CHAPTER VII.
Anno 1553.
The Queen sends to Cardinal Pole.
The queen sends to Pole. The contents of her letters. Concerning the supremacy. Concerning the new bishops. Pole's advice to the queen. Instructions to Goldwell. Disgusts his stop. Sends to Rome about this his stop: and to the emperor. His judgment of two late acts of Parliament.—Page 32-35.
CHAPTER VIII.

Anno 1553.

The Dealings with the married Clergy.


CHAPTER IX.

Anno 1553.

Evils in this Change. A Parliament.

A twofold evil upon this turn of religion. The dissimulation of the priests. A parliament restore the Pope. A design to revive the Six Articles.—Page 44-46.

CHAPTER X.

Anno 1554.

Archbishop Cranmer disputes at Oxon.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XI.
Anno 1554.

Cranmer condemned for an Heretick.

CHAPTER XII.
Anno 1554.

A Parliament. Pole reconciles the Realm.
The queen's letters, directing the elections of parliament-men. Pole comes over. The cardinal absolves parliament and convocation. The clergy again wait upon the legate. A commission granted by him against heretics. His commissions to all the bishops to reconcile their dioceses. The commission to the dean and chapter of Canterbury. The legate's instructions to the bishops. Pole a severe persecutor.—Page 62–63.

CHAPTER XIII.
Anno 1554.

A Convocation. Articles framed therein.
A convocation. Articles presented to the upper house. Cranmer's book to be burnt. Men burnt to death without law.—Page 68–70.

CHAPTER XIV.
Anno 1554.

The Condition of the Protestants in prison. Free-willers.
CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XV.

Anno 1554.

The Exiles, and their Condition.

CHAPTER XVI.

Anno 1554.

Many recant. Some go to Mass.

Many recant. The persecution hot. Gospellers go to mass. Bradford labours to hinder it. Ann Hartipol goes to mass. The Lady Vane puts certain cases concerning the mass.—Page 88-92.

CHAPTER XVII.

Anno 1555.


Many burned. Instructions to the justices. Orders sent into Norfolk against the professors. The effect thereof. The earl of Sussex receiveth information against some. Popish spies set every where. The Protestants frequently assemble. Confidently reported that a male heir to the crown was born. The queen's great belly. Like a design. The queen's zeal. A convocation.—Page 93-98.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Anno 1555.

Ridley and Latimer burnt.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XIX.

Anno 1555.

The last proceedings with Cranmer.


CHAPTER XX.

Anno 1555.

Cranmer writes to the Queen.


Page 111-118.

CHAPTER XXI.

Anno 1555.

He recants, repents, and is burnt.

He recants. Notwithstanding his burning is ordered. A letter from Oxford concerning Cranmer's death. Cranmer brought to St. Mary's. Cole's sermon. Turns his speech to Cranmer. After sermon all pray for him. His penitent behaviour. Speaks to the auditory. He prayeth. His words before his death. Confesseth his dissembling. His reply to my Lord Williams. Goes to the place of his burning. His talk and behaviour at the stake. He burneth his right hand. Two remarks upon his martyrdom. Who instigated the queen to put him to death. No monument for him but his martyrdom. His heart unconsumed. The bailiffs' expenses about these three martyrs. The bailiffs not repaid. Humfrey to archbishop Parker in their behalf.—Page 119-134.
CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XXII.

Cranmer's Books and Writings.

His books and writings. His first book. Other of his writings. His book of the doctrine of the Sacrament. Other writings mentioned by Bishop Burnet. More of his writings still. Archbishop Parker was in pursuit of certain MSS. of Cranmer, concealed. What the subject of his numerous writings were.—Page 135-143.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Archbishop's Regard to learned Men.


CHAPTER XXIV.

Melancthon and the Archbishop great Friends.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Archbishop corresponds with Calvin.

The archbishop breaks his purpose also to Calvin. Calvin's appro-
bation thereof, and commendation of the archbishop. Offers his
service. Excites the archbishop to proceed. This excellent pur-
pose frustrated. Thinks of drawing up articles of religion for the
English church. Which he communicates to Calvin. And Calvin's
reply and exhortation. Blames him for having not made more
progress in the Reformation. But not justly. The clergy preach
against sacrilege. The university-men declaim against it in the
schools. And the redress urged upon some at court. Calvin sends
letters, and certain of his books, to the king. Well taken by the
king and Council. What the archbishop told the messenger here-
upon.—Page 158-163.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Archbishop highly valued Peter Martyr.

Peter Martyr and the archbishop cordial friends. The use the arch-
bishop made of him. Martyr saw the voluminous writings and mar-
ginal notes of the archbishop. Two letters of Martyr from Oxford.
An instance of his love to the archbishop.—Page 164, 165.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Archbishop's Favour to John Sleidan the Historian.

The archbishop's favour to John Sleidan. Procures him a pension
from the king. The payment neglected. Sleidan labours with the
archbishop to get the pension confirmed by letters patent. Sends
his commentaries to the king. Designs to write the history of the
Council of Trent: for the king's use. Sends the king a specimen
thereof. In order to the proceeding with his Commentaries, desires
Cecyl to send him the whole action between King Henry VIII,
and Pope Clement VII. Bucer writes to Cecyl in behalf of Sleidan.
John Leland.—Page 166-170.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Archbishop Cranmer's Relations and Chaplains.

His wives and children. His wife survived him. Divers Cranmers,
The archbishop's stock. Aslacton. Whatton. The rectories where-
of the archbishop purchased. His chaplains. Rowland Taylor.
His epitaph. A sermon preached the day after his burning; wherein the martyr is grossly slandered. John Ponet. Thomas Becon. Richard Harman.—Page 170–180.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Archbishop Cranmer’s Officers.

Robert Watson, the archbishop’s steward. His secretary, Ralph Morice. His parentage. Well known to divers eminent bishops. Presents Turner to Chatham. And stands by him in his troubles for his faithful preaching. An instance of the archbishop’s kindness to this his secretary. Morice his suit to Queen Elizabeth for a pension. His second suit to the Queen to confirm certain lands descended to him from his father. He was register to the commissioners in King Edward’s visitation. Suffered under Queen Mary. Morice supplied Fox with many material notices in his book. Morice a cordial friend to Latimer.—Page 181–186.

CHAPTER XXX.

A Prospect of the Archbishop’s Qualities.

Moricke’s declaration concerning the archbishop. His temperance of nature. His carriage towards his enemies. Severe in his behaviour towards offending Protestants. Stout in God’s or the king’s cause. The king-side with Cranmer against all the bishops. His great ability in answering the king’s doubts. Cranmer studied three parts of the day. Would speak to the king when none else durst. Lady Mary. Queen Katharine Howard. His hospitality. Falsely accused of ill housekeeping.—Page 186–194.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Archbishop Cranmer preserved the Revenues of his See.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Some Observations upon Archbishop Cranmer.

Observations upon the archbishop. His learning very profound. His library. An excellent bishop. His care of his own diocese. At the great towns he preached often. Affected not his high styles. His diligence in reforming religion. Puts King Henry upon a purpose of reforming many things. The king again purposeth a reformation. His influence upon King Edward.—Page 200–207.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Archbishop Cranmer procures the Use of the Scriptures.


CHAPTER XXXIV.

Archbishop Cranmer compassionate towards sufferers for Religion.

His affection and compassion towards professors of the Gospel. Particularly for Sir John Cheke, a prisoner; and the Lord Russel. A patron to such as preached the gospel in King Henry's days. His succour of afflicted strangers in King Edward's days. England harbourous of strangers. The archbishop's favour to foreigners. Unjustly charged with covetousness. His words to Cecyl upon this charge. Reduced, as he feared, to stark beggary before his death.—Page 215–217.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Some account of Archbishop Cranmer's Housekeeping.

Some account of his housekeeping. Retrenches the clergy's superfluous housekeeping. His pious design therein. Others charged him with prodigality.—Page 218–220.
CHAPTER XXXVI.

Archbishop Cranmer humble, peaceable, bold in a good cause.


CHAPTER XXXVII.

Osiander's and Peter Martyr's Character of the Archbishop.

Osiander's character of the archbishop. And Peter Martyr's. Bale's character of the archbishop. The difficult times wherein Cranmer lived.—Page 226–228.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Archbishop vindicated from Slanders of Papists.


Mr. Wharton's Observations on the foregoing Memorials. 

APPENDIX.

A Table of the Letters, Instruments, Records, etc. made use of in this History, and contained in the Appendix to the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer.

I. An Account of Mr. Pool's Book by Dr. Cranmer ........ 249

II. Dr. Cranmer Ambassador with the Emperor, his Letter to the King .......... 252

III. A Parcel of Jewels sent from Greenwich to Hampton Court to the King. To the receipt of which he set his hand .......... 253

IV. The King to Dr. Boner, his Majesty's Agent, to declare to the Pope his appeal from him, and his Sentence .......... 254

V. Cranmer's Protestation at his Consecration .................. 254

VI. Cranmer's Oath taken to the Pope at his Consecration .......... 255

VII. Cranmer's Oath to the King for his Temporalities .......... 255

VIII. The King's Proclamation for bringing in Seditious Books .......... 256

IX. Bishop Fisher to Secretary Cromwel, declaring his willingness to swear to the Succession .......... 260

X. [Rowland] Lee, Bishop Elect of Lichfield and Coventry, to Secretary Cromwel concerning Bp. Fisher ........ 260

XI. The Archbishop to Secretary Cromwel, in behalf of Bp. Fisher and Sir Thomas More .......... 261

XII. Nix, Bishop of Norwich to Warham, Archbishop of Cant. for suppressing such as read Books brought from beyond Sea .......... 262

XIII. Archbishop Cranmer to King Henry, complaining of a Prior in Canterbury that had preached against him .......... 263

XIV. The Archbishop to Mr. Secretary Cromwel, concerning his styling himself Primate of all England .......... 266
CONTENTS.

XV. The Appeal of Stokesly Bishop of London to the King, against the Archbishop's Visitation ........................................... 289

XVI. An Inventory of the Cathedral Church of S. Swithin in Winchester, as it was given in, by the Prior and Convent, to Cromwell Secretary of State, and the King's Vicar general over all Spiritual men .......................................................... 271

XVII. A Reply to the Archbishop, against his Court of Audience ................................................................................. 275

XVIII. Archbishop Cranmer's Order concerning the Proctors of the Court of Arches, shewn to be inconvenient, by a Paper presented to the Parliament .................................................................. 277

XIX. The Archbishop to the Lord Crumwel, giving him some account of his Visitation of his Diocess ........................................ 284

XX. Richard Grafton the Printer of the Bible to the Lord Crumwel, complaining of some that intended to print the Bible, and thereby to spoyle his Impression ................................................................. 285

XXI. Archbishop Cranmer to the King for a Suffragan of Dover ................................................................................... 287

XXII. The Archbishops Letters of Commission to Richard Suffragan of Dover ................................................................. 288

XXIII. A Declaration to be read by all Curates upon the publishing of the Bible in English ................................................. 289

XXIV. The Answer or Declaracions of Richard Byshop of Chichestre, in the presence of the King's Majestie against the Sixt Reason or Argument of John Laumerte, concerning the Most Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Aultre .................................................. 290


XXVI. Part of a Letter from a Member of Parliament, concerning the transactions of the House, about passing the Act of the Six Articles ......................................................................................... 294

XXVII. The Solution of some Bishop to certain Questions about the Sacraments ........................................................................ 295

XXVIII. The judgment of another Bishop upon the aforesaid Questions .................................................................................. 298

XXIX. Archbishop Cranmer to Osiander concerning some abuses in Matrimony among the Germans ........................................ 300

XXX. The French King's Licence to print the English Bible in Paris ......................................................................................... 303

XXXI. Three Discourses of Abp. Cranmer, occasioned upon his VOL. II.
review of the King's Book, intituled, The Practice of a Christian Man .... 303

XXXII. Other Discourses of Archbishop Cranmer .... 308

XXXIII. Interrogatories for Dr. London, Dr. Willoughby's Confession, &c. .... 309

XXXIV. A Letter prepared for the King to sign, to ratify certain Ecclesiastical Laws .... 317

XXXV. The Bishop of Winchester to Archbishop Cranmer: relating to the Reformation of Religion .... 319

XXXVI. Gardiner Bishop of Winton to the Duke of Somerset, concerning the Book of Homilies and Erasmus' Paraphrase, englished .... 322

XXXVII. Roger Ascham to Mr. Cecil, giving him an account of a Disputation in S. John's College, Whether the Mass and the Lords' Supper be at one .... 327

XXXVIII. The University of Cambridge to the Archbishop .... 328

XXXIX. Richard Smith D.D. his Recantation of his Books .... 329

XL. Archbishop Cranmer's Answers to the fifteen Articles of the Rebels in Devon. Anno 1549 .... 332

XLI. The Archbishop's Notes for an Homily against the Rebellion .... 360

XLII. The Lady Mary to the Council, justifying herself for using The Mass, in K. Edwards Minority .... 361

XLIII. The Archbishop's Letter to Martin Bucer, inviting him over into England .... 362

XLIV. A Catalogue of Books published by Paulus Fagius .... 363

[XLIV.] Dr. Cox, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, his Oration at the conclusion of Peter Martyr's Disputation .... 365

XLV. Dr. Trevisa's Epistle to his Relation of the Disputation between himself and Peter Martyr at Oxford .... 367

XLVI. The contentious sayings of Master Martin Bucer upon the Lordes Supper .... 370

XLVII. Bishop Hopter to the Clergy of his Diocese of Gloucester .... 379

XLVIII. Hopter, Bishop of Gloucester, to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State .... 380

—— Another of the same Bishop to the same Person .... 381
CONTENTS.

XLIX. A Popish Rhime fasted upon a Pulpit in K. Edwards reign 382

An answer to it 383

An old Song of John Nobody 383

L. John a Lasco's Letter from Embden, signifying the dangerous Condition they were in, and the Persecutions they expected 385

LI. A Lasco's request, that those of his church might have a Warrant from the King's Council, that they might not be disturbed for not coming to their parish churches 386

LII. Michael Angelo, Preacher to the Italian Congregation, his complaint against some of his flock, with a list of their names 387

LIII. Michael Angelo endeavours to appease the Secretary, greatly offended with him for a gross miscarriage 388

LIV. A Lasco to the Secretary to procure the Kings letters patents for a French Protestant, to set up a French printing press 390

LV. Valerandus Pellanus, Superintendant of the Strangers church at Glastenbury, to the Secretary, concerning the state of the strangers Weavers, fixed there 391

LVI. The Superintendent to the same, earnestly desiring, that one Cornish might not be set over the Strangers there, who had already dealt so illly with them 392

LVII. The Superintendent to the same, giving some account of the present settlement of their affaires 392

LVIII. Mr. John Calvin to the Duke of Somerset, his advise for the rectifying some abuses in our Church and University, relating to the Alienation or Misuse of their Revenues 394

LIX. Sir John Cheke to Dr. Parker, upon the Death of Martin Bucer 396

LX. Peter Martyr to Bucer, concerning the Oxford Act, anno 1550 397

LXI. Peter Martyr to Bucer, concerning their review of the book of Common Prayer 398

LXII. The Archbishops Letter to procure Wolf, the Printer, a licence to publish his Book 400

LXIII. Articles, whereunto Wylliam Phelps, Pastor and Curate of Ceciter, upon good advisement and deliberation, after better knowledg geven by Gods grace, hath subscribed 401
CONTENTS.

LXIV. The Archbishop to the Lords of the Council concerning
the Book of Articles of Religion .. .. .. .. 402

LXV. The Archbishop nominates certain persons for an Irish
Archbishopprick .. .. .. .. .. 403

LXVI. The Archbishop to Sir Will. Cecyl, that Mr. Turner, in-
tended for the Archbishopprick of Armagh was come up to court 404

LXVII. The Archbishop to the same wherein he justifies himself
and the rest of the Bishops against the charge of Covetousnes 404

LXVIII. Purchases made by the Archbishop. Extracted out of
K. Edwards Book of Sales .. .. .. .. 406

[LXVIII.] An Instrument of the Council, swearing and sub-
scribing to the Succession, as limited by the King .. .. 407

—— The Kings own Writing, directing the Succession .. .. 407

LXIX. A Letter of Q. Jane's Council to the Lord Rich, L. Lieu-
tenant of the County of Essex .. .. .. 408

LXX. Queen Jane to Sir John Bridges, and Sir Nicolas Poyntz,
to raise forces against a rising in Bucks .. .. .. 408

LXXI. The Counsellors of Q. Jane, their Letter to the Lady Mary,
acknowledging her Queen .. .. .. .. .. 409

LXXII. The Archbishop to Mrs. Wilkinson, persuading her
to fly .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 410

LXXIII. The wordes and sayings of John Duke of Northumber-
land, spoken bye hym unto the people at the Towrehyll of Lon-
don, on Tewysday in the forenoon, being the 22nd day of
Auguste ymmediatlye before his death .. .. .. 411

LXXIV. Archbishop Cranmers Letter to the Queen, sueing for
his pardon in the Lady Janes business .. .. .. 412

LXXV. Cardinal Poles Instructions for his Messenger to Queen
Mary .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 414

LXXV. a Supplement to Cardinal Poles Instructions for his Mes-
senger to the Queen .. .. .. .. .. 423

LXXV. b The Form of the Restitution of a maried Priest .. 425

LXXVI. John Fox his Letter to the Parliament, against reviving
the Act of the Six Articles .. .. .. .. .. 426

LXXVII. An Instrument of the University of Cambrigg, ap-
pointing certain of their members to repair to Oxford, to dispute
with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer there .. .. .. 428

LXXVIII. The University of Cambrigg to that of Oxford, relat-
ing to the former matter .. .. .. .. .. 430
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS.</th>
<th>xxi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LXXIX. Cranmer's Letter to the Queen's Council after his Disputation at Oxon</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXX. The Lord Legates Commission to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, deputing them to absolve and dispense with the Clergy, in his stead; and absolve the Laity</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXI. The Lord Legates Instructions to the Bishops, in the performing of his orders about absolving their Clergy and Laity</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXII. An Italian to his friend, concerning Car. Pole</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIII. Bradford to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, concerning the Freewillers, about 1554</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIV. The Prisoners for the Gospel, their Declaration concerning K. Edward his Reformation</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXV. John Fox to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Queen Maries time: relating to the persecution</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVI. Dr. Ridley late Bishop of London to West, formerly his steward, who had complied with the Romish religion</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVII. John Hopton Bishop of Norwich, to the Earl of Sussex, giving account of the joy conceived, and Te Deum sung, for the newes of the Queens being brought to bed of a noble prince</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVIII. A Proposition in the Convocation against Residence. With reasons for the said proposition; and remedies against non-residence</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIX. Pole Cardinal Legate, to Archbishop Cranmer, in answer to the letter he had sent to the Queen</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XC. Archbishop Parker to the Secretary, desiring the Councecls letters, in order to his discovering of certain writings of Archbishop Cranmer</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCI. Dr. William Mowse, Master of Trinity Hal in Cambridg, his letter of thanks to Secretary Cecyl</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCII. Justus Jonas to Secretary Cecyl concerning the Miseries of Germany, occasioned by the Interim: and that hee might receive the kings intended munisicence</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCIII. Miles Wilson to Secretary Cecyl, lamenting the Spoiles of the Revenues of Schoole, Benefices, and Hospitals. To which are added his Arguments against this Sacrilege</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS.

XCIV. Peter Martyr to James Haddon, to procure a licence from the court for one of his auditors, named Hugh Kirk of Magdalen College Oxon, to preach

XCV. Peter Martyr to Secretary Cecyl; that one who officiated in Dr. Weston's place, might receive the stipend detained from him

XCVI. John Sleidan to Cecyl. Advises of the state of affairs in Germany

XCVII. Sleidan to the same. More advices from Germany. Desires a patent for his stipend granted him by K. Edward VI.

XCVIII. Sleidan to the same. Intelligences concerning the motions of the Emperor, and the state of the Protestant Princes

XCIX. Sleidan to the same. Advises of the state of the empire

C. Sleidan to Sir John Chake, and Sir William Cecyl; concerning his Commentaries, which he had sent to K. Edward. Desires them to send him an exact information of the business between K. Henry and Pope Clement. His resolution of continuing his Commentaries, and of writing the History of the Council of Trent

Cl. Sleidan to Sir William Cecyl; concerning the affairs of Germany: and particularly of the Council of Trent

CII. Martin Bucer to the Secretary, for the speeding of Sleidan's business

CIII. Ralph Morice, the Archbishops Secretary, his Supplication to Queen Elizabeth, for Prior Wibor's Pension lately deceased

CIV. A Prologue or Preface, made by THOMAS CRANMER, late Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Holy Bible

CV. Bucer and others learned Strangers from Lambeth to Cecyl, to prefer the Petition of some poor French Protestants to the Protector

CVI. The Archbishop to the Secretary, concerning a Frenchman, that desired a Patent to translate the Common Prayer into French, and print it

CVII. The Archbishop to the same. Mention of letters sent by him to the duke of Northumberland, excusing his not proceeding in a commission. His reflection upon the newes
CONTENTS.

CVIII. The Archbishop to the same. Signifying his desire to have the good will of the Lord Warden, his neighbour .. 495
CIX. The Archbishop to the same: desiring Cecyl to enform him of the cause of Chekes indictment .. .. .. 495

APPENDIX NO. II.

I. Processus contra Thomam Cranmer .. .. .. 497
II. [Cranmer's Recantations.] .. .. .. .. .. 528
MEMORIALS
OF
ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Queen Mary soon recognised. The Archbishop slandered and imprisoned.

I find the archbishop present among Queen Jane's counsellors, whose party seemed to be resolute for her until the 19th of July. All these persons of quality were with her in the Tower, consulting of affairs for her service; Thomas archbishop of Canterbury; the bishop of Ely, lord chancellor; the earl of Winchester, lord treasurer; the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the earls of Bedford, Arundel, Shrewsbury, Pembroke; the lords Darcy and Paget; Sir Thomas Cheyne, Sir Richard Cotton, Sir William Petre, Sir John Cheke, Sir John Baker, Sir Robert Bowes, being all of her Council. All which (excepting Northumberland) signed a letter, dated July 19, to the Lord Rich, lord lieutenant of the county of Essex, who had signified to them that the earl of Oxford was fled to the Lady Mary. In their letter they exhorted him to stand true and tight to Queen Jane, as they said they did and would do. It was penned by Cheke, for Secretary Cecil was absent; and Petre, the other secretary, though present, did it not, though he signed it. The letter is in the Appendix. The day before this letter was sent, viz. July 18, there being a rising in Buckinghamshire, and the parts thereofabouts, Queen Jane herself, thinking herself sure of Sir John Bridges and Sir Nicolas Poyntz, signed a letter to them, therein ordering them to raise with speed all the

No. LXIX.
power they could of their servants, tenants, officers, and friends, to allay that tumult; and so she had written to other gentlemen in those parts to do. This letter also I have put in the Appendix.¹

And yet, (to see the vicissitude of men’s minds, and uncertainty of human affairs), July 20, divers of those very counsellors, that but the day before set their hands resolvedly to stand by Queen Jane, proclaimed Queen Mary in the city of London, and immediately despatched the earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget unto her with a letter, writ from Baynard’s Castle, where they now were removed from the Tower. In which letter “they beg her pardon, and to remit their former infirmities, and assure her, calling God to witness to the same, that they were ever in their hearts her true subjects since the king’s death, but could not utter their minds before that time without great destruction and bloodshed of themselves and others.” The copy of this letter may be read in the Appendix.²

The same day the Council wrote to the duke of Northumberland their letters, dated from Westminster, sent by a herald, wherein the duke was commanded and charged, in Queen Mary’s name, to disarm and discharge his soldiers, and to forbear his return to the city, until the queen’s pleasure. And the same was to be declared to the marquis of Northampton, and all other gentlemen that were with him. The herald was also, by virtue of his letters from the Council, to notify in all places where he came, “that if the duke did not submit himself to the queen’s highness, he should be taken as a traitor, and they of the late king’s council would persecute him to his utter confusion.”³ And thus far our archbishop went. For this was signed by him, and the bishop of Ely, lord chancellor; the marquis of Winchester, the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, the Lord Darcy, Sir Richard Cotton; Petre and Cecil, secretaries; Sir John Baker, Sir John Mason, Sir Robert Bowes. The duke saw it in vain to oppose, and so submitted to this order, and the plot that his ambition had been framing so long, and with so much art, fell on a sudden.

Very speedily Queen Mary was owned abroad, as well as

¹ No. LXX. ² No. LXXI. ³ Stow['s Chronicle, p. 612].
at home: Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury, Sir William Pickering, Sir Thomas Chaloner, ambassadors in France, writ their letters to her and the Council, acknowledging her, and ceasing any further to act as ambassadors. She continued Dr. Wotton, and sent for Pickering and Chaloner home; and sent Sir Anthony St. Leger, the beginning of August, ambassador thither, joined with Wotton. This determination the Council, August 12, signified to the said three ambassadors.

But now to cast our eyes upon the state of religion at this time. Upon this access of Queen Mary to the crown, whose interest as well as education made her a zealous Papist, the good progress of religion was quite overthrown, and the pious archbishop's pains and long endeavours in a great measure frustrated, and he himself soon after exercised with great afflictions. The first pretended occasion of which was this: it was reported abroad, soon after King Edward's death, that the archbishop had offered to sing the mass and "Requiem" at the burial of that king, either before the queen, or at St. Paul's Church, or anywhere else; and that he had said or restored mass already in Canterbury. This, indeed, had the suffragan of Dover, Dr. Thornton, done;¹ but without the archbishop's consent or knowledge.

But, however, such good impressions of religion had the archbishop left at Canterbury, that, though mass was set up there, and priests were through fear forced to say it, yet it was utterly contrary to their wills. And, about New Year's tide, there was a priest said mass there one day, and the next came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him. For he said, "he had betrayed Christ; but not as Judas did, but Peter." And then he made a long sermon against the mass.

But the aforesaid slanderous report so troubled the archbishop, that, to stay it, he wrote a letter to a friend of his, that he never made any promise of saying mass, nor that he did set up the mass in Canterbury, but that it was done by "a false, flattering, lying monk, Dr. Thornden," (such a character in his just anger he gave him), who was suffragan of Dover, and vicar-dean of that church, in the absence of

¹ [See Wharton's Observations on the discrepancy in the names of Thornton and Thornden, at the end of this volume.]
Dr. Wotton, who was then abroad in embassy. This Thorn-
den, saith my manuscript (writ but a few years after by
Scory, or Becon, as I conjecture), was “a man having nei-
ther wit, learning, nor honesty. And yet his wit is very
ready. For he preacheth as well extempore, as at a year’s
warning; so learnedly, that no man can tell what he chiefly
intendeth or goeth about to prove; so aptly, that a gross of
points is not sufficient to tie his sermon together; not
unlike to Jodocus, a monk, of whom Erasmus maketh men-
tion in his Colloquies, who, if he were not garnished with
these glorious titles, monk, doctor, vice-dean, and suffragan,
were worthy to walk openly in the streets with a bell and
cock’s-comb.”

Besides this letter, the archbishop resolved
to do something in a more public manner, in vindication of
the Reformation, as well as of himself. So he devised a
declaration, wherein he both apologized for himself against
this false report, and made a brave challenge, with the
assistance of Peter Martyr, and a few more, to maintain, by
disputation with any man, the Reformation made under
King Edward. This declaration, after a first draught of it,
he intended to enlarge; and then, being sealed with his own
seal, to set it upon the doors of St. Paul’s Church, and
other churches in London. This writing, wherein the good
religion and doctrine practised and taught in the former
reign was so nobly owned, and offered to be defended in
such a public manner, was not only read by somebody boldly
in Cheapside, but many copies thereof were taken, and so
became dispersed. It was also soon after printed in Latin,
and, I suppose, in English too. Sure I am, in the year 1557,
it was printed beyond sea by the exiles; from which print
I shall here transcribe it, being sent from Grindal to John
Fox, for his use in the writing his history:

“A Declaration of the Reverend Father in God Thomas
Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, condemning the
untrue and slanderous Report of some, which have
reported, That he should set up the Mass at Canterbury,
at the first coming of the Queen to her reign, 1553.”

“As the Devil, Christ’s ancient adversary, is a liar, and

1 Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. cccxxvii. 92].
2 [Harl. MSS. cccxxii. artic. 8, in Grindal’s handwriting. Dr.
the father of lying, even so hath he stirred his servants and members to persecute Christ, and His true word and religion. Which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present. For whereas the most noble prince of famous memory, King Henry VIII., seeing the great abuses of the Latin masses, reformed something herein in his time, and also our late sovereign Lord King Edward VI. took the same whole away, for the manifold errors and abuses thereof, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the Apostles in the primitive church used the same in the beginning; the Devil goeth about by lying to overthrow the Lord's holy supper, and to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device. And, to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass before the queen's highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, and have borne all things quietly. Yet, when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of God's truth, they be in no wise to be tolerated and suffered. Wherefore these be to signify to the world, that it was not I that did set up the mass at Canterbury; but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk, which caused the mass to be set up there, without my advice or counsel.

"And as for offering myself to say mass before the Queen's highness, or in any other place, I never did, as her grace knoweth well. But if her grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove against all that will say the contrary; and that the Communion Book, set forth by the most innocent and godly prince, King Edward VI., in his high court of Parliament, is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed, and which His apostles and primitive church used

Jenkyns printed this "Declaration" from a MS. in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, by which the text has been corrected by that editor. See Remains of Abp. Cranmer (Jenyns), vol. iv. p. 1.; and also notes (a) and (b). There are considerable variations in the same document, as given above by Strype, and also by Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 539.]
many years. Whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, His apostles, nor the primitive church, but also is manifest contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible blasphemies in it. And although many, either unlearned or maliciously, do report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet, if the queen’s highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shall choose, will, by God’s grace, take upon us to defend, that not only our Common Prayers of the churches, ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also that all the doctrine and religion, by our said sovereign Lord King Edward VI. is more pure, and according to God’s word, than any that hath been used in England these thousand years: so that God’s word may be the judge, and that the reason and proofs may be set out in writing. To the intent as well all the world may examine and judge them, as that no man shall start back from their writing; and what faith hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point, and that the doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred years past. And we shall prove that the order of the church, set out at this present in this church of England by act of Parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past. And so shall they never be able to prove theirs.”

Some copies of this declaration soon fell into the hands of certain bishops, who brought them to the Council. The Council sent a copy to the queen’s commissioners, who soon after ordered him to appear before them, and to bring in an inventory of his goods. The reason, as is alleged, of his being ordered to bring in this inventory, was, because it was then intended that he should have a sufficient living assigned him, and to keep his house, and not meddle with religion. So on the day appointed, which was August 27, the archbishop, together with Sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state to King Edward, and May, dean of St. Paul’s, came before the queen’s commissioners in the consistory of Paul’s, and the archbishop brought in his inventory. We are left to guess what he was now cited for. I suppose it was to lay to his charge heresy, and his marriage; what more was
done with him at this time I find not. He retired to his house at Lambeth, where he seemed to be confined.

For about the beginning of August, as may be collected from a letter of the archbishop’s to Cecil, he was before the Council, about the Lady Jane’s business, without all question. And then, with the severe reprimands he received, was charged to keep his house, and be forthcoming. At that time he espied Cecil, who was in the same condemnation, and would fain have spoken with him, but durst not, as he told him in a letter dated August 14;¹ as it seems, out of his love and care of him, lest his very talking with Cecil might have been prejudicial to that pardon, which he now lay fair for. But by letter he desired him to come over to him to Lambeth, because he would gladly commune with him, to hear how matters went, and for some other private causes, Cecil being now at liberty. September 13 following, the archbishop was again summoned to appear that day before the Queen’s Council. Then he appeared, and was dismissed, but commanded to be the next day in the Star Chamber. And so he was. The effect of which appearance was, that he was committed to the Tower, partly for setting his hand to the instrument of the Lady Jane’s succession, and partly for the public offer he made a little before of justifying openly the religious proceedings of the deceased king. But the chief reason was, the inveterate malice his enemies conceived against him for the divorce of King Henry from the queen’s mother, the blame of which they laid wholly upon him, though Bishop Gardiner and other bishops were concerned in it as deep as he. In the Tower we leave the good archbishop awhile, after we have told you, that, soon after the Queen coming to the Tower, some of the archbishop’s friends made humble suit for his pardon, and that he might have access to her; but she would neither hear him, nor see him.

Holgate also, the other archbishop, about the beginning of October, was committed to the Tower, upon pretence of treason, or great crimes; but chiefly, I suppose, because he

¹ [“When I saw you at court, I would fain have talked with you, but I durst not; nevertheless, if you could find a time to come over to me, I would gladly commune with you.”—Letter to Cecil, Aug. 14, 1558. See Parker Society’s edition of the Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 442.]
was rich. And, while he was there, they rifled his houses at Battersea and Cawood. At his former house they seized in gold coined three hundred pounds; in specialties and good debts, four hundred pounds more; in plate gilt and parcel gilt, sixteen hundred ounces: a mitre of fine gold with two pendants, set round about the sides and midst with very fine pointed diamonds, sapphires, and balists, and all the plain with other good stones and pearls, and the pendants in like manner, weighing one hundred [and] twenty-five ounces. Six or seven great rings of fine gold, with stones in them; whereof were three fine blue sapphires of the best; an emerald, very fine; a good turquoise, and a diamond; a serpent's tongue set in a standard of silver, gilt and graven; the archbishop's seal in silver, his signet, an old antique in gold: the counterpart of his lease of Wotton, betwixt the late duke of Northumberland and him, with letters patents of his purchase of Scrowby.

Taken from Cawood, and other places appertaining to the archbishop, by one Ellis Markham; first, in ready money, nine hundred pounds, two mitres; in plate, parcel gilt, seven hundred and seventy ounces; and gilt plate, eleven hundred [and] fifty-seven ounces; one broken cross of silver gilt, with one image broken, weighing forty-six ounces; three obligations, one 37l. 5s. 10d., another for 15l., another for 10l. Sold by the said Markham five-score beasts, and four hundred muttons. Sold all the sheep belonging to the archbishop, supposed to be two thousand five hundred. Moreover, he took away two Turkey carpets of wool, as big and as good as any subject had: also a chest, full of copes and vestments of cloth of tissue: two very good beds of down, and six of the best young horses that were at Cawood. Proffered to make sale of all his household stuff in five houses; three very well furnished, and two metely well. Sold all his stores of household: wheat, two hundred quarters; malt, five hundred quarters; oats, sixty quarters; wine, five or six ton. Fish and ling, six or seven hundred, with very much household store; as fuel, hay, with many other things necessary for household. Horses at Cawood, young and old, four or five score: they received rent of his own land, five hundred pounds yearly at the least. This was done by this Markham, upon pretence that he was
guilty of treason, or great crimes. He gave to many persons money to the value of a hundred pounds and above, that they should give information against him. Besides, they took away good harness and artillery sufficient for seven-score men. All this spoil was committed when he was cast in the Tower. Of all this injury he made a schedule afterwards, and complained thereof to the lords. By this one instance, which I have set down at large, as I extracted it from a paper in the Benet College library,\(^1\) we may judge what havoc was made of the professors of religion, in their estates as well as their persons, as this bishop was served, before any crime was proved against him.

Thus the other archbishop (of York) was not to go without animadversion, any more than he of Canterbury. The former lay eighteen months in the Tower, and was deposed at last for being married, as well as Cranmer. Of this Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, (at which were present King Philip and Cardinal Pole), gave, as he thought, this nipping gird: "Thus while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For that on one side, the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the Church; and on the other side, they were both convicted of one crime, and so deposed."\(^2\) This archbishop of York continued in prison till 1554, when the queen granted the request of the new king for the liberty of a great many prisoners, whereof this prelate was one. He died the next year through grief, as it is probable, and suffering.

\(^1\) C.C.C.C. Librar. Miscell. [B. No. cv. fol. 331].

\(^2\) [For this Sermon, see Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 577, 578.]
CHAPTER II.

Protestant Bishops and Clergy cast into Prisons, and deprived.

Indeed in this first entrance of Queen Mary's reign, it was a wonder to see the fierceness that it was ushered in with; the Papists thinking that this rigor at first would terrify all out of their former principles of true religion, and bring them to the devotion of the church of Rome again. And it was as marvellous to observe the stedfastness of the generality of the professors. "This queen began her reign after that manner, (I use the words of one that lived in that time), that it might be conjectured, what she was like after to prove: sending up for abundance of people to appear before the Council, either upon the Lady Jane's business, or the business of religion, and committing great numbers into prisons. And indeed she boasted herself a virgin sent of God to ride and tame the people of England."\(^1\)

To explain somewhat these austerities. They thought fit to begin with the Protestant clergy, bishops and others. For this purpose a commission was directed to the bishops of London [Bonner], Winchester [Gardiner], Chichester [Day], and Durham [Tunstall], men sufficiently soured in their tempers by what befell them in the last reign. These were to discharge the Protestant bishops and ministers of their offices and places, upon pretence either of treason, heresy, or marriage, or the like, to make way for their own men. "Thus John Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, was deprived, because he had a bad title, there being this clause in the letters patents, whereby he was made bishop, 'Quamdiu bene se gesserit,' and because he thought amiss concerning the Eucharist. John Hooper was deprived of the bishopric of Worcester by the restitution of Nicolas Heath, formerly deprived, and removed from the see of Gloucester for his marriage, and other demerits. John Harley, bishop of Hereford, deprived for wedlock and heresy. Robert Farrar,

bishop of St. David’s, deprived for wedlock and heresy. William Barlow, bishop of Bath, made a voluntary resignation. The bishopric of Rochester was void three years, since Scory was translated to Chichester. John Bird, an old man, married, was deprived of the bishopric of Chester. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, (for I do but transcribe now out of the Register of the church of Canterbury),¹ being called into question for high treason, by his own confession was judged guilty thereof: whence, in the month of December, the see of Canterbury became vacant. Robert Holgate, archbishop of York, was deprived for wedlock, and was cast into the Tower, and led a private life. The like happened to [John Scory of Chichester, by restoration of George Day], to Miles Coverdale of Exeter, by the restoring John Voisey, who, out of fear, had formerly resigned. Cuthbert [Tunstall], bishop of Durham, formerly deprived, was restored. Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, restored; Nicolas Ridley being removed from the said see, and cast into prison for making an ill sermon,² and being noted for heretical pravity. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, restored, John Poinet being ejected and imprisoned, and deprived of episcopacy for being married.” To which I must add, the see of Bristol, resigned by Paul Bush, the bishop thereof.

How they proceeded with the inferior clergy in general for being married, may be measured by their proceedings with the clergy of London and Canterbury, which we shall see by-and-by; so that King Edward’s clergy were now in the very beginning of this queen very hardly used. “Some were deprived, never convict, no, nor never called,³ (I use the words of an author⁴ that lived in that queen’s reign, and felt her severity); some called that were fast locked in prison, and yet nevertheless deprived immediately.⁵ Some deprived without the cause of marriage after their orders.⁶ Some induced to resign upon promise of pension, and the promise, as yet, never performed.⁷ Some so deprived, that

¹ Registr. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14, fol. 38, 39].
² [For an account of this Sermon, see Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 389.]
³ Mr. Rich. Wilks.
⁴ Dr. Parker.
⁵ Mr. Bradford, Bullingham, and May.
⁶ A great number.
⁷ Dr. Poinet, Taylor, Parker.
they were spoiled of their wages, for the which they served the half-year before; and not ten days before the receipt sequestered from it. Some prevented from his half-year's receipt, after charges of tenths and subsidy paid, and yet not deprived six weeks after. Some deprived of their receipts somewhat after the day, with the which their fruits to the queen's majesty should be contented. And in general the deprivations were so speedy, so hastily, so without warning, &c. The bishops, saith another writer and sufferer in these days, that were married were thrust out of the Parliament-house, and all married deans and archdeacons out of the Convocation; many put out of their livings, and others restored, without form of law. Yea, some noblemen and gentlemen were deprived of those lands which the king had given them, without tarrying for any law, lest my lord of Winchester [Gardiner] should have lost his quarter's rent. Many churches were changed, many altars set up, many masses said, many dirges sung, before the law was repealed. All was done in post haste."

Nor was their deprivation all they endured; but they, together with many other professors of the religion, were taken up very fast, for Winchester did resolve to make quick work to reduce, if he could, the realm to the old religion. So that they came into the Marshalsea thick and threefold for religion, sent by him thither. And, that they might be sure to suffer hardship enough, when the bishop's almoner, Mr. Brooks, (he who was, I suppose, after bishop of Gloucester), came to this prison with his master's alms-basket, he told the porter, named Britain, that it was his lord's pleasure that none of the heretics that lay there, should have any part of his alms. And that, if he knew any of them had any part thereof, that house should never have it again so long as he lived. To which theporter replied, "That he would have a care of that, he would warrant him; and that, if they had no meat till they had some of his lordship's, they should be like to starve. And so he bade him tell his lord, and added, that they should get no favour at his hand."

1 Preface to the "Defence of Priests' Marriage." [P. "An Expostulation with certain of the Clergie," fol. 18.]
2 Mr. Aylmer.
3 ""Harbour for Faithful Subjects."
These sufferings P. Martyr, now gotten out of England, took notice of in a letter to Calvin, dated November 3; where, having related to him how the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Worcester and Exon, and many other learned and pious preachers, were in bonds for the Gospel, and, together with them, many other godly persons were in extreme danger, he proceeded to mention two things to Calvin, to mitigate the trouble he knew he conceived for this ill news. The one was, "That, although the infirmity of some betrayed them, yet great was the constancy of far more than he could have thought. So that he doubted not England would have many famous martyrs, if Winchester, who then did all, should begin to rage according to his will. The other was, that it was the judgment of all that this calamity would not be long: and therefore," said Martyr, "let us pray to God, that he would quickly tread down Satan under the feet of His church."  

The same learned man, speaking in another letter concerning the good forwardness of religion at the first coming of Queen Mary to the crown, said, "That he had many scholars in England, students in divinity, not to be repented of, whose harvest was almost ripe, whom he was forced to see, either wandering about in uncertain stations, or remaining at home unhappily subverted. And that there were in this kingdom many holy as well as learned bishops, that were then in hard confinement, and soon to be dragged to the extremest punishments, as if they were robbers. And that here was the foundation of the Gospel, and of a noble church laid: and by the labours of some years the holy building had well gone forward, and daily better things were hoped for. But that unless Ἡρῴς ἁπατή τῆς μηχανής,—'God from above,' came to the succour of it, he thought there would not be a footstep of godliness left at last, as to the external profession."  

All the matters of the Church the queen left wholly to the management of the bishop of Winchester, whom she now advanced from a prisoner in the Tower, to be Lord High Chancellor of England. And indeed the governance

---

2 P. Martyr, amico cuidam [id. ibid. p. 766].
by hasty and hearty repentance. What shall I speak of that godly and mighty prince Edward, duke of Somerset, which in the time of his protectorship, did so banish idolatry out of this our realm, and bring in again God's true religion, that it was wonder so weighty a matter to be brought to pass in so short a time? Was not the ungentle handling of him, and the unrighteous thrusting him out of office, and afterward the cruel murdering of him, a man, yea, a mirror of true innocency, and Christian patience, an evident token of God's anger against us? The sudden taking away of those most godly and virtuous young imps, the duke of Suffolk and his brother, by the sweating sickness, was it not also a manifest token of God's heavy displeasure toward us? The death of those two most worthy and godly-learned men, [I speak of] M. Paulus Fagius, and [of] D. Martin Bucer, was it not a sure prognostication some great mishap concerning Christian religion to be at hand? But, as I may pass over many other, [and at the last] come unto that which is most lamentable, and can never be remembered of any true English heart without large tears, I mean the death of our most godly prince and Christian king, Edward VI., that true Josias, that earnest destroyer of false religion, that fervent setter-up of God's true honour, that most bounteous patron of the godly-learned, that most worthy maintainer of good letters and virtue, and that perfect and lively mirror of true nobility and sincere godliness; was not the taking away of him (alas! for sorrow) a sure sign and an evident token that some great evil hanged over this realm of England? Who, considering these things—perceived not a shipwreck of the Christian religion to be at hand?" ¹

¹ [Becon's "Comfortable Epistle to the afflicted People of God." See Parker Society's edition of Becon's Works (Prayers, &c.) pp. 205, 206, by which the text has been corrected.]
CHAPTER III.

The Archbishop adviseth Professors to fly.

The favourers of religion, seeing it was now determined to proceed in all manner of severity against them, began to flee into other countries for their safety as fast as they could. Indeed there were some that made a case of conscience of it; among the rest, one Mrs. Wilkinson, a woman of good quality, and a great reliever of good men. Her the archbishop out of prison advised to escape, and avoid a place where she could not truly and rightly serve God. He took off, with spiritual arguments, the objections which she or others might make for their stay; as, their loathness to leave their friends and relations, and that it might look like a slandering of God’s word, if they should thus run away, and decline the open and bold defence of it. The letter of the archbishop deserves to be read, as it fell from that venerable prelate’s own pen, which I have therefore put in the Appendix.¹

Though Cranmer himself refused to flee, being advised by his friends so to do, because of the reports that were abroad, that he should be speedily carried to the Tower. For he said, “It would be no ways fitting for him to go away, considering the post in which he was; and to show that he was not afraid to own all the changes that were by his means made in religion in the last reign.”

But great numbers fled, some to Strasburgh, some to Wesel, some to Embden, some to Antwerp, some to Duisburgh, some to Worms, some to Frankfort, some to Basel, Zurich, and Aarau, in Switzerland, and some to Geneva, to the number of eight hundred, and upwards. And these are the names of some of these refugees.

Bishops.

Poinet of Winchester, Barlow of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chichester, Coverdale of Exon, and Bale of Ossory.

Deans.

Richard Cox, dean of Christ’s Church, Oxon, and of

¹ No. LXXII.
Westminster; James Haddon, dean of Exeter; Robert Horn of Durham; William Turner of Wells; Thomas Sampson of Chichester.

ARCHDEACONS.

Edmund Cranmer, the archbishop's brother, archdeacon of Canterbury; John Ælmer of Stow; Bullingham of Lincoln; Thomas Young, precentor of St. David's.

DOCTORS OF DIVINITY AND PREACHERS.


Besides, of noblemen, merchants, tradesmen, artificers, and plebeians, many hundreds.¹ And God provided graciously for them, and raised them up friends in England, that made large contributions from time to time for their relief, and for the maintenance of such as were scholars and students in divinity especially. And great was the favour that the strangers showed to their fugitive guests.

Here at home vengeance was taken upon those that set

¹ "Chiliades," Pref. to Cranmer's Book of the Sacrament, in Latin. [The following is the passage to which Strype refers:—"Equidem non possum non laudare eorum consilium, qui ex Christi Jesu mandato solum vertere, quam sub tali animarum tyrannide in patria vivere malunt: ut certe, præter multas concionatorum, nobilium, mercatorum, opificum, et plebeiorum hominum in dispersione Germanie passim nunc degentium, chiliades, multi clarissimi viri tam tragiœm regni ac religionis mutationem in tempore evaserunt; quamobrem et facultatum suarum direcitionem patiebantur." See Parker Society's edition of the Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Appendix, p. 8.]
up the Lady Jane. And the chief of all, the duke of Northumberland, was brought to Tower-hill to lose his head, who indeed was cared for by nobody, and was the only instrument of putting the king upon altering the succession; and who was broadly talked of to have been the shorter of that excellent prince's life by poison, to make room the sooner for his son's advancement, who had married the said Jane. In prison he was visited by Bishop Heath, and afterwards pretended to be brought off by him to the acknowledgment of the Roman Catholic religion. After his condemnation, he, with the marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and received the sacrament in one kind, after the Popish fashion. The duke of Northumberland was drawn hereunto by a promise that was made him, "That, if he would recant and hear mass, he should have his pardon; yea, though his head were upon the block." ¹

In his speech, August 22, when he was executed, he acknowledged, "how he had been misled by others; and called the preachers seditious and lewd, and advised the people to return home to the old religion. And that, since the new religion came among them, God had plagued them by wars and tumults, famine and pestilence. He propounded the example of the Germans, how their new doctrine had brought ruin upon them; and quoted that article in the Creed to them, 'I believe the Catholic church,' to convince them of the Roman Catholic faith." If this speech were not of Heath's inditing, to be used by the duke, yet this argument from the Creed, I am apt to think was his, it being his custom to make use of it. For I find, in a conference betwixt this bishop and Rogers, he asked him, if he did not know his Creed, and urged "Credo sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam." But Rogers could tell him that he did not find the bishop of Rome there.² If any be minded to see the duke's speech at length, he may have recourse to the Appendix,³ where I have set it down, as I found it in one of the Cottonian volumes.

But Gates and Palmer, notwithstanding their hearing

² Id. vol. vi. p. 597.]
³ No. LXXIII.
mass at their execution the same day and place, confessed the faith they had learned in the Gospel. The former confessed, "That he had lived as viciously and wickedly all his life, as any in the world. And yet that he was a great reader of the Scripture; but a worse follower there was not living. For he read it, not to edify, but to dispute, and to make interpretations after his own fancy; exhorted the people to take heed how they read God's word, and played and gamed with God's holy mysteries. For he told them, that, except they humbly submitted themselves to God, and read his word charitably, and to the intent to be edified thereby, it would be but poison to them, and worse. And so asked the queen, and all the world, forgiveness."

Palmer thanked God for his affliction; for, "that he had learned more in one little dark corner of the Tower, than ever he learned by any travels, in as many places as he had been. There he had seen God, what he was, and His numerous works, and His mercies. And seen himself thoroughly what himself was, a lump of sin and earth, and of all vileness the vilest. And so concluding, that he feared not death; that neither the sprinkling of the blood of two shed before his eyes, nor the shedding thereof, nor the bloody axe itself, should make him afraid. And so, praying all to pray for him, he said some prayers, and without any daunting laid down his head upon the block."

But the duke of Northumberland submitted himself to base and mean practices to save his life. He renounced his religion; nay, disavowed "that he ever was of the religion professed in King Edward's days, if we may believe Parsons, but only hypocritically, for worldly ends, complied with it. And if he might but have lived, he could have been contented to have spent his days in a mouse-hole."

For from a priest I have this relation, and the Papists best knew the intrigues of Queen Mary's reign. After sentence pronounced upon him, he made means to speak with Bishop Gardiner, who he knew could do most of any with the queen. When the bishop came to him, in company with another councillor, to be witness of their discourse, (who himself told my author these passages), the duke asked the

1 [Parsons'] Wardword, p. 43.
bishop, "If there were no hope at all for him to live, and to do some penance the rest of his days for his sins past. 'Alas! (said he), let me live a little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole.' The bishop replied, that he wished to God anything could have contented his grace but a kingdom, when he was at liberty, and in prosperity. And even at that present he wished it lay in his power to give him that mouse-hole, for he would allow him the best palace he had in the world for that mouse-hole. And did moreover then offer to do for him what he could possible. But because his offence, he said, was great, and sentence passed against him, and his adversaries many, it would be best for him to provide for the worst; and especially, that he stood well with God in matter of conscience and religion. For to speak plainly, as he went on, it was most likely he must die. The duke answered, he would dispose himself, and desired he might have a learned priest sent him for his confession, and spiritual comfort. And as for religion, said he, 'you know, my lord bishop, that I can be of no other but of yours, which is the Catholic. For I never was of any other indeed, nor ever so foolish as to believe any of that which we had set up in King Edward's days; but only to use the same for my own purpose of ambition, for which God forgive me. And so I mean to testify publicly at my death, for it is true.' The bishop, saith my author, went away with an afflicted heart, and shed many tears, as he returned, and went to the queen, and entreated so earnestly for him, as he had half-gained her consent for his life. Which so much terrified the duke's adversaries, as presently they got the Emperor Charles, that was in Flanders, to write to the queen a very resolute and earnest letter, that it was not safe for her, nor his estate, to pardon his life. And with that he was executed."

Whatever credit is to be given to the rest of this relation, I can hardly believe that passage that he is reported to say to the bishop, "that he was never otherwise than a Roman Catholic, and that he did all along dissemble his religion for worldly ends, and that he would testify as much at his death." Because this doth no ways comport with his speech upon the scaffold; wherein he mentioneth no such thing, but rather the contrary. Nor did he declare any
such thing when he came to die. He said, indeed, that he was deceived and misled, but nowhere that he dissembled. And if he were deceived, he dissembled not.

CHAPTER IV.

Peter Martyr departs. A Parliament.

The strangers had this piece of mercy shown them, that they were suffered to depart the kingdom. Among the rest that went away this year was Peter Martyr, the famous and learned professor of divinity in Oxford. But with much ado; for at first he was not only forbid to read his lectures, but not to stir a foot out of the city of Oxon, nor to convey any of his goods away. He obeyed, and afterwards was permitted by the Council to depart. He came first to Lambeth to the archbishop; but, when he was committed to prison, Martyr went to London, where he remained in great danger, both for his religion, and for his great familiarity with the archbishop, and other pious Protestant bishops. However, he thought not fit to transport himself without leave from the government. He signified to them, that he came not hither on his own head, but that he was sent for by King Edward, and sent from the town of Strasbourg, and produced his broad seals from both. And so, since there was no further need of him, he desired leave to depart, which he obtained by letters from the queen herself. But the Papists, his fatal enemies, cried out, that such an enemy of the popish religion ought not to be dismissed, but to be fetched out of the ship, and carried to prison, and punished. He understood also by his friends, that, when he was got over the sea, the danger was not past, for there were snares for him in Flanders and Brabant, whereby they made no doubt to take him. But he used his wits to save himself, for, when other congregations of Protestant strangers went straight, some for Friesland, and some for Denmark, by vessels they had hired, (among which was John à Lasco's congregation), he procured an honest and godly shipmaster, who kept him fourteen days
in his own house, that so all might think he was gone with
the other strangers, and his enemies cease making search
for him in the vessels that were bound for foreign parts.
And then the master sailed away with P. Martyr to Ant-
werp, going into that place by night for the more pri-
vacy. And by him he was brought to his friends; and
by them, before day, conveyed in a waggon out of town,
and so travelled safely through countries that hated him,
unto Strasburgh. And by God's goodness, and his own
celerity, he arrived safe among his friends, who received
him with the greatest joy. And the senate conferred
upon him his old place which he enjoyed before he went for
England.¹

And Martyr needed not to be discontented that he was
gotten out of England, considering how insufferably he
was affronted, undermined, belied by the popish party in
Oxon, who, one would think, might have better entreated
a man of quality by birth; a man, besides, of great learning,
integrity, and reverence, and whom the king had thought
good, for his great parts, to place for his professor of
divinity in that university; and a man, who also had always
carried himself inoffensively unto all. The blame of this
inhospitable usage might lie upon the English nation, and
be a reflection upon the natives, were it not more truly to
be laid to the furious spirit that popish principles inspire
men with. This Peter Martyr did resent, and took notice
of to the archbishop of Canterbury in his epistle dedicatory,
before his book of the Eucharist. There he writes, "That
he could not have thought there were any in the world,
unless he had found it, that with such crafty wiles, deceit-
ful tricks, and bitter slanders, would rage so against a
man that deserved no manner of evil of them, nor ever
hurt any one of them either in word or deed. And yet
they tore his name with most shameless lies; and would
never make an end."² And if they did thus rudely carry
themselves towards him in King Edward's time, what then
may we conclude they would do, when the government
favoured them?

¹["Senatus quoque institit illi quam primum reddi pristinum locum
quem ante discessum in Anglia habuerat."o Vit. P. Mart. per
Simler, [p. 17].
² P. Martyr. Tract. de Euchar. Epist. nuncup.]
In this first year of Queen Mary, a very foul scandal was blown about of her, that she was with child by her chancellor, Bishop Gardiner; however it was raised, whether of her enemies to render her odious, or of some zealous of popish religion, to show the desire they had of her matching with him, or some other round Roman Catholic, as he was, and for whom she carried a very great reverence. A great reflection upon her chastity, and might have spoiled her marriage. It fled as far as Norfolk, and there spread itself. But such an infamous report not being fit to be put up, Henry earl of Sussex, being lord lieutenant of that county, took upon him to examine this scandal, and to search it to the very first reporter. And so I find a bill drawn, in the Cotton library,\(^1\) subscribed by that earl's own hand, which set forth that Laurence Hunt, of Diss in Norfolk, came to Robert Lowdal, chief constable, and told him, "That he did hear say, that the queen's majesty was with child, [by the said bishop,] and that his wife did tell him so." And when his wife was examined, she said, she had it of one Sheldrake's wife. And when Sheldrake's wife was examined [before the said Robert Lowdal,] she said, she had it of her husband. And when [her husband] was examined, he said, he had it of one [John] Wilby of Diss. And Wilby examined, said, he had it of one John Smith of Cock-street. And John Smith said, he heard it of one Widow Miles. And she, being examined, said, she had it of two men, but what they were she could not tell, nor where they dwelt. And then, after this bill, follow all their examinations distinctly,\(^2\) which, I suppose, was drawn up for the Council, signed with Sussex's hand. And what followed of this I know not: only in another manuscript there is a memorial of one John Albone, of Trunch in Norfolk, who in the first of the queen was indicted for saying, "That the queen was with child by Winchester."

A Parliament met this year in the month of October. The queen knew how difficult it would be to obtain her purpose, to overthrow all that had been established concerning religion in her brother's days; and therefore, when this Parliament was to be summoned, she impeached the

---

\(^1\) [Cotton MSS.] Titus B. ii. [132].
\(^2\) [Id. fol. 182–184.]
free election of members by despatching abroad into the several counties her letters directing the choice. And such knights and burgesses were chosen by force and threatening for many places, as were judged fit to serve her turn. And divers that were duly chosen, and lawfully returned, were thrust out; and others, without any order or law, put in their places. For the people were aware what the queen intended what this Parliament should do; and therefore did bestir themselves in most places to return honest men. In the upper house, Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, was in his robes violently thrust out of the house. In the House of Commons, Alexander Nowel, and two more, chosen burgesses, lawfully chosen, returned, and admitted, were so served: which, according to the judgment of some, made the Parliament actually void, as by a precedent of the Parliament holden at Coventry in the 38th of Henry VI. it appeareth. As also her third Parliament was reckoned by many to be void, because in the writs, from Philip and Mary, part of the title of the kings of England, viz. "Supreme Head of the Church of England," was left out: which by a statute made in the 35th of Henry VIII. was ordained to be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm. In which third Parliament of the queen they repealed what was done by King Henry VIII. for the restitution of the liberty of the realm, and extinguishing the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome. This flaw Gardiner the lord chancellor well seeing, thought craftily to excuse by saying, (as may be seen in a piece of the statute made in the same Parliament, cap. 8), "That it lay in the free choice and free liberty of the kings of this realm, whether they would express the same title in their style, or no." But it is replied to this, that though any man may renounce his own private right, yet he may not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third person. And this title and style more touched the commonwealth and the realm of England, than the king.¹

In this first Parliament an act was made for confirmation of the marriage of the queen's mother to her father King

Henry. Herein the leading men shewed their malice against the good archbishop by their wording of the preamble: as, "that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop, did, most ungodly and against law, judge the divorce upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, and upon the testimonies of the universities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures." And they declared the sentence given by him to be unlawful. But I cannot let this pass, for the reputation of the archbishop, without taking notice of the censure, that the bishop of Sarum doth worthily bestow upon Bishop Gardiner, whom he concludes to be the drawer up of this act: "That he shewed himself herein to be past all shame, and that it was as high a pitch of malice and impudence, as could be devised. For Gardiner had been setting this on long before Cranmer was known to the king, and had joined with him in the commission, and had given his consent to the sentence. Nor was the divorce merely grounded upon Cranmer's understanding the Scriptures, but upon the fullest and most studied arguments that had perhaps been in any age brought together in one particular case. And both houses of Convocation had condemned the marriage before his sentence."

CHAPTER V.

The Archbishop attainted.

This Parliament attainted Cranmer, with the Lady Jane and her husband, and some others. And in November he was adjudged guilty of high treason at Guildhall. And under this judgment he lay for a good while, which was very uneasy to him, desiring to suffer under the imputation of heresy under this government, rather than treason. He was now looked upon as divested of his archbishopric, being a person attainted, and the fruits of his bishopric were sequestered.

2 [See Cranmer's Letter to Queen Mary, in Appendix, LXXIV.]
Canterbury being now without an archbishop, the dean, Dr. Wotton, acted in that station, according to his office, in the vacancy of the see. So he sent out many commissions. There was a commission from him to John Cotterel and William Bowerman, to exercise jurisdiction in the see of Wells, by the resignation of Barlow, bishop there. Another commission to the see of Bristol, upon the resignation of Bush. Another for the see of Lichfield, upon the death of Richard Sampson, which commission was directed to David Pool, L.L.D., dated 1554, September ult. Another to exercise jurisdiction in the see of Exon, vacant by the death of Voisey, February 9, 1554. Another for the consecration of Gilbert Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells; John White, bishop of Lincoln; Morice Griffith, of Rochester; John Cotes, of Chester; Henry Morgan, of St. David’s; James Brooks, of Gloucester; who were all consecrated together in the church of St. Saviour’s, Southwark, April 1, 1554. This commission, I suppose, was to the bishop of Winchester. Another commission for the consecration of Hopton, bishop of Norwich, dated October 6, 1554, consecrated October 28, following. Another commission to consecrate Holiman bishop of Bristol, and Bain bishop of Lichfield, dated November 16, 1554, consecrated November 18 following. Another commission to consecrate James Turberville bishop of Exon, who was consecrated September 8, 1555. And for William Glynn, bishop of Bangor, the same date. All these five last named were consecrated in a chapel of the bishop of London, in London.  

The poor archbishop most instantly sued to the queen for his pardon, acknowledging his fault in the most submissive manner that could be. But though she had granted pardons to divers others that had signed King Edward’s will, and made no such boggle to do it as the archbishop did, yet the archbishop remained unpardoned. He sent divers humble petitionary letters to the queen and her council for the obtaining this favour. In one letter to her, he called it his “heinous folly and offence:” and said, “that he never liked it; nor that anything that the queen’s brother ever did, grieved him so much; and that if it had been in his power, he would have letted the doing of it: that divers

1 Ex Reg. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14, fol. 16 — 37 b.]
of the queen's council knew what he had said to the king and the council against proceeding in it; and that he endeavoured to talk to the king alone about it, but was not permitted; and that when he could not dissuade him from this will, he was hardly brought to sign it, notwithstanding what the judges told him, to satisfy him in point of law. And that at last it was the king's earnest request to him, that he would not be the only man that refused it, which, with the judgment of the lawyers, overcame him to set his hand." But I refer the reader to the Appendix¹ to weigh this whole letter, as it is there transcribed. Another petition the next year, 1554, he sent up from Oxon, by Dr. Weston, to the Council. And therein he begged them to intercede with the queen for his pardon. But Weston, carrying it half-way to London, and then opening it, and seeing the contents of it, sent it back again to the archbishop, and refused to be the messenger.²

This at length was the resolution that was taken concerning him in this matter, (because for shame they could not deny him a pardon, when others, far more guilty, and deeper in the business, had it), that he should be pardoned the treason as an act of the queen's grace, and then he should be proceeded against for heresy; for die they were resolved he should. When this pardon was at length obtained, he was right glad, being very gladly ready to undergo afflictions for the doctrine that he had taught, and the reformation he had set on foot, because this he reckoned to be suffering for God's cause, and not as an evil-doer.

The archbishop looked now with weeping eyes upon the present sad condition of religion, and the miserable apostasy of the Church, lapsed into all the formerly rejected superstitions. Nor could he now procure any redress. Yet he felt a pressure upon his spirit to do something towards it. So he attempted, in a letter to the queen, to get liberty from her freely to open to her his mind about the state of religion; hoping that when she heard plainly and truly the reasons that moved her father and brother to do what they did, (a

¹ No. LXXIV.
thing studiously concealed from her), she might be better inclined. He told her, "that indeed it lay not in him, nor in any private subject, to reform things, but only in her majesty, but quietly to suffer what they could not amend; yet he thought it his duty, considering what place he once bore, and knowing what he did, and bearing a great part in all the alterations made in religion, to show the queen his mind. And when he had done this, then he should think himself discharged. And therefore he earnestly sued to her for her leave."¹ But I do not find that ever he obtained it.

CHAPTER VI.

A Convocation.

There was now a Convocation, which was so packed, or so compliant, that six only of the whole house publicly owned King Edward's reformation: Haddon, dean of Exon; Philips, dean of Rochester; Young, chanter of St. David's; Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester; Elmer, archdeacon of Stow; and Cheney, archdeacon of Hereford; which last owned the presence with the Papists, but denied the transubstantiation. The queen commanded this Convocation to hold a public disputation, at St. Paul's Church, concerning the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; which, how well it was opposed by four or five of the six, (for Young went away), in the presence of abundance of noblemen and others, recourse is to be had to Fox.² There was a true report of the disputation of these men at this Convocation, which Philpot, one of the disputants, wrote, and had it printed, which he owned at one of his examinations before [Bonner] the bishop of London and others;³ and perhaps may be the same we have extant in Fox's Monuments.

¹ [See Appendix, No. LXXIV.]
³ [Id. vol. vi. ; pp. 600, 664.]
But because both Fox and Bishop Burnet\(^1\) are brief concerning the opening of this Convocation, therein I shall be more large and particular. The bishop of London's chaplain, Harpsfield, began in a sermon at Paul's to the clergy then assembled. That finished, those of the upper house advised those of the lower to choose a prolocutor. And they chose Weston, dean of Westminster, who by Pye, dean of Chichester, and Wymmesley, archdeacon of London, was presented by speeches to the bishops. At which time Weston made his gratulatory oration to the house, and [Bonner] the bishop of London answered him. Which sermon and four orations were put together in a book, printed in December 1553, by Cawood. Harpsfield's text was "Attendite vobis, et universo gregi," \&c. Act. xx. Whence he took occasion to treat of three things:—"I. How well Paul took heed to himself and his flock. II. How ill the pastors of late regarded each. III. What way was to be used, that they might take heed to themselves and their flocks. Under the first head he shewed how St. Paul took heed to himself by keeping under his body, and bringing it into subjection: by taking heed of three pests of an ecclesiastical life, flattery, avarice, and vain glory, and that he might in all things profound himself a pattern to believers. And, secondly, as he thus took heed to himself, so he took heed to the flock in three particulars; in the doctrine which he preached, in his diligence to preserve his flock from wolves; and in his imposition of hands, whereby he provided fit ministers for the Church." And then, when he came unto the second head in the division of his discourse, he took occasion at large to vent his malice against the reformed ministers in King Edward's days, showing how they failed in all the particulars before said, that they were belly-gods, gave themselves over to junketings and pampering of their carcasses, that they were unchaste, taking to themselves wives, some that had lived threescore years single. That they were flatterers, insinuating themselves into the favour of the courtiers, covetous also, keeping no hospitality, vain-glorious, vaunting themselves to understand the holy Scripture as well as any of the ancients, daring to compare themselves with Hierome, Augustine, Ambrose, \&c. And some of

\(^1\) [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 526—535.]

them from a shop, endued with no liberal discipline, not so much as grammar, would mount the pulpit, and there give out themselves for learned men, if they did but rail against whatsoever was holy, and boast that they had the spirit. No vice of the laity, but they were guilty of it. And then, as to their neglect of the flock, their doctrine was such, as they might well repent and be ashamed of. How did they tear the Lord's flock, and how many souls send to hell, and what pernicious doctrines bring into the kingdom! That they brought into the ministry, and to preach God's word, cobblers, dyers, weavers, fullers, barbers, apothecaries, beggars, jesters, fitter for the plough-tail than the ministry of the Word. And with a great deal more of such railing stuff were the minds of the clergy to be prepared vigorously to overthrow all the Reformation, and to bring back Popery again.

The Tower, as well as the Fleet and Marshalsea, was crowded with prisoners, all that were supposed to favour religion, or that made any whisper against the Popish religion, or that had any the least hand in Queen Jane's business, being taken up and committed. The Tower being so full, our archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all thrust together into one chamber, which, however inconvenient it were, yet they were very glad to be together, that they might have the opportunity of conferring with one another, and establishing one another. There they read over the New Testament together with great deliberation and study, on purpose to see if there were anything that might favour that Popish doctrine of a corporal presence. But, after all, they could find no presence but a spiritual, nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But they found in that holy book that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good; and that God did require none other, nor that it should be ever done again, as Latimer, one of the four, related in his protestation given to Weston.¹

¹ [This "Protestation" will be found in the Appendix to the first volume of Strype's Eccl. Memorials, which is more full than that given by Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. 500—503. It is also given in the Parker Society's Remains of Bp. Latimer, pp. 251—262.]
CHAPTER VII.

The Queen sends to Cardinal Pole.

The queen, out of that great opinion she had of Cardinal Pole, either to make him her husband, or her archbishop in Cranmer's room, sent letters to him, one dated from London, October 28, written in Latin, conveyed to him from the emperor's court; probably brought thither by Commandone, who had been sent by the Pope's legate in that court a private agent unto her; and another, dated January 28. The cardinal was coming now from the Pope, as his legate, and in his journey stayed, for some reason of state, in the emperor's dominions. In this stay he thought fit, in answer to both her letters, to send his mind at large by his messenger Thomas Goldwel, who was once, if I mistake not, prior of the church of Canterbury, but long since fled out of England, and lived with Pole, and by the queen afterwards preferred to the bishopric of St. Asaph.

The contents of the queen's former letter consisted in two points; the one concerning the difficulty she feared in renouncing the title of the supremacy. For she writ him, that, when the Parliament yielded to the abolishing of the laws, wherein her mother's matrimony was made illegitimate, the lower house willingly agreed to the establishment of her right of succeeding to the crown, but made a great boggle of abolishing the title of the supremacy; thinking that might be a way to the introducing the Pope's authority again, which they could not gladly hear of; and therefore neither did they like to hear of a legate from the Pope. Hence the queen, who knew Pole was now commissioned by the Pope for his legate in this kingdom, and ready to come, did entreat him to stop for a while. And she desired his advice, in case the Parliament would not be brought to let go the law, wherein the supremacy was placed in the crown imperial of this land. The other point, wherein the queen desired information of the cardinal, was, how the commission she had privately given to Commandone was published in the consistory of Rome, as her ambassador, resident at Venice, had certified her.
The sum of her other letter to the cardinal was, concerning certain persons that she had in her intentions to make bishops in the void sees. They were Morgan, White, Parfew, Coates, Brooks, Holyman, and Bayne, how they might be put into those sees without derogation to the authority of the see apostolico. For she intended not to extend the power of the crown further than it was in use before the schism. She sent him also the two acts that had passed in the Parliament, the one of the legitimation of the matrimony of Queen Katherine with King Henry, and the other of the sacraments to be used in that manner as they were used the last year of King Henry VIII., which she sent to him, because she knew they would be matter of comfort and satisfaction to him.

As to both these letters of the queen, he gave instructions to Goldwell to signify to her majesty what his thoughts were. As to the first, his advice was, "that the authority and acceptableness of the person goes a great way to make any proposition well entertained and received by the people. And that, seeing there were none, neither of the temporality nor spirituality, but that had either spoke or writ against the Pope's supremacy; therefore, he thought that her majesty herself would be the fittest person to propound it with her own mouth, which was the course the emperor took to justify his war with the French king. He did it by his own mouth before the Pope and cardinals. He would have her at the same time to let the Parliament know plainly, that he (Cardinal Pole), being the Pope's legate, was to be admitted and sent for. And therefore that, in order to this, the law of his banishment might be repealed, and he restored in blood."¹ As to the second point, which seemed to offend the queen, that Commendone had revealed that in the consistory which she told him in much secrecy, Pole said, "that he kept her counsel, and told nothing that he heard from her mouth, but only what he had heard of certain devout Catholics that knew the queen's mind. Which was in general concerning the devout mind her majesty bare to God and the Church; but that nothing was spoken of that particular matter, that she would have none but the Pope made acquainted with." Which private matter, it

¹ [Cotton MSS.] Titus, B. 2 [fol. 170—177].
seems, was, that she desired the Pope to make Pole his legate to England.

But that he should be thus stopped in his journey, when the Pope had sent him upon such a weighty errand, the cardinal signified in the same letter his disgust of. And "he feared it might be so ill taken by the Pope and cardinals, that they might send for him back again to Rome, and not permit him to go on that intended charitable design. And that it was contrary to her first commission; when she showed more fervency to receive the obedience of the Church (as he took the confidence to tell her). And that, therefore, he was in some suspicion, that the next commission he should receive from the Pope should be to return back into Italy again, because the Pope might think that he had done his part touching his demonstration of his care of the queen and her realms, when he offered both so readily, all graces that tended to make a reconciliation of both to the Church. In which perhaps, said he, the cardinals would think his Holiness had been too liberal. And, that they might take his stop, without their consent, for a greater indignity. And this revocation be still more feared, if his stay should be deferred any longer space."

The cardinal, upon this his stay, sent a servant of his by post to Rome to make a fair excuse for this stop: namely, that the queen shortly trusted that the matters of the Parliament should have that satisfaction that the cardinal desired; which was the effect of a letter the queen writ to one Henry Pyning, his servant. He also let the Pope know, by the aforesaid messenger, that it was the emperor's advice that the queen should proceed in matters of religion warily and slowly, and not to be too hasty, until temporal matters were better settled.

He also wrote letters to the emperor, which he sent by his servant Pyning, to persuade him to remove this stop; and bade his said servant to repair to the emperor's confessor, that he should personally resort unto him, and by all means possible move the emperor to let the cardinal go forward.

As to the two acts of Parliament which the queen sent him, he wrote her, "that they were partly to his satisfaction, and partly not. For the act of ratification of the
matrimony was defective, in that the Parliament mentioning
the wisdom of the parents in making the match, did make
no mention of their wisdom; in that, besides their own
consent, they procured the Pope's dispensation, and the
authority of the see apostolic; whereby the impediments
of conjunction, by the laws of the Church, were taken away;
which, he added, ought by all means to have been men-
tioned. As to the other act for confirmation of the sacra-
ments, the defect of that, he said, lay, in that this act
made those capable of partaking of the sacraments that
were not yet entered into the unity of the Church, and
remained still in schism." But, to receive more full satis-
faction in these matters, I refer the reader to the instruc-
tions given by the cardinal to Goldwell, as they may be
read in the Appendix.  

CHAPTER VIII.

The Dealings with the Married Clergy.

The marriage of the clergy gave great offence to those
that were now uppermost. For many of both persuasions,
Papists as well as Protestants, had taken wives; it being
allowed by a law in King Edward's days; but would now
no longer be endured, and was pretended to be against an
oath they had taken, when they had received holy orders.
For the queen sent a letter and instructions, dated March 4,
to all the bishops; some of the contents whereof were, "to
deprive all the married clergy, and to remove them from
their benefices and promotions ecclesiastical; and besides
this not to suffer them to abide with their wives, or women,
as the Papists now chose rather to style them, but to
divorce and punish them. But that such priests should be
somewhat more favourably dealt withal, that, with the con-
sent of their wives, did openly promise to abstain. These,
nevertheless, were to be enjoined penance by the bishop,
and then it lay in him to admit them again to their former

1 No. LXXV.
ministration; but not in the same place they were in before. Of which they were to be deprived; and a part of that benefice they were outed of was to be allowed them, according to the bishop's discretion."1 According to these instructions of the queen, a sad havoc was made among the clergy; some thousands being computed to be put out of their livings upon this account. And a good expedient it proved to get rid of the soberer clergy, that were not for the present turn.

That the reader may take some prospect of these transactions with the married clergy, I will here set down what was done with some of them under the jurisdiction of Canterbury by the dean and chapter, our archbishop being now laid aside.

Of those priests, beneficed in London, that pertained to the archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction there, nine were cited, by a citation, March 7, (that is, but three days after the queen's letter), from the dean and chapter, Sede Cant. tunc vacante (as it is said in the said citation), to appear in Bow Church, London, before Henry Harvey, LL.D., vicar-general, for being married men. The persons thus cited were these: John Joseph, rector of the church of St. Mary-le-Bow; Stephen Green, rector of St. Dionis' backchurch; Laurence Saunders, rector of the church of Allhallows, in Bread-street; Peter Alexander, rector of Allhallows, Lombard-street; Christopher Ashburn, rector of St. Michael's, Crooked-lane; Thomas Mountain, rector of St. Michael's, in Rio-lane; John Turner, rector of St. Leonard's, in Eastcheap; Richard Marsh, rector of St. Pancras; John Eliot, schoolmaster in the parish of St. Leonard, Eastcheap. It may not be amiss to set down the tenor, wherein the citation ran, viz.: 2—

"That since it was (alas!) notoriously manifest, 'Quod rectores et presbyteri, quorum nomina in pede hujus edicti specificantur, contrajura ecclesiae, sanctorum patrum decreta, et laudabiles ecclesiae catholicae generatim observatas et usitatlas consuetudines, sese praetextu fœderis conjugalis cum nonnullis fœminis illicite conjunxerint, sub falsa ma-

1 [For these Articles, &c. sent from the queen to Bonner, bishop of London, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 426—429.]
2 Ex Regist. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14, fol. 40].
tronionii appellatio, cum isdem publice cohabitaverint, et
impudice vixerint, in voti sui alias emissi violacionem,
animarum suarum detrimentum, ac aliorum Christi fide-
lium exemplum longe perniciosum, in Christi ecclesia non
ferendum; unde pro officii nostri debit, et tantorum
secerum ab ecclesia Christi eliminatione penitus eradican-
dum, &c. juxta illustissimae Dominae nostre Regiae moni-
tionis in hac parte continentiam procedere volentes," &c.
The citation was returned by the apparitor, who declared,
that he found and personally cited Richard Marsh and John
Turner, and that he affixed the citation of the rest on the
church doors belonging to the respective rectors, on
March 8. And no wonder the apparitor met with no more
of them, some being fled, and some in prison, and some
already violently turned out of their churches and gone.
On March 16, according to the citation, Marsh and Turner
made their personal appearance, and were sworn to make
true answer to such interrogatories as should be put to
them. What those interrogatories were, I shall set down
by-and-bye. These persons confessed, that they made pro-
fession of religious vows, and, after holy orders, were
married, and lived with their wives. Hereupon sen-
tence was denounced against them, to prohibit them to
officiate, and to suspend them from the profits of their
benefices; and, on Monday following, to appear again to
receive further sentence of deprivation, divorce, &c. John
Eliot, schoolmaster, it seems, submitted to penance; for he
was not personally thrust out of his school, but enjoined
not to teach his scholars matins, psalter, or the like in
English, but in Latin; so as they might be able to answer
the priest that officiated. The rest, that appeared not, were
declared contumacious, and to be proceeded against, on
Monday following, by deprivation, &c.
The interrogatories ministered unto these men, and to
be ministered to all other married priests, were these:—

I. An fuit religiousus; cujus ordinis; et in quo monas-
terio, sive domo.

II. An fuit promotus ad sacros ordines, dum fuit in
monasterio.

III. In quo et quibus sacris; et an ministravit in altaris
ministerio; et quotannis.
IV. An citra professionem regularem conjunxit se mulieris sub appellatione matrimonii.

V. Cum qua; et in qua ecclesia fuit solemnizatio matrimonii; et per quem.

VI. Quam duxit, eratne soluta, an vidua.

VII. An cohabitavit cum ea in una et eadem domo, ut vir cum uxor.

VIII. An prolem vel proles ex ea sustentaverit, necne.

IX. An post et citra matrimonii hujusmodi solemnisationem, assedatus fuit, et est, beneficium ecclesiasticum, habens curam animarum, et quot annis illud obtinuit.

X. An officium sacerdotis post et citra assertum matrimonium hujusmodi contractum, in altaris ministerio se immiscuit, et sacramentis et sacramentalibus ministrandis se ingessit.

XI. An præmissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera.

According to these articles, the confessions of Marsh, Turner, and Eliot, are registered at large. On Monday, March 19, sentence was pronounced against Marsh and Turner. 1. Of deprivation from their benefices. 2. Of suspension from their priestly function. 3. Of inhibition to cohabit with their wives. 4. Of nulling and voiding the pretended bond of matrimony; and 5, of declaration of further punishments, according to the canons of the Church. And, March 20, the like sentence was pronounced against the rest that did not appear. Next, the sentence of divorce against John Turner and his wife was pronounced; and he was ordered to do penance on May 14, 1554, in his late parish church of Eastcheap, by holding a burning wax taper, and making a solemn confession openly and distinctly, with a loud voice, standing in the body of the church, before the face of the people, in these words following:

"Good people, I am come hither, at this present time, to declare unto you my sorrowful and penitent heart, for that, being a priest, I have presumed to marry one Amy German, widow; and, under pretence of that matrimony, contrary to the canons and custom of the universal church, have kept her as my wife, and lived contrary to the canons and ordinances of the Church, and to the evil example of good
Christian people; whereby now, being ashamed of my former wicked living here, I ask Almighty God mercy and forgiveness, and the whole Church, and am sorry and penitent even from the bottom of my heart therefore. And in token hereof, I am here, as you see, to declare and show unto you this, my repentance: that before God, on the latter day, you may testify with me of the same. And I most heartily and humbly pray and desire you all, whom by this evil example doing I have greatly offended, that for your part you will forgive me, and remember me in your prayers, that God may give me grace, that hereafter I may live a continent life, according to His laws, and the godly ordinances of our mother the holy Catholic Church, through and by His grace. And do here before you all openly promise for to do, during my life."

The manner of the restitution of these priests, thus performing their penance, may be seen in the Appendix.  

And this is some account of the church of Canterbury's doings, in pursuance of the queen's instructions before mentioned. But Bishop Bonner, with his seal, was beforehand with the queen, not staying for any orders from above in dealing with his clergy, but of his own power, in the latter end of February, deprived all married priests, in his diocese of London, from their livings. And, after this done, commanded them all to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be divorced from them.

These were some of the doings with the married priests in London. And in the same manner did they proceed about this time in Canterbury with Edmund Cranmer, the archbishop's brother, archdeacon and prebendary of that church; together with William Willoughby, William Devenish, and Robert Goldson, prebendaries; and divers others. For March 15, at the chapter-house in Canterbury, before Henry Harvey, LL.D., vicar-general; Richard Bishop, of Dover, subdean; Richard Parkhurst and John Mills, prebendaries of the said church, personally appeared the said archdeacon and prebendaries, Thomas Brook and Thomas Stevens, preachers, and Sherland and Goodrich, petty canons of the said church, who all subscribed with their own

2 No. LXXV.
hands to a confession of certain articles exhibited against them, touching their being married. And, being asked what they could say why they should not be suspended and deprived for the said pretended marriages, they gave this answer, as it is set down in the register of that church; "Se nihil habere dicendum, &c."—"That they had nothing to say that might be profitable for them; the ecclesiastical law, and the decrees of the holy fathers, standing in their full force; but, by the law of God, they thought they had lawfully married their wives; and, being married, might not forsake them with a safe conscience." Then sentence of suspension from priestly function, sequestration, deprivation, and prohibition to live with their wives, was pronounced. It is registered, "that they acquiesced in these sentences against them; no one of them appealing, but all remaining silent." This is the account of the good archbishop’s brother, his manner of deprivation, and his peaceable behaviour under it.

Thus he was deprived of his prebend, and one Robert Collins was admitted into the same; of his rectory of Ickham, and Robert Marsh succeeded him there, April 12, 1554; and of his archdeaconry, and Nicolas Harpsfield was admitted thereunto. Who at the same time entered into obligation to pay, out of the profits of the said archdeaconry, unto William Wareham, late archdeacon, during his life, a yearly pension of forty pounds sterling, March 31, 1554. But some of the Church then appeared not, being either fled, or in prison; and those were pronounced contumacious, viz. John Joseph, Peter Alexander, and Bernard Ochin, prebendaries; Lancelot Ridley, Richard Turner, Thomas Becon, and Richard Besely, preachers.¹

These doings, in all quarters of the realm raised great admiration among the people, upon divers and sundry considerations, incident and depending upon such proceedings; since these marriages were no more than what were agreeable to the laws of the land. So that these married preachers, in marrying themselves, were no transgressors of the law, and yet underwent as great punishments, as though they were so in some high degree. And the proceedings seemed contrary even to the queen’s commission, comprised

¹ Reg. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14].
in certain articles (before mentioned) to her bishops; which was, "That they should proceed, according to learning and discretion, in these weighty matters, and that they should not put any other canons and constitution of the Church in exercise, than such as might stand with the law of the realm." Yet they went in most places both against learning and discretion, and the laws of the land.

For the bringing this to pass, they first possessed the queen with great prejudices against these marriages. They cried in her ears, how uncomely these copulations were; how against God and his honour; how against the Church's decrees and discipline; and how worthy to be dissolved again. And when they had obtained their ends with the queen, and gotten out her letter and instructions for that purpose, and by warrant thereof executed their purposes; then, for the giving a better countenance to a thing that looked so odious, and had so much severity in it, to the ruining of so many thousand families, books were thought fit to be published; the purpose of which was, to make married priests contemptible and to show how unlawful and wicked marriage was in men of holy orders. Dr. Thomas Martin's book made the greatest noise; a book writ with a brow of brass, so did it abound with confident untruths and falsehoods. And, to the further accumulation of the heavy state of the ministers deprived, were added in this book most slanderous accusations, and untrue matters surmised against them to the queen and realm. The author greatly pretended antiquity and authority all along for his doctrine: whereas indeed it was nothing but counterfeited imitation of authority, and belying antiquity. And, in short (to give you the sense of one, who wrote against the book, and did sufficiently expose it), "it was mere subtilty without substance, wit without wisdom, zeal without knowledge, and heat without charity." To give but one instance of the unfair and false dealing of the author, he saith, in his book, "that the heretics affirmed, that all priests and bishops must of necessity marry, whether they have the gift of sole life, or no; and that they were so beastly and ignorant, that they should teach that the fellowship and company of a

1 Martin's book against Priests' Marriage.
2 Supposed to be Bishop Poinet.
woman, in a spiritual man, is a means to perfect religion, and that single life was an hinderance to the same, and that they should despise all manner of virginity and single life in them that had the gift of God: and that they pronounced it wicked and abominable, and termed it a doctrine of devils, and the invention of Antichrist." All which Bishop Poinet, in the name of all the Protestants, in his book did utterly deny that ever they said, writ, or thought so.

This book was indeed made by [Gardiner] the bishop of Winchester, when he was in the Tower, (and he borrowed much of it from Albertus Pighius), and published about that time. Martin being then a student at the university of Bourges in France, it once happened, in some conversation there, that Edward, the king of England, was commended, whether it were for his virtue, or learning, or abilities, beyond his years; whereas Martin began, as it seemed, to eclipse the king's honour, by mentioning the imprisonment of Winchester, saying, that there was a head Papist prisoner in England, meaning him. Upon which several asked him, whether it was not the same Winchester that had set out an hodge-podge concerning marriage of priests? He, laughing, answered, "it was even he." But that no man ought to marvel, for that Winchester was more meet for warlike than for ecclesiastical disputations. Which passage I have from Bale, who was acquainted at that university with Franciscus Baldwin, the learned professor of law there. Out of this book Martin\(^1\) framed that which went under his name, with Winchester's privity; and this was well enough known to Bale and others in those times. Ponet said, that Martin was abused by others, who set him a-work to bear the name, and to desire the fame of so gay a book, rather than he was the author of it indeed.

The said Ponet, or Poinet, late bishop of Winchester, but now an exile, very learnedly answered this book in two several treatises. The first was entitled, "An Apology against Thomas Martin's Blasphemies." In this treatise,

---

\(^1\) Declaration of Bonner's Articles, 1554.

upon occasion of the Papists' prohibition of marriage to priests, he proved that the said Papists were heretics, and had taken part in the most principal parts with all the heretics that had corrupted the true church of Christ. The second treatise, replenished with great learning, he lived not to finish; (though some doubt whether he were the author of this book); but the copy falling into the hands of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, he published it, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with very large and excellent additions of his own. Poinet had thoroughly studied this point, and I believe was put upon the study of it by Archbishop Cranmer, whose chaplain he was; for before this he put forth two books upon this argument, viz. "Of the Marriage of Ministers, and a Defence of that Marriage."

The last thing I have to say concerning these orders taken with the married clergy, is, that there were two things thought very hard, which were put upon those that were willing to comply, and put away their wives. The one was in relation to the public confessions they were to make: which were put into their mouths by others, and drawn up for them in that manner, as made them tell horrible lies. They must speak their own shame in bills of their penance; lying against themselves most vilely and most shamefully; disabling their credit and estimation for ever. And to give an instance, one such confession, which was much cried out against, was made by one Sir John Busby of Windsor, June 29, in the year 1555. Which Poinet calleth a goodly confession of his hearty and earnest repentance. "Which," saith he, "was so finely penned, and so catholicly traced, that I warrant you it was none of the smallest fools that forged it."1

The other thing was, that, after these poor men had thus done their penances, and spoke their confessions, the imposers of these penalties upon them were not so good as they pretended they would be, and as the queen's instructions required them to be towards them; not restoring them to their ministration. Some, that had been two or three years parted from their wives, could not be admitted again to ministration; yet they must do open penance, and go by

1 Def. of Pr. Marr. p. 269.
the cross, without any redemption or entreaty, that could be made.

CHAPTER IX.

Evils in this Change. A Parliament.

By this time the face of the Church was perfectly changed: and all the reformation that was made for twenty years before, namely, from Cranmer's first ascent to the archiepiscopal chair, to this time, was unravelled in less than a year, and abolished. But the favourers of the Gospel lamented it exceedingly, and Bishop Ridley writ a treatise, wherein he shewed what a deplorable change in religion this was, by setting down at large what religion was in King Edward's days, and what it was at that present; laying the cause of this sore judgment upon the vile and naughty lives of the people, so unsuitable to the good religion professed. The professors lamented two great evils, lighting upon the people upon this turn of religion; not only that it brought the people into error and superstition, but involved them universally in the crime of perjury, the blame of which they laid upon the Popish clergy. For they not only had connived at, but allowed and encouraged, the casting off the Pope's supremacy, and made both priests and laity swear to the king. And now they set up the Pope's authority again in England, and required all to swear to that. For they compelled not only such as were priests to perjure themselves, but all the laity, nobility, gentry, magistrates, merchants, and others; for hardly any were exempted the oath of supremacy in the former reigns. For in every law-day, the keepers of the same were sworn to call all the young men of their hundred, even as they came to years of discretion, to swear never to receive the bishop of Rome, nor no other foreign potentate, to be head of the people of England, but only the king and his successors. Which oath, if it were unlawful, as the clergymen now said, then all the realm had reason of high displeasure against
them, that so led them and knew it. Such gross dissembling were the bishops guilty of to the involving the people in guilt. And this dissembling quality the priests still retained in this queen’s days. For when any came to some of them, shewing them that his conscience was not satisfied in the present way of religion, the priest would tell him, “that he said the truth; my conscience,” would he say, “is as yours; but we must bear for a time, and that he himself looked for another change.” When another of a contrary opinion came to the priests, and talked about religion, they would say to him, “that they had been deceived; and thanks be to God,” said they, “that ye kept your conscience all this while. And even so was mine; but I durst not do any otherwise, but trusted that this time would come, as is now; thanks be to God.” Nay, and sometimes in the same town, they would minister the service two ways to the people, to please both: insomuch that the bishops and priests grew, for this cause, as well as for their cruelty, into great dislike with the people. This more at large is shewed in a short manuscript treatise I have, made by a certain person nameless, imprisoned for religion, entitled thus: “All sorts of people of England have just cause of displeasure against the bishops and priests of the same.”

There was, this year, April 2, a new Parliament, that [of] the last year being dissolved. Great was the sadness that now possessed the hearts of the English nation, even of Papists themselves, the most considerate and wisest part of them, seeing the great slavery the kingdom was like to be ensnared in, by what the Parliament was now in doing; that is to say, restoring the Pope’s tyranny here in England, that had been so long and happily cast out, and allowing the queen’s matching with Prince Philip; whereby a Spaniard should become king of England. Which when P. Martyr had signified in a letter from Strasburgh to Calvin, May 8, he told him, “Tanta est rerum perturbatio, ut nullo pacto explicari quest;”—“that it could not be told what a disturbance there now was;” and that all good men, that could, fled away from their own country, from all parts of the land: mentioning three noble knights to be come lately to Strasburgh, not less famous for piety than
learning, Morison, Cheke, and Cook. At this Parliament wherein the mass was set up, and confirmed by an act, all that were suspected to favour the truth were turned out of the house, which made Hooper out of prison in one of his letters write: "Doubtless there had not been seen, before our time, such a Parliament as this, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of God's word, should be banished out of both houses." ¹

In this Parliament a strong and certain report went, that the bloody act of the Six Articles should be revived and put in execution. This created abundance of terror in men's hearts. There was nothing but sighs and lamentations everywhere, and a great many were already fled out of the realm, unto whom this rumour had reached. John Fox, a learned and pious man, who had an excellent pathetic style, was now set on work, who took his pen in his hand, and, in the name of the Protestant exiles, wrote a most earnest expostulatory letter to the Parliament, to dissuade them from restoring this law again. He told them, "they had a queen, who, as she was most noble, so she was ready to listen to sound and wholesome counsel. And that they had a lord chancellor, that, as he was learned, so of his own nature he was not bad, were it not for the counsels of some. But that, as among animals, some there were that were born to create trouble and destruction to the other, so there were among mankind some by nature cruel and destructive; some to the church, and some to the state." The letter is worthy the reading, which I have therefore placed in the Appendix,² as I transcribed it out of a manuscript collection of Fox's letters. There was indeed such a design in the House of Commons of bringing again into force that act of the Six Articles; but whether it were by the importunity of this and other petitions, or that the court thought it not convenient so much to countenance any of King Henry's acts, this business fell. And this Parliament was shortlived, for in May it was dissolved, by reason of a bill for confirming abbey-lands to the present possessors, which it seems gave offence to the court.

¹ [Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 85.]
² No. LXXVI.
CHAPTER X.

Archbishop Cranmer disputes at Oxon.

A CONVOCATION of the clergy now met in St. Paul's, but was adjourned, the prolocutor, Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, and some other of the members, being sent to Oxon, (and it was generally thought the Parliament would remove thither too), to dispute certain points of religion in controversy with three of the heads of the Protestant party, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and old Father Latimer, now all prisoners, who, for that purpose, in the month of April, were removed from the Tower, by the queen's warrant to the lieutenant, towards Windsor, and there taken into custody of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Williams, who conveyed them to Oxford, there to remain in order to a disputation. The Convocation, while they sat at London, agreed upon the questions to be disputed; and they resolved that these three pious men should be baited by both the universities; and therefore that they of Cambridge should be excited to repair to Oxford, and engage in this disputation also. The questions were these:

I. In sacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati, presens est reallter, sub speciebus panis et vini, naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Maria: item naturalis ejus sanguis.

II. Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis.

III. In Missa est vivificum ecclesiae sacrificium pro pecatis, tam vivorum, quam mortuorum, propitiable.

These questions the Convocation sent to the university of Cambridge, requiring them seriously to weigh and deliberate upon them, and, if they contained true doctrine, then to approve of them. Accordingly the senate of that university met, and, after due deliberation, found them agreeable in all things to the Catholic Church, and the Scripture, and the ancient doctrine taught by the fathers; and so did confirm and ratify them in their said senate. And because Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the heads of the heretics
that held contrary to these articles, were formerly members of their university, and being to be disputed withal at Oxford concerning these points, they decreed, in the name of all the university, to send seven of their learned doctors to Oxford, to take their parts in disputing with them, and to use all ways possible to reclaim them to the orthodox doctrine again. And accordingly the said senate, April 10, made a public instrument to authorize them, in their names, to go to Oxford and dispute, which instrument may be seen in the Appendix. They also wrote a letter, the same date, to the university of Oxford, to signify that they had appointed those persons to repair unto them, not so much to dispute points so professedly orthodox, and agreeable to the fathers and general councils, and the word of God, as to defend those truths in their names, and reduce those patrons of false and corrupt doctrine, if possible, unto a sound mind. This letter is also in the Appendix. So that this coming of the Cambridge divines to Oxford was to seem a voluntary thing, to show their zeal for Popery, and vindication of their university against liking or approbation of Cranmer and his two fellow-prisoners. So roundly was the university already come about to the old forsaken religion.

This Oxford disputation was after this manner: Hugh Weston, S. T. P., prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation; Owen Oglethorp, John Seton, W. Chedsey, S. Th. PP.; Hen. Cole, Will[jam] Geoffrey, LL. PP.; William Pye, John Feckenham, John Harpfield, S. T. BB., representing the whole lower House of Convocation, went down to Oxford. To them were joined, by commission, the chancellor of the university, the vice-chancellor, the professors and doctors, &c.; as namely, Holyman, Tresham, Ri[chard] Marshal, Morwent, Smith, S. T. PP. of Oxford; and John Young, William Glyn, Ri[chard] Atkinson, Tho[mas] Watson, Cutbert Scott, Alban Langdale, Tho[mas] Sedgwick, S. Th. PP. of Cambridge; in the name of the whole university. All these being met at St. Mary's, there were read the letters commissioned to them, sealed with the bishop of London's seal, and the sub-

1 No. LXXVII.  
2 No. LXXVIII.  
3 [The narrative of this disputation is chiefly drawn by Strype from Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 439—469.]
scription besides of the bishops of Winton, Durham, Wigorn, Chichester, Lincoln, Bath, Ross, Hereford, St. David’s, Gloucester, and Oxon. And with these letters were conveyed certain articles,¹ which had been lately by the upper House resolved upon; which articles were, of the Sacrament of the Altar, of Transubstantiation, and of the Adoration of the Eucharist, and the Reservation of the Sacrament of the Church, and of its institution, and by whom, and for whom, and to whom it is to be offered. The contents of the letter were, to summon before them Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and to propound those articles to them to dispute on publicly. The sum of which, it seems, was contracted into the three questions above said. Then they provided themselves three public notaries. Next, they celebrated and sung the mass of the Holy Ghost. Then they went [in] a procession, according to the custom of the university. This formal pageantry being finished, and the commissioners returned to St. Mary’s, and being come into the choir to the number of three and thirty, seated themselves before the altar. And then sent to the mayor and bailiffs to bring Dr. Cranmer before them, by virtue of the queen’s letters to them, who within a while was brought, guarded with bill-men.

Coming before them, Saturday, [April 14.] he gave them great reverence, and stood with his staff in his hand. They offered him a stool to sit, but he refused. Then Weston, the prolocutor, began a speech, wherein “he commended unity in the church of Christ; and withal, turning to the archbishop, told him how he had been a Catholic man once, and in the same unity, but that he had separated himself from it by teaching and setting forth erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith. And therefore that it had pleased the queen to send them to him to recover him again, if it might be, to that unity.” And then shewed him the

¹ [The following are the articles, also given above at p. 47.] “In sacramento altaris, virtute verbi Domini a sacerdote prolati, presens est realiter sub speciebus panis et vini naturale corpus Christi—conceptum de virgine Maria: item, naturalis ejusdem sanguis. 2. Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis. 3. In missa est vivificum ecclesiae sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile.”—Harl.MSS. 3642. See Parker Society’s edition of the Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 392.]
articles to be disputed on, causing them to be read to him, and requiring his answer and opinion thereupon. Then the archbishop answered extempore, that, as for unity, he was very glad of it; and said, that it was a preserver of all commonwealths, as well heathen as Christian, and illustrated the matter by some stories out of the Roman history. And added, that he should be very glad to come to an unity, so it were in Christ, and according to the church of God. Then he read over the articles three or four times; and, being asked whether he would subscribe to them, he answered, that in the form of words in which they were conceived, they were all false and against God's word; and therefore that he would not agree in that unity with them. Nevertheless, he said, if they would give him a copy of the articles, and time to consider of them, he would by to-morrow send them an answer. Which was granted him, the prolocutor bidding him write his mind of them that night. It was moreover agreed between them, that, in whatsoever he dissented from them, they would proceed to public disputation thereupon, in the public schools, by scholastical arguments in Latin. And lastly, they told him, he should have what books he would ask for. And so Weston gave the mayor charge of him, to be had to Bocardo, where he was before.

His behaviour all this while was so grave and modest, that many masters of art, who were not of his mind, could not forbear weeping. This was the work of Saturday, [April 16th.] On Sunday Cranmer sent in what he had writ upon the articles to the prolocutor to Lincoln College, where he lay.

After Cranmer was carried back, the mayor and bailiffs brought Bishop Ridley. And when the same articles were read to him, he said, that they were not true; but desired a copy of them, and he would draw up in writing his answer, and soon transmit it to them. And did offer to dispute, as Cranmer had done before.¹

Lastly, Latimer was brought, to whom the prolocutor said as he had to the two former. Latimer confessed, that in the sacrament of the altar there was a certain presence, but not such as one as they would have; and he also promised to send them his answer shortly to these articles, requiring a copy. But, by reason of his old age, his infirmities, and

¹ [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 442.]
the weakness of his memory, he said, he could not bear a dispute; but that he could and would declare his mind of the said articles. All this that I have above said concerning the managery of this affair, I do for the most part extract out of a letter of Weston's, writ unto [Bonner] the bishop of London from Oxon. I cannot here omit old Father Latimer's habit at this his appearing before the commissioners, which was also his habit while he remained a prisoner in Oxford. He held his hat in his hand; he had a kerchief on his head, and upon it a nightcap or two, and a great cap such as townsmen used, with two broad flaps, to button under his chin; an old threadbare Bristol frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at which hanged, by a long string of leather, his Testament, and his spectacles, without case, hanging about his neck upon his breast. ¹ This was the work of Saturday, [April 14th].

On Monday, [April 16th] Cranmer was brought into the respondent's place in the divinity-schools, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him. In the midst of the disputation, because what he was to answer was more than he could well remember extempore, he gave in to Dr. Weston his opinion, written at large, in answer to each proposition; and desired Weston, who sat on high, to read it. These writings are preserved in Fox's Monuments, and may there be seen.² This disputation began at eight in the morning, and lasted till two. The beadle had provided drink, and offered the archbishop thereof sometimes, but he refused; nor did he stir all the while out of his place, though the prolocutor had granted him leave to retire for a while if he had any occasion. And, after having learnedly and boldly maintained the truth against a great many clamorous opponents, he was carried back by the mayor to prison. And then, the two next days, Ridley and Latimer took their courses.³

Cranmer had cautiously provided two notaries to take notes of what he said, lest he might be misrepresented. And they were Jewel, afterward bishop of Sarum, and one Gilbert Mounson, who also, at Ridley's request, were granted him. Cranmer required at the commissioners' hands, more time

¹ [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 448.]
² [Id. vol. vi. pp. 444—469.]
³ [Id. vol. vi. pp. 469—511.]
to have these weighty matters more diligently scanned and
examined, urging, that he had so much to speak, that it
would take up many days, that he might fully answer to all
that they could say. He required also, that he and his
fellows might oppose, as well as respond; that they might
produce their proofs before the Popish doctors, and be
answered fully to all that they could say. But neither of
these demands would be allowed him, which he in a letter
complained of to the Council. For indeed, as Cranmer
plainly apprehended, the design now was not to look impar-
tially into the truth or falsehood of these doctrines, but to
gain glory to themselves, and to have a show for the resolu-
tion that was before taken up of condemning them all three.

The same week, on Thursday, [April 19th,] Harpsfield
disputed for the degree of bachelor of divinity; and, among
other opponents, Cranmer was called forth for one by Dr.
Weston. Where, first taking notice of Weston's opposing
Harpsfield out of the Scripture against a corporeal presence,
(which was Harpsfield's question), but whereas he left the
sense of the Scripture to the Catholic Church, as judge,
Cranmer told him, "He was much mistaken, especially
because that, under the name of church, he appointed such
judges as had corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of
the Scriptures. He wondered also, he said, why Weston
attributed so little to the reading of Scriptures, and con-
ferring of places, seeing Scripture doth so much commend
the same, in those very places which himself had alleged.
And as to his opinion of these questions, he said, they had
neither ground of the word of God, nor the primitive church.
Nay, and that the schools have spoken diversely of them, and
do not agree among themselves." And, having prefaced all
this, he began his disputation with Harpsfield, by asking
him some questions: as, how Christ's body was in the
sacrament, according to his mind and determination? And
whether He had the quantity and qualities, form, figure, and
such-like properties of bodies? And when there was great
declining to answer this; and some affirmed one thing, and
some another; Harpsfield said, they were vain questions,
and not fit to spend time about; and added, that "Christ
was there as it pleased him to be there." Cranmer to that
said, "He would be best contented with that answer, if
their appointing of the carnal presence had not driven him of necessity to have inquired, for disputation-sake, how they placed Him there, since they would have a natural body. Then some denied it to be *quantum*; some said, it was *quantitativum*; and some affirmed, that it had *modum quanti*; and some denying it, Dr. Weston then stood up, and said, it was *corpus quantum, sed non per modum quanti*. A very grave decision of the point!

Then Cranmer asked, “Whether good and bad men do eat the body in the sacrament; and then, how long Christ tarried in the eater?” Harpsfield said, “They were curious questions, unmeet to be asked.” Cranmer replied, “He took them out of their schools and schoolmen, which they themselves did most use.” Then he asked, “How far He went in the body, and how long He abode in the body?” With these questions Cranmer puzzled them most heavily, for which way soever they answered, there would follow absurdities and inextricable difficulties. In conclusion, Dr. Weston gave him this compliment; “That his wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty was worthy much commendation, giving him most hearty thanks in his own name, and in the name of all his brethren.” At which all the doctors put off their caps.

On Wednesday, [April 18th.] as soon as Latimer, who came up last, had ended his disputation, the Papists cried *Victoria*, applauding themselves loudly, as though they had vindicated their cause most strenuously and satisfactorily against Cranmer and his two fellows. And so Weston had the confidence to tell them to their faces. Though to him that reads the whole disputation, and considereth the arguments on both sides impartially, there will appear no such matter; allowing for all the hissings and noises, confused talk and taunts, that were bestowed upon these very reverend and good men. Whereof Ridley said, in reference to his disputation,2 “That he never in all his life saw or heard anything carried more vainly and tumultuously; and that he could not have thought that there could have been found

1 [See Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 511—520.]
2 In his Preface to his Account of his Dispute. [See Parker Society’s edition of Ridley’s Works, Appendix I. pp. 303, 433, 434; and Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 532.]
among Englishmen any persons, honoured with degrees in learning, that willingly could allow of such vanities, more fit for the stage than the schools." He added, "That, when he studied at Paris, he remembered what clamours were used in the Sorbonne, where Popery chiefly reigned; but that that was a kind of modesty in comparison of this thrasonical ostentation. Whence he concluded very truly, that they sought not for the sincere truth in this conference, and for nothing but vain glory."

But the professors of the Gospel, on the other hand, were as glad of this dispute, wherein these three chief fathers of the Church had so boldly and gallantly stood in the defence of the truth, and maintained the true doctrine of the sacrament so well. And Dr. Rowland Taylor, in prison elsewhere at this time for Christ's sake, wrote them a congratulatory letter in the name of the rest. Which is as followeth:—

"Right reverend fathers in the Lord, I wish you to enjoy continually God's grace and peace through Jesus Christ. And God be praised again for this your most excellent promotion, which ye are called unto at this present; that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed amongst the number of Christ's records and witnesses. England hath had but a few learned bishops that would stick to Christ ad ignem inclusive. Once again I thank God heartily in Christ for your most happy onset, most valiant proceeding, most constant suffering of all such infamies, hissings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loss of living and liberty, for the defence of God's cause, truth, and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoice in my heart for you three such captains in the foreward, under Christ's cross, banner, or standard, in such a cause and skirmish; when not only one or two of our dear Redeemer's strongholds are besieged, but all His chief castles, ordained for our safeguard, are traitorously impugned. This your enterprise, in the sight of all that be in heaven, and of all God's people in earth, is most pleasant to behold. This is another manner of

1 [For the history of Dr. Rowland Taylor, who was burnt at Hadley, in Suffolk, February 9th, 1555, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 676—700.]
nobility, than to be in the forefront in worldly warfares. For God's sake, pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are stronger and stronger in the Lord, His name be praised; and we doubt not, but ye be so in Christ's own sweet school. Heaven is all, and wholly of our side. Therefore Gaudete in Domino semper, et iterum gaudete, et exultate:—Rejoice always in the Lord, and again rejoice and be glad.

"Your assured in Christ, Rowland Taylor."

Ridley, knowing their tricks, and suspecting they would publish his disputation unfairly, and to their own advantage, prudently took his pen, and gave an account of it with the greatest exactness, as he could recover it in his memory. He was promised by the prolocutor, that he should have a view of the dispute, as it was taken by the notaries, that he might supply, and mend, and alter, as he should see any error or mistake in the notes. He promised him likewise, and that in the face and hearing of the rest of the commissioners, and the whole schools, that he should have a time and place allowed him, wherein he might produce what he had more to say, for the confirmation of his answers. But nothing was performed. Ridley never found language more ready to him, nor such a presence of mind in any business he had to do, as he had in this disputation; which he took particular notice of, and thanked God for. Of this relation, as he himself had penned it, he wrote to Grindal, then at Frankfort, "That except he had that he gathered himself after his disputation done, he could not think that he had it truly; but if he had that, then he had therewithal the whole manner, after the which he was used in that disputation."¹

This whole disputation between these three excellent men and the Oxford divines, was, under the seal of the university, and the subscription of notaries, exhibited into the house of Convocation by Hugh Weston and some lawyers. This John Fox had found some years after, writ in the Register of a certain church in London. Whereupon, for the sight hereof, he applied himself to Dr. Incent,

that had been actuary; but he put him off, telling him the writings were in Bonner’s hand, or in the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, and that he had them not; probably not being minded they should come to light. Fox, when his pains succeeded not, wrote to the archbishop and the bishop of London, Parker and Grindal, about 1567, acquainting them with this, and desired their assistance; and the rather, because perhaps there might have been other things met with there, not unworthy knowledge, under the same seal. And so he left the archbishop and bishop to consult as they thought fit for the finding out these writings of the disputations.

Fox, by his diligence, procured many and divers copies of them; which I have seen. And that which he printed in his Acts and Monuments, was, I suppose, from a copy which he reckoned the largest and truest. Ridley apprehended there would be many copies of these disputations fly about, (as there were), whereby they might be wronged. Therefore, to prevent misrepresenting, as I said before, he wrote a brief account of what he had said at his disputations. This, whether he writ it in English or Latin originally, I cannot tell; I suppose in Latin, as it was lately, in the year 1688, published at Oxon. Among Fox’s manuscripts I meet with a better copy than that, which, by comparing both, I find faulty in many things, besides Ridley’s epilogue to the reader, which is there placed as a preface before the book, the true place being at the end of it.1

1 [Ridley’s own account of his handling at the disputation at Oxford, may be seen in the Parker Society’s edition of his Works, where it is given in English, from Coverdale’s Letters of the Martyrs, at pp. 303—306. The entire Latin version is there reprinted from Fox, “Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum,” Basil, 1539,—which was collated with a MS. in Abp. Parker’s Collection in C.C.C. Lib., as set out in the Appendix to Ridley’s Works, pp. 438—481.]
CHAPTER XI.

Cranmer condemned for a Heretic.

Within two days after these disputation were ended, that is, on Friday, April 20, Cranmer, with his two fellows, were brought again to St. Mary's, before the commissioners. Weston dissuaded them from their opinions, and asked them, whether they would subscribe, and required them to answer directly and peremptorily; and told the archbishop that he was overcome in disputation, with more words to that purpose. To whom the archbishop boldly replied, "That whereas Weston said, that he had answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own error, nor impugn the truth, he said, all that was false, for he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them, and ever four or five interrupting him." Latimer and Ridley, being asked what they would do, said, that they would stand to that which they had said. Then, being called together, sentence was read over them, that they were no members of the Church, and, therefore, they were condemned as heretics. And, while this was reading, they were asked if they would turn. They bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. And so the sentence of condemnation was awarded against them. Then the archbishop said, "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." And so Cranmer was returned to Bocardo, and the other two to other places; as they were kept apart almost all the while they were in Oxon.1

Weston, after this ingrateful business done, went up the next week [April 23rd] to London. And Cranmer wrote to the lords of the Council a letter, containing two points: one was, to desire the queen's pardon as to his treason, (for so little favour could he find at court, that he had not

yet this absolutely granted him); and the other was, an account of the disputation, Weston bring desired by the archbishop to carry the letter. But after he had carried it half-way, reading the contents, he liked them so ill, that he sent back the letter most churlishly to Cranmer again.\(^1\)

Indeed, he cared not to carry complaints of himself to the court. But, because it gives further light into these matters, I have inserted it in the Appendix.\(^2\)

It was such an imaginary victory, as they had now got at Oxford, that they intended also to obtain at Cambridge. And much talk at this time arose, that Hooper, Rogers, Crome, and Bradford, whom they had in prisons at London, were to be had to this university, to be baited, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, newly had been at Oxford; and several of the doctors of Oxford should be sent in likewise to Cambridge for this purpose. But Hooper, Farrar, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, and the others, having an inklings of it, consulted among themselves what to do; and resolved to decline it, unless they might have indifferent judges.\(^3\) And for this purpose Bradford sent a private and trusty messenger to Oxford to Ridley, to have his, and his two fellows, their judgments concerning this matter. They were at this time all separated from one another; so, though Ridley signified this in a letter to Cranmer,\(^4\) yet he could only give his own sense. "He disliked not," he said, "what they were minded to do; for he looked for none other, but that, if they answered before the same commissioners that he and his fellows had done, they should be served and handled as they were, though ye were as well learned," said he; "as ever was either Peter or Paul. Yet he thought occasion might afterwards be given them; and the consideration of the profit of their auditory might perchance move them to do otherwise. But determinately to say what was best, he

\(^1\) [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 535.]

\(^2\) No. LXXIX.

\(^3\) [For the copy of a certain declaration drawn and sent abroad by Bradford, &c., see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 550—553.]

\(^4\) [Strype is in error in attributing this letter to have been sent to Cranmer. It was addressed to Bradford, and is given in the Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, pp. 363—366, from Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs. It is also found in Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 428.]
could not; but trusted He, whose cause they had in hand, would put them in mind to do that which should be most for His glory, the profit of his flock, and their own salvation." It came at length to that forwardness, that Weston and his complices had taken out the commission. And it was easy to obtain such a commission at such a lord chancellor's hands. And they were likely speedily to put in execution. Hooper, who seemed to have the first notice of it, sent the intelligence in a letter to Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, and Philpot, prisoners in the King's Bench.¹ He shewed them what his advice was, and desired them to consult among themselves what course were best to be taken. His own thoughts were, considering what foul play the three learned men had at Oxford, and which they were like to have themselves at this disputation:—I. Because they did commonly make false allegations of the doctors, and took pieces and scraps of them to prove their tenets, against the real mind and sense of those authors, they should, therefore, refuse wholly to dispute, unless they might have books present before them. II. To have sworn notaries, to take things spoken indifferently, which would be hard to have, the adversaries having the oversight of all things; and so would make theirs better, and the Protestants' worse. III. If they perceived, when they were disputing, that two or three, or more, spake together, and used taunts and scoffs, as they did at Oxford, then to refuse to dispute any longer; but to appeal to be heard before the queen and the whole Council. Whereby this benefit would happen, that they should be delivered from the commissioners, appointed to hear and judge them, who meant nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently, being all enemies already unto the Protestants, and their cause, and at a point to give sentence against them. And then many at the court might be strengthened, who know the truth already; and others better informed who erred rather of zeal than malice; and a third sort, that be indurate, might be answered fully to their shame. He knew, he said, the adversaries would deny their appeal; but yet he advised to challenge it, and to take witness thereof, of such as

¹ [This letter is given by Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 664, 665.]
should be present, and require, for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the queen and Council, or else before all the Parliament, as it was used in King Edward’s days. So wise and wary now were they. But I do not find that this project of the Papists went further.

And let us return, and visit these three faithful prisoners of Jesus Christ. After their disputation and condemnation, their servants were discharged, that so they might not have any conference, or intelligence of anything abroad. But God provided for every one of them, instead of their servants, faithful fellows, that would be content to hear and see, and do for them whatsoever they could; as Ridley wrote in a letter to Bradford.¹ To these fathers also came supplies of meat, money, and shirts, from London, not only from such as were of their acquaintance, but from strangers, with whom they had no acquaintance; doing it for God’s sake, and His Gospel’s.² The bailiffs so watched them now, that they would not suffer them to have any conferences among themselves. The scholars of that university seemed universally against them. Which Ridley, in a letter to his friend Bradford, could not but take notice of, calling it “a wonderful thing, that, among so many, never yet scholar offered any of them, so far as he knew, any manner of favour, either for, or in Christ’s cause.”³ They had all things common among them, as meat, money, and whatever one had, that might do another good.

Neither of them now in prison were idle. Old Latimer read the New Testament through seven times deliberately, while he was a prisoner. Cranmer busied himself earnestly in vindication of his writings of the Sacrament against Winchester, under the name of “Marcus Constantius.” And so did Ridley, who in two treatises, which he now made, shewed how Winchester varied from other Papists in eighteen articles, and from himself in eighteen more.⁴ And a third paper he wrote, shewing several things Winchester yielded unto, concerning the spiritual use of the Sacrament.⁵

¹ [See Parker Society’s edition of Ridley’s Works, p. 365.]
² [Id. ibid.]
³ [Id. p. 364.]
⁵ [Id. vol. vii. p. 602.]
Fox hath set down these in his history, and preserved them to us; these collections of Ridley falling into his hands. Ridley also wrote, while he was a prisoner in Oxford, "De Abominationibus Sedia Romanae, et Pontificum Romanorum;" and annotations more large upon Tunstal's first book (of "Transubstantiation," I suppose); and more sparingly upon the second. He was now also diligent to set others on work for the exposing false religion; desiring one Grimbold to translate Laurentius Valla's book, which he made and wrote against the fable of Constantine's donation and glorious exaltation of the see of Rome. And, having done that, he would have had him to translate a work of Æness Sylvius, "De Gestiis Basilensis Concilii;" "in the which although," said he, "there be many things that favour of the pan, yet I dare say the Papists would glory but a little to see such books go forth in English." He directed Austin Bernher, Latimer's servant, to recommend these works unto Grimbold, who had been his chaplain, and a man, as Ridley gave him the character, of much eloquence, both in English and Latin, (but he compiled and subscribed). And he also bade Austin tell Grimbold, "that if he would know where to have these books, he might find them in a work set forth by Ortwinus Gratius, entitled, "Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum." And added, "that if such things had been set forth in our English tongue heretofore, he supposed great good might have come to Christ's Church thereby."

But we have not yet mentioned all the pieces that Ridley wrote in prison. For, besides those above mentioned, were these following. I. A little treatise, which was jointly composed by him and Latimer in the Tower, (which is preserved in Fox), with the letters N. R. before Ridley's sayings, and H. L. before Latimer's. II. A draught, which he drew out of the Evangelists and St. Paul, shewing thence that the words of the Lord's Supper are figuratively to be understood, alleging out of the doctors, three of the Greek church, Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodoret; and three of the Latin, Tertullian, Augustine, and Gelasius. III. Three positions to the third question propounded in Oxford, concerning the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. IV. His

1 [Coverdale's] "Letters of the Martyrs," [pp. 52, 53].
disputation in the schools, as he wrote it, after it was over.
V. A letter, "Ad Fratres in diversis carceribus." All
these fell into the hands of the Papists by this mishap, or
treachery. Grimbold, expressing a great desire to have
everything that Ridley had writ during his imprisonment,
Mr. Shipside, Ridley’s brother-in-law, procured and sent
him all those writings before mentioned; but they were all
seized, whether in Grimbold’s possession, or in the sending
them to him, it was uncertain. Some suspected Grimbold
himself; but others rather the messenger; for it would not
enter into Shipside’s head that Grimbold should play such
a Judas’ part.

CHAPTER XII.

A Parliament. Pole reconciles the Realm.

Great care was now to be taken of getting Parliament
men that might do what was to be laid before them, now
the Pope’s legate was to be received, and the last Parlia-
ment failing expectation. Therefore, letters were despatched
from the queen, and interests made all the nation over, to
procure such persons to be elected as should be named to
them. In a manuscript, containing divers orders that were
sent into Norfolk in Queen Mary’s time, there is a letter
from that queen, anno 2°, dated October 6, to the earl of
Sussex, directing him to assist in choosing such men to sit
in Parliament, “as were of wise, grave, and Catholic sort;
such as indeed meant the true honour of God, with the
prosperity of the nation. The advancement whereof we,
(as the letter runneth), and our dear husband the king,
do chiefly profess and intend, without alteration of any
man’s particular possession, as, amongst other false rumours,
the hinderers of our good purposes, and favourers of heres-
sies, do most utterly report.” For, to make the intent of
restoring the abbey lands to be the less credited, it was
thought convenient to be laid upon the heretics. With
these general letters there seemed to go private instruc-
tions what particular men were to be set up; for, upon the
aforesaid letter, the earl of Sussex sent a letter, October 14,
to Sir Tho[mas] Wodehouse, high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, and to Sir William Wodehouse, about the elections of knights of those shires, viz.:—“That they should reserve their interests and voices for such as he should name, and that he would soon consult with them about the matter.” He then, in pursuit of the queen’s letter, recommended to the bailiff of Yarmouth, John Millicent, to be elected burgess for that town. This Parliament sat November 11.

Cardinal Pole was this summer brought to Flanders by the emperor, who had stayed him before on the way. The queen sent over the Lord Paget and the Lord Hastings to the cardinal to conduct him over, in quality of the Pope’s legate. And the same day he landed at Dover, (which was November 21), the bill passed for the taking off his attainder. Three days after he came to London, and so to Lambeth-house, which was ready prepared for his coming. Cardinal Pole, before he came into England, and in the last reign, had the reputation here ordinarily of a virtuous, sober, and learned man, and was much beloved by the English nation, as well for his qualities, as his honourable extraction. Latimer, in one of his sermons before King Edward, hath these words of him: “I never remember that man, (speaking of Pole), but I remember him with a heavy heart; a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house: so in favour, that if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the king’s proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, he had been bishop of York at this day. And he would have done much good in that part of the realm; for those quarters have always had need of learned men, and a preaching prelate.” One great author the cardinal much conversed in, was St. Hierome. Latimer wished “that he would have followed St. Hierome in his exposition of that place, ‘Come out of her, my people;’ where that father understood it of Rome, and called that city, ‘The purple whore of Babylon.’ Almighty God saith, ‘Get you from it;’ get you from Rome, saith Hierome. It were, (subjoined Latimer), more commendable to go from it, than to come to it, as Pole hath done.”

1 [See Parker Society’s edition of Latimer’s Works, vol. i. p. 173.]
2 [Id. ibid.]
Soon after his return into England, he was mighty busy in reconciling the realm to the Pope. He performed it in his own person to the Parliament, on the 30th of November, with much solemnity; and to the Convocation on the 6th of December. On which day, the Parliament being dissolved, he, the lord legate, sent for the whole Convocation of [the] upper and lower house to Lambeth, and there he absolved them all from their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, which absolution they received upon their knees. Then he gave them an exhortation, and congratulated their conversion; and so they departed.

January 28, upon the dismissal of the Convocation, the bishops and inferior clergy waited again upon the legate at Lambeth; where he willed them all to repair to their cures and charges, and exhorted them to entreat their flocks with all mildness, and to endeavour to win them by gentleness, rather than by extremity and rigour; and so let them depart.

January 28, he granted a commission to [Gardiner] the bishop of Winchester, and divers other bishops, to sit upon, and judge according to the laws lately revived against heretics, all such ministers and others that were in prison for heresy, which was done undoubtedly to take off all the eminentest of the Protestant clergy, then in hold. And the very same day, (such haste they made), they sat in commission, in St. Mary Overies church,¹ upon Rogers, Hooper, and Cardmaker. And, the next to that, upon Hooper and Rogers again, upon Taylor also, and Bradford; when the two former were formally excommunicated. The day following they sat upon Taylor and Bradford again; to which were added Farrar, Crome, and Saunders. Then they excommunicated Bradford and Saunders.²

But, that this reconciliation to the Pope and church of Rome might sound the louder in all parts and corners of the nation, and all persons everywhere might make their formal submissions to the Pope, and thankfully take the mighty benefit of his yoke upon them again, the legate was not contented to reconcile the nation himself under their representatives in the Parliament and Convocation; but, upon

¹ [St. Saviour's, Southwark.]
pretence that he could not, in his own person, pardon and reconcile all the people, therefore he granted out a commission to each bishop, in his own diocese, to do it to their respective clergy and laity, deputed in his name, and by his authority derived from the Pope.

Such a commission he granted, February 8, to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, that see being then held vacant: "Therein authorizing them to absolve all manner of persons, as well lay as ecclesiastics, religious as secular, from their schism, heresies, and errors, and from all censures due thereupon. And to dispense with the clergy upon divers irregularities; as with such who had received orders from schismatical bishops, or had been collated into their livings by them. To dispense also with the religious and regulars for departing from their cloisters without the Pope’s license, permitting them to wear the habit of priests, and to serve cures, considering the scarcity of priests, and to live out of their cloisters. Also, to dispense with priests that had married wives, though they were widows, or women defiled, and with such who had been twice married, doing penance and forsaking their wives. Allowing them to minister at the altar, and to serve cures, provided it were out of the dioceses where they were married. The said bishops, by this commission, were also empowered to grant, to fit rectors and curates, a power to reconcile and absolve their respective parishes." This commission I have placed in the Appendix,¹ as it was transcribed out of the Register of the church of Canterbury.

The lord legate also, for the better discharging of this his mighty office, gave out his instructions how the bishops and officials of the vacant sees should perform this work of the reconciliation, deputed to them by the said legate, together with the form of absolution to be pronounced. Which instructions and form, as they were extracted from the said Register, may be found in the Appendix.² Each bishop was to call before him the clergy of his respective city, and to instruct them in divers things; as, concerning the Pope’s fatherly love and charity towards the English nation, in sending Cardinal Pole his legate hither, as soon as he knew the Lady Mary was declared queen, to bring

¹ No. LXXX.
² No. LXXXI.
this kingdom, so long separated from the Catholic Church, into union with it, and to comfort and restore them to the grace of God; concerning the joyful coming of the said legate; concerning what was done the last Parliament, when the Lords and Commons were reconciled; and concerning the repealing of all the laws made against the authority of the Roman see by the two last kings, and restoring obedience to the Pope and church of Rome, concerning the authority restored likewise to the bishops, especially that they might proceed against heretics and schismatics. Then the bishops were to acquaint their clergy with the faculties yielded to them by the legate; which were to be read openly. Then all that were lapsed into error and schism were to be invited humbly to crave absolution and reconciliation, and dispensations as well for their orders as for their benefices. Next, a day was fixed when the clergy were to appear and petition for the said absolutions and dispensations. On which day, after they had confessed their errors, and sacramentally promised that they would make confession of the same to the bishop himself, or some other Catholic priests, and to perform the penance that should be enjoined them; then the bishop was to reconcile them, and to dispense with their irregularities, always observing a distinction between those that only fell into schism and error, and those who were the teachers of them, and leaders of others into sin. The same time was to be appointed another day for a solemn festival, wherein the bishops and curates, in their churches should signify to the people all that the bishops before had spoken to their clergy, and then should invite them all to confess their errors, and to return into the bosom of the Church, promising them that all their past crimes should be forgiven if so be they repented of them, and renounced them. And a certain term was to be fixed, namely, the whole octaves of Easter, within which term all should come and be reconciled. But, the time to be reconciled in being lapsed, all that remained unreconciled, as also all that returned to their vomit after they had been reconciled, were to be most severely proceeded against.

The said bishops and officials, where any sees were vacant, were to name and depute the rectors of the parish churches, and other fit persons, who should absolve the laity of their
parishes from heresy, and schism, and censures, according to a form to be given them by the bishops.

The bishops, and officials, and curates were to have each a book, in which were to be writ the names and parishes of all that were reconciled, that it might afterwards be known who were reconciled, and who were not.

After the octave of Easter was past, the bishops were to visit, first their cities, and then their dioceses, and to summon before them all such as had not been reconciled; and to know of them the cause why they would not depart from their errors; and, remaining obstinate in them, they were to proceed against them.

In this visitation all the clergy were to be required to show the titles of their orders and benefices, and notice was to be taken if any defect were therein. And now the bishops were to take care to root out any errors in their dioceses, and to depute fit persons to make sermons, and hear confessions. They were also to take care to have the sacred canons observed, and to have inserted into the books of service the name of St. Thomas the Martyr, and of the Pope, formerly blotted out, and to pray for the Pope, according as it was used before the schism.

They were advised to insist much upon the great miseries we were in before, and the great grace that God now had shewed to this people, exhorting them to acknowledge these mercies, and devoutly to pray for the king and queen, that had deserved so exceedingly well of this kingdom, and especially to pray for a happy offspring from the queen.

In these instructions there are several strictures, that make it appear Pole was not so gentle towards the heretics, (as the professors of the gospel were then styled), as is reported, but rather the contrary; and that he went hand in hand with the bloody bishops of these days. For it is plain here, that he put the bishops upon proceeding with them according to the sanguinary laws lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of inquisition by him set up, whereby not a man might escape that stood not well affected to Popery! I mean, his ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of all such were to be written, that, in every place and parish in England were reconciled; and so, who-
soever were not found in those books might be known to be no friends to the Pope, and so to be proceeded against. And indeed, after Pole's crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation, all that good opinion that men had before conceived of him vanished, and they found themselves much mistaken in him, especially seeing so many learned and pious Gospel bishops and ministers imprisoned and martyred under him and by his commission. Insomuch that now people spake of him as bad as of the Pope himself, or the worst of his cardinals. The Gospellers before this did use to talk much among themselves, that he did but dissemble at Rome in his present outward compliances with them and their superstitions; and that he would, upon a good opportunity, shew himself an open professor of the truth. And indeed he often had conferences before him of Christ, and of the Gospel, of a living faith, and justification by faith alone; and he often would wish the true doctrine might prevail. But now the mask was taken off, and he shewed himself what he was. A notable letter to this purpose was written, concerning the cardinal, about this time, by a pious Italian to his friend, who had conceived these good opinions of him. This I have put in the Appendix, and the rather, because it will give some light into our present history.

CHAPTER XIII.

A Convocation. Articles framed therein.

At a Convocation the latter end of this year, an address was made by the lower house to the upper, wherein they petitioned for divers things, in twenty-eight articles, meet to be considered for the reformation of the clergy. One whereof was, "That all books, both Latin and English, concerning any heretical, erroneous, or slanderous doctrines, might be destroyed and burnt throughout the realm." And among these books they set Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, his book, made against the sacrament

¹ No. LXXXII.
of the altar, in the forefront; and then, next, the "Schismatical Book," as they called it, viz. the Communion Book. To which they subjoined the book of ordering ecclesiastical ministers, and all suspect translations of the Old and New Testament; and all other books of that nature. So that, if Cranmer's book was burnt, it was burnt with very good company—the Holy Bible, and the Communion Book. And that such as had these books should bring the same to the ordinary by a certain day, or otherwise to be taken and reputed as favourers of those doctrines. And that it might be lawful for all bishops to make inquiry, from time to time, for such books, and to take them from the owners. And, for the repressing of such pestilent books, order should be taken with all speed, that none such should be printed or sold within the realm, nor brought from beyond sea, upon grievous penalties. And from another article we may learn from what spring all the bloody doings that followed the ensuing years sprang; namely, from the Popish clergy. For they petitioned, "That the statutes made in the fifth of Richard II. and in the second of Henry IV. and the second of Henry V. against heresy, Lollards, and false preachers, might be revived, and put in force. And that bishops, and other ecclesiastical ordinaries [whose hands had been tied by some later acts], might be restored to their pristine jurisdiction against heretics, schismatics, and their factors, in as large and ample manner as they were in the first year of Henry VIII." I shall not recite here the whole address, as I find it in a volume of the Benet College library,¹ because the bishop of Sarum hath faithfully printed it thence in his history.² Only I observe, that the 17th article is in the manuscript scratched out and crossed; viz. "That all exempt places whatsoever might be from henceforth under the jurisdiction of the archbishop or bishop, or archdeacon, in whose dioceses or archdeaconries they were." That they judged might grate a little too much upon the Pope's authority, which they were now receiving, since these exemptions were made by popes. And the last, or 28th article, was added by another hand; viz. "That all

¹ Intit. Synodalia [C.C.C. MSS. No. cxxi. fol. 33, et 55].
ecclesiastical persons that had lately spoiled cathedral, collegiate, or other churches, of their own heads, might be compelled to restore them, and all and singular things by them taken away, or to the true value, and to re-ediﬁy such things as by them were destroyed or defaced." This I suppose was added by Bonner's interest, that he might hereby have a pretence against Ridley, his predecessor; it affording a fair opportunituy to crush the good bishops and preachers that had, in zeal to God's glory, taken away out of their churches all instruments of superstition and idolatry. And it might serve their turn, who had lately, in a most barbarous manner, plundered the rich archbishop of York.

And as they of this Convocation were for burning heretics' books, so they were as well disposed to the burning of the heretics themselves. For Protestants were already not only imprisoned, but put to death, without any warrant of law, but only by virtue of commissions from the queen and the lord chancellor. Whereupon, when one in the Convocation started this objection, "That there was no law to condemn them," Weston, the prolocutor, answered, "It forceth not for a law; we have a commission to proceed with them; and, when they be despatched, let their friends sue the law."

CHAPTER XIV.

The Condition of the Protestants in Prison. Freewillers.

By this time, by the diligence of the Papists, the Popish religion was fully established in England. This apostasy Cranmer saw with a sad heart before his death, and all his labour overturned. And Ridley sends the bad news of it from Oxon to Grindal, beyond sea, in these words: "To tell you much naughty matter in a few words, ' Papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.'"

As for the Protestants, some were put in prisons, some escaped beyond sea, some went to mass, and some recanted,

and many were burned, and ended their lives in the flames for religion's sake.

They that were in prison, whereof Cranmer was the chief, being the pastors and teachers of the flock, did what in them lay to keep up the religion, under this persecution, among the professors, which made them write many comfortable and instructive letters to them, and send them their advices, according as opportunity served.

One thing there now fell out, which caused some disturbance among the prisoners. Many of them that were under restraint for the profession of the Gospel, were such as held free-will, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and refused the doctrine of absolute predestination, and original sin. They were men of strict and holy lives, but very hot in their opinions and disputations, and unquiet. Divers of them were in the King's Bench, where Bradford, and many other Gospellers were. Many whereof by their conferences they gained to their own persuasions. Bradford had much discourse with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart, who had writ something in defence of his doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers also among them; Kemp, Gibson, and Chamberlain, were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagius did, and valued no learning; and the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and despised. Bradford was apprehensive that they might now do great harm in the Church, and therefore out of prison wrote a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the three chief heads of the reformed, (though oppressed), church in England, to take some cognizance of this matter, and to consult with them in remedying it. And with him joined Bishop Ferrar, Rowland Taylor, and John Philpot. This letter, worthy to be read, may be found among the letters of the martyrs, and transcribed in the Appendix. 1 Upon this occasion, Ridley wrote a treatise of "God's Election and Predestination." 2 And Bradford wrote another upon the same subject; 3 and sent it to those

---

1 No. LXXXIII.
2 [This treatise has, unhappily, perished; see Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, in biograph. notice, p. xvi.]
three fathers in Oxford for their approbation: and, theirs being obtained, the rest of the eminent divines, in and about London, were ready to sign it also.

I have seen another letter of Bradford to certain of these men, who were said to hold the error of the Pelagians and Papists concerning man's free-will, and were then prisoners with him in the King's Bench. By which letter it appeared, that Bradford had often resorted to them, and conferred with them; and, at his own charge and hinderance, had done them good. But, seeing their obstinacy and clamours against him, he forbore to come at them any more; but yet wrote letters to them, and sent them relief. They told him, "he was a great slander to the church of God," in respect of his doctrine, "in that he believed and affirmed the salvation of God's children to be so certain, that they should assuredly enjoy the same." For they said, "it hanged partly upon our perseverance to the end." Bradford said, "it hung upon God's grace in Christ, and not upon our perseverance in any point: for then were grace no grace." 1 They charged him that he was not so kind to them as he ought in the distribution of the charity-money, that was then sent by well-disposed persons to the prisoners in Christ [of which Bradford was the purse-bearer]; but he assured them "he never defrauded them of the value of a penny," and at that time sent them at once thirteen shillings and fourpence; and, "if they needed as much more, he promised that they should have it." 2 But, abating these little casual heats and peevishnesses, there was a good Christian correspondence maintained among them. The forementioned holy man advised them, "that though in some things they agreed not, yet let love bear the bell away; and let us pray," said he, "one for another, and be careful one for another." He said, "that he was persuaded of them, that they feared the Lord; and therefore he loved them. I have loved you in Him, my dear hearts, though you have taken it otherwise, without cause on me given." He added, "that he had not suffered any copy of his treatise of 'Predestination' to go abroad, because

was in all probability that above referred to, and to which the letter in the Appendix refers.] 1 [Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, pp. 500, 501.] 2 [Id. p. 365.]
he would suppress all occasion so far as might be. I am going," said he, "before you to my God and your God, to my Father and your Father, to my Christ and your Christ, to my home and your home." 1

By Bradford's pains and diligence he gained some from their errors; and particularly one Skelthorp; for whom, in a letter to Careless, he thanked God, who gave this man to see the truth at the length, and to give place to it; hoping that he would be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance might thereby think themselves gone astray.2

Careless also, another eminent martyr, as well as Bradford, had much conference with these men, prisoners with him in the King's Bench. Of whose contentiousness he complained in a letter to Philpot. And there is extant an answer of Philpot to Careless about them; where he writes, "That he was sorry to hear of the great trouble which these schismatics did daily put him to, and wished that he were with him in part, to release his grief. He bade him take his advice, and to be patient, whatsoever his adversaries could say or do against him; that he should commit the success of his labours [in rightly informing these men] unto God; and not to cease, with charity, to do his endeavour in the defence of the truth, against these arrogant and self-willed blinded scatterers. That these sects were necessary for the trial of our faith, and for the beautifying thereof, not to be perverted with them that were perverse and intractable. That he should show as much modesty and humility as he might possible; and that then others, seeing his modest conversation among these contentious babblers, should glorify God in the truth of him, and the more abhor them. That he should be content that Shimei do rail at David, and cast stones a while. That he should desire all the brethren, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to keep the bond of peace, which is the unity of Christ's Church; to let no root of bitterness spring up, which the devil, with all his diligence, seeketh to thrust in among the children of God. To kiss one another with the kiss of unseigned brotherly love, and to take one

1 Martyrs' Letters [Coverdale, p. 368].
2 [Id. p. 287.]
another by the hand cheerfully, and say, Let us take up our cross together, and go to the mount of Calvary."  

This contention could not be laid asleep amongst them, notwithstanding the grievous tribulations they endured for the same cause of religion. They wrote also against one another; for, in 1556, Careless wrote a confession of his faith, some part whereof favoured absolute predestination against free-will. This confession he sent unto the Protestant prisoners in Newgate from the King's Bench, where he lay. Whereunto they generally subscribed, and particularly twelve that were a little before condemned to die. Hart, having gotten a copy of this confession, on the backside thereof wrote his confession in opposition thereunto. When they in Newgate had subscribed Careless' confession, this Hart propounded his unto them; and he, with one Kemp and Gibson, would have persuaded them from the former to the latter, but prevailed not. One Chamberlain also wrote against it. I do not meet with this confession; only I find one article was, "that the second book of Common Prayer, set forth in King Edward's days, was good and godly; but that the Church of Christ hath authority to enlarge and diminish things in the same book, so far forth as it is agreeable to Scripture." This paper of Careless' confession, with the answer wrote on the back-side by Hart, fell by some accident into the hands of Dr. Martin, a great Papist, who took occasion hence to scoff at the professors of the Gospel, because of these divisions and various opinions amongst them. But Careless, before the said Martin, disowned Hart, and said that he had seduced and beguiled many a simple soul with his foul Pelagian opinions, both in the days of King Edward, and since his departure.²

Besides these anti-predestinarians, there were some few, who lay in prison for the Gospel, were Arians, and disbelieved the divinity of Jesus Christ. Two of these lay in the King's Bench. These different opinions occasioned such unseemly quarrelsome disputes and heats among them, that the marshal was fain to separate them from one another. And, in 1556, the noise of this reached to the

1 [Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, pp. 188, 189.]
Council; who, the better to know the matters controverted between them, sent Dr. Martin to the King's Bench to examine it.

These were some of the transactions that passed among the prisoners. Another matter concerning them deserves relating, which was this: they boldly and bravely made a declaration to the queen and Parliament that sat this year: taxing them for overthrowing, (as they had lately done), the laws of King Henry and King Edward, and the Reformation so maturely and deliberately made, and after the rejection of a religion, which, as they said, there was not a parish in England desired to have restored again. They offered likewise to maintain the homilies and service, set forth in King Edward's days, before them, either by writing, or by disputation in the English tongue. By whom this declaration was drawn up, unless by John Bradford, I know not; for I meet with it in a MS. which contains divers pieces of that good man. This remarkable declaration I have reposed in the Appendix.¹ This, now, is the second time a public challenge was made to justify King Edward's Reformation; the former, the last year, by Cranmer; the latter now, by divers of the learned men in prison.

After they had lain fifteen or sixteen months thus in prison, their livings, houses, and possessions, goods and books taken from them, they made such another address unto the king and queen, and the Parliament; therein undertaking, either by word or writing, before them, or indifferent arbiters to be appointed by them, to prove themselves no heretics, nor teachers of heresy, as they were pretended to be, nor cut off from the true Catholic church, (though by the Popish clergy excommunicated); and, secondly, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, and apostles, and the godly fathers of the Church, to prove the doctrine of the Church, the homilies and service, taught and used in King Edward's time, to be the true doctrine of Christ's Catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith. And this was the third public challenge they made. This being preserved in Fox's Acts, I forbear to transcribe it.²

¹ No. LXXXIV. ² Edit. 1610, p. 1348 [vol. vi. pp. 589, 590].
CHAPTER XV.

The Exiles, and their Condition.

But let us now turn our eyes from the prisoners, which were kept under close confinement here in England, unto the exiles, that, by the good providence of God, made their flight into foreign countries from these storms at home. These were both of the clergy and laity, who, though great watch was laid for them, and prohibitions given out against any that should privately attempt to transport themselves, yet, by taking their opportunities, and the favour of divers masters of small vessels at Lee, in Essex, and upon the coasts in those parts, they safely got to the other side of the sea.

They scattered themselves, and took up their harbours as they could. But they found little hospitality in Saxony, and other places in Germany, where Lutheranism was professed. But, on the contrary, the exile English were much hated by those of that profession, because they looked upon them as Sacramentaries, and holding as Calvin and Peter Martyr did in the doctrine of the Sacrament. Therefore, when any English came among them for shelter, they expelled them out of their cities. And when a grave pastor of Saxony, (a friend of Peter Martyr's, who, though he were a minister, yet was not of their mind), had entertained some of them, the rest clamoured against him, and hated him for it. About this time, the Saxon divines wrote many books against the Sacramentaries; and namely, one Joachim Westphalus wrote a book against Calvin. And he and the rest got these books printed at Frankfort, on purpose, as Martyr conjectured, the more to spite the English and French churches that abode now there, and to provoke them.

At Wessel, the English were under some trouble; and the senate were about to command them to depart thence, because of their different sentiments from the Augustan Confession in some points. But Philip Melancthon interposed,

and interceded with the senate on their behalf. And, when some clamoured against them, he took their part, saying, “That their case ought to be weighed by friendly disputations, and not exploded by noise and hissing; and declared his judgment to be, that these poor exiles were to be retained and helped, not afflicted and vexed by any rough sentence.” He wrote also to the governors of Frankfort to the same purpose, viz.: “That the English were not to be oppressed, but to be cherished, considering their sentiments were sound in the main articles of the Christian confession; and that, whereas they differed in some points, they were to be instructed and informed, and not to be rudely thrown out from among them by force and violence.”

And, indeed, it was admirable to observe at this time the exceeding heats that were in the Lutherans against all other Protestants, only for differing from them in this one point of the sacrament. There was a book published in the year 1555, in favour of their opinion of the corporeal presence, which was called, “Farrago Doctrinæ Lutheranæ.” This P. Martyr called *valde insulsa*—a very foolish book. It contained a collection of sentences out of the Fathers, and also out of the writings of Luther, Philip, Brentius, Pomeran, &c. They added some out of Bucer, Illyricus, and Joachim Westphalus, to shew that they agreed together. They inserted divers letters, sometime writ against the Sacramentaries. Indeed Calvin and Martyr they mentioned not by name, but à Lasco they did. In this book there was a discourse added under this title, “Quod Christi corpus sit ubique;” which was to serve as a proof of their doctrine. And in the conclusion there was a common-place, “De magistratus officio,” which was thought to be put in upon no other reason, but to inflame and irritate princes against the Sacramentaries. These Saxon divines were exceeding hot against those that believed not as they did: in their ordinary discourses they styled them *Heretics, False Prophets, Suermeros, Sacramentiperdas*. About this time they were gathering new votes against Calvin, and, as it was thought, they intended to attempt some excommunication against such as differed from them in this point. And this that I have said is enough to explain
the reason of the inhospitality of the Lutherans to our exiles.

But in other places they were received with much kindness, and had the liberty of their religious worship granted them; as in Strasburgh, Frankfort, Embden, Duisburg, Basle, Zurich, Arrau, Geneva.

At Zurich they were received into one house with Bullinger, and had great favour and countenance shewn them by the townsmen and magistrates, who offered them, by Bullinger, to supply them with such a quantity of bread-corn and wine as should serve to sustain thirteen or fourteen people. But they with thanks refused it, having, I suppose, wherewith to subsist otherwise of themselves, and being willing to be as little burdensome as might be.

In these places some followed their studies, some taught schools, some wrote books, some assisted at the printing-press, and grew very dear to the learned men in those places. At Embden, they having gotten among them, by Sir John Cheke's means, as was thought, an original copy of Archbishop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, translated it into Latin, and printed it there with a preface before it. And there they preserved the said original, as a most invaluable treasure. Here they printed other good books in English, and conveyed them into England. At Geneva a club of them employed themselves in translating the Holy Bible into English, intending to do it with more correctness than had hitherto been done, having the opportunity of consulting with Calvin and Beza in order thereunto. What they performed may be perceived by the Bible that goes under the name of the Geneva Bible at this day. It was in those days, when it first came forth, better esteemed of than of later times. At Frankfort, where they had great countenance of the magistrates of the city, arose great contentions and quarrels among themselves about the discipline of the church, and in framing a new service, different from what was before set forth in King Edward's reign, to be used in the public congregation: which new service came nearer to the form of the church of Geneva.

1 [This Latin version of "Cranmer's Book of the Sacrament" will be found in the Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. i. Appendix.]
This occasioned great troubles, animosities, and separations, to the discredit of themselves and the Reformation. These matters may be seen at large in the "Troubles at Frankfort." There is one thing which, that book making, I think, no mention of, I will here relate. Some of the English upon this dissension carried their children to be baptized by Lutheran priests; for though the Lutherans were against the poor exiles, they thought so well of them, as to be willing their children should be initiated into the church by their ministry. The occasion whereof seemed to be, that, in the divisions of this church, one party would not let their children be baptized by the English minister. This causing a new disturbance, some wrote to the great divine, P. Martyr, now at Argentine, for his resolution of this question: "An liceat hominibus evangelicis baptismum a Lutheranis accipere." To this he answered in a letter to the church, disapproving of their doings; telling them, "That the way to heal their differences was, to bring their children to be baptized in such churches, with which they agreed in faith and doctrine." So that this created a new quarrel among them; for some held it unlawful to receive baptism from those that were not orthodox in their doctrine; and others again thought it lawful. And this made them send to Martyr for his judgment, as aforesaid, who wrote, "That he would not say it was unlawful, for that it could not be judged by the Word of God; but he disliked the practice, and propounded divers arguments against it." Those that were for it, said, "It was an indifferent thing." To which Martyr made this reply, "That indifferent things were not to be used to the scandal of the weak." They said, "The difference was not so great between us in the matter of the sacrament." But Martyr said, "It was of great moment, because in it there was a contest concerning the chief head of religion." They added, "That the Lutheran divines did think, in the matter of baptism, as they did." But Martyr answered, "That they were mistaken; for those divines affirmed more of the sacrament than is fit; and tied the grace of God to baptism; and that they thought

[This work has recently been republished, in a reprint from the black-letter edition of 1575.]
there was no salvation without baptism; and that they affirmed that infants had faith.”

To the exiles residing here at Frankfort, some, in the year 1555, conveyed Gardiner’s book against Cranmer, entitled “Marcus Antonius,” with Ridley’s answer to the objections of that book, and a treatise in English of transubstantiation, wrote by the same Ridley. This last they intended to turn into Latin, and so to print both. But, on second thoughts, they demurred upon it; fearing it might enrage Gardiner the more against Ridley, who was yet alive. Whereupon Grindal wrote to him to know his mind therein before they proceeded to print.

Many of the fugitives took up their residence at Basle upon two reasons; one was, because the people of that city were especially very kind and courteous unto such English as came thither for shelter; the other, because those that were of slenderer fortunes might have employment in the printing-houses there, the printers in Basle in this age having the reputation of exceeding all others of that art throughout Germany, for the exactness and elegance of their printing. And they rather chose Englishmen for the overseers and correctors of their presses, being noted for the most careful and diligent of all others. Whereby many poor scholars made a shift to subsist in these hard times.

Indeed, many of these exiles assisted in promoting of learning and religion, by publishing to the world their own or other men’s writings.

John Scory, that had been bishop of Chichester, wrote a very comfortable epistle unto all the faithful that were in prison, or in any other trouble for the defence of God’s truth; printed in the year 1555. He was preacher to the English congregation at Embden, and styled their superintendent. From hence this, and many other good books, were sent into England, by certain persons, to be dispersed about in London and other places. There was one Elizabeth Young that came thence with a book, called “Anti-christ,” and several others, who was taken up for bringing in prohibited and heretical books, and endured much trouble. ¹

There was also another, named Thomas Bryce, that brought books from Wesel into Kent and London; he was watched

¹ [See Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 536—548.]
and dogged, but escaped several times. Sir John Baker, a Kentish man, and a great Papist, and a courtier, laid his spies to attack him.  

John Old printed a book at Waterford, 1555, entitled, "The Acquittal, or Purgation of the most Catholic Christian Prince, Edward VI. against all such as blasphemously and traitorously infamed him, or the Church in his Reign, of Heresy or Sedition." The writing of this book was occasioned from the preachers of England in Queen Mary's time, in their sermons at St. Paul's Cross, and in other pulpits; "spewing out," as the book expresseth it, "with scolding, roaring, and railing, the poison of Antichrist's traditions; and infaming the order, form, and use of preaching, prayers and administration of the holy sacraments, set forth and exercised by common authority in the church of England, reformed under the government of Edward VI., and vilely slandering of his father, King Henry VIII., for banishing the violent usurped power and supremacy of the Romish ancient Antichrist for his brother's known wife, and for taking justly upon him the title and estate of supremacy, incident and appertaining, by the undoubted ordinance of God, to his regal office and imperial crown."

Thomas Sampson, formerly dean of Chichester, wrote an epistle to the inhabitants of Alhallows, Bread-street, where, in King Edward's time, he had been incumbent.

William Turner, doctor of physic, and that had been physician in the duke of Somerset's family, and after dean of Wells, another exile, put forth a book, anno 1555, called "A new Book of Spiritual Physic for divers Diseases of the Nobility and Gentlemen of England;" dedicating it to divers of the chief nobility. It consisted of three parts. In the first, he shewed who were noble and gentlemen, and how many works and properties belong unto such, and wherein their office chiefly standeth. In the second part, he shewed great diseases were in the nobility and gentry, which letted them from doing their office. In the third part, he specified what the diseases were: as namely, the whole palsy, the dropsy, the Romish pox, and the leprosy; shewing afterward the remedies against these diseases. For, being a very facetious man, he delivered his reproofs and

[Id. vol. viii. p. 578.]
counsels under witty and pleasant discourse. He wrote also "The Hunting of the Romish Fox."

John Jewel, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, assisted Peter Martyr at Strasburgh in setting out his Commentaries upon the Book of Judges; who, being public reader of divinity there, had first read those Commentaries, and had many learned Englishmen for his auditors; as Poinet, Grindal, Sands, Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cook, and divers other knights and gentlemen, as well as divines. And, when he was removed to Zurich to succeed Pelican, he took Jewel with him thither. In Frankfort there happening, as was said before, unhappy contentions about ceremonies and matters of discipline, (and it was feared that these dissensions might spread themselves into the other fraternities in Zurich and other places), Jewel's great business was to allay these animosities, partly by letters and partly by his own verbal exhortations, "that they should, as brethren, lay aside strife and emulation, especially for such small matters; that they would hereby offend the minds of all good men; which things they ought to have a special heed of." Some who seemed more complaining and uneasy at these things, he exhorted to patience, admonishing, "that we ought not to leap from the smoke into the fire; and that we ought to bear a part in Christ's cross, and to consider how much better it was with them than with their poor brethren, that endured tortures in England." And he would often repeat to them, "Bear awhile then; things will not endure an age."

Thomas Becon, formerly a minister in Canterbury, and well known to the archbishop, wrote an epistle in his exile, and sent it to certain godly brethren in England, declaring in it the causes of all the miseries and calamities that were fallen upon England; how they might be redressed, and what a merciful Lord our God is to all faithful penitent sinners, that unfeignedly turn to Him. This epistle was brought into England, and read of the brethren in their religious meetings, not without fruit. In this epistle he added a supplication to God, at good length, "for the restoring of his holy word to the Church of England; wherein the devout Christian complaineth his grief and sorrow to his Lord for taking away the light of Christ's
Gospel; and, Humbly acknowledging his fault, and worthy punishment, most heartily wisheth the subversion of Antichrist's kingdom, and the restitution of Christ's most glorious kingdom in this realm." He wrote also an epistle to the massing priests, wherein he shewed what a wicked idol the mass was, and what a difference there was between the Lord's Supper and that; and what popes brought in every part of the mass, and put them together, as it was then used.

Laurence Humfrey, while he was in exile, wrote a book in Latin, intituled, "Optimates," being instructions for noblemen, in three books. It was printed at Basle by Oporinus, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, soon after her entrance upon her kingdom. The reason of this his discourse was out of a universal love to mankind, and desire to better the condition of the world, whose welfare depended so much upon the sobriety and virtue of those of noble rank and quality: "Since nobility, as he wrote, widely spread itself through all the regions and coasts of Christendom, and was preferred to places of trust and honour in all princes' courts, and was the very nerve and strength of commonwealths; and since from it issued the greatest helps or hinderances to the public safety, pure religion, the lives and manners of men; therefore he thought, the gentry and nobility being imbued with right and Christian opinions, not formed to the corrupt rules of antiquity, kings would govern better, the ministers of ecclesiastical matters would more faithfully perform their functions, and the common sort would more diligently discharge all necessary offices, and the whole commonweal might seem more healthfully to breathe, to live, and to recover and persist in a good constitution." Besides this excellent book both for the matter and elegance of the Latin style, he printed two or three other things at Basle; and he wrote, while he was abroad, a Commentary upon the Prophet Isaiah. But I know not whether it were published.

Bartholomew Traheron, library-keeper to King Edward, and dean of Chichester, made divers readings to the English congregation upon the beginning of St. John's Gospel; and after printed them, against the wicked enterprises of the new start-up Arians in England.

John Fox, famous to posterity for his immense labours in...
his Acts and Monuments, was received by the accurate and learned printer Oporinus of Basle, for the corrector of his press. He published, (and which, I think, was the first thing he published, and his first-fruits), a Chronological History of the Church. The first part from the first times unto Martin Luther. This book he presented unto Oporinus, with a handsome epistle; wherein "he desired to be received by him into his service, and that he would vouch-safe to be his learned patron, under whom he might follow his studies, being one that would be content with a small salary: promising him, that, if he would employ him either there, at Basle, or at Argentine, or some university, (which he should rather choose), "Aut me," said he, "destituent omnia, aut efficiam, Christo opitulante, ut omnes politioris litterarum homines intelligent, quantum Operiano et nomini et officinae debeat."

While he was here employed by Oporinus, at spare hours he began his History of the Acts of the Church, in Latin, which he drew out more briefly at first, and, before his return home into England, well near finished. Having here completed the copy, which was but the first part of what he intended, but making a just volume in folio, he sent this work to Basle to be printed; and so it was in the year 155—. It remained many years after in those parts in great request, and was read by foreign nations; although hardly known at all by our own. Being now in peace and safety at home, Fox reviewed this his work, and in the year 1566 first published it in English very voluminous, because of those many relations of the persecutions in Queen Mary's days, that came to his hands. All this work he did himself, without the help of any amanuensis, nor had he any servant to do his necessary domestic business; being fain to be often diverted by his own private occasions from his work. He afterwards enlarged these his labours into three large volumes, which have since undergone many editions.

But to look back to what he published in his exile; there came to his hand all the trials and examinations of the learned martyr John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, drawn up by himself; and, finally, his death, being burnt in Smithfield, 1555. These things Fox put into Latin, (as he had an excellent Latin style), and printed with this title:
"Mira ac elegans cum primis historia, vel tragœdia potius, de tota ratione examinationis et condemnationis J. Philpotti Archidiaconi Wincestriae, nuper in Anglia exusti; Ab autore primum lingua sua congressa; nunc in Latinum versa, interprete J. F. A." He had also a great hand in publishing of Zonaras and Balsamon upon the Apostles’ Canons in Latin; to which he set this title: "Enarrationes, seu Commentarii in canones sanctorum apostolorum et synodorum, tum quæ universales, tum quæ provinciales; quæque item et privatim quorundam priscorum patrum proprie extiterunt. Autoribus Jo. Zonara monacho religiosæ et sanctæ Glycerae: qui prius Drungarius, seu Praefectus erat Biglæ, et summus secretarius. Atque etiam Theodoro Balsamensi; qui prius ecclesiæ Antiochææ diaconus, librarius seu custos chartarum, et praepositus Blachernensium, deinde et archiepiscopus est factus ejusdem ecclesiæ simul et totius Orientis." Which probably was a book printed at Oporinus’ press, over which he had care; and made this title, and perhaps translated it into Latin.

Here at Basle Fox was set on work by Peter Martyr to translate into Latin Archbishop Cranmer’s book of the Sacrament; that is, his large dispute with Winchester. Which Fox fell upon, while Cranmer was yet in prison. "In quo [libro] videbit spero, (saith he, in a letter to Oporinus), propediem universa Germania, quicquid de causa Eucharistica vel dici vel objici, vel excogitari a quoquam poterit." But this never saw the light, the manuscript thereof yet lying in my hands. In 1557, Fox set forth a little book, pleading the cause of the afflicted with their persecutors, and comforting the afflicted. Of which Thomas Lever, who was preacher to the English congregation at Arrau, gave this character, in a letter1 which he sent to Fox, who had presented him with this book.

"SALUTEM P. in Christo, charissime frater; literas tuas accepi, et libellum parvum, in quo magna cum eruditione, et pientissimo zelo, causam afflictorum apud persecutores tyrannis sic agis, ut omnes, qui curant aut impios admonendos, aut pios consolatione recreandos, id plene a te perfectum videant. Quod ipai bene curatum velint. Et quoniam meæ

1 Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. cccxxvii. fol. 103 b].

"Tuus fideliter in Christo, Th. Leverus."

Fox also wrote an expostulatory letter to the lords spiritual and temporal of England, to desist those barbarities that were then used towards innocent men in England, killing, burning, imprisoning, sequestering them without all mercy. The letter, so pathetically penned, deserves a place in the Appendix, for the preservation thereof.

To all these English writers, during their exile, must John Bale, the antiquarian, be added; who now published and printed in Basle his admirable book of Centuries, giving an account of the lives and writings of all such as were born, English and Scottish.

John Knokys, or Knox, another fugitive, is the last I shall mention, fearing I have been too large in this digression already. He was a Scotchman, but had lived in England, in King Edward's days, with great respect; and very zealously preached the Gospel in London, Buckinghamshire, Newcastle, Berwick, and other places of the north and south parts. He wrote now an epistle to the faithful in those places, and to all others in the realm of England. "Wherein he earnestly dissuaded them from communicating in the idolatry then established; and to flee, as well in body as spirit, having society with the idolaters, and that as they would avoid God's vengeance, as the burning of cities, laying the land waste, enemies dwelling in the strong-holds, wives and daughters defiled; and children falling by the sword, which, he assured them, would happen to the nation, because of its return to idolatry, and refusing of God's

1 No. LXXXV.
mercy, when He so long had called upon them. This his
affirmation, he said, would displease many, and content few.
But, to confirm them in the belief of what he had said, he
bade them recollect what he had formerly spoke in their
presence, and in the presence of others, a great part
whereof was then come to pass. He mentioned particularly
what he said at Newcastle and Berwick, before the sweating
sickness, and what at Newcastle, upon All-Saints' day, the
year in which the duke of Somerset was last apprehended;
and what he said before the duke of Northumberland in the
same town, and other places more. Also what he said
before the king at Windsor, Hampton-court, and West-
minster; and what he said in London, in more places than
one, when both fires and riotous banquetings were made for
the proclaiming of Queen Mary. He foretold these present
calamities; not that he delighted in them, as he said, or in
the plagues that should befall this unthankful nation. No,
his heart mourned; but if he should cease, he should then
do against his conscience and knowledge. Then he pro-
ceeded to give them the ground of this his certitude, which
he took from the Scriptures. And so, in conclusion, he
counsell’d them, as they would avoid the destruction that
was coming, that they should have nothing to do with the
abominable idol of the mass; that is, the seal of that league
which the devil had made with all the pestilent sons of
Antichrist;” as he phrased it.¹

It may be inquired how these exiles were maintained,
considering the great numbers of them, and the poverty of
many. God stirred up the bowels of the abler sort, both in
England and in the parts where they sojourned, to pity and
relieve them, by very liberal contributions conveyed unto
them from time to time. From London especially came
often very large allowances, till Bishop Gardiner, who had
his spies everywhere, got knowledge of it, and by casting the
benefactors into prison, and finding means to impoverish
them, that channel of charity was in a great measure stopped.
After this, the senators of Zurich, at the motion of Bullinger
their superintendent, opened their treasures unto them.
Besides, the great ornaments then of religion and learning,
Melancthon, Calvin, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Gesner,

¹ Fox’s MSS. [Harl. MSS. cccxxvi. fol. 47].
and others, sent them daily most comfortable letters, and
omitted no duty of love and humanity to them all the time
of their banishment. Some of the princes, and persons of
wealth and estate, sent also their benevolences; among these
was Christopher, duke of Wirtemberg, who gave at one
time to the exiled English at Strasburgh three or four
hundred dollars, besides what he gave at Frankfort; as
Grindal, bishop of London, signified to Secretary Cecil, in
the year 1563, when that prince had sent a gentleman upon
business to the queen. The bishop desired the secretary to
move the queen to make some signification to this person,
that she had heard of his master's former kindness to the
poor English, that it might appear his liberality was not alto-
gether buried in oblivion; or at least he wished some remem-
brance thereof might pass from the secretary's own mouth.

CHAPTER XVI.

Many recant. Some go to Mass.

Many of the clergy, that were very forward men under
King Edward, now by the terror of the times, recanted and
subscribed. And these were of two sorts. Some out of
weakness did it, but persisted not in it; but, as soon as
they could, revoked their subscriptions and recantations,
and, after their releases and escapes out of prison, made a
sorrowful confession in public of their falls. Of this sort
were Scory and Barlow, bishops; Jewel, and others. But
some, after their recantations, persisted in the Popish com-
munion. Of this sort were Bush and Bird, bishops; Hard-
ing, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, to whom the Lady
Jane sent an expostulatory letter; Sidal and Courtop, of
Oxon; Pendleton, West, &c. Of this last-named person
let me cast in here one or two remarks. West was in
orders, and had been steward to Bishop Ridley; of whom
the said bishop wrote thus to Grindal, then in Strasburg;
"that his old companion, and sometime his officer, relented,
but that the Lord had shortened his days."¹ For it was

¹ [See Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, p. 391.]
but a little after his compliance that he died. Fox writes the occasion of it, namely, "that when he had relented, and said mass against his conscience, he shortly after pined away, and died for sorrow." When his master, the bishop, was laid in prison for religion, he shrank away; and out of his compassion to him, being very loth, as it appeared, that his said master should be put to death, he wrote a letter to him, whereby to move him, if he could, to alter his judgment. The contents of whose letter may be gathered out of Ridley’s answer. Which answer being so excellent, I have put into the Appendix, as I transcribed it out of a manuscript. Which concluded thus, in answer to a sentence that West had concluded his with: namely, "that he must agree, or die; the bishop told him, in the word of the Lord, that if he and all the rest of his friends did not confess and maintain to their power and knowledge what was grounded upon God’s Word, but, either for fear or gain, shrank and played the apostates, they themselves should die the death." After the receipt of which answer, West, either out of compassion to his master, or rather out of anguish for his own prevarication, died within a few days himself; and his master outlived him, and writ the news thereof into Germany to Grindal, his fellow-chaplain, as was said before.

The persecution was carried on against the Gospellers with much fierceness by those of the Roman persuasion, who were generally exceeding hot as well as ignorant; chiefly headed by two most cruel-natured men, Bishop Gardiner and Bishop Bonner; in whose dioceses were London and Southwark, and the next bordering counties, wherein were the greatest numbers of professors. And the servants were of the same temper with their masters. One of Bonner’s servants swore, "by his Maker’s blood, that wheresoever he met with any of these vile heretics, he would thrust an arrow into him."

Many now, therefore, partly out of fear and terror, and

1 [Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 435, where the above remark, attributed by Strype to Fox, is said to be “Coverdale’s note.”]
2 No. LXXXVI.
3 Tim’s letter, [for which see Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 118].
partly out of other worldly considerations, did resort to mass, though they approved not of it, and yet consorted likewise with the Gospellers, holding it not unlawful so to do, viz.: "That their bodies might be there, so long as their spirits did not consent." And those that used this practice bore out themselves by certain arguments, which they scattered abroad.

This extraordinarily troubled the good divines, that were then in prison for the cause of Christ, and particularly Bradford, who complained in a letter to a friend, "That not the tenth person abode in God's ways: and that the more did part stakes with the Papist and Protestant. So that they became many mongrels, to the affecting of all the company with them, to their no small peril. For they pretended Popery outwardly, going to mass with the Papists, and tarrying with them personally at their anti-christian and idolatrous service; but with their hearts, they said, and with their spirits they served the Lord. And so by this means (said he), as they saved their pigs, I mean, their worldly pleasures, which they would not loose, so they would please the Protestants, and be counted with them for Gospellers." This whole letter deserveth to be transcribed, as I meet with it in one of the Foxian manuscripts, but that I find it printed already at Oxon, by Dr. Ironside, in the year 1668.

The same Bradford counselled the true Protestants not to consort with these compliers, but to deal with them "as a certain eminent man, named Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia, did with Ustazades, an ancient courtier to Saporus, king of Persia: who by his threatenings and persuasions had prevailed with the said courtier, a Christian, to bow his knee to the sun. For which base compliance Simeon, passing by where this Ustazades was, formerly his great friend and acquaintance, would not now look at him, but seemed to contemn and despise him." Which when he perceived, it pierced him so to the heart, that he began to pull asunder his clothes, and to rend his garments, and with weeping eyes cried out, 'Alas! that ever he had so offended God in

---

1 [Harl. MSS. cccxvii. fol. 35.]
2 "Trispart. Hist." lib. iii. cap. 2.
his body, to bow to the sun: for,' saith he, 'I have herein
denied God, although I did it against my will. And how
sore is God displeased with me, with whom mine old father
and friend Simeon, his dear servant, will not speak, nor look
towards me! I may by the servant's countenance perceive
the Master's mind.' This lamentation came to the king's
car, and, therefore, he was sent for, and demanded the
cause of his mourning. He out of hand told him the cause
to be, his unwilling bowing to the sun. 'By it,' said he,
'I have denied God; and, therefore, because He will deny
them that deny Him, I have no little cause to complain and
mourn. Woe unto me, for I have played the traitor to
Christ, and also dissembled with my liege lord. No death,
therefore, is sufficient for the least of my faults; and I am
worthy of two deaths.' When the king heard this, it went
to his stomach; for he loved Ustazades, who had been to
him, and to his father, a faithful servant and officer.
Howbeit the malice of Satan moved him to cause this man to
be put to death. Yet in this point he seemed to gratify
him. For Ustazades desired that the cause of his death
might be published. 'This I ask,' said he, 'for the guerdon
of my time-service to thee, and to thy father;' which the
king readily granted, thinking that, when the Christians
should all know it, it would make them the more afraid,
and sooner to consent to him. But, so soon as it was
published, and Ustazades put to death, Lord, how it com-
forted not only Simeon, then being in prison, but also
all the Christians!' Bradford having told this history,
 Improved it after this tenor. "This history I wish," said he,
"were marked, as well of us as of all our Popish Gospellers,
which have none other things to excuse them than Usta-
zades had; for his heart was with God, howsoever he framed
his body. We should behave ourselves straitly against such
brethren, as Simeon did; and then they the sooner would
play Ustazades' part. Which thing, no marvel though they
do not, so long as we rock them asleep, by regarding them
and their companions, as daily we do; and so are partakers
of their evil; and at the length shall feel of their smart and
punishment.'

Of these outward compliers with the mass was one Ann
Hartipol, that formerly harboured the Lady Ann Askew, burnt in King Henry's reign.\(^1\) She now went to mass, pretending her conscience to be sound before God, and that her conscience gave her leave to go. To whom Philpot wrote an excellent letter, which is extant among the Letters of the Martyrs.\(^2\)

The people of this practice had been tampering with the Lady Vane, a pious lady, and a great benefactor to the poor prisoners of Christ; insomuch that she propounded to Bradford three questions concerning the mass, being cases of conscience, what she were best to do, whether to go to it, or not? He told her in a letter, "that the questions would never be well seen nor answered, until the thing whereof they arose were well considered. That is, how great an evil it was; that there was never thing upon the earth so great, and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, to the ministry of God's Word and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that was whereof the questions arose. And that, therefore, a Christian man could not but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or anything pertaining to the same."\(^3\) Bradford also writ a little book on this argument, intituled, "The Hurt of the Mass." This book he sent to his acquaintance, to stop their going to the Popish service; and particularly to Mr. Shalcross, a friend of his in Lancashire; and recommended the reading of it to one Riddleston, that had defiled himself in this false service.

\(^1\) [For the trouble, persecution, and martyrdom of Anne Askew, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. pp. 587—550.]

\(^2\) Page 247 [p. 189, ed. 1887. This letter may also be seen in the Parker Society's edition of Philpot's Works, pp. 249—251].

\(^3\) [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 234.]
CHAPTER XVII.

A bloody Time. The Queen's great Belly. A Convocation.

The year 1555 was a bloody year, and many honest people, both of the clergy and laity, were burnt alive in all parts, because they believed not transubstantiation; inso-
much that a tender heart cannot but shrink at the very remembrance thereof.

And as if there were a kind of delight in this sort of cruel executions, instructions were sent abroad, in the beginning of the year, unto the justices of peace through all counties in England, to inquire diligently in every parish for persons disaffected to the Popish religion. And in each parish were some appointed to be secret informers against the rest. And, for the better discovery of such poor professors of the Gospel, that fled from place to place for their safety, the constables, and four or more of the Catholic sort in every parish, were authorized to take examination of all such as might be suspected, how they lived, and where they were. And such as absented from the mass, and conformed not themselves to the Church, were to be brought before the justices, who were to persuade them to conform; and, if they would not, to bind them to good abeasing, or commit them to prison. The justices were also commanded, by another order soon after, to deliver such as leaned to erro-
neous and heretical opinions, and would not be reclaimed by the justices, to the ordinaries, to be by them travailed with, and, continuing obstinate, to have the laws executed upon them.

May 27, these orders came from the king and queen to the justices of Norfolk, which, as I extract from a manu-
script, relating the orders sent into that county, were in these special articles:—

"I. To divide themselves into several distriptions.
"II. To assist such preachers as should be sent," [for it was thought convenient to send abroad itinerary preachers, as was done in the last king's reign, who should by their doctrine endeavour to reduce the people to the old religion];
"and to use them reverently, and to be present at their sermons; and to travail soberly with such as abstained from coming to church, or, by any other open doings, should appear not persuaded to conform themselves; and to use others that be wilful and perverse more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good behaviour, or by imprisoning them, as the quality of the persons, and the circumstance of their doings, may deserve.

"III. To lay special weight for teachers of heresies, and procurers of secret meetings to that purpose. That they and their families shew good examples, and begin first to reform their servants, if any of them be faulty.

"IV. To apprehend spreaders of false and seditious rumours.

"V. To procure one or more in every parish, secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants.

"VI. To charge the constable, and four or more Catholic inhabitants of every parish, to give account of idle vagabonds and suspected persons" [meaning by these the poor professors, or preachers of the Gospel, who crept about for their own safety, and had no settled habitation], "and the retainers of such persons. To observe hue and cry; and to look after the watches in every parish.

"VII. To send an account of felons, &c. when any should be apprehended.

"VIII. To meet every month, and confer about these matters."

Whereupon the justices meeting together, it was resolved by them to obey every of the said orders; particularly concerning the fifth they resolved, that those secret informations should be given to the justices; and that the accused parties should be examined, without knowledge by whom they were accused.

The earl of Sussex lived in that county, and was one of chief trust there; for this earl had command in Norfolk of Queen Mary's army, when she first laid her claim to the crown, and managed it with that prudence and conduct, that others were induced by his means to come in. This earl received several informations against ministers and others; for it seems, notwithstanding all these severe usages,
the Popish mass had not yet so prevailed everywhere, but that, in divers places, there were some remainders of King Edward’s Reformation and service. Among the rest, the curate of Old Buckenham, and divers in that parish, were complained of, because the ceremonies of the holy time of Easter were not observed there. And, it seems, the bishop’s officers themselves were not all so diligent as they should be. The earl signified this information to Hopton, the bishop, who being in his visitation soon after, sent for several of the parish, and made his inquiries, but found things in other sort than were represented to the earl. And, being returned to his house at Norwich, informed him hereof, and desired the earl to inform him further, if anything were amiss, even amongst his own officers, and he would endeavour to reform them.

In these times, for the better taking up of all Gospellers, there were certain spies and secret informers set everywhere, to give notice of any that came not to church, or that spake anything against the superstitions. For London were, John Avales, Beard, and others; for Stepney, one Banbury, a shifter, a dicer, and a whoremonger. By which means none almost could be safe. Yet the professors made some provision against this evil. There were some that kept them company who were honest men, by whom they often had secret intelligence what persons Avales and Beard intended to take up. And so several, by shifting places and houses, were preserved. The knight-marshall, Sir Thomas Holcroft, the under-marshall, the knight-marshall’s secretary, were secret friends of the Protestants; and, when designs were laid to take any of them, some signification was often privately brought them, that search would within some few hours be made for them; and, therefore, that they should depart from their lodgings, and conceal themselves. And when any good men were under their hands in prison, they would take all occasions to shew them kindness, as far as safely they might.

But notwithstanding these persecutions, and that very few of the ministers remained, being either burnt or fled, yet the Protestants in London had very frequently their assemblies. And sometimes, for want of preachers of the clergy, laymen exercised. Among these I find one old
Henry Daunce, a bricklayer of Whitechapel, who used to preach the Gospel in his garden every holy-day, where would be present sometimes a thousand people.

The very beginning of May there was exceeding joy among the Papists for the birth of a heir-male to the crown; whereof the report was so confident everywhere, that in the county of Norfolk, the mayor of Norwich sent word of it to the earl of Sussex, and the bishop had *Te Deum* sung in the cathedral and other places of the city. And all expressions of joy both in city and country were shewn. And so it was, no question, in other parts of the nation. And, which is more strange, so long did this bruit hold, that, besides the first intelligence thereof brought to Norwich, within a day or two after came two persons more, averring the truth thereof. The bishop desired the earl, according as he heard, if he had any further knowledge, to impart it to him. The contents of all this may be read in the original letter, which is transcribed into the Appendix.¹

But the belief of the queen's great belly went not over so. For then it was given out, that in June, about Whit-suntide, was the time that the queen expected her delivery; and midwives, rockers, and nurses were provided. And, just when that time came, another rumour was blown about in London, that the queen was delivered of a child. And the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made; and in most parts of the realm so it was. Nay, in Antwerp guns were shot off by the English ships, and the lady regent² rewarded the mariners with a hundred pistoles.

But there happened now two things which make it seem as though all this were but design, to impose upon the belief of the world.³ The one was this: "There was a woman, living near Aldersgate, delivered June the 11th, 1555, being Whitsunday morning, of a male child. Unto whom the Lord North and another lord came, and desired to have her child from her, with very fair offers. As that her child should be well provided for, and that she should take no care for it, if she would swear that she never knew nor had such child. And, after this, other women came to her, of whom one, they said, should have been the rocker.

¹ No. LXXXVII. ² [The queen of Hungary.] ³ Fox, p. 1450 [vol. vii. pp. 125, 126].
But she would in no case part with her child. This very woman, before witness, made this declaration unto Mr. Fox and others, about the year 1568, while he was printing his book; but he leaves it to the liberty of the reader to believe what he list." Add to this one other passage of a man within four miles of Berwick, who, speaking of the bonfires for joy of the birth of a prince, said, "There was a joyful triumph, but at length all would not prove worth a mess of pottage."

As the queen's great belly gave these great disappointments, so, while she went with it, it gave her occasion to be more severe against the poor Gospellers, who were now daily burnt. For she thought, and so she said, "she could not be safely and happily delivered, nor that anything could succeed prosperously with her, unless all the heretics in prison were burnt ad unum, not sparing one."¹ Which cruelty I do suppose her priests and confessors put into her head.

There was a Convocation in November this year, wherein Cardinal Pole presided. The queen gave him a license under the great seal to hold a synod, wherein she ordered him to decree what canons he thought fit. So he composed a book, with a very specious title, viz. "Reformatio Angliae, ex decreatis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis," &c. which was printed; a manuscript copy whereof was in the famous library of Mr. Smith, of late years sold by auction. The decrees of this book, in number twelve, were agreed to in February. They are briefly set down by the bishop of Sarum in his history.² There was an article made in favour of non-residences, which I meet with in the Benet library; there is no date, but I strongly conjecture it is to be laid to this Convocation.³ The cardinal seemed not to favour non-residences, but the rich clergy and dignitaries were of another mind, wherefore they made this proposition:

"Decretum perpetuae residentiae juxta canonum sanctiones optant pius; sed multa sunt, quae hodie impedient, quominus suum effectum juxta bonorum virorum vota consequatur." To which are subjoined reasons for this proposition, and

² Part ii. p. 324 [vol. iii. part iii. book 5, No. 34, p. 326].

VOL. II.
remedies for this evil, which may be read in the Appendix.¹

CHAPTER XVIII.

Ridley and Latimer burnt.

We can declare little this year of the poor archbishop, being now a prisoner at Oxford, and out of all place of action. The archbishopric was sequestered into the hands of Cardinal Pole, and his palace at Lambeth appointed for the cardinal's abode. In a petition, that some of those that were abroad had sent over to the queen this year, to dissuade her from these persecutions that were now so rigorously set on foot in England, they interceded for Cranmer, putting her in mind how he had once preserved her, in her father's time, by his earnest intercessions with him for her. "So that," they said, "she had more reason to believe he loved her, and would speak the truth to her, than she had of all the rest of the clergy." But, alas, this did little good.

In October Ridley and Latimer were brought forth to their burning; and, passing by Cranmer's prison, Ridley looked up to have seen him, and to have taken his farewell of him; but he was not then at the window, being engaged in dispute with [Soto] a Spanish friar.² But he looked after them, and, devoutly falling upon his knees, prayed to God to strengthen their faith and patience in that their last, but painful passage.

And here, for a farewell to these two reverend fathers, let us make a little halt, to take some view of them. Of Ridley sufficient has been said to acquaint us with the worthiness of that man. Of Latimer a word or two. His character is best taken from them who best knew him, and lived in his time. One of these thus speaks of him, while he was yet alive, in the beginning of King Edward.³ "Latimer was

¹ No. LXXXVIII.
³ Becon, in his Jewel of Joy [Parker Society's edition (Catechism, &c.), p. 424, by which the above passage has been corrected].
very famous, not only for the pureness of his life, which had always [also] been innocent and blameless, but [before the world] for the sincerity and godliness of his evangelic doctrine, which, since the beginning of his preaching, had in all points been so conformable to the teaching of Christ, and of His apostles, that the very adversaries of God's truth, with all their menacing words, and cruel imprisonments, could not withdraw him from it; but whatsoever he had once preached, he valiantly defended the same before the world, without fear of any mortal creature, although of never so great power and high authority, wishing and minding rather to suffer not only loss of worldly possessions, but also of life, than that the glory of God, and the truth of Christ's Gospel, should in any point be obscured or defaced through him. His life was not dear unto him, so that he might fulfill his course with joy, and the office that he received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of God's favour."—His fame began to grow apace, while he was at Cambridge, [which was some years before 1530], doing abundance of good there among the students by his sermons, which were many, by him preached both in Latin and English. The scholars flocked after him, and took great notice of his doctrine, and commending it sometimes to letters, as most faithful treasures of memory. Before them he, "with manifest authorities, out of God's word, and arguments invincible, besides the allegations of doctors, proved [in his sermons] that the holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue of all Christian people, whether they were priests or laymen."—though many friars and others could not abide this doctrine, and would resist him, and preach against him, "notwithstanding he, or rather God in him, got the victory." And it came to pass according to his teaching [when the reading of the Scripture was allowed by the royal authority]. Before the scholars also "he inveighed against temple-works, good intents, blind zeal, superstitious devotion [&c.]; as the painting of tabernacles, gilding of images, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimage, and such other idle inventions of men, whereby the glory of God was obscured, and the works of mercy the less regarded. He was" also "wont to rebuke the benefited men, with the authority of God's word for neglecting and not teaching
their flock, and for being absent from their cures, they
themselves being idle, and masting themselves like hogs of
Epicurus' flock], taking no thought, though their poor
parishioners miserably pined away, starved, perished, and
died for hunger." He would condemn also, at these his
university sermons, "foolish, ungodly, and impossible vows
[to be fulfilled], as the vow of chastity, wishing rather that
liberty of marriage might be granted to them which had so
vowed, by the higher powers, than so to continue through
single life in all kind of abominable uncleanness. O how
vehement was he in rebuking all sins, namely, idolatry, false
and idle swearing, covetousness, and whoredom! Again,
how sweet and pleasant were his words in exhorting unto
virtue! He spake nothing, but it left, as it were, certain
pricks or stings in the hearts of the hearers, which moved
them to consent to his doctrine. None, except they were
stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart, went away from
his sermons, which were not led with a faithful repent-
ance of their former life, affected with high detestation of
sin, and moved unto all godliness and virtue."

The writer of all this said, he knew "certain men, which,
through the persuasion of their friends, went unto his ser-
mons swelling, blown full, and puffed up, like [unto] Esop's
frog, with envy and malice against him; but when they
returned, the sermon being done, and demanded how they
liked him and his doctrine? they answered, with the bishops
and Pharisees' servantes—' There was never man [that] spake
like unto this man.' " He would also speak freely "against
buying and selling of benefices, against [the] promoting
(such) unto the livings of spiritual ministers, which were
unlearned and ignorant in the law of God, against Popish
pardons, against the reposing our hope in our own works, or
in other men's merits [against false religion]." He was
also a charitable man, when he was at Cambridge, "accord-
ing to his possibility, to poor scholars, and other needy
people; so conformable was his life to his doctrine,"—insom-
uch that there was "a common saying" in that university,
" 'When Master Stafford read, and [Master] Latimer
preached, then was Cambridge blessed.' "

1 [A most interesting narrative of Latimer, when at Cambridge, will
be found in D'Aubigné's "Reformation of the Sixteenth Century," vol. v.]
But to return to our archbishop when in prison, where he divided his melancholy time, partly in disputings and discourses with learned men of the contrary persuasion, who laboured to bring him over, thinking thereby to obtain a great glory to their church; and partly in preparing an answer to Bishop Gardiner, under the name of "Marcus Antonius," in vindication of his own book concerning the Sacrament. And he finished three parts in prison, two whereof were lost in Oxford, and one came into the hands of John Fox, as he tells us himself; which, he said, was ready to be seen and set forth, as the Lord should see good. Bishop Ridley also in his confinement wrote marginal annotations on the side of Gardiner's said book, with the lead of a window, for want of pen and ink. Great pity it is that these last studies of the archbishop are lost; for even that part, which was once in Fox's custody, is gone with his fellows, for aught that I can find among his papers.

It was some time before this that there was a report spread, that the queen was dead. The rumour presently extended itself over the seas, which occasioned the death of one pious professor of the Gospel, namely, Bartlet Green, a lawyer. For Christopher Goodman having writ to him, his former acquaintance in Oxford, to certify him of the truth thereof, he in a letter in answer wrote thus: "The queen is not yet dead." This and divers other letters, that were given to a bearer to carry beyond sea to the exiles there, were intercepted; and, being read at the Council, some would have it to amount to treason, as though there had been a plot carrying on against the queen's life. But the law not making those words treason, he, after long lying in the Tower, was sent by the Council to Bishop Bonner, who upon examination found him too firm to be moved from the doctrine of the Gospel; and so condemned him to the fire.  

CHAPTER XIX.

The last Proceedings with Cranmer.

After Ridley and Latimer were despatched, and had sealed their doctrine with their blood at Oxford, the said course was resolved to be taken with Cranmer, late archbishop, but now the arch-heretic, as he was esteemed by them. They had been all three condemned, and adjudged heretics by Dr. Weston, in the university of Oxford, after their disputations. But that sentence was void in law, because the authority of the Pope was not yet received; therefore, they were tried and judged upon new commissions. The commission for judging the two former was from Pole the cardinal, lord legate, wherein the commissioners constituted were, White, bishop of Lincoln; Brooks, bishop of Gloucester; and Holyman, bishop of Bristol. But there was a new commission sent from Rome for the conviction of Cranmer. Brooks of Gloucester was the Pope’s sub-delegate under Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this process; and Martin and Story, doctors of the civil law, were the queen’s commissioners, the former of which was now, or soon after, for his good services, made one of the Masters in Chancery, and was much employed in these trials of poor men. Notwithstanding this man complied in Queen Elizabeth’s reign, and took his oath against the Pope now a second time. In this commission from the Pope he decreed, in a formality of words, “that the archbishop should have charity and justice shewed to him, and that he should have the laws in most ample manner to answer in his behalf.” He decreed also, “that the said archbishop should come before the bishop of Gloucester, as high commissioner from his Holiness, for the examination of such articles as should be produced against him; and that Martin and Story should require, in the king and queen’s name, the examination of him.” In pursuance of this command from the Pope, and in obedience to the king and queen, they came down to Oxford upon this commission;

2 [Id. vol. vii. p. 517.]
and, September 12, (which was seven days before the condemnation of Latimer and Ridley), sat in St. Mary's Church, accompanied with many other doctors, and such-like; and, among the rest, the Pope's collector. The archbishop was brought forth out of prison habited in a fair black gown, and his hood of doctor of divinity on both shoulders. Then some proctor said aloud, "Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, appear here, and make answer to that which shall be laid to thy charge for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy." What due honour the archbishop gave unto the queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme authority of the nation, and how he gave none to Brooks, the Pope's representative, keeping on his cap, and the speeches, that the said Brooks and the other two made unto him, with the archbishop's discreet and excellent answers, still interposing his protestation against Brooks' authority, may be seen at large in Fox's Monuments.

Only it may not be amiss here briefly to mention, (for the better understanding of the form of the process), that, after the archbishop was cited, as before was said, into the court, the bishop of Gloucester first made an oration, directed unto the archbishop at the opening of his commission. Next, Dr. Martin made a short speech; and, being with Dr. Story appointed the king's and queen's attorneys, he offered unto the said bishop their proxy, sealed with the broad seal of England; and then presenting himself to be proctor on their behalf. After that, he proceeded to exhibit certain articles against the archbishop, containing adultery and perjury, the one for being married, the other for breaking his oath to the Pope. Also he exhibited books of heresy, made partly by him, and partly by his authority published. And so produced him as a party principal to answer to his lordship. After this, having leave given him, the archbishop, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and Creed, made a long and learned apology for himself, which is preserved to posterity in the Acts and Monuments.

By his discourse before the commissioners it appeared, how little he was taken with the splendour of worldly things. For he professed, "that the loss of his promotions grieved

1 [Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 44—90, from which Strype has drawn nearly every particular of his narrative.]
him not. He thanked God as heartily for that poor and afflicted state in which he then was, as ever he did for the times of his prosperity. But that which stuck closest to him, as he said, and created him the greatest sorrow, was, to think that all that pains and trouble, that had been taken by King Henry and himself for so many years, to retrieve the ancient authority of the kings of England, and to vindicate the nation from a foreign power, and from the baseness and infinite inconveniences of crouching to the bishops of Rome, should now thus easily be quite undone again. And therefore, he said, all his trouble at that time, and the greatest that ever he had in his life, was to see the king and queen's majesties, by their proctors there, to become his accusers, and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. For that, if he had transgressed the laws of the land, their majesties had sufficient authority and power, both from God and the ordinance of the realm, to punish him. Whereunto he would be at all times content to submit himself."

At this time of his trial, several interrogatories were administered unto him, to make answer to, as concerning his marriage, concerning his setting abroad heresies, and making and publishing certain books of heresy. To which he confessed, that the Catechism, and the book of Articles, and the book against Bishop Gardiner, were of his doing. Concerning subscribing those articles, and his compelling persons to subscribe; which he denied, but that he exhorted them that were willing to subscribe, he acknowledged. Concerning his open maintaining his errors in Oxford [whereas they brought him to the disputation themselves]. Concerning his being noted with the infamy of schism; and that he moved the king, and subjects of his realm, to recede from the Catholic church and see of Rome; which he acknowledged; but that their departure, or recess, had in it no matter of schism. Concerning his being twice sworn to the Pope. And Dr. Martin then shewed a copy of his protestation against the Pope at his consecration, under a public notary's hand. That he took upon him the see of Rome in consecrating bishops and priests, without leave or license from the said see; to which he answered, that it was permitted to him by the public laws of the realm.
Concerning his standing out still to subscribe to the Pope's authority, when the whole nation had. This being done, a public notary entered his answers. Then [Brooks] the bishop of Gloucester made another speech at breaking up of this meeting, and Dr. Story another, reflecting upon what Cranmer had said, with reviling and taunts.

The last thing they did at this meeting was, to swear several persons, who were the next day to declare what they knew, or could remember, against this reverend father. And these were, Dr. Marshal, dean of Christ Church, a most furious and zealotical man, and who, to shew his spite against the Reformation, had caused Peter Martyr's wife, who deceased while he was the king's professor, to be taken out of her grave, and buried in his dunhill; Dr. Smith, public professor, who had recanted most solemnly in King Edward's days, and to whom the archbishop was a good friend, yet not long afterwards he wrote against his book, and was now sworn a witness against him; Dr. Tresham, a canon of Christ Church, who was one of the disputers against Cranmer, and had said, in his Popish zeal, "that there were six hundred errors in his book of the Sacrament;" Dr. Crook, Mr. London, a relation, I suppose, of Dr. London, who came to shame for his false accusation of Cranmer and others in King Henry's reign;¹ and now this man, it is like, was willing to be even with Cranmer, for his relation's sake; Mr. Curtop, another canon of Christ Church, formerly a great hearer of Peter Martyr, Mr. Warde, Mr. Serles, the same, I suppose, who belonged to the church of Canterbury, and had been among the number of the conspirators against him in King Henry's days.² And these being sworn, the archbishop was allowed to make his exceptions against any of them, who resolutely said, "He would admit none of them all, being perjured men, having sworn against the Pope, and now received and defended him, and that therefore they were not in Christian religion." And so the good father was remitted back, for that time, to prison again.

I know not what the depositions of these witnesses were, given in against him the next day; for Fox relates nothing thereof, nor any other, as I know of. Doubtless they were some of the doctrines that he preached, or taught, or

¹[See vol. i. pp. 158, et sqq.] ²[See vol. i. pp. 160, et sqq.]
defended, in Canterbury formerly, or more lately in his disputations in the schools, or in his discourses in his prison, or at Christ Church, where he sometimes was entertained. But to all that was objected against him he made his answers. And the last thing they of this commission did, was to cite him to appear at Rome, within eighty days, to make there his answer in person, which, he said, he would be content to do if the king and queen would send him. And so he was again remanded back to durance, where he still remained. And an account of what these commissioners had done was despatched to Rome forthwith; from whence the final sentence was sent in December next.

Then Pope Paul [IV.] sent his letters executory unto the king and queen, and to the bishops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him; and in the end of those fourscore days, he was declared contumax, as wilfully absenting himself from Rome, when he was summoned to go, though he was detained in prison, which might have been a lawful and just excuse. But these matters must proceed in their form, whatsoever absurdity or falsehood there were in them.

By these letters executory, (which are in the first edition of Fox, but omitted in all the rest), we may collect how the process went against Cranmer at Rome, which I shall here briefly set down. First, the king and queen sent their information to the Pope against Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, viz.: “That he had brought this noble realm from the unity of the Catholic church; that he was a person guilty of heresy, and many other grand crimes, and not worthy to enjoy his bishopric, and most worthy greater punishments; and they requested that process might be made against him.” For the better inquiry into, and taking cognizance of, the truth of these accusations, the Pope gave a special commission, signed with his hand, to James Puteo, cardinal of St. Mary’s, and afterwards of St. Simeon, to cite the said Thomas before him, and all such witnesses as should be needful, to come to a true knowledge of the archbishop’s crimes; and accordingly to give the Pope an account of all he should find. This he was to do in his own person, or to constitute any dignified person, abiding in these parts, to do the same. So the said cardinal appointed Brooks, bishop of

1 [For this “Commission sent from the Pope,” see Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 69.]
Gloucester, and some colleagues with him, to manage this commission in his stead. This Brooks, having been Bishop Gardiner’s chaplain, was probably nominated and recommended by the said Gardiner, as I do suppose he was the person that directed the whole managery of this process against the archbishop. And so Brooks, being now by this delegation the Pope’s sub-delegate, proceeded in this cause, as was said before. In regard of the archbishop’s citation to Rome, to answer there, and make his personal appearance before the Pope, the letters executory say, comparere non curaret, as an aggravation of his crime, that “he took no care to appear,” which was false; and that, therefore, as the said letters ran, the king and queen’s proctors at Rome, named Peter Rovilins, and Anthony Massa de Gallesio, and Alexander Palentarius, the proctor of the Pope’s treasury, had sued that contumacy might be definitively pronounced against the said Thomas Cranmer, being cited and not appearing. Therefore, “He, Pope Paul IV. sitting in the throne of justice, and having before his eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth the world in righteousness, did make this definitive sentence, pronouncing and decreeing the said Thomas Cranmer to be found guilty of the crimes of heresy and other excesses, to be wholly unmindful of the health of his soul, to go against the rules and ecclesiastical doctrines of the holy fathers, and against the apostolical traditions of the Roman church and sacred councils, and the rites of the Christian religion hitherto used in the Church; especially against the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, and holy orders; by thinking and teaching otherwise than the holy mother church preacheth and observeth; and by denying the primacy and authority of the Apostolic See; and against the processions, which every year, on Corpus Christi day, were wont to be celebrated by the Pope’s predecessors.” Mention also is made of his “bringing again in the heresy abjured by Berengarius, of his believing the false and heretical doctrines of Wickliffe and Luther, those arch-heretics; printing of books of that nature, and publishing them, and defending those doctrines in public disputations, and that before his sub-delegate, and persisting herein with obstinacy. Therefore the Pope excommunicated him, and deprived him of

1 [See above, p. 102.]
his archbishopric, and all other places and privileges whatsoever, and adjudged him to be delivered over to the secular court, and all his goods to be confiscate. And the Pope absolved all persons from any oath of fidelity given to Cranmer, and imposed perpetual silence upon him. And, moreover, upon the instance of the above-said proctors, commanded the bishops of London and Ely to degrade him, and so to deliver him over to the secular court. This bore date December 14."

In obedience to these letters from Rome, the two bishops, the Pope’s delegates, came down to Oxford; and, sitting in the choir of Christ Church, before the high altar, the said commissional letters were read, wherein it was specified, “That all things were indifferently examined on both parties, and counsel heard as well on the king’s and queen’s behalf, who were Cranmer’s accusers, as on the behalf of Cranmer, so that he wanted nothing to his necessary defence.” Whereat the archbishop could not but exclaim, while these things were reading, against such manifest lies, “That,” as he said, “when he was continually in prison, and could never be suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, he should produce witness, and appoint his counsel at Rome. God must needs punish,” added he, “this open and shameless lying.”

But this command of degrading our archbishop was presently proceeded upon; Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, his old friend, infinitely beforetime obliged by the archbishop, shed many tears at the doing of it. So that Cranmer, moved at it, was fain to comfort him, and told him, he was well contented with it. So they apparelled the archbishop in all the garments and ornaments of an archbishop; only in mockery, everything was of canvas, and old clouts. And the crosier was put into his hand. And then he was, piece by piece, stripped of all again. When they began to take away his pall, he asked them, “Which of them had a pall, to take away his pall?” They then answered, acknowledging

1 [“The Latin process against Cranmer, and his condemnation, together with his recantation, as found in the Bonner Register, fol. 421-3,” are given in the Appendix, No. ii. to vol. viii. of the edition of Fox’s Acts and Monuments, which is quoted throughout these volumes of Strype’s “Memorials of Abp. Cranmer.”]
they were his inferiors, as bishops; but, as they were the Pope's delegates, they might take away his pall." While they were thus spoiling him of all his garments, he told them, "That it needed not, for that he had done with this gear long ago." While this was doing, Bonner made a triumphant speech against the poor archbishop. But when he came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and would not deliver it; but pulled out an appeal out of his left sleeve under his wrist, and said, "I appeal unto the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause, and the form of it, which I desire may be admitted. And prayed divers times to the standers-by to be witnesses, naming them by their names." This appeal is preserved in Fox, which is well worthy the reading.1

The archbishop was all along ill dealt with in divers respects in this his process, which himself was well sensible of. One was, that he had desired the court, that considering he was upon his life, he might have the use of proctors, advocates, and lawyers. But they would allow him none. After the court, wherein Brooks was sub-delegate, had done, they promised him that he should see his answers to sixteen articles, that they had laid against him, that he might correct, amend, and change them, where he thought good. And that promise they performed not, and so entered his answers upon record, though his answer was not made upon oath, nor reserved, nor made in judicio, but extra judicum, which Cranmer made a protest of; but not to [Brooks] the bishop of Gloucester, as judge, whom he would not own, but to the king and queen's proctors, Martin and Story. To them, for these reasons, he wrote a letter, "that he trusted they would deal sincerely with him, without fraud or craft, and use him as they would wish to be used in the like case themselves; bidding them remember that with what measure they mete, it should be measured to them again."2

Therefore, to make himself some amends for all this foul dealing, his last refuge was an appeal; whereof he seriously bethought himself when, and in what manner, to make it.

1 [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 73-76.]
The causes for his resolving upon it, besides those already mentioned, were, because he remembered Luther once did so in such a case; and that he might not seem rashly to cast away his own life; and because he was bound by his oath never to receive the Pope's authority in this realm; and because the commissioners had broken their promise with him, as above was said; and because he thought the bishop of Rome was not an indifferent judge in this cause, which was his own cause; for all the archbishop's troubles came upon him for departing from him. He, therefore, wrote privately to a trusty friend, and learned in the law, then in the university, to instruct him in the order and form of an appeal; and whether he should first appeal from the judge-delegate to the Pope, or else from that judge immediately to a general council. And so earnestly entreated him to lay aside all other studies, and to take this in hand presently, because he was summoned to make his answer at Rome, the sixteenth day of this month, that is of February. There was one reason more moved him to appeal, which must not be omitted, namely, that he might gain time to finish his answer to Marcus Antonius. "He feared, after all, they would not admit his appeal. But he did not much pass, and desired God's will might be done: so that God might be glorified by his life or death. He thought it much better to die in Christ's quarrel, than to be shut in the prison of the body, unless it were for the advancement of God's glory, and the profit of his brethren." This letter of the archbishop, being writ with so much strength and presence of mind, and shewing so much prudence and wit, is happily preserved in Fox's Monuments, where it may be read.¹

This appeal, when the archbishop had produced and preferred to the bishop of Ely, he told him, "That they could not admit of it, because their commission was to proceed against him, omni appellacione remota." Cranmer replied, "That this cause was not every private man's cause, but that it was between the Pope and him immediately, and none otherwise, and that no man ought to be judge in his own cause. And, therefore, they did him the more wrong."

So at last Thirlby received it of him, and said, if it might be admitted, it should.

And so, after this interruption, they proceeded to degrade him, taking off the rest of his habits. And then put him on a poor yeoman-beadle’s gown, threadbare, and a townsman’s cap. And Bonner told him, “He was no lord any more:” and so was sent to prison.

CHAPTER XX.

Cranmer writes to the Queen.

And now, having undergone these brunts with all this gravity, discretion, learning, and courage, he next resolved to give the queen a true and impartial account of these transactions, to prevent misreports, and to justify himself in what he had said and done. Two letters, therefore, he wrote to her, but thought not fit to intrust them with the commissioners, since Weston had served him such a trick in the like case before. In these letters he related the reason of his refusing the bishop of Gloucester for his judge, and of his appeal. For as he thought it his duty, at that juncture, to declare himself in that public manner against the bishop of Rome, so he reckoned he ought to declare himself also to the supreme magistrate. And, therefore, before the bishop of Gloucester and the commissioners, he said, “That as he had thus discharged his own conscience towards the world, so he would also write his mind to her grace touching this matter.”

He wrote to her, “That the twelfth day of that month he was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after. And that it could not but grieve the heart of a natural subject to be accused by the king and queen of his own country, and before any outward judge; as if the king and queen were subjects within their own realm, and were fain to complain and require justice at a stranger’s hand against their

own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. As though the king and queen could not have or do justice within their own realm, against their own subjects, but they must seek it at a stranger's hand, 'in a strange land.'

Then he proceeded to shew her, why he refused the Pope's authority, when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, came to try him, namely: "because he was sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in the realm of England. Another reason why he denied his authority, was, because his authority repugned to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same. For the Pope saith, all manner of power, both temporal and spiritual, is given unto him of God, and that temporal power is given to kings and emperors to use it under him. Whereas, contrary to this claim, said the archbishop, the imperial crown of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject to none but God alone.

"Moreover, to the imperial laws of this realm all the kings in their coronations, and all justices when they receive their offices, are sworn, and all the whole realm bound to defend them. But, contrary hereunto, the Pope, he said, made void, and commanded to blot out of our books, all laws and customs repugnant to his laws.

"Then he proceeded to show, how contrary the laws of the realm and the Pope's laws were. And, therefore, that the kings of this realm had provided for their laws by the præmunire. So that, if any man let the execution of the law by any authority from the see of Rome, he fell into the præmunire. And, to meet with this, the popes had provided for their law by cursing.

"He supposed that these things were not fully opened in the Parliament-house, when the Pope's authority was received again; for, if they were, he could not believe that the king and queen, the nobles and commons, would again receive a foreign authority, so hurtful and prejudicial to the crown, and to the laws and state of this realm. He rebuked the clergy, who were the main movers of this at the Parliament, for their own ends. For they desired to have the Pope their chief head, to the intent that they might have,
as it were a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man. And then he glanced at some of the clergy [probably meaning Thirlby, Heath, Tunstal, &c.], that they held their peace for this consideration, though they knew this well enough; who, if they had done their duty to the crown and realm, should have opened their mouths at this time, and shewn the peril and danger that might ensue to the crown hereby.

"Another cause he urged to the queen, why he could not allow the Pope's authority, was, because he subverted, not only the laws of the nation, but the laws of God. So that, whosoever be under his authority, he suffered them not to be under Christ's religion purely. For proof of which he gave these instances. God's will and commandment is, that when the people be gathered together to serve God, the ministers should use such a language as the people might understand, and take profit thereby. For God said by the mouth of St. Paul, 'As a harp or lute, if it give no certain sound, that men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it? it is but in vain.' So it is in vain, profiteth nothing, if the priest speak to the people in a language they know not. And whereas, when he urged this to the commissioners, they told him, that That place respected preaching only. He told the queen, that St. Paul's words meant it not only of preaching, for that he spake expressly of praying, singing and giving thanks, and of all other things, which the priests say in the churches. And so, he said, all interpreters, Greek and Latin, old and new, school authors, and others, that he had read, understood it, till about thirty years past, Eckius, and others of his sort, began to invent this new exposition. And so, he said, all the best-learned divines, that met at Windsor, 1549, for the reformation of the Church, both of the new learning and the old, agreed without controversy, (not one opposing), that the service of the Church ought to be in the mother tongue, and that that place of St. Paul was so to be understood.

"Again, Christ ordained the sacrament to be received of Christian people, under both forms of bread and wine, and said, 'Drink ye all of this.' The Pope gives a clean contrary
command, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation. So that, if he should obey the Pope in these things, he must needs disobey his Saviour.'

Again, "He instanced in the Pope's taking upon him to give the temporal sword to kings and princes, and to depose them from their imperial states, if they were disobedient to him; and in commanding subjects to disobey their princes; assailing them as well from their obedience, as their lawful oaths made unto them; directly contrary to God's commandment, that commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, and their rulers under them.

"Then he spake of the superiority the Pope claimed above kings and emperors, and making himself universal bishop. And how his flatterers told him he might dispense against God's Word, both against the Old and New Testament; and that whatsoever he did, though he drew innumerable people by heaps with himself to hell, yet might no mortal man reprove him; because he is the judge of all men, and might be judged by no man. And thus he sat in the temple of God, as he were a God, and named himself God, and dispensed against God. If this were not, he said, to play Antichrist's part, he knew not what Antichrist was—that is, Christ's enemy and adversary. Now, added he, until the time that such a person might be found, men might easily conjecture where to find Antichrist.

"He took God to record, that what he spake against the power and authority of the Pope, he spake it not for any malice he owed to the Pope's person, whom he knew not; nor for fear of punishment, or to avoid the same; thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate, than to diminish the same; but for his most bounden duty to the crown, liberty, laws, and customs of this realm of England; and most especially to discharge his conscience in uttering the truth to God's glory, casting away all fear by the comfort, which he had in Christ, who saith, 'Fear not them that kill the body.'"

As touching the sacrament, he said, "That forasmuch as the whole matter stood in the understanding those words of Christ, 'This is my body; this is my blood;' he told the commissioners, that Christ in those words made demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling
bread His body, and wine His blood; because He ordained them to be sacraments of His body and blood. And he told them, he would be judged by the old Church, which doctrine could be proved elder, and that he would stand to. And that, forasmuch as he had urged in his book Greek and Latin authors, which above a thousand years continually taught as he did; if they could bring forth but one old author that said in these two points as they said, he offered six or seven years ago, and offered so still, that he would give place.

"Then he shewed her how fond and uncomfortable the Papists' doctrine of the sacrament is; for of one body of Christ is made two bodies; one natural, having distance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body; and this body is in heaven. But the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a monstrous body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion, or proportion of a man's natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament, teach they, as goes into the mouth with the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goes, nor tarryeth no longer than the form of bread is by natural heat digesting; so that, when the form of bread is digested, the body of Christ is gone. And what comfort, said he, can be herein to any Christian man, to receive Christ's unshapen body, and it to enter no further than the stomach, and depart by-and-bye as soon as the bread is consumed? It seemed to him a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man's true body, which body spiritually entereth into the whole man, body and soul. And though the sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departeth until the receiver forsaketh Him.

"That if it could be shewed him, that the Pope's authority be not prejudicial to the things before mentioned; or that his doctrine of the sacrament be erroneous, then he would never stand perversely in his own opinion, but with all humility submit himself to the Pope, not only to kiss his feet, but another part also.

"For all these reasons he could not take the bishop of
Gloucester for his judge, representing, as he did, this Pope. But another reason was, in respect of his own person, being more than once perjured, having been divers times sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors for supreme heads thereof. And he was perjured again, in taking his bishopric both of the queen and the Pope, making to each of them a solemn oath, which oaths be so contrary, that the one must needs be perjury. And further, in swearing to the Pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, and ordinances, he declared himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws of the realm; whereby he shewed himself not worthy to sit as a judge in this realm." This was the sum of this excellent letter of the archbishop to the queen.

He wrote another to her soon after; wherein he plainly told her, "That, at her coronation, she took an oath to the Pope, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, and privileges; and at the same time another oath to the kingdom, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. He prayed her to weigh both oaths, and see how they did agree; and then to do as her grace's conscience should give her; for he was sure, he said, she would not willingly offend. He feared there were contradictions in her oaths, and that those that should have informed her majesty thoroughly, did not their duties herein. He complained that he was now kept from company of learned men, from books, from counsel, and from pen and ink, saving to write to her majesty at that time; and as to his appearance at Rome, he said, if she would give him leave, he would appear there; and he trusted God would put in his mouth to defend His truth there as well as here."

These letters of his one of the bailiffs of Oxon carried up to the queen. Something else he wrote to her, enclosed and sealed, which he required Martin and Story to be delivered without delay, and not to be opened until it were delivered unto her own hands. These and other of his smart and learned letters, no question, made impression

upon the queen, or at least upon those that read them; for they were delivered by the queen to no less a person than the holy father Cardinal Pole himself, who was advised to frame an answer to them.

So he wrote to the archbishop, in answer to one of them, a long letter, dated from St. James', November 6, "wherein he pretended a great deal of compassion to his soul, which, he told him, was ready to be lost, as well as his body; and that the condemnation that was lately passed on him was so horrible to him to hear, that he testified to him before God, and upon the salvation of his soul, that he would rather choose to be the means of bringing him to repentance, than to receive the greatest benefit that could be given him under heaven in this world." Which the cardinal might say, to take off the odium of the suspicion, as though he hastened Cranmer's death, that he might jump into his place. And so the cardinal proceeded to attempt to convince him in the two great points of his letter, viz., concerning the authority of the Pope, and concerning the sacrament of the altar; especially because Cranmer had said in his letter, "that he would not be perverse, to stand willfully in his own opinion, if any could shew him by reason that his doctrines were erroneous." But I refer the reader to the Appendix,¹ if he be minded to read the cardinal's letter, which I met with among Fox's manuscripts. By comparing of this letter of Pole's with that of Cranmer's, any one may see a mighty difference; strength, evidence, and conviction in the archbishop's, who had truth on his side; but a flashiness and debility in the cardinal's, made up of poor shifts and weak arguings, and impertinent allegations of Scripture, and personal reflections, to help out a bad cause.

To mention some few of this sort: He charged the archbishop with covetousness and ambition in affecting the archbishopric; and then, by-and-bye, not well remembering what he had said before, in his heat against the good archbishop, he gives a contrary reason thereof, namely: "That he might be in a capacity to reform the Church according to his mind; and that it was for the sake of that, that he took an oath to the Pope at his consecration, though he were fain to make a protestation against the said oath." He said in this letter,

¹ No. LXXXIX.
"That the archbishop's fall into error was not as the fall of others usually were, by frailty or curiosity, but by deliberate malice; and that the archbishop, by his protestation that he made before he took his oath to the Pope, brake his oath, and was forsworn before he did swear." Which, methinks, is pretty strange. And, concerning this protestation, he said, "It was a privy protestation, and that he had privy witnesses of it;" whereas it was done in the most open and public manner that could be, two or three times over, before public notaries, and by them entered on record, on purpose that all might take notice of it. And, whereas, the archbishop had said, "That it was much more probable that the bread and wine should be a figure, than the real body and blood," the cardinal said, "The more probable it was, the more false; because the great sophister and father of lies deceived by probability of reason." The consequence whereof one would think should be, the more improbable any opinion in religion was, the more true. "But, he said, the true doctrine was taught another way. He represented the archbishop as challenging them of the other side to bring any one single doctor of the Church, that ever spake in favour of transubstantiation;" leaving out, "for a thousand years next after Christ," which the archbishop expressly had said. And, in fine, everywhere he triumphed over the archbishop's "wilful blindness and ignorance;" and told him, in much charity, "That he was under the vengeance of God, a member of Satan, and damned." This, and a great deal more, may be seen in Pole's letter.

To which I might have added another letter of the said cardinal to the same archbishop, concerning the sacrament, a little after the disputation at Oxford, but that it would be too prolix, being a just treatise against Cranmer's book of that argument. This treatise bears this title:—

"REGINALDI POLI Cardinalis Legati apostolici epistola ad Thomam Cranmerum, qui archiepiscopalem sedem Cantuariensis ecclesie tenens, novam de sacramento eucharistiae doctrinam contra perpetuum Catholicae ecclesie consensum professus est, ac tradidit. Qua epistola eum nec magistrum tanti mysterii, neque discipulum idoneum esse posse; simulque unde his ejus error manarit, ostendit, et ad penitentiam hortatur."
CHAPTER XXI.

He recants, repents, and is burnt.

Having brought the archbishop unto his degradation and appeal, wherein he shewed so much Christian courage, wisdom, and fortitude, I must now represent him making a great trip and a sad fall, and mention one of the greatest blemishes of his life. For now the Popish party, thinking what a piece of glory it would be to gain this great man to their Church, used all means, all arts, as well as arguments, to bring him to recant. They set the doctors of the university upon him. He was entertained at the dean’s (of Christ Church) lodgings; there they treated him with good fare. They got him to bowls with them. They let him have his pleasure in taking the air. Sometimes they accosted him with arguments and disputations; sometimes by flattering promises, and threatenings. They told him, “the noblemen bare him good will; that his return would be highly acceptable to the king and queen. That he should enjoy his former dignity in the Church; or, if it liked him better, he should lead a quiet life in more privacy; and that it was but setting his name in two words in a piece of paper. They told him, the queen was resolved to have Cranmer a Catholic, or no Cranmer at all. That he was still lusty and strong and might live many a year more if he would not willingly cut off his own life by the terrible death of burning.” He rejected these temptations a long while, but at last was overcome and yielded. The recantation I shall not repeat, it being to be seen at large in Fox.1 It was signed by his hand. The witnesses thereunto were two or three,

1 [Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 82. The Rev. J. E. Cox, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the Parker Society’s edition of Abp. Cranmer’s Works, having been enabled to clear up many of the difficulties respecting Cranmer’s recantations, the particulars which he has given, vol. ii. pp. 563—586, and pp. 587—570, will be added in the Appendix of this volume after the Processus contra Cranmerum.]
who had been exceedingly busy in tampering with him, one Sydal, a great professor in the last reign, and John and Richard, two Spanish friars.

The doctors and prelates caused this recantation speedily to be printed and dispersed. When the queen saw his subscription, she was glad of it, but would not alter her determination to have him burned, by the instigation, as I suppose, of Pole the legate; the writ for which was sent down by Heath, lord chancellor, in the latter end of February, under the broad seal. It was charged upon his converters, that they were negligent in procuring his life from the queen; but the true reason was, the queen was resolved not to grant it. She privately gave instruction to Cole to prepare a sermon to preach at his burning; and several lords, and other justices of the peace in those parts, were ordered to attend there, with their servants and retinue, to keep peace, and to see him executed. Cole, coming with his errand to Oxon, visited him in the prison, and asked him if he stood firm to what he had subscribed; this was the day before his execution, but saying nothing to him of his determined death. The next day, being the day he was to be burnt, viz. March 21, he came again, and asked him if he had any money? And, having none, he gave him certain crowns to bestow to what poor he would, and so departed, exhorting him to constancy. But the disconsolate archbishop perceived to what this tended, and, being by-and-bye to be brought to St. Mary's, where Cole was to preach, there openly to confess what he had more privately subscribed, he resolved with himself to disburden his conscience, and to revoke his recantation. And he prepared a prayer, and a declaration of his faith, which he drew up in writing, and carried it privately along with him, to make use of it when he saw his occasion. The manner how he behaved himself after Cole's sermon, and how he delivered his last mind, and with what bitterness and tears he did it, and how he was pulled down by the scholars, priests, and friars, with the greatest indignation, at this their disappointment, and

1 [Fox states them to have been, "the Lord Williams, of Thame, the Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, with other worshipful men, and justices;" vol. viii. p. 83.]
how he was led out of the church forthwith to the place of burning, over against Balliol College, and how he there first put his right hand into the flames to be consumed, for that base subscription that it made, and how his heart was found whole and unconsumed in the ashes, after he was burnt, these, and the rest of the particulars of his martyrdom, I might leave to Fox,¹ and other historians from him, to relate.

Yet, because it is not convenient so briefly to pass over such a remarkable scene of his life, being his last appearance upon the stage of this world, I shall represent it in the words of a certain grave person unknown, but a Papist, who was an eye or ear witness, and related these matters, as it seems, very justly, in a letter from Oxon to his friend. Which is as followeth:²—

"But that I know for our great friendship, and long-continued love, you look even of duty that I should signify to you of the truth of such things as here chanceth among us; I would not at this time have written to you the unfortunate end and doubtful tragedy of T. C. late bishop of Canterbury, because I little pleasure take in beholding of such heavy sights. And, when they are once overpassed, I like not to rehearse them again; being but a renewing of my woe, and doubling my grief. For although his former life, and wretched end deserves a greater misery, (if any greater might have chanced than chanced unto him), yet, setting aside his offences to God and his country, and beholding the man without his faults, I think there was none that pitied not his case, and bewailed his fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life. I have no delight to increase it. Alas! it is too much of itself, that ever so heavy a case should betide to man, and man to deserve it.

"But to come to the matter. On Saturday last, being the 21st of March, was his day appointed to die. And, because the morning was much rainy, the sermon appointed by Mr.

¹ [Id. vol. viii. pp. 85—90.]
² Inter Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxxii. fol. 48].
Dr. Cole to be made at the stake, was made in St. Mary's church, whither Dr. Cranmer was brought by the mayor and aldermen, and my Lord Williams, with whom came divers gentlemen of the shire, Sir T. A. Bridges, Sir John Browne, and others. Where was prepared, over against the pulpit, an high place for him, that all the people might see him. And, when he had ascended it, he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly, which moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance.

"Then Mr. Cole began his sermon. The sum whereof was this. First, he declared causes why it was expedient that he should suffer, notwithstanding his reconciliation. The chief are these. One was, for that he had been a great cause of all this alteration in this realm of England. And, when the matter of the divorce between King Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine was commenced in the court of Rome, he, having nothing to do with it, set upon it as judge, which was the entry to all the inconveniences that followed. Yet in that he excused him, that he thought he did it not of malice, but by the persuasions and advice of certain learned men. Another was, that he had been the great setter forth of all this heresy received into the Church in this last time, had written in it, had disputed, had continued it, even to the last hour, and that it had never been seen in this realm, (but in the time of schism), that any man continuing so long hath been pardoned; and that it was not to be remitted for enample's sake. Other causes he alleged, but these were the chief, why it was not thought good to pardon him. Other causes beside, he said, moved the queen and the Council thereto, which were not meet and convenient for every one to understand them.

"The second part touched the audience, how they should consider this thing; that they should hereby take example to fear God; and that there was no power against the Lord; having before their eyes a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates of the Church, an archbishop, the chief of the Council, the second peer in the realm of long time; a man, as might be thought, in greatest assurance, a king of his side; notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from an high estate to a low degree;
of a counsellor to be a caitiff; and to be set in so wretched estate, that the poorest wretch would not change conditions with him.

"The last and end appertained unto him, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture. And with these, and such, bidding him nothing mistrust but he should incontinently receive that the thief did, to whom Christ said, 'Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.' And out of St. Paul armed him against the terrors of the fire, by this; 'Dominus fidelis est; non sinet nos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis;' by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame seem like a pleasant dew. He added hereunto the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross; the patience of St. Laurence on the fire; ascertaining him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in His faith, either will abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it. He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work; declaring what travail and conference had been used with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till it pleased God of His mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doing.

"And I had almost forgotten to tell you, that Mr. Cole promised him, that he should be prayed for in every church in Oxford, and should have mass and dirige sung for him; and spake to all the priests present to say mass for his soul.

"When he had ended his sermon, he desired all the people to pray for him, Mr. Cranmer kneeling down with them and praying for himself. I think there was never such a number so earnestly praying together. For they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion, and hope of continuance. They that loved him before could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side.

"I shall not need, for the time of sermon, to describe his behaviour, his sorrowful countenance, his heavy cheer, his face bedewed with tears; sometime lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometime casting them down to the earth for shame; to be brief, an image of sorrow; the dolor of his
heart bursting out at his eyes in plenty of tears; retaining ever a quiet and grave behaviour, which increased the pity in men's hearts, that they unfeignedly loved him, hoping it had been his repentance for his transgression and error. I shall not need, I say, to point it out unto you, you can much better imagine it yourself.

"When praying was done, he stood up, and having leave to speak, said, 'Good people, I had intended indeed to desire you to pray for me, which because Mr. Doctor hath desired, and you have done already, I thank you most heartily for it. And now will I pray for myself, as I could best devise for mine own comfort, and say the prayer, word for word, as I have here written it.' And he read it standing; and after kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer; and all the people on their knees devoutly praying with him. His prayer was thus:—

"'O Father of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner. I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or whither should I fly for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no refuge. What shall I then do; shall I despair? God forbid. O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none that come unto thee for succour. To thee therefore do I run. To thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences. Nor thou didst not give thy Son unto death, O God the Father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world; so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. For although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby; and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, Our Father which art in heaven, &c.'
Then rising, he said, 'Every man desireth, good people, at the time of their deaths, to give some good exhortation, that other may remember after their deaths, and be the better thereby. So I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something, at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

'First, It is an heavy case to see, that many folks be so much doted upon the love of this false world, and so careful for it, that or the love of God, or the love of the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing therefore. This shall be my first exhortation. That you set not overmuch by this false glosing world, but upon God and the world to come; and learn to know what this lesson meaneth which St. John teacheth, 'That the love of this world is hatred against God.'

'The second exhortation is, that, next unto God, you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; and not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God, knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you. And therefore, whoso resisteth them resisteth God's ordinance.

'The third exhortation is, that you love all together like brethren and sistern. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man hath to another, not taking each other as sisters and brothers, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, to do good to all men as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural and loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

'The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh those sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, 'It is hard for a rich man to enter into heaven;' a sore saying, and yet spoke by Him that knew the truth. The second is of St. John, whose saying is this, 'He that hath the substance of this world,
and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say he loveth God? 1 Much more might I speak of every part; but time sufficeth not. I do but put you in remembrance of things. Let all them that be rich, ponder well those sentences, for if ever they had any occasion to shew their charity, they have now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear. For though I have been long in prison, yet I have heard of the great penury of the poor. Consider that that which is given to the poor is given to God, whom we have not otherwise present corporally with us, but in the poor.

"'And now, for so much as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven, in joy, or else to be in pain ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes, presently either heaven ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without colour or dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past.

"'First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c., and every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, His Apostles, and Prophets, in the Old and New Testament.

"'And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life, and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth which here now I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished; for if

1 He quoted also a third place out of James, against covetous rich men:—"Weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you; your riches doth rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver is cankered," &c.
I may 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.’

‘And here, being admonished of his recantation and dis-
seeming, he said, ‘Alas, my lord, I have been a man that all
my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against
the truth, which I am most sorry for.’ He added hereunto,
that, for the sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his
book against the bishop of Winchester. And here he was
suffered to speak no more.

‘So that his speech contained chiefly three points, love to
God, love to the king, and love to the neighbour. In the
which talk he held men very suspense, which all depended
upon the conclusion; where he so far deceived all men’s
expectations, that, at the hearing thereat, they were much
amazed; and let him go on awhile, till my Lord Williams
bade him play the Christian man and remember himself.
To whom he answered, that he so did, for now he spake
truth.

‘Then he was carried away, and a great number that did
run to see him go so wickedly to his death, ran after him,
exhorting him, while time was, to remember himself. And
one Friar John, a godly and well-learned man, all the way
travelled with him to reduce him. But it would not be.
What they said in particular I cannot tell, but the effect
appeared in the end; for at the stake he professed that he
died in all such opinions as he had taught, and oft repented
him of his recantation.

‘Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and
willing mind, he put off his garments with haste, and stood
upright in his shirt; and a bachelor of divinity, named Elye,
of Braze-nose College, laboured to convert him to his
former recantation, with the two Spanish friars. But when
the friars saw his constancy, they said in Latin one to
another, ‘Let us go from him; we ought not to be nigh
him, for the devil is with him.’ But the bachelor in divinity
was more earnest with him; unto whom he answered, that
as concerning his recantation, he repented it right sore,
because he knew it was against the truth, with other words
more. Whereupon the Lord Williams cried, ‘Make short,
make short.’ Then the bishop took certain of his friends by
the hand. But the bachelor of divinity refused to take him by the hand, and blamed all others that so did, and said, he was sorry that ever he came in his company. And yet again he required him to agree to his former recantation. And the bishop answered, (shewing his hand), ‘This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore shall it suffer first punishment.’

‘Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, ‘This hand hath offended.’ As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while.

‘His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and subversion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time; but, seeing that not the death, but the cause and quarrel thereof, commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but much dispraise his obstinate stubbornness and sturdiness in dying, and specially in so evil a cause. Surely his death much grieved every man; but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his body so tormented with the fire raging upon the silly carcass, that counted not of the folly. Other, that passed not much of the body, lamented to see him spill his soul, wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. His friends sorrowed for love, his enemies for pity; strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another. Thus I have enforced myself, for your sake, to discourse this heavy narration, contrary to my mind; and, being more than half-weary, I make a short end, wishing you a quieter life, with less honour, and easier death, with more praise. The 23rd of March.

‘Yours, J. A.’

All this is the testimony of an adversary, and therefore we must allow for some of his words; but may be the more certain of the archbishop’s brave courage, constancy,
patience, Christian and holy behaviour, being related by one so affected.¹

In regard of this holy prelate’s life, taken away by martyrdom, I cannot but take notice here of two things, as though God had given him some intimation thereof long before it happened. The one is, that whereas his paternal coat of arms was three cranes (alluding to his name), King Henry appointed him to bear in the room thereof three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood. The like coat of arms, or much resembling it, I find several of Queen Elizabeth’s first bishops took; whether to imitate Cranmer, or to signify their zeal to the Gospel, and their readiness to suffer for it, I do not determine. The other remark I make is, what his friend Andreas Osiander, in an epistle to him in the year 1537,² told him; which was, that he had animum vel martyrrio parem, “a mind fit or ready for martyrdom.” And so took occasion to exhort him at large to bear the afflictions that were to attend him, as though God had inspired that great German divine with a prophetic spirit, to acquaint this his faithful servant by what death he should glorify God, and what sufferings he must undergo for His sake. He urged him to “contemn all dangers in asserting and preserving the sincere doctrine of Christ, since, as St. Paul testified, that ‘all that would live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.’ How much, said he, ought we to reckon that you are to receive the various assaults of Satan, seeing that you are thus good for the good of many. But,

‘Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.’

‘Yield not to these evils, but go on the more boldly.’ And, seeing you must bear adversity, remember that we are baptized into the death of Christ, and buried together with Him, that we may be once made partakers of his resurrection and eternal happiness.”

I do not find who were the queen’s great instigators, (now Winchester³ was dead), stirring her up not to spare this prelate, but by any means to put him to death, and that even after his subscription; nor for what reason of state

¹ [See vol. i. pp. 181, 182.]
³ [i.e. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.]
this resolution was taken at court, notwithstanding his former good merits towards the queen, who therefore certainly must have felt great strugglings before she could yield to have him die; but I am apt to suspect the cardinal, who now governed the queen, had no small hand in it, to show his zeal for the papacy, and to revenge the injuries done it in King Henry's reign, as well as to succeed in his place. For his Latin letter to the archbishop, mentioned above, savoured of a great deal of malice and mortal hatred towards him. In this letter, it appears, the cardinal looked upon our archbishop as a mere infidel and apostate from Christianity, and so to be treated. For in the very beginning he makes it a matter of conscience to write to him, "It being in effect as much as receiving him into his house; against which St. John gave a charge, speaking of Christians turned heathens, that 'they should not be received into our houses, nor bid God speed.' And therefore he wrote he was once in his mind not to speak at all to him, but to God rather concerning him, to send fire from heaven and consume him. And asketh the question, [as though it could not be reasonably gainsaid], whether he should not do justly in this impeachment upon him, who had before cast out the king out of the house of God, that is, the Church. He meant, as he explained himself, casting him out, as Satan cast out man from paradise, not by force, but by deceivable counsels. That him the archbishop had followed, and by his impious advice, forced the king to disjoin himself from the communion of the Church, and his country, together with himself, and wickedly betrayed the Church, the mother of us all; to the opposing whereof he gave Satan all advantages, to the destruction as well of souls as bodies. That he was the worst of all others. For they, being beset on all sides with divers temptations, a great while resisted, and at last indeed gave way; but he, the archbishop, of his own free accord, walked in the counsel of the ungodly; and not only so, but stood in it, and in the way of sinners, and confirmed the king therein; and moreover sat in the seat of the scornful. That when he came first to the episcopal chair, he was called to it to cheat both God

1 [Page 117.]  
2 Ep. John ii. 10.
and man: and that he began his actions with putting a cheat upon the king; and, together with him, upon the Church and his country." This, and a great deal more to the same purpose, he tells the archbishop plainly and expressly, though under a show of great sanctity, which shows with what an implacable mind he stood affected towards him.

And thus we have brought this excellent prelate unto his end, after two years and a half's hard imprisonment. His body was not carried to the grave in state, nor buried, as many of his predecessors were, in his own cathedral church, nor enclosed in a monument of marble or touchstone. Nor had he any inscription to set forth his praises to posterity; no shrine to be visited by devout pilgrims, as his predecessors St. Dunstan and St. Thomas had. Shall we therefore say, as the poet doth,

"Marmoreo Licinio tumulo iacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo. Quis putet esse deos?"

No; we are better Christians, I trust, than so, who are taught, that the rewards of God's elect are not temporal, but eternal. And Cranmer's martyrdom is his monument, and his name will outlast an epitaph or a shrine. But methinks it is pity, that his heart, that remained sound in the fire, and was found unconsumed in his ashes, was not preserved in some urn, which, when the better times of Queen Elizabeth came, might, in memory of this truly great and good Thomas of Canterbury, have been placed among his predecessors in his church there, as one of the truest glories of that see.

Though these three martyrs, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were parted asunder, and placed in separate lodgings, that they might not confer together, yet they were suffered sometimes to eat together in the prison of Bocardo. I have seen a book of their diet every dinner and supper, and the charge thereof,¹ which was at the expense of [Thomas] Winkle and [John] Wells, bailiffs of the city at that time, under whose custody they were. As for example in this method:—

¹ MSS. C.C.C.C. [No. cxxviii. fol. 385].

K 2
The 1st of October dinner.

Bread and ale ........................................... ii d.
Item, oisters ........................................... i d.
Item, butter ........................................... ii d.
Item, eggs ............................................. ii d.
Item, lyng' ........................................... viii d.
Item, a piece of fresh salmon ...................... x d.
Wine ................................................... iii d.
Cheese and pears ...................................... ii d.

ii s. vi d.

From this book of their expenses give me leave to make these few observations. They ate constantly suppers as well as dinners. Their meals amounted to about three or four shillings, seldom exceeding four. Their bread and ale commonly came to twopence or threepence. They had constantly cheese and pears for their last dish, both at dinner and supper, and always wine, the price whereof was ever threepence, and no more. The prices of their provisions (it being now an extraordinary dear time) were as follow:—

A goose, 14d. A pig, 12d. or 13d. A cony, 6d. A woodcock, 3d. and sometimes 5d. A couple of chickens, 6d. Three plovers, 10d. Half a dozen larks, 3d. A dozen of larks and two plovers, 10d. A breast of veal, 11d. A shoulder of mutton, 10d. Roast beef, 12d.

The last disbursements (which have melancholy in the reading) were these:—

s. d.

For three loads of wood-fagots to burn
Ridley and Latimer ................................. 12 0
Item, one load of furs-fagots .................... 3 4
For the carriage of these four loads .......... 2 0
Item, a post .......................................... 1 4
Item, two chains .................................... 3 4
Item, two staples ................................... 0 6
Item, four labourers .............................. 2 8
Then follow the charges for burning Cranmer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For an 100 of wood-fagots</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For an 100 and half of furs-fagots</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the carriage of them</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To two labourers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems the superiors in those days were more zealous to send these three good men to Oxon, and there to serve their ends upon them, and afterwards to burn them, than they were careful honestly to pay the charges thereof. For Winkle and Wells, notwithstanding all their endeavours to get themselves reimbursed of what they had laid out, which came to sixty-three pounds ten shillings and twopence, could never get but twenty pounds, which they received by the means of Sir William Petre, secretary of state. Insomuch that, in the year 1566, they put up a petition to Archbishop Parker and the other bishops, that they would among themselves raise and repay that sum, which the said bailiffs were out of purse in feeding of these three reverend fathers. In which petition they set forth, "That, in the second and third years of King Philip and Queen Mary, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, and Bishop Ridley, were by order of council committed to the custody of them, and so continued a certain time; and for them they disbursed the sum of £68. 10s. 2d.; whereof but £20 was paid to them. Therefore they pray his grace, and the rest of his bishops, to be a means among themselves that the remaining sum may be paid to them, being £43. 10s. 2d., or some part thereof; otherwise they, and their poor wives and children, should be utterly undone." And, to give the better countenance to these men that were going to carry up their petition, Laurence Humfrey, president of Magdalen College, and the queen's professor, wrote this letter on their behalf to Archbishop Parker.

\[J\ E\ H.\]

"My humble commendations presupposed in the Lord. To be a suitor in another man's case, it seemeth boldness; and, in a matter of money, to write to your grace, is more than sauciness: yet charity, 'operiens multituidinem pecca-
torum,' doth move me, and will persuade you to hear him. A debt is due unto him for the table of Mr. Dr. Cranmer, by the queen's majesty's appointment. And Mr. Secretary in Oxford wished him, at that time of business in progress, to make some motion to the bishops for some relief. The case is miserable. The debt is just. His charges in the suit have been great. His honesty, I assure your grace, deserves pitiful consideration. And for that my lord of Sarum 1 writeth to me, as here, in Oxford, he promised that his part shall not be behind, what order soever it please my lords to take for the despatch of the same. I request your grace, as successor to that right reverend father, and chief patron of such poor suitors, to make, by your good means, some collection for him among the rest of my lords the bishops, that his goodwill, showed to that worthy martyr, may of you be considered, and so be bound to your goodness, of his part altogether undeserved. Thus recommending the common cause of reformation to you, and myself and this poor man to your good remembrance, I leave to trouble you. Requesting you once again to hear him, and tender his cause even of charity for God his sake, to whose protection I commend your grace. From Oxford, November 22, anno 1566.

"Your grace's humble orator, LAUR. HUMFREY." 2

Though I cannot trace this any further, yet I make no doubt this petition was favourably received with the archbishop and bishops. It seems, in Cranmer's lifetime, money was sent to Oxford for the sustentation of these prisoners of Christ, but embossed. For one W. Pantry, of Oxford, received forty pounds at Mr. Stonelye's hand for my Lord Cranmer, and the other two in like case. This was declared by the bailiffs to Thomas Deyley, Esq., steward to Archbishop Parker.

1 [John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury.]
2 Ex Biblioth. C.C.O.O. [No. cxxxviii. (a)].
CHAPTER XXII.

Cranmer's Books and Writings.

Having brought our history of this singular and extraordinary light of the Church to this period, we will, before we take our leave of him, gather up some few fragments more, thinking it pity that anything should be lost that may either serve to communicate any knowledge of him to posterity, or to clear and vindicate him from aspersions or misrepresentations, vulgarly conceived of him. And here will fall under our consideration, first, his books and writings; after them, his acquaintance with learned men, and his favour to them and learning; then, some matters relating to his family and officers; and lastly, we shall conclude with some observations upon him.

For the pen of this great divine was not idle, being employed, as earnestly as his authority and influence, for the furtherance of religion, and rescue of this Church from Popish superstition and foreign jurisdiction. He laid a solid foundation in learning by his long and serious studies in the university, to which he was much addicted, so much that this was one of the causes which made him so labour, by the interest of his friends with King Henry, to be excused from taking the archbishopric of Canterbury; because this promotion would so much interrupt his beloved studies, desiring rather some smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book. And as he had been a hard student, so he was a very great writer, both in respect of the number of books and treatises he compiled, as of the learning, judgment, and moment of them.

The first treatise he wrote was that which was done at the command of Henry VIII. viz. concerning the unlawfulness of his marriage with his brother Arthur's widow, which he made appear to be both against the word of God, and against the judgment of the ancient Fathers of the Church, and therefore a case indispensible by the Pope. And so well had he studied the point, and so well was assured of what he had wrote, that he undertook, before the king, to
maintain the truth of it at Rome, in the presence of the Pope himself. The king accordingly dismissed him to the Pope, in joint embassy with the earl of Wiltshire, and some others for that purpose. He presented his book to the Pope, offering to stand by it against any whomsoever that should attempt to gainsay it. But the Pope thought not fit to suffer so tender a point to be disputed, wherein his prerogative was so much touched. When he had finished this discourse, it was sent to Cambridge, and had the approbation and subscription of the eminentest doctors there, viz. Salcot, Reppa, Crome, and divers others. Among which, I suppose, were Heynes, Latimer, Shaxton, Skip, Goodrich, Heath, who were then gremials.

After this book, he was much employed in writing more, at various times, and upon various occasions. Fox mentioneth Cranmer's book of the Reformation, (which I suppose was that of the public service), the Catechism, the book of Homilies, which was part by him composed, and part by his procurement, and by him approved and published. Likewise the confutation of eighty-eight articles, devised and propounded by a Convocation in King Henry's reign, and laboured to be received and enjoined, though they were not.¹

But his discourse, wherein he stated the doctrine of the Sacrament in five books, must especially be remembered, which he wrote on purpose for the public instruction of the Church of England. And it is the more to be valued, as being writ by him in his mature age, after all his great readings and studies, and most diligent and serious perusals of all the ecclesiastical writers, whereby he became thoroughly acquainted with their judgments and opinions in that doctrine. And in it are contained his last and ripest thoughts on that argument. This book displayeth the great weakness of that distinguishing doctrine of the Church of Rome, that asserts transubstantiation.

Besides these, many other writings and discourses were made by him, which we are beholden to the bishop of Sarum for retrieving the memory of, and preserving the substance of divers of them in his excellent History, viz.:

A learned Speech, made to the lords concerning the Pope

and a general council,\(^1\) which that right reverend author thinks was made about the year 1534, which was soon after his being made archbishop.

Some Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses in religion, whereby the people had been deceived.\(^2\)

Some Queries concerning Confirmation, with the answers which were given to them by Archbishop Cranmer.\(^3\)

Some Considerations to induce the king to proceed to a further Reformation.\(^4\) These three last were presented by the archbishop to the king, about the year 1536, as the bishop of Sarum supposest; and, having seen the originals thereof in the Cotton library,\(^5\) hath transcribed them to us in the Addenda to the Collections.

His Resolution of Seventeen Questions concerning the Sacraments, anno 1540.\(^6\)

A Collection of Passages out of the Canon Law, to show the necessity of reforming it, anno 1542.\(^7\)

His letters to Osiander, and letters of Osiander to him, concerning the proceedings of the German divines, whose violence the archbishop disliked.\(^8\)

A speech made in the Convocation, wherein he exhorted the clergy to give themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and to consider seriously what things in the Church needed reformation, anno 1547.\(^9\)

His answer to the demands of the rebels in the west; drawn up by him by order of the council, anno 1549.\(^10\)

His declaration, to vindicate himself from an aspersion,

\(^1\) Hist. Ref. part i. p. 174 [vol. i. p. 353].
\(^2\) [Hist. Ref.] ubi supra, p. 364 [vol. i. part ii. Add. No. 2, pp. 476—479].
\(^3\) Ibid. [vol. i. part ii. Add. No. 3, p. 479].
\(^4\) Ibid. [vol. i. part ii. Add. No. 4, pp. 480—482].
\(^5\) [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. 50.]
\(^6\) Ubi supra, p. 289 [vol. i. pp. 578—582, and part ii. book iii. No. 21, pp. 314—367].
\(^7\) Ubi supra, p. 330 [vol. i. part ii. book iii. No. 27, pp. 391—398. For this Collection, &c. see Parker Society's edition of Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 68—75, where all the references to the Corpus Juris Canonici have been supplied with singular labour and accuracy. by the editor, the Rev. J. E. Cox].
\(^8\) Page 171 [vol. i. p. 348].
that he had caused mass to be sung in Canterbury, and offering therein a public dispute to maintain the Reformation, anno 1553.  

Besides two volumes in folio, writ by Cranmer's own hand, upon all the heads of religion, consisting of allegations of texts of Scripture, and of ancient Fathers, and later doctors and schoolmen, upon each subject. There were also six or seven volumes of his writings, which were in the Lord Burleigh's possession, as appeared by a letter of the said lord, which the bishop of Sarum saw; but he thought these may now be lost. Most of the forementioned writings are preserved in the Cotton library, or in that of Corpus Christi, Cambridge; or among the manuscripts of the right reverend Bishop Stillingfleet.

To which we must add the mention of a bundle of books lying in the palace treasury in Westminster, in defence of the king's title of Supreme Head, and concerning the divorce, and several other matters, against Cardinal Pole, which are supposed to be written partly by Dr. Clark, bishop of Bath and Wells, and partly by our archbishop.

Several other letters, speeches, and arguments of our archbishop, may be found in these memorials, which I omit here rehearsing. But I will add to these divers pieces besides of this prelate's writing, as they are set down by Melchior Adam, at the end of Cranmer's life, who indeed did but transcribe them from Gesner, and he from John Bale's Centuries.

I. A Preface to the English translation of the Bible. This is transcribed in the Appendix.

II. A Catechism of Christian Doctrine, printed by Gualter Lynn, anno 1548. This catechism was first framed in Germany, and by the archbishop himself, or his special

---

order, turned into English. And, to fix an authority to the same, he caused it to be published in his own name, and owned it for his own book. This Dr. Rowland Taylor, who lived in the archbishop's family, declared before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor, at his examination before him. And in this sense we must understand the author of the History of the Reformation, when, speaking of this Catechism, he styles it, "a work that was wholly his own." It was said that before that Justus Jonas, (he, I suppose, that dwelt with the archbishop), was the translator of it into Latin. It treated of the sacrament after the Lutheran way; which way the archbishop embraced next after his rejection of the gross papal transubstantiation. This Catechism was printed first, by the archbishop's order, about the time of King Henry's death, or soon after. In a second edition the word set was inserted in a certain place of the book, to alter the doctrine of the real presence, which was asserted in the first edition. This Dr. Martin, one of Queen Mary's commissioners, threw in his dish at his examination in Oxford. But the archbishop professed his ignorance concerning the foisting of that word. The addition of which word, indeed, he thought was needless, still holding the body and blood truly present in the holy supper, though after a spiritual manner.

III. The ordinances or appointments of the Reformed Church. This was the book of Common Prayer, with the preface before it, beginning, "There was never anything," &c. as I learn out of Bale.

IV. One book of ordaining ministers. Which I suppose was the form of ordination published in the year 1550.

1 ["This Catechism was first made in Latin by another, but translated by Cranmer's order; and it was reviewed by him."—Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. part ii. p. 545. See also vol. ii. pp. 145 and 147, where Burnet had said, "the work was wholly Cranmer's own." This opinion it will be seen Burnet corrected in the above quotation.]

2 See Dr. Taylor's Letter, in Fox [vol. vi. p. 686].

3 Hist. Ref. part ii. p. 71 [vol. ii. p. 147].

4 [See vol. i. p. 227 of this edition.]

5 [See "Talk between Cranmer and Dr. Martin:" Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 57.]

6 [See Parker Society's edition of Liturgies of Edward VI. p. 18.]

7 [Id. pp. 159—166.]
V. One book concerning the Eucharist with Luther, with whom Cranmer once consented in the doctrine of the presence.  

VI. A Defence of the Catholic Doctrine, in five books. Which was his excellent work, in vindication of himself against Bishop Gardiner, and Dr. Richard Smith, whereof much hath been said before.  

VII. Ecclesiastical Laws in the time of King Edward. This was the book of the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, the management of which was, by the king's letters, committed to eight, whereof Cranmer was the chief.  

VIII. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper; against Gardiner's sermon. This sermon is the same, I suppose, with that book of his, intitled, "A Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned People of the true Belief of the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar." Which gave occasion to the archbishop's first writing upon this argument.  

IX. One book against the error of transubstantiation.  

X. One book, how Christ is present in the Supper.  

XI. One book, concerning eating the Lord's Supper.  

XII. One book, concerning the offering up of Christ. These five books last mentioned are nothing else but the five parts of his book of the holy Sacrament, mentioned before.  

XIII. One book of Christian Homilies, which must be the first part of our book of Homilies, published under King Edward.  

XIV. One book in answer to the calumnies of Richard Smith. For this man had writ against Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, as well as Gardiner; but done it so scurrilously, that Cranmer calls it, his calumnies.  

XV. Confutations of Unwritten Verities. Written against a book of the same Smith, intitled, "De veritatibus non scriptis," which he afterwards recanted.  

[For these books, see Parker Society's edition of the Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i.]  
[Id. vol. i. pp. 368—379.]  
[Id. vol. ii. pp. 1—67.]
XVI. Twelve books of Common-places, taken out of the
doctors. Those volumes mentioned by Bishop Burnet, I
suppose, were some of these common-place books.¹

XVII. Concerning not marrying the Brother's Wife:
two books. Which must be those drawn up for the use,
and by the command, of King Henry.

XVIII. Against the Pope's supremacy: two books.
This was the declaration against the papal supremacy, said
to be put forth by the bishops, in the year 1536, upon occa-
sion of Pole's book of "Ecclesiastical Union."

XIX. Against the Pope's Purgatory: two books.

XX. Concerning Justification: two books. I cannot
trace these two last-mentioned books, unless by them be
meant those two treatises of justification and purgatory,
that are set at the end of the Institution.

XXI. Pious Prayers: one book. This book, I suppose,
was the "Orarium, seu libellus precationum," put forth by
the king and clergy, 1545. From whence a book of prayers
was translated into English, anno 1552.

XXII. Letters to learned Men: one book. This I can-
not hear any tidings of.²

XXIII. Against the Sacrifice of the Mass, and against
the Adoration of the Bread, one book; said to be writ
while he was a prisoner,³ which makes me conclude it to
be part of his reply to Gardiner's second assault of him,
under the name of Constantius.

XXIV. To Queen Mary, one book, or rather one letter;
which was that he writ after his examinations before her
commissioners, and the pope's sub-delegate.⁴

If somebody of leisure, and that had the opportunity of
libraries, would take the pains to collect together all these
books, and other writings of this archbishop, and publish
them, it would be a worthy work, as both retrieving the
memory of this extraordinary man, who deserved so well of
this Church, and serving also much to illustrate the history
of its reformation. But I know nothing of this nature done

¹ [See above, p. 138.]
² [For the Letters of Cranmer, see Jenkyns' Remains, and also
Parker Society's edition of his Works.]
⁴ [Id. vol. viii. p. 91.]
Cranmer's Books

since the industrious John Day, in the year 1580, printed a book in folio, containing our archbishop's "Answer unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, against the true Doctrine of the Sacrament; also to Richard Smith. Also, A true Copy of the Book writ by Stephen Gardiner. Also, The Life and Martyrdom of Cranmer, extracted out of the Book of Martyrs."¹

And now we are mentioning this great prelate's writings, it may not be unworthy to take notice of what I meet with in a letter of Archbishop Parker to Secretary Cecil, in the year 1568, his grace being then at Canterbury. Where he spake of the great notable written books, as he styles them, of his predecessor Dr. Cranmer, which he had left behind him at some of his houses at or near Canterbury, whether Ford or Beakesbourne, or both, or with some friends in those parts. These manuscripts, it seems, were embezzled and surreptitiously taken away by private hands, probably during his restraint in Queen Mary's days, and now studiously concealed by some that were minded, it may be, to stifle them, being chiefly levelled against the Roman Church and bishop. Parker, who was a great and painful searcher after ancient and learned manuscripts, and a diligent retriever of eminent men's writings, had, by credible information, learned in what hands many of those books were, and had sent either for the persons concerned, or to them, to demand the said books. But they denied them; whereupon, knowing no other way to recover them, he desired the secretary, by some power from the queen's council, to authorize him to inquire and search for those books, and such-like monuments, by all ways, as by the said Parker's discretion should be thought good, whether giving the parties an oath, or viewing their studies. Wishing he might recover them to be afterwards at the queen's commandment; adding, that he should be as glad to win them, as he would be to restore an old chancel to reparation. This letter of Archbishop Parker I have inserted in the Appendix.² But whether, after all his diligence, he succeeded in

¹ That which Strype thought would be so "worthy a work," has at length been accomplished by Dr. Jenkyns in his Remains of Abp. Cranmer, and also by the Rev. J. E. Cox, for the Parker Society.
² No. XC.
the recovery of those manuscripts, I know not. I am apt to think he did, and that these writings of Cranmer, that were in his possession, and afterwards bequeathed unto the library of Benet College, and those other divers volumes, which were, as was before said, in the keeping of the Lord Burghley, might be some at least of them.

An inquisitive man would be glad to know what the matter and contents of these numerous writings of our archbishop were; and that, seeing so many of them are perished, the knowledge of the various subjects of them at least might be preserved. This, besides what hath been shown already, may be gathered by what I find in a supplication made to Queen Elizabeth by Ralph Morice, that had been his secretary for the space of twenty years, during which time he was employed by that most reverend father, in writing for him, "about the serious affairs of the prince and realm, committed unto him by those most noble and worthy princes, King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI., concerning as well the writings of those great and weighty matrimonial causes of the said King Henry VIII. as also about the extirpation of the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority, the reformation of corrupt religion and ecclesiastical laws, and alteration of divine service; and of divers and sundry conferences of learned men for the establishing and advancement of sincere religion, with such like. Wherein, he said, he was most painfully occupied in writing of no small volumes from time to time."

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Archbishop's regard to learned Men.

From these truly noble and useful exercises of his great knowledge and learning, let us descend unto the respect he bare to good letters, which appeared from his favour to

[See above, p. 138.]
places of learning, and men of learning. We shewed before what were the applications of the University of Cambridge to him, and what a gracious patron he was to it and its members.¹

Among whose good offices to that university, besides those already mentioned, it must not be omitted, that he was the great instrument of placing there those two very learned foreign divines, Paulus Fagius and Martin Bucer. By his frequent letters to them, then at Strasburgh, urging them with the distracted and dangerous state of Germany, he first brought them over into England in the year 1548: and, having entertained them in his family, the next year he preferred them both in Cambridge; Fagius to be public professor of the Hebrew tongue, and Bucer of divinity. And, beside the university salary, he procured for each of them from the king in the third year of his reign, patents for an honorary stipend of an hundred pounds per annum each, "de gratia speciali domini regis," to be paid by the hands of the clerk of the hanaper, or out of the treasury of the court of augmentations, "durante beneplacito domini regis:" as I find by King Edward VI.'s book of sales, formerly mentioned. Which patents bear date September 26, anno 1549, and their salaries payable from the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin. By the way, I do not see anywhere in the said book of sales that Peter Martyr, placed professor of divinity in the other university of Oxon, enjoyed any such royal salary, though he also had been invited over by Canterbury with the king's knowledge and allowance, and placed there by that archbishop's means.

Yet he, and his companion Ochinus, had their annual allowances from the king; and so, I suppose, had all other learned foreigners here. Melanchthon also, who was now expected over, was intended some more extraordinary gratitude. Unto this noble Christian hospitality and liberality, Latimer, the great court preacher, excited the king in one of his sermons before him. The passage may deserve to be repeated: "I heard say Master Melanchthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as

¹ [See vol. i. p. 232, of this edition.]
he is, [to have] two hundred pounds a year: the king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Martyr and Barnard Ochin, which have a hundred marks apiece: I would the king would bestow a thousand pound on that sort." 1 These matters, I doubt not, were concerted between Latimer and our archbishop before; at whose palace he now was for the most part; as I find by one of his sermons, wherein he speaks of his taking boat at Lambeth; 2 and, in another place, he mentioneth a book he met with in my lord of Canterbury's library, 3 and elsewhere of many suitors that applied to him at my lord of Canterbury's, that interrupted his studies there. 4 The use I make of this is, that it is a fair conjecture hence, that this, and the many other excellent things so plainly propounded by this preacher to King Edward, happened by the counsel and suggestion of the archbishop. But to return.

There was one Dr. William Mowsse, a civilian, and probably one of his officers, whom, for his merits and learning, our archbishop for many a year had been a special benefactor to. Sir John Cheke also bare him a very good will. Upon the removal of Dr. Haddon to some other preferment, this Dr. Mowsse succeeded master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge. And, in the year 1552, the archbishop, valuing his worth and integrity, was a suitor at court for some further preferment for him, whatever it were, which the study of the civil law had qualified him for; writing his letters on Mowsse's behalf to Secretary Cecil, who was then with the king in his progress, not to forget him. And accordingly he was remembered, and obtained the place; for which the archbishop afterwards gave him his most hearty thanks. And Dr. Mowsse also sent the same secretary a letter of thanks from Cambridge for the preferment he had obtained by his means: the main drift thereof was, to excuse himself for his neglect, in that he had not sooner paid his acknowledgments, which, as it seems, the secretary had taken some notice of, having expected to be thanked for the kindness he had done him. This letter, because there is therein

1 [See Parker Society's edition of Works of Latimer, vol. i. p. 141, by which the above quotation has been corrected.]
2 [Id. p. 205.]
3 [Id. p. 209.]
4 [Id. p. 127.]
mention made of our archbishop's singular munificence, and Cheke's affection towards him, and Mowse himself once making a figure in that university, I have thought it not amiss to insert in the Appendix; ¹ though this man seemed to be none of the steadiest in his religion. For I find him put out of his mastership of Trinity Hall, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, for having been a Protestant, and to make way for the restoration of Dr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who had been outed before. Upon whose death that mastership falling void, and Mowse having complied with the Romish religion, he became master there again. And soon after, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was deprived by her commissioners for being a Papist, and one Harvey came in his room.

Dr. Mowse's fickleness appeared, that, upon the first tidings that fled to Cambridge of Queen Mary's success against the Lady Jane's party, he, with several other temporizing university-men, changed his religion, and, in four and twenty hours, was both Protestant and Papist. The truth is, his judgment varied according to his worldly interest, and, being one of those that came about so roundly, he was appointed, by the complying party of the university, to be one of the two, (Dr. Hatcher being the other), that should repair unto Dr. Sands, then the vice-chancellor, to demand of him, without any colour of reason or authority, the university-books, the keys, and such other things as were in his keeping. And so they did. And my author makes an observation of his ingratitude, as well as of his inconstancy: viz. "That he that was an earnest Protestant but the day before, and one whom Dr. Sands had done much good for, was now become a Papist, and his great enemy." ²

Thus was our archbishop a friend to this man, and divers others, who went along with him as far as he and the times favoured them; but, when these failed them, they failed the archbishop through timorousness in some, and worldly respects in others.

But once more of this Dr. Mowse, and I have done with him. As a reward of his forwardness at Cambridge, before mentioned, I find he was soon after incorporated at Oxon;

¹ No. XCI. ² Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 631.]
(together with Andrew Pern, D.D., a man of the same inconstancy), and preferred to be reader of the civil law there, in the room of Dr. Aubrey, who probably was removed for incompliance.\textsuperscript{1} And, when the next change happened under Queen Elizabeth, Mowse came about again, and, in the year 1560, obtained a pretense in the church of York. He lived till the year 1588, leaving some benefactions to his old college.

The archbishop was indeed a great patron to all learned and pious men, especially those of the Reformation, cherishing those not only of his own country, but foreigners and strangers also. And as he brought over divers with him, when he returned into England from his embassy in Germany, so he sent for more; and such as came to him he gave honourable harbour and maintenance to, keeping them at his own cost, till he had made provisions for them either in the church, or university.

For Erasmus our archbishop had a great value, whose worth and service to the Church he well knew. He allowed him an honorary pension, promising him, that he would be no less kind unto him than his predecessor Warham had been before him, which archbishop was one of Erasmus' best and most extraordinary friends and benefactors. Of whom he used these words, to a friend of his, "Qui mihi unus multorum instar erat."\textsuperscript{2} Soon after the succession of Cranmer into this archbishop's room, Sir Thomas More wrote to Erasmus, that he, that then filled the see of Canterbury, bore no less love to him than Warham had done before; and "Quo non alius visist tui amantior," "that there was no man living loved him better." And Erasmus himself, mentioning his great loss in Archbishop Warham, and divers other patrons of his, that were taken off by death, comforted himself that God had made up those loses to him by raising him up other friends. "So," saith he, "in the room of Warham succeeded the reverend Thomas Cranmer, professione, theologus, vir integerrimus, candidissimisque moribus, qui ultra pollicitus est sese in studio ac bene-\textsuperscript{1} [Wood's] Athen. Oxon. [p. 688].
\textsuperscript{2} Eras. Ep. 10, lib. 27 [p. 1510].
Vuaramus non ereptus, sed in Cranmero renatus videri quest); by profession a divine, a person of the greatest integrity, and most unblameable behaviour, who of his own accord promised, that, in favour and kindness toward me, he would be no ways behind his predecessor. And that which he voluntarily promised, he hath voluntarily begun to make good. So that, methinks, Warham is not taken away from me, but rather born again to me in Cranmer."

One specimen of his munificence towards this learned man I met with in one of his letters, wherein he acknowledged to have received of Cranmer eighteen angels, when the bishop of Lincoln sent him also fifteen, and the Lord Crumwel twenty.

Alexander Aless was another learned stranger, whom our archbishop gave harbour and shewed favour to, a Scotchman by birth, but that had long lived and conversed with Melancthon in Germany, who, knowing the generous and hospitable disposition of the archbishop, recommended this Aless to him, giving a high character of him for his learning, probity, and diligence in every good office. In the year 1535, he brought over from Melancthon a book, to be presented to the archbishop: wherein "that learned German laboured, (as he told the archbishop in his letter, sent at the same time), to state diligently and profitably most of the controversies, and, as much as he could, to mitigate them: leaving the judgment of the whole unto his grace, and such learned and pious men as he, from whose judgment, (he said), he would never differ in the church of Christ: desiring him also to acquaint Aless what his grace's own judgment was of the book, that Aless might signify the same unto him." Such was the deference Melancthon gave unto the learning and censure of Cranmer. This book I should suppose to have been his Common-places, but that they came out a year after. By the same messenger he sent another of these books to be presented in his name to the king; and, in case the archbishop approved of what he had wrote, he entreated him to introduce the bringer, and to assist him in the presenting of it. Upon these recommendations of Aless, and the archbishop's own satisfaction in the worth of the man, he

---

1 Epist. 7, lib. 27 [p. 1498].
2 Melancth. Epist.
TO LEARNED MEN.

retained him with him at Lambeth, and much esteemed him. This was that Ales that Crumwel, probably by Cranmer's means, brought with him to the Convocation in the year 1536, whom he desired to deliver there his opinion about the sacrament; who did so, and enlarged in a discourse, asserting two sacraments only instituted by Christ; namely, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper: as the author of the British Antiquities relates, ad ann. 1587, calling him there "virum in theologiam perductum," a thorough-paced divine.

This man compiled a useful treatise against the schism laid to the charge of Protestants by those of the church of Rome; the substance and arguments of which book were Melanchthon's own invention, but Ales composed and brought it into method and words. This book Melanchthon sent unto George, prince of Anhalt. The consolations of which, as he wrote to that noble and religious man, he was wont to inculcate upon himself, against those who objected commonly to them "the horrible crime of schism," as he styles it: "for," saith he, "their monstrous cruelty is sufficient to excuse us;" which, it seems, was one of the arguments whereby they defended themselves against that charge; esteeming it lawful and necessary to leave the communion of a church which countenanced and practised cruelty, a thing so contrary to one of the great and fundamental laws of Christian religion, namely, that of love; and that their abiding in a church where such bloody and barbarous practices were, would argue their approbation and concurrence.

And as Melanchthon made use of him in composing his thoughts into a handsome style, so did another great light of the same nation; I mean Bucer. In King Edward's days he had wrote a book in the German, that is, in his own country language, about ordination to the ministry in this kingdom of England, intituled, "Ordinatio ecclesiae, seu ministerii ecclesiastici in florentissimo Angliae regno." This our Ales turned into Latin, and published, "for the conso-


lation of the churches everywhere in those sad times," as is
run in the title.

If any desire to look backward unto the more early times
of this man, the first tidings we have of him was about the
year 1534, when, upon a sharp persecution raised in Scot-
land, he, with other learned men, fled thence into England,
and was received into Crumwel's family. And it is said
that he became known to, and grew into such favour with,
King Henry, that he called him his scholar. But, after
Crumwel's death, in the year 1540, he, taking one Fife
with him, went into Saxony; where both of them were, for
their great learning, made professors in the university of
Leipsic.

In the year 1557 I find this man at Leipsic, where he was
professor of divinity, as was said before. 

Besides this Aleus, there were four other pious and learned
persons, foreigners, who, bringing along with them letters
of recommendation, from the said Melancthon, were
courteously received, and freely entertained by our hospi-
table archbishop, all of them, in the year 1548, at which
time the persecution grew hot upon the Interim. One of
these was Gualter, another Scot by nation. A second was
one named Francis Dryander, an acquaintance of Melan-
cthon's of long continuance. " Whom," as he told the arch-
bishop, " he had tried and known inwardly, and found him
endowed with excellent parts, well furnished with learning;
that he judged rightly of the controversies, altogether free
from all wild and seditious opinions; and that he would
soon perceive the singular gravity of his manners, after some

1 Hist. Ref. part i. p. 308 [vol. i. pp. 616, 617].
3 "Cum et in templis, et in scholae doctrinam gubernes."—Mel.
Ep. 111, lib. 3 [ut supra].
few days' knowledge of him; motioning withal to the archbishop his fitness to be preferred in either of our universities. As he did also to King Edward, in letters brought at this time to him by the said Dryander;"¹ wherein he recommended him to that king, as one that would prove a very useful person, either in his universities, or elsewhere in his kingdom.

This recommendation had so much force, that this man seemed soon after to be sent and placed at Oxon, and there remained, till, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, when all strangers were commanded to depart the realm, he went hence to Paris, and from thence to Antwerp. Whence he wrote a letter, to one Crispin, a doctor of physic in Oxon, therein relating to him a passage concerning the coarse entertainment which the divines of Louvain gave Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, upon the scandal they took against him for his book "De vera obedientia," which letter is extant in Fox.²

The third was Eusebius Menius, the son of Justus Menius. Which Justus was a person of great fame and esteem, both for his learning in philosophy and divinity, and for the government of the churches within the territories of John Frederic, Duke of Saxony. Of this Eusebius' son Melanchthon writ to our archbishop,³ "that he had good preferments in Germany, but he could not bear to behold the calamities of his poor country, which made him seek for a being in foreign parts. He recommended him to his grace, desiring him to cherish him." Adding that, in the Gothic times, what remained of the Church, and of right doctrines, were preserved in our island; and that Europe being now in a combustion, it were to be wished that some peaceable harbour might be for learning. He doubted not but that many flocked hither; but that it was the part of piety and goodness especially to help the youth of excellent men, and the sons of such as had well deserved of the Church, especially when they themselves also were eminent for their parts and learning. And since this Eusebius was a good mathematician, and had read mathematics

¹ [Mel.] Ep. 7. lib. 3 [p. 494].
in one of their schools, he propounded him to the archbishop to be a fit person for the profession of that science in our university.”

The fourth was Justus Jonas, the son also of a great German divine of the same name, and who was one of the four that, in the year 1530, came to Augsburg, upon a diet appointed by the emperor for religion, with the elector of Saxony; Melancthon, Agricola, and Georgius Spalatinus, being the other three. The son came over with letters commendatory from Melancthon, as the others did.¹ He commended his excellent parts, and his progress in all kind of philosophy and good manners, and especially his eloquence; which, he said, he had a nature divinely framed to. To which it may not be amiss to subjoin what Melancthon somewhere else did observe of his family; namely, “that his grandfather was a person of fame for oratory and civil prudence; his father endowed with such parts as naturally made him an orator, in respect of his fluency of words, and gracefulness of delivery.” And this felicity of nature he improved by a great accession of learning, which made him tell our Justus, that he was born in “oratoria familia.”² And such care did he take of him when he was young, that he took the pains to write him a long letter, containing instructions for his improvement in the grounds of learning. This man the archbishop was very kind to, gave him harbour, and admitted him freely into his society and converse; insomuch that Justus Jonas, the father, entreated Melancthon that he would take particular notice to the archbishop of his great favour shewed to his son. Among the discourses the communicative prelate held with Jonas while he was with him, one happened concerning a noted question in divinity; where, launching out into free communication with him upon that point, he desired him to impart to Melancthon the substance of what he had discoursed; and that he should signify to him, that the archbishop requested his judgment thereof. Which accordingly Jonas did. And Melancthon, in a letter to the archbishop, styles it “non obscura quaestio,” “and that it had already much shaken the Church, and, (says he), ‘concutiet durius,’ shall shake it yet more;” giving his reason for this conjecture, “because those

¹ Sleid. lib. 7 [p. 127].
² Ep. 129, lib. 1 [p. 184].
governors, [meaning, I suppose, the Papal clergy], did not seek for a true remedy to so great a matter.” It doth not appear to me what this question was that the archbishop was so earnest to confer with this great divine about, whether it were concerning the necessity of episcopal government and ordination, or concerning the use of ceremonies in the Church, or about the doctrine of the Sacrament; this last I am apt to believe, but either of them hath, according to Melancthon’s prediction, sufficiently shaken the churches of Christ. But to return to Jonas. He had written some pieces, and presented them to the king; for which he intended to reward him. And, being now ready to go to France for the improvement of his knowledge, and so, after a time, to return into England again, for which he had a great affection, he besought Secretary Cecil, in a well-penned letter, “that whatsoever the king intended to bestow on him, he would do it out of hand, for the supply of his travelling necessity.” This letter, for the antiquity of it, and the fame of the man, I have inserted in the Appendix;¹ in which is also contained an extract of part of Jonas’s letter to his son concerning the miseries of Germany.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Melancthon and the Archbishop great Friends.

These occasions of the frequent mention of Melancthon do draw us into a relation of some further passages between him and our archbishop. In the year 1549 happened several disputations, chiefly concerning the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, before the king’s commissioners in both universities. In Oxford they were managed chiefly by Peter Martyr, and in Cambridge Ridley, then bishop of Rochester, and a commissioner, was the chief moderator. Soon after, Martin Bucer, in this university, defended three points, one, of the “Sufficiency of the Scripture;” another, concerning the

¹ No. XCIIT.
"Erring of Churches;" and the last, concerning "Works done before Justification;" against Perne, Sedgewick, and Young. They on the Popish side pretended much, in their disputations, to have antiquity and the fathers for them.

These disputations did our most reverend prelate, together with his own letter, convey to Melancthon by the hand of one Germanicus, a German, who probably might be one of those learned strangers that the archbishop hospitably entertained.

The reflection that that divine, in an answer to his grace in the year 1550, made upon perusal of these papers, was, "That he was grieved to see that those who sought so much for the ancient authorities would not acknowledge the clearness of them. Nor was there any doubt what the sounder men in the ancient church thought. But that there were new and spurious opinions foisted into many of their books; into that of Theophylact most certainly for one. And that there was some such passage in the copy that Cæcolampadius made use of, when he translated Theophylact, which he liked not of, but yet translated it as he found it; but this was wholly wanting in the copy that Melancthon had. That the same happened in Bede's books, which he supposed might be found more incorrupt among us,"¹ [Bede being our countryman].

The same Melancthon, with this his letter, sent our archbishop a part of his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed; for this end, that he might pass his judgment thereon; as he also did, for the same purpose, to a Lasco, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, all then in England.

The beginning of this learned German's acquaintance with our prelate was very early. For the archbishop's fame soon spread abroad in the world, beyond the English territories; which was the cause of that address of Melancthon, mentioned before in the year 1535, and in the month of August, when he sent a letter and a book to him by Alexander Ales. In the letter he signified what a high character both for learning and piety he had heard given of him by many honest and worthy men; and "that, if the Church had but some more such bishops, it would be no difficult matter to have it healed, and the world restored to

¹ Ep. 41, lib. 3 [p. 521].
peace; congratulating Britain [upon] such a bishop." And this seems to have been the first entrance into their acquaintance and correspondence.

In the year 1548, Cranmer propounded a great and weighty business to Melanchthon, and a matter that was likely to prove highly useful to all the churches of the evangelical profession. It was this. The archbishop was now driving on a design for the better uniting of all the Protestant churches, viz. by having one common confession and harmony of faith and doctrine, drawn up out of the pure word of God, which they might all own and agree in. He had observed what differences there arose among Protestants in the doctrine of the Sacrament, in the Divine decrees, in the government of the Church, and some other things. These disagreements had rendered the professors of the Gospel contemptible to those of the Roman communion; which caused no small grief to the heart of this good man, nearly touched for the honour of Christ his master, and His true Church, which suffered hereby. And, like a person of a truly public and large spirit, as his function was, seriously debated and deliberated with himself for the remedying this evil. This made him judge it very advisable to procure such a confession. And in order to this he thought it necessary for the chief and most learned divines of the several churches to meet together, and with all freedom and friendliness to debate the points of controversy according to the rule of Scripture. And, after mature deliberation, by agreement of all parties, to draw up a book of articles, and heads of Christian faith and practice, which should serve for the standing doctrine of Protestants.

As for the place of this assembly, he thought England the fittest in respect of safety, as the affairs of Christendom then stood: and, communicating this his purpose to the king, that religious prince was very ready to grant his allowance and protection. And as Helvetia, France, and Germany, were the chief countries abroad where the Gospel was professed, so he sent his letters to the most eminent ministers of each, namely, to Bullinger, Calvin, and Melanchthon, disclosing this his pious design to them, and requiring their counsel and furtherance. Melanchthon first of all came acquainted with it by Justus Jonas, junior, to whom the
archbishop had related the matter at large, and desired him to signify as much in a letter to the said Melancthon; and that it was his request to him, to communicate his judgment thereupon. This Jonas did, and Melancthon accordingly writ to our archbishop on the calends of May this year to this purpose; "That if his judgment and opinion were required, he should be willing both to hear the sense of other learned men, and to speak his own, and to give his reasons, τὰ μὲν πειθῶν, τὰ δὲ πειθόμενος, 'persuading and being persuaded,' as ought to be in a conference of good men; letting truth, and the glory of God, and the safety of the Church, not any private affection, ever carry away the victory." Telling him withal, "that the more he considered of this his deliberation, than which he thought there could be nothing set on foot more weighty and necessary, the more he wished and pressed him to publish such a true and clear confession of the whole body of Christian doctrine, according to the judgment of learned men, whose names should be subscribed thereto; that among all nations there might be extant an illustrious testimony of doctrine, delivered by grave authority; and that posterity might have a rule to follow."¹ And he was of opinion, that this confession should be much of the nature of their confession of Augsburgh, only that some few points in controversy might be in plainer words delivered than was in that. "That ambiguities might not hereafter occasion new differences. And that in the Church it was best to call a spade a spade;² and not to cast ambiguous words before posterity, as an apple of contention. And that if in Germany there had been an entire consent of all the churches, they had not fallen into those miseries." And so concludes, earnestly exhorting our prelate to apply himself vigorously in these his pious cares and thoughts for the good estate of the churches.

Not long after he pursued his first letter with a second, wherein he again reminded our reverend father of that caution, viz. "That nothing might be left under general terms, but expressed with all the perspicuity and distinctness imaginable." Which, I suppose, he said, to meet with the opinion of some, who thought it might be more con-

¹ Ep. 66, lib. 1 [p. 71].
² "In Ecclesia rectius est scapham, scapham dicere."
venient, in order to peace, to suffer some difficult and controverted points to pass under dubious expressions, or in the very words of Scripture, without any particular decisive sense and explanation imposed on them. And concerning this it is probable our archbishop had desired his opinion. This Melancthon was against, saying, "that, for his part, he loved not labyrinths; and that therefore all his study was, that whatsoever matters he undertook to treat of, they might appear plain and unfolded. That it was indeed the practice of the Council of Trent, which therefore made such crafty decrees, that so they might defend their errors by things ambiguously spoken. But that this sophistry ought to be far from the Church. That there is no absurdity in truth rightly propounded; and that this goodness and perspicuity of things is greatly inviting, whereasover there be good minds."

And of this very judgment was Peter Martyr, another great divine. For when Bucer, in a discourse with him at Strasburgh, had advised him, when he spake of the Eucharist, to use more dark and ambiguous forms of speech, that might be taken in a larger acceptation, urging to him, that this was the course he himself took, and "that a certain good man," [whom I suspect strongly to be our archbishop], "had persuaded him, that by this means the great controversy concerning the real presence in the sacrament might be at an end, and so peace, so long wanted, might be restored to the Church;" Martyr was over-persuaded by his friend so to do, and used for some time the same form of speech with him, when he had occasion to discourse of that doctrine. But afterward he returned to his former more dilucid style, as well in the matter of the real presence, as in all other subjects he treated of. And that both because he saw this would not suffice them, who held a gross and carnal presence of Christ's body, unless their gross manner of expression were received, and their as gross interpretation too; and because he found that many weaker brethren were greatly offended with these ambiguities of speech, and so entangled and confounded, that they scarce knew what

1 "Quod vir bonus sibi persuasisset posse hac ratione tolli gravem, quæ est de hac causa, controversiam, et ipsa ecclesie pacem diu desideratum restitui."—In Vit. P. Mart. per Josiam Simlerum.
to think in this point. And so, leaving Bucer to pursue his obscurer phrases, he chose to speak more clearly and distinctly. And neither did Bucer disallow of Martyr in this course, or was Martyr ignorant of Bucer's true sense, however doubtful his expressions were, as the author of his life tells us. This I mention to show how exactly Martyr accorded with Melancthon in this opinion, of expressing things in clear and perspicuous terms; which the said Melancthon thought it highly necessary now to be insculpted, when deliberation was had of drawing up a general confession of faith. After he had thus declared his mind in this matter, he particularly descended to the doctrine of fate; telling the archbishop how "the stoical disputes of that subject among them in the beginning were too rough, and horrid, and such as were prejudicial to discipline." Which, I suppose, might be occasioned from some passage in the archbishop's letter, advising with this learned man how to propound the doctrines of predestination and free-will.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Archbishop corresponds with Calvin.

These his counsels he brake also to John Calvin, the chief guide of the French churches, who also highly approved of his pious proposition. The archbishop, in a letter to that great reformer, had been lamenting the differences that were in the reformed churches; having his eye, I suppose, herein upon those of Geneva and Germany; and, like a true father of the Church, consulting for the making up of the breaches, he thought no fitter remedy could be used, than for pious and wise men, and such as were well exercised in God's school, to meet together and profess their consents in the doctrine of godliness. This Calvin acknowledged was rightly and prudently advised by him; applauding him that he did not only lead the way in purging the

1 Josias Simler.
doctrine of God's church from corruption, but did so voluntarily exhort and encourage others therein. And that he did not only take care of religion at home in his own country, but all the world over. And as to the meeting and converse of divines for this purpose, which Cranmer had told him he had made the king so sensible of the need and usefulness of that he was forward in it, and had offered a place in his kingdom for them securely to assemble together in; that French divine wished, "that learned and wise men from the chief churches would accordingly meet, and, diligently discussing the chief heads of faith, would by common consent deliver to posterity the certain doctrine of the Scripture. But that, among the great evils of that age, this also was to be reputed, that churches were so divided from one another, that human society was scarcely kept up among them, much less that sacred communion of the members of Christ, which all professed with their mouths, but few did sincerely take care to preserve. That as to himself, if he might be thought to be of any use, he would not grudge to pass over ten seas, if there were need. "That if it were only to contribute some assistance to the kingdom of England, he should esteem it a reason lawful enough; but much more, he thought, he ought to spare no labour, no trouble, to procure a means whereby the churches that were so widely divided, might unite among themselves. But he hoped, his weakness and insufficiency being such, he might be spared, and that he would do his part in prosecuting that with his prayers and wishes, "which should be undertaken by others." And whereas our archbishop had hinted to him his jealousy, that the business would hardly find a good issue by reason of certain difficulties attending it, Calvin not only exhorted, but earnestly beseeched him to go forward, till it should have some effect at least, though it succeeded not in all respects according to his wish. And so prayed God to guide him with his holy Spirit, and to bless his pious endeavours.

But the troubles at home and abroad frustrated this excellent purpose, which for two years he had been labouring to bring to some good issue. His next resolution was to go as far as he could in this matter, since he could not go as far as he would. And he bethought himself of
assembling together the divines of his own church, (and that by the king’s authority), to confer with them about drawing up a body of articles of religion; which purpose he had likewise communicated to Calvin. For which he greatly commended him; telling him, “that since the times were such, that that could not in the least be hoped for, which was so much to be wished, viz. that the chief teachers of the divers churches, which embraced the pure doctrine of the Gospel, might meet together, and publish to posterity a certain and clear confession, out of the pure word of God, concerning the heads of religion then in controversy; he did extremely commend that counsel which he had taken to establish religion in England; lest things remaining any longer in an uncertain state, or not so rightly and duly composed and framed as it were convenient, the minds of the people should remain in suspense and wavering.” And then, quickening him, told him, “that this was his part chiefly to do: that he himself saw well what that place required of him, or rather what God exacted, in respect of that office he had laid upon him. That he was of very powerful authority; which he had not only by the amplitude of his honour, but the long conceived opinion that went of his prudence and integrity. That the eyes of the good were cast upon him, either to follow his motions, or to remain idle upon the presence of his unactiveness.”

He took the freedom also with Cranmer to blame him for not having made more progress in the Reformation, which he thought he might have done in the three years' space, wherein King Edward had already reigned. And told him, “that he feared, when so many autumns had been passed in deliberating only, at least the frost of a perpetual winter might follow,” meaning that the people would grow stark cold in minding a reformation. Then “he reminded him of his age, that that called upon him to hasten, lest, if he should be called out of the world before matters in religion were settled, the conscience of his slowness might create great anxiety to him. He particularly put him in mind of the great want of pastors to preach the Gospel, and that the Church’s revenues were made such a prey, which he called ‘an intolerable evil,’ and said, that this was a plain reason

1 Ep. 125.
why there was so little preaching among us. That a parcel of slow-bellies were nourished from the revenues of the Church, to sing vespers in an unknown tongue. But, in the close, he excused him in regard of the many and great difficulties that he wrestled with." Which was certainly most true; insomuch that, if he had not been a man of great conduct and indefatigable industry, the Reformation had not made so fair a progress as it did in his time. And one may admire rather that he went so far, the iniquity of the times considered, than that he went no farther.

For the great ones, in the minority of the king, took their opportunity most insatiably to fly upon the spoils of the Church and charitable donations, little regarding anything else than to enrich themselves. Very vicious and dissolute they were in their lives, as the soberer sort in those days complained; and therefore the less to be wondered they were so negligent to provide for the promoting the reformed religion and piety in the land. In the mean time, the chief preachers did what they could to redress these evils; for they plainly and boldly rebuked this evil governance; and especially the covetousness of the courtiers, and their small regard to live after the Gospel; and sometimes incurred no small danger by this freedom. Mr. Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and afterwards a martyr under Queen Mary, was one of these, who so freely discoursed once at St. Paul's Cross concerning the abuse of abbeys, and the Church's goods, that he was summoned before the privy council to answer for it. And so were divers others upon the same reason. And I am apt to think that these preachers did what they did by the counsel and direction of the archbishop. So that the present state of things, and the endeavours of him and the rest of the clergy considered, he was a little too hastily censured by Calvin in that behalf. But Cranmer was of so mild and gracious a spirit, that he did not seem to conceive any displeasure against Calvin for this his unjust charge of negligence; but kept up a great esteem and value for him.

But, that I may take occasion here to insist a little longer upon this argument, and vindicate the honesty and boldness of the English clergy, in speaking their minds against the sacrilegious spirit that reigned in these times, it may not
be amiss to give some account of a communication that happened about December or January 1552, at court, between Sir William Cecil, the king's secretary, and one Miles Wilson, a grave divine, and acquaintance of the said Cecil, and a man of eminence in the university of Cambridge. Discourse happening between them of divers and sundry things, relating partly to the propagating Christ's religion, and partly to the preservation and increase of the commonwealth, the said Wilson delivered to Cecil an oration to read, which he had composed, "De rebus ecclesiis non diripiendis," "concerning not spoiling the Church of her means," and which he once pronounced in the public schools of the university, about that time when those matters were in agitation above. Cecil, being a good and conscientious man, had in this conference signified to him his earnest desire to hear and see what could be proposed out of the holy Scripture in so unusual an argument. To show this, and to give also a short view of his said oration, because the secretary's infinite business would not allow him to read long discourses, Wilson soon after digested the contents thereof, reducing it into some syllogisms and ratiocinations, more apt to urge, and easier to remember, and more accommodated to persuade. These, with his letter, he sent to the secretary. His ends herein were to satisfy him in this point, being a man of great stroke in the public transactions of those times; who might accordingly use his interest and endeavour to retrieve what had been so unjustly taken from the Church; that the famous schools lately dissolved, to the great ruin of the university, might be re-edified again; and that those livings, which were miserably spoiled by covetous patrons, might be restored, and enjoy their whole revenues, to the real honour of the state. And, lastly, that the hospitals, impoverished or wholly beggared, might, by his means, be remedied and helped by the king's council; that they might revert to their former condition; that is, to succour and help the poor. He urged moreover to Cecil, that the destruction of schools would be the destruction of the universities; and that all learning would soon cease, and Popery and more than Gothic barbarism would invade all, if learned men were not better taken care of than they were;
and if the rewards of learning, viz. rectories, prebends, and all, were taken away from them.

This man had also freely discoursed these matters to two other great and public-spirited men, viz. Goodrich, the lord chancellor, who was bishop of Ely; and Holgate, archbishop of York, to both whom he had also given the names of a great many schools, parsonages, and hospitals, that had undergone this sacrilegious usage. And he particularly mentioned to Cecil a town not far from Cambridge, called Childerley, where a gentleman had pulled down all the houses in the parish, except his own. And so, there being none to frequent the church, the inhabitants being gone, he used the said church, partly for a stable for his horses, and partly for a barn for his corn and straw. This letter of Wilson to the secretary, together with his arguments against pulling the church subjoined, I have thought worthy preserving in the repository for such monuments in the Appendix. But to return from this digression, which Calvin's censure of our archbishop occasioned.

And when, in the year 1551, he despatched into England one Nicolas, (that Nicolas Gallatinus, I suppose, who was afterward by Calvin recommended to be minister to the French congregation in London, at the desire of Grindal, bishop of London, that he would send over some honest able person for that place), with letters to the duke of Somerset and likewise to the king; 3 to whom he presented also, at the same time, his book of Commentaries upon Isaiah and the Canonical Epistles, which he had dedicated to him; both the king's council, and the king himself, were much pleased and satisfied with this message; and the archbishop told Nicolas, "that Calvin could do nothing more profitable to the Church than to write often to the king." 4 The substance of what he wrote to the king, that was so well taken, was to excite and sharpen the generous parts of the royal youth, as Calvin hinted in a letter to Bullinger.

1 No. XCIII.  2 Ep. 128.  3 Ep. 120.  4 [Calv. Ep. p. 282.]
CHAPTER XXVI.

The Archbishop highly valued Peter Martyr.

As for the learned Italian Peter Martyr, who is worthy to be mentioned with Melancthon and Calvin, there was not only an acquaintance between him and our archbishop, but a great and cordial intimacy and friendship, for of him he made particular use in the steps he took in our Reformation. And, whatsoever he might be spared from his public readings in Oxford, the archbishop used to send for him, to confer with him about the weightiest matters. This Calvin took notice of, and signified to him by letter how much he rejoiced that he made use of the counsels of that excellent man. And when the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws was in effect wholly devolved upon Cranmer, he appointed him, and Gualter Haddon, and Dr. Rowland Taylor, his chaplain, and no more, to manage that business, which shows what an opinion he had of Martyr’s abilities, and how he served himself of him in matters of the greatest moment. And in that bold and brave challenge he made in the beginning of Queen Mary’s reign, to justify, against any man whatsoever, every part of King Edward’s Reformation, he nominated and made choice of Martyr therein to be one of his assistants in that disputation, if any would undertake it with him. This divine, when he was forced to leave Oxford upon the change of religion, retreated first to the archbishop at Lambeth, and from thence, when he had tarried as long as he durst, he departed the realm to Strasburgh.

This man was he that saw and reported those voluminous writings of this archbishop, which he had collected out of all the ancient church-writers, upon all the heads of divinity, and those notes of his own pen, that he had inserted in the margin of his books, which the archbishop communicated to him when he conversed with him at his house. And from these, and such-like of the archbishop’s labours, he acknowledged he had learned much, especially in the doc-

1 Ep. 127.
trine of the Sacrament, as he writ in his epistle before his tract of the Eucharist.

The fame of Peter Martyr, and the desire of preserving all remains of so learned a professor, and great an instrument of the reformed religion, hath inclined me to put two of his letters into the Appendix,\(^1\) though otherwise not to our present purpose, being originals, writ by his own hand from Oxon; the one to James Haddon, a learned court divine, and dean of Exon, to procure a license from the king or the council for a friend and auditor of his to preach publicly; the other to Sir William Cecil, to forward the payment of a salary due to him, that read the divinity lecture in the room of Dr. Weston, a Papist, who had claimed it himself, and laboured to detain it from him.

I cannot forbear mentioning here an instance of his love and great concern for our archbishop, his old friend and patron, after the iniquity of the times had parted them; the one then in prison, and the other at Strasburgh. It was in June 1555, when Queen Mary, supposing herself with child, was reported to have said in her zeal, "That she could never be happily brought to bed, nor succeed well in any other of her affairs, unless she caused all the heretics she had in prison to be burnt, without sparing so much as one."

Which opinion, very likely, [Gardiner,] the bishop of Winchester, or some other of her zeotitical chaplains, put into her head. This report coming to Martyr's ears, afflicted him greatly, not only for the destruction that was like suddenly to befall many holy professors, but more especially for the imminent hazard he apprehended that great and public person, the archbishop, to be in. Which made him express himself in this manner, in a letter to Peter Alexander, to whom that most reverend father had also formerly been a kind host and patron; "That, from those words of the queen, he might discover that my lord of Canterbury was then in great danger."\(^2\)

\(^1\) No. XCIV., XCV.
CHAPTER XXVII.

The Archbishop's Favour to John Sleidan.

To all these learned and religious outlandish men, to whom the archbishop was either a patron or a friend, or both, we must not forget to join John Sleidan, the renowned author of those exact Commentaries of the state of religion, and the commonwealth in Germany, in the time of Charles V. About the end of March, anno 1551, he procured for him from King Edward an honorary pension of two hundred crowns a year, as some aid for the carrying on his Commentaries, which he then was busy about; and, as it seems, encouraged by Crammer to take in hand and prosecute. And when Dr. Bruno, a learned man, and father-in-law to Sleidan, departed out of England, which was about the time before mentioned, being the agent of the duke of Saxony, the archbishop informed him of this stipend, by the king granted unto his son-in-law; confirming the same to him in the king's name, and encouraging the Commentator hereby to proceed cheerfully in his useful undertaking.

But upon the stir at court, the payment of this pension was neglected a great while, which caused Sleidan to call upon the archbishop more than once, as also upon his friends Cheke and Cecil, entreating them to remind the archbishop of him, and to communicate to his lordship the letters he had writ to them. But alas! he needed not to have been excited to things of this nature, bearing so good a will to them, and being of his own nature so forward to favour learned and honest men, and useful designs; nor was his goodwill to Sleidan any whit abated, but his interest at court was, now towards the declension of King Edward's reign.

But, because his pension depended only upon a verbal promise of the king, and the getting it under his seal might contribute to the payment of it in better sort hereafter, he laboured with our prelate, and the two other persons men-
tioned, that it might be confirmed by letters patent. He urged to them, "that he could have employed himself in other business, that would have redounded more to his profit, as many others did. But he reckoned himself called to this work from heaven, and that he could take no rest in his mind till he had brought the history down to that present time; (it being then the year 1553). That he had hope, that they, according to their humanity and prudence, who well understood things, would take some pains that the arrears of his promised stipend might be paid, and that some further care might be taken for the due payment of it hereafter, that so he might the more conveniently and freely follow that matter. Leaving it to them to consider how much that labour cost him:" [as to the charges, he means, of correspondence for the getting particular and faithful accounts of things, that passed in all parts.] And lastly, "that it belonged properly to kings to cherish such labours as would be ornaments to religion and learning; and of use to the common good." And, in another address to Secretary Cecil, he desired, "that he would plead in his behalf with the most reverend the archbishop;" adding, that he did wholly give up himself to this work, and was in a diligent pursuit of all matters in order to the compiling a complete history.

Though I have said so much already of Sleidan, yet I will take this occasion to add somewhat more; that I may retrieve as much as I can of this honest man, and excellent writer. In the month of September, anno 1552, he sent to the king, together with a letter, his Commentaries of the German wars, brought down to that very time, being a short draught of that he intended afterwards more largely and fully to write. And Cheke and Cecil were the men that presented them to his majesty. With this kind of writing the king declared himself much pleased, as Cecil wrote him back; and so he and Cheke also were.

This encouragement put our author upon another design, resolving to write the whole actions of the Council of Trent, wherein he himself had borne a part, having been agent there for five months from the city of Strasburgh. This he intended to do for the king's own sake, that he might thoroughly understand the form of councils, and might then
make his judgment of the rest of the History of the Reformation of Religion, which he was then writing.

The spring after he presented the king with a specimen of his writing concerning the Council of Trent. It was the beginning and entrance into that treatise he intended to write of that subject. This he desired might be kept in the king's study, and communicated to no other hand; and that no copy of it might be taken, it being but a small part of a future work, and so imperfect.

He had now, in the ides of March, completed his Commentaries from the year 1517 to the year 1536; and was resolved by God's grace to go on with it in the same method. In order to which, in the month of December before, he had desired of Cecil, that he would procure him the whole action between King Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII. when that king vindicated his own liberty, and that of his kingdom, from papal pretences of supremacy over each. This matter between the king and the pope he called "'locus illustrius et memorabilis,' and judged it very worthy for posterity to know; adding, that though he had in his own hands some matters relating thereto, yet they were not so exact and certain as he could wish; because he desired to describe everything properly and most exactly according to truth. He entreated also, that if either he or Cheke had any other matters of that nature to impart, they would oblige him with them." Which passages make me conclude that, in relation to the English affairs, he made great use of intelligences from Cecil and Cheke, and probably our archbishop too. Which consideration may add a great reputation unto the credit of his book.

Now, to preserve as much as we can of this excellent historian, John Sleidan, I have thought good to insert divers of his letters in the Appendix;¹ and likewise because mention is often therein made of our archbishop, to which I have subjoined a letter of Martin Bucer, a great name, wrote to Cecil in behalf of the said Sleidan. For he did not only importune those courtiers before mentioned, but, when no answer came from them, he made Bucer also his solicitor from Cambridge, who, anno 1551, February 18,

¹No. XCVI., XCVII., XCVIII., XCIX., C., CI., CII.
wrote to Cecil to further Sleidan's business, and to despatch the payment of his stipend; and that Sleidan might be resolved one way or other; giving Cecil this memento, that "this would well become the administration of a kingdom so much adorned as with other things, so with the benefit of religion." By the way, the date of this letter would deserve well to be noted, serving to judge of the true date of Bucer's death; which by historians is variously set down, if we may believe Fuller in his History of the University of Cambridge. It is certain Bucer was ill when he wrote that letter to Cecil; for he mentions therein an epistle, which he sent to Dr. John Quercetanus, the physician, upon the said Cecil's desire, the which he said, he was hardly able to dictate. This letter to Cecil I take to be writ in his last sickness, nine days before the date which Sleidan his friend assigned for the day of his death. To which agrees, within a day, a passage at the end of a piece of Bucer's, intitled, "Explicatio de vi et usu S. Ministerii;" where it is said, "that he died at Cambridge before he finished it. 'Pridie Cal. Martias,' anno 1551." I have one learned man more behind to mention, and he our own countryman, to whom our archbishop was a patron; and that is the celebrated antiquarian John Leland, library-keeper to Henry VIII., and who, by a commission under the broad seal, granted to him for that purpose by the king, had got together a vast heap of collections of the historical antiquities of this nation: which he was many years a-making, by his travels and diligent searches into the libraries of abbeys and religious houses, before, and at their dissolution; and elsewhere. From whence he intended to compile a complete history of the antiquities of Britain, to which he wholly devoted himself. But being at that time poor, and the charges of such an undertaking great, he wanted somebody to make this known to the king, and to recommend him effectually to his favour and countenance; and to procure him a royal gratuity; for which purpose he made his application to Cranmer, (who, he well knew, was the great encourager of learning and ingenuity,) in a very elegant address in verse, as he was an excellent poet. And,

1 [Page 184, ed. Lond. 1840.]
2 Feb. 27, 1551.
3 [Bucer,] Scripta Anglic.
I am apt to think, the preferments that soon after befell him, as a good personage near Oxford, and a canonry of the king's college in that university, and a prebendship elsewhere, accrued to him by the means of the archbishop laying open his state before the king. His copy of verses were as follow:—

Ad Thomam Cranmerum Cantiorum Archiepiscopum.

"Est congrua mihi domi supellex,
Ingena, sures, nobilis, venusta,
Qua totus studeo Britanniarum
Vero reddare gloriam nisori.
Sed fortuna mea nevera captia
Jam felicibus invidet maligna.
Quare ne pereant brevi vel hora
Multarum mihi noctium labores
Omnes, et patris simul decora.
Ornamenta cadant, suque splendor
Antiquis male desit usque rebus,
Cranmer, eximum deus piorum,
Implorare tuam benignitatem
Cogor. Facigitur tuo soeto
Pro candore, meum decus, patriOsamque,
Ut tantum favest, rogas, labori
Incepto: pretium sequitur amplus.
Sic nomen tibi litteras elegantes
Reeta perpetuum dabit, suesseque
Partim vei titulos tibi receptos
Condedit memoria Britannus ore.
Sic te posteritas amabit omnis,
Et fama super aestera innotescs."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Archbishop Cranmer's Relations and Chaplains.

To look now a little into the archbishop's more private and domestic concerns. He had two wives. While he was fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, not being in orders, he married his first, named Joan, dwelling at the Dolphin, opposite to Jesus-lane, which I think is a public house to
REbLATIONS ANB CHABILAINS.

this day: which occasioned some of his enemies afterwards to say, "That he was once an ostler," because he lodged sometime with his wife at that house. Her he buried within a year, dying in child-bed. And then for divers years he continued studying hard, and reading learned lectures in the university, and bringing up youths, till he was called to the court. His second wife, named Ann, he married in Germany, while he was ambassador there. By her he had children. In King Henry's reign he kept her secret; and, upon the act of the Six Articles, he sent her away into Germany, that he might give no offence, nor draw any danger upon himself. In the time of King Edward, when the marriage of the clergy was allowed, he brought her forth, and lived openly with her. He had children that survived him; for whose sake an act of Parliament passed in the year 1562, to restore them in blood, their father having been condemned for treason in consenting to the Lady Jane's succession to the crown, for which yet he was pardoned by Queen Mary. Probably the pardon was only verbal, or not authentically enough drawn up, or might admit of some doubt, to take off which such an act was procured. How many children he had, or what issue remains of them to this day, I am not able, after all my inquiries, to show.

His wife survived him, for we may give so much credit to a very angry book, writ against the "Execution of Justice in England," by Cardinal Allen; which, charging the archbishop with breach of vows, saith, "that, at the very day and hour of his death, he was sacrilegiously joined in pretended marriage to a woman, notwithstanding his vow and order." And living she was toward the latter end of Archbishop Parker's time; and for her subsistence enjoyed an abbey in Nottinghamshire, which King Henry, upon Dr. Butts's motion, without the archbishop's knowledge, granted to him and his heirs.2

For his wife and children he could not escape many a taunt from his enemies behind his back; and one to his face from Dr. Martin, one of those that were commissioned to sit as judges upon him at Oxford. He told him in reproach,

1 "Sincere and modest Defence of English Catholics."
2 M.S. Life of Cranmer in Brasct College [No. exxxviii. fol. 465].
that his children were bondmen to the see of Canterbury." \footnote{[Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 68.]} Whether there be any such old canon law, I know not; but the archbishop smiled, and asked him, "If a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had children by her, whether those children were bondmen to the benefice, or no? And that he trusted they would make his children's case no worse." \footnote{Cran. Reg. [73].} I find two of his name in King Edward's reign; but whether they were his, or his brother Edmund's, sons, or some other relations, I cannot tell. There was one Richard Cranmer, one of the witnesses at the abjuration of Ashton, priest, an Arian, 1548. Daniel Cranmer, of Bilsington, of the diocese of Canterbury, who, about administering to a will, was, for contumacy to the court of Canterbury, excommunicate, and a Sjegnicavit was issued out against him thereupon, in the year 1552. \footnote{Somner's Ant. [chap. xiv. p. 347.]} There was also a Thomas Cranmer about these times, who bought something in Ware-lane of the city of Canterbury: he was public notary, and register to the archdeacon in the year 1569. \footnote{Philipot's Villare Cantian[um, page 274.]} I find likewise one Robert Cranmer, esq., who was nephew to the archbishop, and alive at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth: This Robert left one only daughter and heiress, named Ann; whom Sir Arthur Harris, of Crixeth in Essex, married, and enjoyed with her three manors: Postling, which came to the said Robert in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth; Kingsnorth in Uelomb, and Saltwood; both which he purchased in the latter end of that queen: upon whose grandchild, Sir Cranmer Harris, of Lincoln's Inn, knt., those estates descended. There was another Cranmer of Canterbury, who enjoyed a manor called Sapinton, in Petham in Kent; one of whose offspring by descent successively was entitled to the propriety of it, and was alive when Philipot published his book of that county, viz. 1659. \footnote{There be living at this time, among divers others, two knights of this name, Sir Caesar Cranmer, once belonging to the court; and Sir William Cranmer, a worthy merchant of London, and now deputy-governor of the Hamburgh Company.}

But if we look backward, the archbishop's stock and
pedigree was very ancient, and of good credit. His father was Thomas Cranmer, of Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, esquire; and his mother was Agnes, the daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby, of like degree, a gentleman, if I mistake not, of the same county. Which two had issue three sons; John, and Thomas our archbishop, and Edmund, who was the archdeacon; and four daughters; Dorothy, Ann, Jane, and Isabel. Which sisters of our archbishop were thus matched: Dorothy to Harold Rosel, of Radcliff in this county, esquire; Ann to Edmund Cartwright, of Ossington in Staffordshire, esquire; Jane to John Moning, lieutenant of Dover Castle; and Isabel to Sir John Shepey, knight. Matches, I suppose, especially the two latter, of the archbishop’s own making for the preferment of his sisters. His elder brother John married Jone, daughter of Fretchville, of a good family in the same county, whose grandchild Thomas, and grand-nephew to our archbishop, had none but daughters; one of whom, being a co-heir, married John Rosel, grandchild to Harold aforesaid, and the other to good families in those parts.

The archbishop’s great grandfather, Edmund, married Isabel, daughter and heir of William de Aslacton, a very ancient family. This Edmund was alive in the reign of Henry VI.

In the church of Whatton, in this county, is an ancient monument of an ancestor of our archbishop, with this inscription: “Hic jacet Thomas Cranmerus, qui obiit 27 Maii, 1501, cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.” And on the monument the coat of arms of the Cranmers, being a chevron between three cranes, quartered with those of the Aslactons, Newmarches, Whattons, and two families more. This might probably enough be the archbishop’s father.

The archbishop in the first year of King Edward VI. purchased of that king the rectories of Whatton and Aslacton, (the manors whereof belonged to his family before), with the advowsons of the churches, both which had pertained to the dissolved monastery of Welbeck. Which rectories the archbishop, as it seems, made over to his nephew Thomas, son to his brother John; for he died seised of them both, and they descended to his son and heir...
Thomas. The manors of the said Whatton and Aslacton are now come into the noble family of Dorchester, the tithes and glebe to the Armstronge of Scarrington. For these collections I am beholden to Thoroton’s History of Nottinghamshire.

And now, in the last place, let us look into the archbishop’s domestic affairs. He took great heed to the well-government of his family, that all things there might be seem the house of a truly Christian bishop, and the chief spiritual governor of the English Church. And, in order to this, one of his cares was to have learned men about him; a few whereof, as I could retrieve them, I shall here mention, and give some account of. And first let us begin with his chaplains.

I can find but a few of them; but men they were of great parts and achievements in learning, as well as piety. One of them was Rowland Taylor, doctor of both laws, and preferred by the archbishop to be parson of Hadley in Suffolk, who sealed his doctrine with his blood. An extraordinary man, both for his learning as well as his bold and brave profession of Christ’s religion, even to the fiery trial. He had read over, which was rare in those days, all St. Augustine’s works, St. Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Eusebius, Origen, and divers other fathers. He professed the Civil Law, and had read over the Canon Law also, as he told the lord chancellor Gardiner, when in his scorn and rage together he called him an “ignorant beetle-brow.” The archbishop made use of him in his affairs, and he was one of those that were joined with him, in King Edward’s days, for making a reformation in the ecclesiastical laws. Soon after he was invested in his benefice, leaving the archbishop’s family, he went and resided, like a careful pastor, and performed among his parishioners all the parts of an excellent minister, in respect of his doctrine, example, and charity. He was sent down to his own parish of Hadley, where he was extremely beloved, to be burnt. But I refer the reader to the large and full account that Fox gives of him in his book of Acts and Monuments; and shall only recite his epitaph, as it now remaineth, or lately did, on a

2 [Vol. vi. pp. 676—700.]
brass plate hanging in the church of Hadley, where he deserved so well.

Gloria in altissimis Deo.

"Of Rowland Taylor's fame I shew, an excellent divine,  
A doctor of the civil law, a preacher rare and fine.  
King Henry and King Edward's days, preacher and person here,  
That gave to God continual praise, and kept his flock in fear.  
And for the truth condemned to die he was in fire and flame,  
Where he received patiently the torment of the same;  
And strongly suffered to the end. Which made the standers by  
Rejoice in God, to see their friend and pastor so to die.  
O Taylor! were thy mighty fame uprightly here enroll'd,  
Thy deeds deserve that thy good name were cipher'd here in gold.  
"Obiit 1555."

And in Aldham-common, not far from Hadley town, is a  
great stone, that assigns the place where he suffered, and on it are written these words, or to this effect:—

"Dr. Taylor, for maintaining what was good,  
In this place shed his blood."

His living was immediately supplied by one Newall, and, to deserve his preferment, or by commandment, perhaps, from above, to render their taking away Dr. Taylor the more justifiable, he made a sermon, February 10, 1555, being the day next after he suffered, upon this text, "Sic currite, ut comprehendatis." His work was to persuade the people to return to the old superstitions, and to bespatter the martyr with false reports. And, meeting with a writing that containeth the sum of this sermon, I will crave leave here to insert it; to give a specimen of Popish preaching in these days.¹

"He exhorted to run in the strait way, and leave the wide gate, viz. to leave the new-found learning, and but new-found indeed, and follow all one religion. For ye were, said he, erroneously taught by such men as died yesterday, of whom I will speak, but for no malice, as God I take to record.

"His opinions were, wherefore he died, one, that priests might have wives; the other, that in the sacrament was not

¹ Inter Foxii MSS.
the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ substantially and really.

"The first, that priests should have wives, he could prove by no Scripture, but by three other authors. And he was demanded, if he were willing to stand to the last? He answered, Yea, before God. Then the book laid afore him, and read to him in Latin and English, and he, reading the English of it himself, said he would read the Latin, and so did, and confuted himself. And stood then as amazed, as can witness five hundred.

"And I dare say there were a thousand texts rehearsed to him to the contrary; but he could answer not to one. And so had divers admonitions, but was so stubborn in his own conceit, according to Paul’s saying, ‘Si sit homo sectuum, let him be admonished once or twice;’ and so hath he been. ‘If he will not turn, let him be cast out;’ and so he is now. For better were it so to do, than to put many souls in danger with evil doctrine.

"And one text I will declare to you for priests having wives. St. Paul, when he was tempted, rid to our Saviour Christ, and asked what remedy were for temptation, for his temptation? but whether it were of lust of the flesh, or vain-glory, I cannot tell; but let that go to the opinion of men. And Christ answered, ‘Why, Paul, is not my grace sufficient for thee?’ But he did not say, Take a wife, and let that be thy remedy. But they strait take a drab by the tail, saying, that no man can live chaste without the gift of God.

"And as concerning the Sacrament, to prove it, he brought Paul in the end of the first to the Corinthians, Luke, John, sixth of Mark. And it is not to be called the ‘Supper of the Lord,’ as these Banbury glosers have called it. For ‘cœnā factā,’ he said, ‘This is my body,’ which is or shall be betrayed. And in one text Cyprian, one of the primitive Church, said in a sermon of the supper, ‘The bread which Christ gave to His disciples, by the Omnipotency of the Word is made flesh.’ And Dionysius and Hilary similiter.

"To err is a small fault, but to persevere is a devilish thing, for it moveth many minds to see an heretic constant, and to die. But it is not to be marvelled at, for the devil
hath power over soul and body. For he causeth men to drown and hang themselves at their own wills, much more he may cause a man to burn, seeing he is tied and cannot fly. Barnabe saith so. Cyprian, unus clericorum, saith, that grievous is the fault of discord in Christ's Church, and cannot be cleansed with burning, or any other sacrifice. Ergo, damned.

"For sure he died in damnable case, if he did not otherwise repent in the hour of pain. For though he did burn in this case, he sheweth himself a Christian man no otherwise than the devil sheweth himself like Christ; and so maketh no end of a martyr. Austin saith, 'He that will deny the Church to be his mother, God will deny him to be His son.' And so Pope Julius III. prayed for, &c." He made an end for lack of his books, because, he said, he was but new come, and brought not his books with him.

"Item, last, the person being laboured by the way, to have left his opinion, answered, 'Alas! what would you have me to do? Once I have recanted, and my living is gone. I am but a wretch, make an end of me.' And, I warrant you, said not one word at his death, more than desired the people to pray for him, which was no token of a Christian, but of stubbornness. But I am glad that ye were so quiet."

A right Popish sermon, patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableness, lies, and improbabilities. That he had no Scripture to produce for himself. That his adversaries had a thousand against him. That he should be willing to stand to a quotation out of a father, and know no better what it was, as, when he saw it, to be so confounded and amazed. That if he were so convinced and speechless, that he should be so stupid and senseless to suffer death, for matters which he saw were not true. But such a character was here given of him, as was no ways agreeable to the great learning, wisdom, and piety, that this excellent man was endued with.

John Ponet, or Poinet, a Kentish man, and of Queen's College, Cambridge, was another of his chaplains, a very ingenious as well as learned man, afterward bishop of Rochester, and then of Winchester, a great friend to that accomplished scholar Roger Ascham, who, in confidence of his friendship, writ to him, when domestic chaplain to the
archbishop, to deliver his letter, and forward his suit to his grace, to dispense with him from eating fish, and keeping Lent, as was mentioned before. He was of great authority with Cranmer, and of his council in matters of divinity. We may judge of his great abilities by what Godwin speaks of him, viz. "That he had left divers writings in Latin and English, and that, besides the Greek and Latin, he was well seen in the Italian and Dutch tongues. [Which last he learned probably in his exile.] That he was an excellent mathematician, and gave unto King Henry VIII. a dial of his own device, shewing not only the hour of the day, but also the day of the month, the sign of the sun, the planetary hour; yea, the change of the moon, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, with divers other things as strange, to the great wonder of the king, and his no less commendation."¹ And he was as eminent for his gift in preaching as for his other qualifications, being preferred by King Edward for some excellent sermons preached before him. One of our historians writes,² that he was with Sir Thomas Wyatt in his insurrection, and, after his defeat, fled into Germany, where, in the city of Strasburgh, he died about the year 1550. But Bale speaks not a word of his being with Wyatt, but that he died, being forty years of age, buried at Strasburgh, and attended honourably to his grave with abundance of learned men and citizens.

Thomas Becon, a Suffolk man, seems to have been his chaplain. To Cranmer Becon dedicated his treatise of Fasting,³ wherein he mentioned several benefits he had received from the archbishop; one whereof was, his making him one of the six preachers of Canterbury. He was deprived in Queen Mary's reign, as all the other five were, for being married. He was a famous writer, as well as preacher, in the reigns of King Henry, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. So eminent that he was one of the three, (Vernon and Bradford being the other two), that were sent for by Queen Mary's council, and committed to the Tower in the beginning of her reign, viz.

² Stow's Chronicle, p. 620.
³ [For which treatise, see Parker Society's edition of Becon's Works (Catechism, &c.), p. 525.]
August 16, 1553, from whence he was not delivered till March 22 following. During which time, as he complained himself, he underwent a miserable imprisonment. To conceal himself in those dangerous times, he went by the name of Theodore Basil, and was one of those authors, whose names were specified in a severe proclamation put forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, 1555, as being writers of books, which, as contrary to the Pope and Roman Catholic religion, were forbidden to be brought into England, or used, and commanded diligently to be searched for, and brought to the ordinary, upon penalty of the statute of Henry IV. against heresy. After his delivery from prison, skulking about for some time, at length he saved himself by exile.

He was a man mightily tossed about. For to look upon him, before this, in King Henry's reign; then, for his security, he was forced to leave his friends and country, wandering as far as Derbyshire, and the Peak, where he privately taught school for a subsistence. And, coming a mere stranger into Alsop, in the Dale, one Mr. Alsop, a pious man in that barbarous country, shewed him great civility. Afterwards he travelled into Staffordshire, where he also educated children in good literature, and instilled into their minds the principles of Christian doctrine. After a year's tarrying there, and in Leicestershire, he flitted into Warwickshire, where he taught also divers gentlemen's sons, and where he met with old Father Latimer, to his great joy, who had first made him acquainted with the Gospel, when he was a scholar in Cambridge, twenty years before. He wrote a great many books, forty in number, suited to the various occasions of Christians, both in the persecutions under Queen Mary, and the free profession and restoration of the Gospel under King Edward and Queen Elizabeth, and many more against the religion of the Roman Church. All these did this learned and pious author compose for the benefit of the professors of religion; whereby he did such service to the enlightening of men's minds in the knowledge of the truth, and for the exposing the corruptions of Popery, that it was thought convenient that some of that communion should be employed to

1 [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 393, 538.]
2 [Id. vol. vii. p. 127.]
write against him. And so Richard Smith, sometime reader
of divinity in Oxon, and one that had subscribed to the
Reformed religion, and after fled into Brabant, and became
a zealous assertor of Popery, writ in a bitter style against
some of Becon’s books, as he had done against the arch-
bishop himse? before.

I find this Becon put up to preach one of the Lent
sermons at St. Paul’s Cross, in the year 1566. And such
then was his fame for a preacher, and such his favour with
the greatest prelates, that the lord mayor for that year
sent a message to Archbishop Parker, that his grace would
prevail with him to preach one of the sermons at the Spittle
that Easter.

In the year 1564, he revised and reprinted all his former
books in three volumes, dedicating the whole to all the
archbishops and bishops of the realm. And in commendation
thereof, Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, wrote these
verses to him:—

“Vidi et perlegi doctos, Becone, libellos,
   Quos tua non pridem Sancta Minerva dedit.
Disperseam, siquid legi unquam sanctius, aut si
   Quid potuit populo tradier utilius.
Auspice verge Deo tales vulgare libellos,
   Vaniloquax sed neo lingua timenda tibi est.
Sic Christum possis avido inculcare popello ;
   Sic possis nomen condecorare tuum.”

Besides these, there was his Postil, being godly and
learned sermons on all the Sunday-gospels in the year,
printed in quarto in the year 1567.

I shall say no more of his chaplains, after I shall have
mentioned Richard Harman, who seems to have been one
of his first chaplains; being once of Queen’s College, but
went away scholar, probably for religion; afterwards lived
in Jesus College, and commenced master of arts with Cran-
mer; whom he also preferred to his domestic afterwards.
This man was one of those Cambridge men that were elected
into St. Frideswide’s College in Oxon; and suffered much
there for religion. He was afterwards a canon of Windsor,
but fell back to Popery.
CHAPTER XXIX.

Archbishop Cranmer's Officers.

I shall now add a few words of two of his civil officers, his steward and his secretary. One [Richard] Nevil was his steward in King Henry's reign, who conducted Sir Thomas Seymour, coming with a message from the king, through the hall, when the tables were sumptuously set, unto the archbishop at dinner;1 him I have nothing to say of. But he had another afterwards, named Robert Watson, born in Norwich, of whom I have a word or two to say. He was a great civilian, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's reign. But, before his escape beyond sea, he lay in prison in Norwich a year and four months, saith Bale; almost two years, saith Fox; and then was most fortunately delivered, without doing any violence to his conscience, by the subscription which he made. Being abroad, he wrote a piece intituled, "Ætiologia, to all that sincerely professed Christ, wheresoever dispersed, especially his countrymen, the English, banished with him." In this tract he gave a relation of himself, and his imprisonment, and escape; and of the disputes that happened between him and his adversaries concerning transubstantiation, and the real presence of Christ in the sacrament; and by what means he escaped safe in body and conscience, which was a rare matter to do from such inquisitors. It was pro- pounded to him to set his hand to these words, viz.:

"That he believed and confessed that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, through the Omnipotency of God's Word, pronounced by the priest, were turned into the body and blood of Christ; and after consecration, under the forms of bread and wine, remained the true body and blood of Christ, and no other substance." To which he made this subscription:—"His omnibus eatusm asentior et subscribo, quatenus Verbo Dei nituntur, eoque sensu, quo sunt ab ecclesia Catholica et a sanctis patribus intellecta." By the means of one Dr. Barret, a learned friar of Norwich, he

1 [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 21.]
was upon this favourable subscription dismissed. But
Christopherson, dean of Norwich, when he understood it,
was much incensed, and laid out to take him again. But
he, by the help of friends, escaped over the seas.

Now, lastly, of Ralph Morice, his secretary, so much
employed, and so greatly intrusted by our archbishop, it
may not be amiss to set down a few memorials. He was
his secretary, not so much for ordinary matters incident to
his archiepiscopal office, as his amanuensis for learned
treatises and discourses which he composed. In this place
he remained for twenty years; that is, from the archbishop’s
first entrance upon his see, to the death of King Ed-
ward VI., his good master. He was a very considerable
person, and of good birth, being the son of James Morice of
Boydon, in the county of Essex, Esq. Which James was
sometime servant unto the Lady Margaret, countess of
Richmond and Derby, and clerk of her kitchen, and master
of her works; and particularly of Christ’s College and St.
John’s in Cambridge, both which she founded. He also,
and his son William, were joint receivers of the lands,
called Richmond Lands, and other lands, called the Recov-
ered Lands.

Our Ralph, by reason of his service about the archbishop,
was well known to Bishop Heath, Bishop Thirlby, Bishop
Cox, Bishop Barlow, and Bishop Seory; men that were
much about the archbishop, and his friends, and who were
privey to those volumes that the secretary writ out for his
master. He dwelt sometime in Chartham, not far from
Canterbury, and had the farm of that parsonage, and the
nomination of the curate. And, being a man of conscience
and integrity, endeavoured to procure here an honest and
able preacher; and so presented to the church one Richard
Turner, a man of an irreprehensible life, and well learned
in the Holy Scriptures, who for his doctrine against the
Popish superstition, and the Pope’s supremacy, met with
great troubles. But his patron very stiffly stood by him,
and procured the archbishop to favour him; and having an
interest with Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Butts,
courtiers, he wrote Mr. Turner’s case at large to them, and
got them to read his letter before the king; who, though
before he had been by sinister reports so incensed against
him, as to command him to be whipped out of the country, now by this means he conceived better thoughts of him, and commanded him to be cherished as a good subject; as I have before more at large related.  

Another passage I meet with of this man, relates to the kindness of the archbishop, his master, to him, who, in token of his good will he bore him, and of his readiness to reward his diligence and faithfulness in his service, did procure him a lease of the parsonage of Ospringe, in Kent, being an imprropriation belonging unto St. John's College in Cambridge, worth better than forty marks by the year de claro, when wheat was but a noble the quarter. This the archbishop got a grant of from the said college for him. But when the lease was prepared and ready to be sealed, one Hawkins of the guard, by his importunate suit, got King Henry VIII. to obtain it of the college to be sealed for the use of him, the said Hawkins. The archbishop then solicited the king in his servant's behalf, and the king promised him, and also Dr. Day, the master of the college, that he would otherwise recompense Morice for the same, with like value or better, which was never done, the king dying before he did anything for him.

This caused Morice to prefer a supplication unto Queen Elizabeth, setting forth his sad case, and desiring therefore her liberality, aid, and succour: especially considering, that her royal father had in his will provided, that all such who had sustained any manner of damage or hinderance by him should be satisfied for the same; suing, therefore, to her majesty for a pension, that had been allowed unto one Wildborne, late prior of the monastery of St. Augustine's, lately deceased, that it might be conferred upon him during his life. And indeed he seemed now, in his old age, to have need of some such favour, his condition being but mean according to worldly things, and having four daughters all marriageable, and not wherewithal to bestow them according to their quality. This his poverty he urged to the queen, and that the granting him this pension would be a good furtherance of his said daughters' marriage.

The same person had some lands descended to him from

[See vol. i. p. 397, of this edition; and Fox's Act and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 31—34.]
James his father out of two manors, the one called Roydon Manor, and the other called the Temple, both situate and lying in the parish of Roydon. His said father, upon some certain reasons and agreements, surrendered two long leases of both these manors into King Henry VIII.'s hands. In consideration of which, and of long and true services, the said king did give, except, and reserve certain tenements, lands, pastures, and meadows, out of the said two lordships, to the use of the said James and his heirs and assigns for ever, as appeared by his letters patent. And James did enjoy them peaceably and quietly, without any molestation, until his death, which was in the second year of Queen Mary. But of late the leases of the manors being sold away unto others, they laid claim and title unto the said reserved lands, upon the information of one Thurgood, steward of the courts there; pretending that there were not words sufficient in the said letters patent to justify the said exceptions. This occasioned Ralph Morice, the son, who enjoyed some of the copyholds within the said exceptions, to sue unto the queen for her majesty's letters patent, to ratify and confirm the said exceptions, that the king's godly disposition, intent, and meaning might be in force to James Morice's heirs and assigns for ever.

What success he had in this and the former petition, I find not; but am ready to think the queen gratified him in both, as well for his own merits, as out of that high respect she bore to the memory of our incomparable prelate, whose servant he had so long been, and for whose sake he recommended himself and his suit to her. I have inserted the former of these supplications in the Appendix,¹ being an original of Morice's own handwriting, and containing some memorable passages in it.

This man was, by the archbishop's means, appointed a register in King Edward VI.'s visitation, which was in the second year of his reign, the articles whereof were drawn up by the archbishop, and preserved to us in Bishop Sparrow's collections.² And, being ready to depart with the king's commissioners, the archbishop sent for him to

¹ No. CIII.
Hampton Court, and willed him to make notes of certain matters in the said visitation, whereof he gave him particular instructions, and had large discourse with him of the good success that this course was like to have.

In the beginning of Queen Mary he suffered much; being glad to fly from his own house; but afterwards taken by the justices, and committed to custody. Out of which he escaped by breaking prison. His house was often searched. But he outlived those hard times, and was alive in the year 1565, and then lived at Beakesbourne.

It was this Morice that supplied Mr. Fox, the writer of the Acts and Monuments, with those memorials concerning the bishop of Winchester, which shewed how small a share he had in King Henry’s affections, notwithstanding his boasting thereof, which he was very apt to do; and particularly how that king came to leave him out of his last will. All which Sir Anthony Denny related to our archbishop, in the hearing of this his secretary, who was alive when Fox wrote this, and whom he asserts, towards the end of his eighth book, as a witness to the same.¹ For it is to be noted here, that, among those persons that assisted this author with matter for the compiling his laborious books, this Morice was one, and to whom we are to reckon ourselves beholden for divers other material passages of our church-history, and especially those of his lord and master, the archbishop, which are preserved in the said books to posterity. To Day the printer he sent many papers of monuments for the furnishing Fox’s History; and many more he had communicated, but that, in Queen Mary’s reign, his house in two years was thrice searched; by which means he lost a great sort of things worthy perpetual memory, and especially divers letters of King Edward to the archbishop, and of the archbishop to him.

I meet with one Morice, a man of worship, that was much acquainted with, and very well affected towards, Mr. Hugh Latimer, whom the said reverend father called “his trusty friend.” When he was parson of West-Kingston in Wiltshire, the priests at Bristol and thereabouts had combined against him; and, accusing him in several articles, which they had maliciously and falsely collected out of his sermons,

got him convented before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesley, bishop of London. By these he was detained a great while, and underwent many an examination. While he was in these his troubles, Morice, whom I suspect to be either this Ralph or his father, wrote a kind letter to him to comfort him. To which Latimer gives an answer, wherein he explains at large to him the reasons of his troubles, thanking him for this kindness, as well as for others heretofore shewn him, and for which he prayed God to reward him.  

CHAPTER XXX.

A Prospect of the Archbishop's Qualities.

There is an original writing of this Morice's hand preserved in the Benet library, intituled, "A Declaration," &c., which he drew out for the use, and by the command, of Archbishop Parker; 2 wherein divers remarkable passages of this archbishop, not yet mentioned, are set down, and particularly, he is herein vindicated from one thing, which to this day he is by some blamed for; namely, for alienations, and long leases of the revenues of the see, granted to the king, and others. A great part therefore of this I shall here transcribe.

"He was of such temperance of nature, or rather so mortified, that no manner of prosperity or adversity could alter or change his accustomed conditions; for were the storms never so terrible, or odious, or the prosperous state of the times never so pleasant, joyous, or acceptable, to the face of the world his countenance, diet, or sleep, commonly never altered or changed. So that they which were most near and conversant about him, never or seldom perceived, by any sign or token of countenance, how the affairs of the

1 [For this letter, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. pp. 478—477.]
2 [C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxxxviii. fol. 405 at egr.]
prince or realm went. Notwithstanding privately, with his secret and special friends, he would shed forth many bitter tears, lamenting the miseries and calamities of the world.

"Again, he so behaved himself to the whole world, that in no manner of condition he would seem to have any enemy; although in very deed he had both many great and secret enemies, whom he always bare with such countenance and benevolence, that they could never take good opportunity to practise their malice against him, but to their great displeasure and hinderance in the end. And as concerning his own regard towards slanders and reproach, by any man to him imputed or impinged, such as entirely knew him can testify, that very little he esteemed or regarded the bruit thereof; because he altogether travelled evermore from giving of just occasion of detraction. Whereupon grew and proceeded that notable quality or virtue he had, to be beneficial unto his enemies. So that in that respect he would not be acknowledged to have any enemy at all. For whosoever he had been that had reported evil of him, or otherwise wrought to do him displeasure, were the reconciliation never so mean or simple on the behalf of his adversary, if he had anything at all relented, the matter was both pardoned and clearly forgotten, and so voluntarily cast into the satchel of oblivion behind the back parts, that it was more clear now out of his memory, than it was in his mind, before it was either commenced or committed. Inasmuch that, if any such person should have had any suit unto him afterward, he might well reckon, and be as sure to obtain, (if by any means he might lawfully do it), as any other of his special friends. So that on a time I do remember, that Dr. Heath, late archbishop of York, partly misliking this his over-much leniency, by him used, said unto him, 'My lord, I now know how to win all things at your hand well enough.' 'How so?' quoth my lord. 'Marry,' saith Dr. Heath, 'I perceive that I must first attempt to do unto you some notable displeasure; and then, by a little relenting, obtain of you what I can desire.' Whereat my lord bit his lip, as his manner was when he was moved, and said, 'You say well; but yet you may be deceived. Howbeit, having some consideration so
to do, I may not alter my mind and accustomed condition, as some would have me to do.'

"Again one thing he commonly used, wherein many did discommend him, which was this: he always bare a good face and countenance unto the Papists, and would, both in word and deed, do very much for them, pardoning their offences, and, on the other side, somewhat oversevere against the Protestants; which being perceived not to be done but upon some purpose, on a time a friend of his declared unto him, that he therein did very much harm, encouraging thereby the Papists, and also thereby discouraging the Protestants; whereunto he made this answer, and said, 'What will ye have a man do to him that is not yet come to the knowledge of the truth of the Gospel, nor perchance as yet called, and whose vocation is to me uncertain? Shall we, perhaps in his journey coming towards us, by severity and cruel behaviour, overthrow him, and, as it were in his voyage, stop him? I take not this the way to allure men to embrace the doctrine of the Gospel. And if it be a true rule of our Saviour Christ, to do good for evil, then let such as are not yet come to favour our religion learn to follow the doctrine of the Gospel by our example, in using them friendly and charitably. On the other side, such as have tasted of sincere religion, and as it were taken hold of the Gospel, and seem in words to maintain the true doctrine thereof, and then, by the evil example of their lives, most perniciously become stumbling-blocks unto such as are weak, and not at all as yet entered into the viage, what would you have me do with them? Bear with them, and wink at their faults; and so willingly suffer the Gospel, by their outrageous doings, to be trodden under feet?" Using herewith another notable saying of our Saviour out of our memory, which saith, 'the servant, knowing his lord and master's pleasure and commandment, if he regardeth not the same, is, as a man might say, of all others worthy of many plagues.' And thus with these two Scriptures, or doctrines of our Saviour Christ, he answered mine eldest brother, who was earnest with him for his amendment of this quality. Mr. Isaac, yet living, is a witness of the same.

"Again, if there were any matter of weight, (besides his own cause, wherein evermore, with all kinds of persons, he
was ready to relent and give place, according to the quality of the matter, more than became his state), which touched God percase, or his prince, there was no man more stout or more inexorable. So far forth, that neither fear of losing of promotion, nor hope of gain, or winning of favour, could move him to relent, or give place unto the truth of his conscience. As experience thereof well appeared, as well in defence of the true religion against the Six Articles in the Parliament, as in that he offered to combat with the Duke of Northumberland in King Edward’s time; speaking then on behalf of his prince, for the staying of the chantries, until his highness had come unto lawful age; and that especially for the maintenance of his better state then. But if at his prince’s pleasure, in case of religion, at any time he was forced to give place, that was done with such humble protestation, and so knit up for the safeguard of his faith and conscience, that it had been better his good-will had never been requested, than so to relent or give over as he did. Which most dangerously, (besides sundry times else), he especially attempted, when the Six Articles passed by Parliament; and when my Lord Crumwel was in the Tower, at what time the book of Articles of our religion\(^1\) was new penned. For even at that season the whole rabblement, (which he took to be his friends, being commissioners with him), forsook him, and his opinion and doctrine; and so, leaving him post alone, revolted altogether on the part of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. As by name Bishop Heath, Shaxton, Day, and all other of the meaner sort. By whom these so named were chiefly advanced and preferred unto dignities. And yet this sudden invasion notwithstanding, God gave him such favour with his prince, that book altogether passed by his assertion, against all their minds; more to be marvelled at, the time considered, than by any reason to compass how it should come to pass. For then would there have been laid thousands of pounds to hundreds in London, that he should, before that synod had been ended, have been shut up in the Tower, beside his friend the Lord Crumwel. Howbeit the king’s majesty, having an assured and approved assiance of his both deep knowledge in religion, and fidelity both to God and him,

\(^1\) Viz.—“The Erudition of a Christian Man.”
suspected in that time other men in their judgments not to walk uprightly, nor sincerely; for that some of them swerved from their former opinions in doctrine; and, having great experience of the constancy of the Lord Cranmer, it drove him all along to join with the said Lord Cranmer in the confirmation of his opinion and doctrine against all the rest, to their great admiration.

"For at all times, when the king's majesty would be resolved in any doubt or question, he would but send word to my lord over-night; and by the next day the king would have in writing brief notes of the doctor's minds, as well divines as lawyers, both old and new, with a conclusion of his own mind, which he could never get in such a readiness of any; no, not of all his chaplains and clergy about him in so short a time. For, being thoroughly seen in all kinds of expositors, he could incontinent lay open thirty, forty, sixty, or more, some whiles, of authors. And so, reducing the notes of them altogether, would advertise the king more in one day, than all his learned men could do in a month.

"And it was no marvel; for it was well known, that commonly, if he had not business of the prince's, or special urgent causes before him, he spent three parts of the day in study as effectually as he had done at Cambridge. And therefore it was that the king said on a time to the bishop of Winchester, the king and my said lord of Winchester defending together, that the canons of the apostles were of as good authority as the four evangelists, contrary to my Lord Cranmer's assertion; 'My lord of Canterbury,' said the king, 'is too old a truant for us twain.'

"Again, his estimation was such with his prince, that in matters of great importance, wherein no creature durst once move the king for fear of displeasure, or moving the king's patience, or otherwise for troubling his mind, then was my Lord Cranmer most violently, by the whole council, obturated and thrust out to undertake that danger and peril in hand. As, beside many other times, I remember twice he served the council's expectation. The first time was, when he stayed the king's determinate mind and sentence, in that he fully purposed to send the Lady Mary, his daughter, unto the Tower, and there to suffer as a subject; because she
would not obey the laws of the realm, in refusing the bishop
of Rome's authority and religion. Whose stay in that
behalfe, the king then said unto the Lord Cranmer, would be
to his utter confusion at the length. The other dangerous
attempt was, in the disclosing the unlawful behaviour of
Queen Katharine Howard towards the king, in keeping
unlawful company with Durrant, her servant. For the
king's affection was so marvellously set upon that gentle-
woman, as it was never known that he had the like to any
woman. So that no man durst take in hand to open to him
that wound, being in great perplexity how he would take it.
And then the council had no other refuge but unto my Lord
Cranmer, who, with overmuch importunity, gave the charge,
which was done with such circumspection, that the king
gave over his affections unto reason, and wrought marvell-
ous colourably for the trial of the same.

"Now as concerning the manner and order of his hospi-
tality and housekeeping. As he was a man abandoned from
all kind of avarice, so was he content to maintain hospitality,
both liberally and honourably, and yet not surmounting the
limits of his revenues; having more respect and foresight
unto the iniquity of the times, being inclined to pull and
spoil from the clergie, than to his own private commodity.
For else, if he had not so done, he was right sure that his
successors should have had as much revenues left unto them,
as were left unto the late abbeyes, especially considering that
the lands and revenues of the said abbeyes, being now utterly
consumed and spread abroad; and for that there remained
no more exercise to set on work, or no officers but surveyors,
auditors, and receivers; it was high time to shew an example
of liberal hospitality. For although these said workmen,
only brought up and practised in subverting of monastical
possessions, had brought that kind of hospitality unto utter
confusion, yet ceased they not to undermine the prince, by
divers persuasions, for him also to overthrow the honourable
state of the clergie.

"And, because they would lay a sure foundation to build
their purpose upon, they found the means to put into the
king's head, that the archbishop of Canterbury kept no hos-
pitality, or house correspondent unto his revenues and digni-
ity; but sold his woods, and, by great incomes and fines
made money, to purchase lands for his wife and children. And to the intent that the king should with the more facility believe this information, Sir Thomas Seymour, the duke of Somerset's brother, being one of the privy-chamber, was procured to take this matter in hand. And before he informed the king thereof, he blasted it abroad in the court; insomuch that the gentlemen and he fell out for the same, they declare, that his report was manifestly false, as well for the keeping of his house as for the purchasing lands for his wife and children. This notwithstanding, Mr. Seymour went through with his information, and declared unto the king, as is before declared. The king, hearing this tale with the sequel, (that was, that it was meet for the bishops not to be troubled, nor vexed with temporal affairs, in ruling their honours, lordships, and manors; but rather, they having an honest pension of money yearly allowed unto them for their hospitality, should surrender unto the king's majesty all their royalties and temporalities), said, 'I do marvel that it is said my lord of Canterbury should keep no good hospitality, for I have heard the contrary.' And so, with a few more commendations with my lord, as one that little regarded the suit; but yet, as it appeared afterward, something smelling what they went about, left off any further to talk of that matter, and converted his communication to another purpose.

"Notwithstanding, within a month after, whether it was of chance, or of purpose, it is unknown, the king, going to dinner, called Mr. Seymour unto him, and said, 'Go ye straightways unto Lambeth, and bid my lord of Canterbury come and speak with me at two of the clock at afternoon.' Incontinently Mr. Seymour came to Lambeth, and being brought into the hall by the porter, it chanced the hall was set to dinner. And when he was at the skreen, and perceived the hall furnished with three principal messes, beside the rest of the tables thoroughly set, having a guilty conscience of his untrue report made to the king, recoiled back, and would have gone in to my lord by the chapel-way. Mr. Nevil, being steward, perceiving that, rose up and went after him, and declared unto him, that he could not go that way, and so brought him back unto my lord through the hall. And when he came to my lord, and had done his message, my lord caused him to sit down and dine with him.
But making a short dinner, because he would bring the king word again of this message, he departed and came to the king, before he was risen from the table. When he came to the king's presence, said the king, "Will my lord of Canterbury come to us?" "He will wait on your majesty," said Mr. Seymour, "at two of the clock." "Then," said the king, "had my lord dined before you came?" "No, forsooth," said Mr. Seymour, "for I found him at dinner." "Well," said the king, "what cheer made he you?" With these words Mr. Seymour kneeled down, and besought the king's majesty of pardon. "What is the matter?" said the king. "I do remember," said Mr. Seymour, "that I told your highness that my lord of Canterbury kept no hospitality correspondent unto his dignity; and now I perceive that I did abuse your highness with an untruth. For, besides your grace's house, I think he be not in the realm, of none estate or degree, that hath such a hall furnished, or that fareth more honourably at his own table." "Ah," said the king, "have you spied your own fault now?" "I assure your highness," said Mr. Seymour, "it is not so much my fault as other men's, who seemed to be honest men, that informed me hereof. But I shall henceforth the worse trust them while they live." "Then," said the king, "I knew your purpose well enough; you have had among you the commodities of the abbeys, which you have consumed; some with superfluous apparel, some at dice and cards, and other ungracious rule. And now you would have the bishops' lands and revenues to abuse likewise. If my lord of Canterbury keep such a hall as you say, being neither term nor Parliament, he is metely well visited at those times, I warrant you. And if the other bishops kept the like for their degree, they had not need to have anything taken from them, but rather to be added and holpen. And therefore set your hearts at rest; there shall no such alteration be made while I live," said the king. So that in very deed, where some had penned certain books for the altering that state in the next Parliament, they durst never bring them forth to be read. Whereupon it also came to pass, that when the king understood that, contrary to the report, my lord of Canterbury had purchased no lands, his highness was
content upon the only motion of Dr. Butts, without my Lord Cranmer's knowledge, that he should have the abbey in Nottinghamshire, which his wife now enjoyeth.

"Thus much I have declared concerning Mr. Seymour's practice, to the intent men may understand that my Lord Cranmer's hospitality was a mean to stay the estate of the clergy in their possessions."

CHAPTER XXXI.

Archbishop Cranmer preserved the Revenues of his See.

"And here I must answer for my Lord Cranmer against certain objections, which are in divers men's heads, that by his means all the preferments, offices, and farms, are so given and let out, that his successors have nothing to give or bestow upon their friends and servants, nor that such hospitality can be kept by reason of his fault, in letting go such things as should have maintained provisions of household. But to answer this in a few words, before I descend to any particular declaration. It is most true that if he had not well behaved himself towards his prince and the world, his successors should not been cumbered with any piece of temporal revenues. And I pray God they may maintain, in this mild and quiet time, that which he in a most dangerous world did uphold, and left to his successors. Yet for better declaration, in answering to those objections, it is to be considered that, when he entered upon his dignity, every man about the king made means to get some reversion of farms, or of other office of him. Insomuch that the king himself made means to him for one or two things, before he was consecrated, as for the farm of Wingham-Barton, which was granted unto Sir Edward Bainton, Kt., for fourscore and nineteen years. When my lord perceived that, in such suits as he granted to the king and queen, men would needs have an hundred years save one, he wrote to the chapter of Christ Church, and willed them, in any condition, not to confirm any more of his grants of leases, which were above
one and twenty years. By this means much suit was stopped. So that in very deed he gave out his leases but for one and twenty years, which would not satisfy the greedy appetites of some men; and therefore they found a provision for it. For when my lord had let out certain goodly farms at Pinner, Hayes, Harrow on the Hill, Mortlake, &c. to the number of ten or twelve farms, for one and twenty years, taking no manner of fine for them; all these farms by-and-bye were put into an exchange for the king. And the king had them not in possession six days, but they were my Lord North's and other men's. And they were not past one year in their possessions, but that the reversion of every of them was sold for more years; some for an hundred pounds, and some for more, and some for less, making sweepstakes of altogether. And so was my lord used in all things almost that he did let out for one and twenty years.

"By means whereof Justice Hales, and other of the counsel learned in the laws, advised him to let out his farms for many years, which might be a mean that they should not be so much desired in exchanges as they were; for those farms, which came to my lord, came with years enough upon their backs. And so, upon this conclusion, my lord was fain to alter his purpose in letting of his farms. Whereupon he did let St. Gregory's in Canterbury to Mr. Nevil, the priory of Dover, Chisle-park, and Curleswood-park, with others, for so many years as he did, on purpose to stay them; or else he had gone without them one time or other. And, as I heard say, since your grace was elect, Curleswood-park was in exchange, and the rent thereof paid for one half-year unto the queen's use; but, so soon as they understood there were so many years to come, it was reversed to the archbishopric again. So that hereby partly may be perceived in what state my Lord Cranmer stood with his lands.

"And as touching the diminishing of his rents, houses, and other commodities, for the provision of his hospitality, if all things be well pondered, he had left the same in better state than he found it. For, as touching his exchanges, men ought to consider with whom he had to do, especially with such a prince as would not be bridled, nor be gainsaid in any of his requests, unless men would danger altogether. I was by when Otford and Knoll were given him. My lord
minded to have retained Knoll unto himself, said, that it was too small an house for his majesty. "Marry," said the king, "I had rather have it than this house, meaning Otford, for it standeth on a better soil. This house standeth low, and is rheumatic, like unto Croydon, where I could never be without sickness. And as for Knoll, it standeth on a sound, perfect, wholesome ground; and if I should make abode here, as I do surely mind to do now and then, I will live at Knoll, and most of my house shall live at Otford." And so by this means both those houses were delivered up into the king's hands. And as for Otford, it is a notable great and ample house, whose reparations yearly cost my lord more than men would think. And so likewise did Maidstone, which had no manner of commodity to belong unto it. And I am sure, that after certain exchanges passed between the king and him, there were an hundred marks a year, or thereabouts, allowed unto him in his last exchanges, for recompense of parks and chases; and yet those parks and chases, beside the provision of his venison, stood him yearly in much more, by the reason of the patents and fees belonging unto them, than he by any means else got by them.

"For as for Curleswood, it stood him in twenty nobles a year fee. And yet there was no gain in it, but only conies, which the keeper had also in his patent. So that the archbishop by suppressing of that, and raising that small rent it payeth, may spend thereby seven pounds a year more than it was accustomed to pay towards the archbishopric.

"And touching Chislet-park, it came to my lord in exchange for eight pounds a year. And the farmer payeth ten pounds; so that thereby is gained forty shillings a year. Wherefore it cannot be indifferently gathered, that my lord in preferring his friends unto these things, hath any whit hindered the revenues of the bishopric.

"And as touching pasture and meadow for the provision of his house, both at Croydon and about Canterbury, Ford, and Chislet, there is thrice so much meadow, pasture, and marsh, as was left unto him.

"And as for the sale of his woods, like as he was driven to exchange them, and sell them for to maintain his hospitality, especially having almost twenty years together learned men continually sitting with him in commission, for
the trying out, and setting forth of the religion received, and for the discussing of other matters in controversy; some of them daily in diet with him, and some evermore living in his house; so provided he again like woods, more commodious for his houses; as the Blenewoods, belonging to St. Austin's; and Pyne-wood, and others which be known well enough.

"And as touching provision for corn out of Chislet-court, and in other places, it is incredible what a business he had, and ado with Sir Christopher Hales, for that farm and corn, who challenged it of the king by promise; and so would have defeated my lord thereof, had not the king very benignly stood on his side. And it is no small revenue to have yearly so much corn, both wheat, malt, and oats, at so mean a price."

"And therefore let men leave off that report of him, that he was not beneficial to his successors. Other bishops, some of them, lost whole manors and lordships, without any exchange at all. Thus much my conscience hath compelled me to say, in defence of my lord and master's good name; whom I knew to take as much care for his successors in that bishopric, as ever did archbishop, or shall. And would have as much advanced the same, if the iniquity of the world would have permitted him.

"Now, finally, concerning his behaviour towards his family, I think there was never such a master among men, both feared, and entirely beloved. For as he was a man of most gentle nature, void of all crabbed and churlish conditions, so he could abide no such quality in any of his servants. But if any such outrageousness were in any of his men or family, the correction of those enormities he always left to the ordering of his officers, who weekly kept a counting-house. And if anything universally were to be reformed or talked of, on that day, which commonly was Friday, the same was put to admonition. And if it were a fault of any particular man, he was called forth before the company, to whom warning was given, that if he so used himself after three monitions, he should lose his service.

"There was an infamy of him, that he should have been an hostler, which the ignorant popish priests, for very
malice, had published against him. Saying, that he had no manner of learning at all, more than hostlers are wont to have. And this rumour sprang of that, that when he had married his first wife, being reader then of Buckingham College, he did put his wife to board in an inn at Cambridge; and he resorting thither unto her in the inn, some ignorant priests named him to be the hostler, and his wife the tapster. This bruit then began, but it much more was quickened when he was archbishop than before. Inasmuch that a priest far north, about Scarborough, sitting among his neighbours at the ale-house, and talking of Archbishop Cranmer, divers men there commanding him: 'What,' said the priest, 'make ye so much of? He was but an hostler, and hath as much learning as the geeseings of the green that go yonder.' Upon which words, the honest men of the parish, which heard him, gave information to my Lord Cramwel of those his slanderous words. The priest was sent for before the council, and cast into the Fleet; my Lord Cranmer not being that day among the council, nor hearing no manner of word of the priest's accusation. It chanced the priest to lie in the Fleet eight or nine weeks, and nothing said unto him. He then made suit by one, named Chersey, (a grocer dwelling within Ludgate, now yet alive, and uncle, as I suppose, to the priest), unto my Lord Cranmer for his deliverance. This Chersey brought the copy of the priest's accusation from my Lord Cramwel's house, whereby plainly appeared there was nothing laid unto the priest but those words against my Lord Cranmer. And therefore he besought him to help him out of prison; for it had put him to great charge sitting there, and had a benefice which was unserved in his absence; and said, that he was very sorry he had so unhonestly abused himself towards his grace. Whereupon my Lord Cranmer sent to the Fleet for the priest. When he came before my lord, said my Lord Cranmer to him, 'It is told me that you be prisoner in the Fleet for calling me an hostler, and reporting that I have no more learning than a geoseing. Did you ever see me before this day?' 'No, forsooth,' quoth the priest. 'What meant you then to call me an hostler, and so to deface me among your neighbours?' The priest made his excuse, and said, that he was overseen with drink.
"Well," said my lord’s grace, ‘now ye be come, you may oppose me to know what learning I have. Begin in grammar if you will, or else in philosophy, or other sciences, or divinity.’ ‘I beseech your grace pardon me,’ said the priest; ‘I have no manner of learning in the Latin tongue, but altogether in English.’ ‘Well, then,’ said my lord, ‘if you will not oppose me, I will oppose you. Are you not wont to read the Bible?’ quoth my lord. ‘Yes, that we do daily,’ said the priest. ‘I pray you tell me,’ quoth my lord, ‘then, who was David’s father?’ The priest stood still, and said, ‘I cannot surely tell your lordship.’ Then said my lord again, ‘If you cannot tell me that, yet declare unto me who was Solomon’s father?’ ‘Surely,’ quoth the priest, ‘I am nothing at all seen in those genealogies.’ ‘Then I perceive,’ quoth my lord, ‘however you have reported of me, that I had no learning, I can now bear you witness, that you have none at all. There are such a sort of you in this realm, that know nothing, nor will know nothing, but sit upon your ale-bench, and slander all honest and learned men. If you had but common sense in your heads, you that have named me an hostler, you might well know that the king, having in hand one of the hardest questions that was moved out of the Scripture this many years, would not send an hostler unto the bishop of Rome, and the emperor’s council, and other princes, to answer and dispute in that so hard a question, even among the whole college of cardinals, and the rout of Rome. By all likelihood the king lacked much the help of learned men, that was thus driven to send an hostler on such a voyage, or else the king hath many idle priests, without wit or reason, that can so judge of the prince and his council, and of the weighty matters of the realm. God amend you,’ said he, ‘and get ye home to your cure, and from henceforth learn to be an honest man, or at least a reasonable man.’

"The priest, lamenting his folly, went his way into his country, and my Lord Cranmer discharged him out of the Fleet, because there was no matter against him, but that which only concerned my lord. My Lord Cromwell, within four days after, came to my Lord Cranmer, and sware a great oath, that the popish knaves should pick out his eyes, and cut his throat, before he would any more rebuke them
for slandering him. 'I had thought that the knave priest, which you have discharged and sent home, should have recanted at Paul's Cross on Sunday next.' 'Yea, marry,' quoth my Lord Cranmer, 'you would have all the world know by that mean that I was an hostler indeed.' 'What manner of blockheads would so think?' quoth my Lord Crumwel. 'Too many Papists,' quoth my Lord Cranmer. 'Howbeit,' quoth he, 'you have caused the poor priest to spend all that he hath in prison, and would you now put him to open shame too? He is not the first, not by five hundred of them, that hath called me so; and therefore I will not now begin to use extremity against this priest. I perceive he is sorry for it.' 'Well,' quoth my Lord Crumwel, 'if you do not care for it, no more do I; but I warrant you one day, if they may, they will make you and me both as vile as hostlers.' Thus I repeat to declare his lenity, and promptness to remit notable offences; howbeit it should have been placed before, if I had remembered it.

"Thus I have hastily penned such things as came to my memory, since Saturday last, beseeching your grace to take it in good part, being certainly assured that I have declared nothing of mine head, as concerning the very matters."

CHAPTER XXXII.

Some Observations upon Archbishop Cranmer.

Besides these observations, made to my hand by another, of this great archbishop, I shall gather some further observations of his endowments and qualities, whether Christian or moral, whereby we shall have occasion offered us of gathering up a few more memorials of him.

He was a most profound learned man in divinity, as also in the civil and canon laws; as appeared by those many voluminous writings and common-places, by him devised or collected out of all the Fathers and church-writings, which Peter Martyr reported he himself saw, and were indeed communicated to him by the archbishop, while he harboured
him at Lambeth. And there was no book, either of the ancient or modern writers, especially upon the point of the eucharist, which he had not noted with his own hand in the most remarkable places; no councils, canons, decrees of popes, which he had not read and well considered. And from this his indefatigable reading, and exact knowledge of authors, he ventured publicly, before the Pope’s delegate, and Queen Mary’s commissioners, to make this challenge; “That if it could be proved by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ’s body is in the sacrament of the altar really, he would give over.”

So that his library was the storehouse of ecclesiastical writers of all ages, and which was open for the use of learned men. Here old Latimer spent many an hour; and found some books so remarkable, that once he thought fit to mention one in a sermon before the king. And when Ascham of Cambridge, a great student of politer learning, and of Greek authors, wanted Gregory Nyssen in Greek, (not the Latin translation of him,) and which it seems the University could not afford, he earnestly entreated Poinet, his grace’s chaplain, to borrow it in his name, and for his use, for some months of the archbishop. For in those times it was rare to meet with those Greek Fathers in their own language, and not spoiled by some ill Latin translation. Another of his books I will mention, because it is now in the possession of a reverend friend of mine near Canterbury; in which book the archbishop’s name is yet to be seen, written thus with his own hand, Thomas Cantuariensis; and a remarkable book it is, which we may conclude the archbishop often perused, viz. “Epistolæ et Historia Ioannis Huss.” Printed at Wittenberg, 1537.

And this learning happening in a mind possessed with piety, made him the more deeply sensible of the greatness of the charge that lay upon him. And as he well knew under what needs the Church laboured, so he was very solicitous that nothing might be wanting on his part; shewing himself a most conscientious bishop and tender pastor of Christ’s flock. He was not guided in his episcopal function by vain-glory, or affectation of popular

1 [See Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 52.]
2 [See above, p. 145.]
applause, or worldly ambition, or covetousness, but only by
the holy and pious ends of discharging his duty, and pro-
moting the honour of Christ, and the knowledge of his
Gospel, and the good of his people; as he took God to
witness in the preface of his book of the Sacrament. A
paragraph whereof I think not unworthy to be here
inserted, whereby it may appear of what a truly apostolical
spirit our archbishop was. "When I see," said he,
"Christ's vineyard overgrown with thorns, brambles, and
weeds, I know that everlasting woe appertaineth to me if I
hold my peace, and put not to my hand and tongue to
labour in purging His vineyard. God I take to witness,
who seeth the hearts of all men thoroughly unto the bottom,
that I take this labour for none other consideration but for
 glory of His name, and the discharge of my duty, and the
zeal [that] I bear toward the flock of Christ. I know in
what office God hath placed me, and to what purpose; that
is to say, to set forth His word truly unto His people to the
uttermost of my power, without respect of person, or regard
of thing in the world, but of Him alone. I know what
account I shall make to Him hereof at the last day, when
every man shall answer for his vocation, and receive for the
same, good or ill, according as he hath done. I know how
Antichrist hath obscured the glory of God, and the true
knowledge of His Word, overcasting the same with mists
and clouds of error and ignorance through false glosses and
interpretations. It pitieth me to see the simple and hungry
flock of Christ led into corrupt pastures, to be carried blind-
fold they know not whither, and to be fed with poison,
instead of wholesome meats. And, moved by the duty,
office, and place, whereunto it hath pleased God to call me;
I give warning in His name unto all that profess Christ,
that they flee far from Babylon, if they will save their souls,
and to beware of that great harlot; that is to say, the pesti-
ferous see of Rome, that she make you not drunk with her
pleasant wine," &c.\footnote{[See "A Preface to the Reader," prefixed to the original edition of
the "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacra-
ment," 1550, in Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works,
vol. i. pp. 6, 7, from which the above quotation has been corrected.]}
as the high patriarch thereof, so he particularly had his eye upon his own diocese. He took care, even in King Henry’s ticklish reign, to place such ministers in Kent as were learned, and dared to open their mouths to preach Gospel-doctrine, and to convince the people of the usurpations of the bishop of Rome, and of the idolatry and superstitions, wherein they had been so long nursed up. And for the preventing whereof, from time to time, he ordered his archdeacon, and other his officers, to take down images out of churches, and deface them. Which things created him much hatred among the Popish clergy, whose gain depended so much therein. He had a peculiar regard of the greater towns of his diocese, that such places might be furnished with able men, where the inhabitants were numerous, and the salaries generally small. Whereby he saw it came to pass, that where there was most need of learned men, there the most ignorant were placed. Therefore, he thought this worthy his redressing. I meet with this memorandum in one of his note-books:¹—“These towns following are especially to be remembered, that in them be placed learned men, with sufficient stipends.

“Sandwich, Tenterden, Whitstable,
Dover, Crambroke, Marden,
Folkestone, Feversham, Maidstone,
Ashford, Herne, Wye, and Wingham.”

In these great towns, as well as Canterbury, he often preached himself. And for his sermons at Sandwich, he was once complained of openly in the Parliament-house, to have brought him under the lash of the statute of the Six Articles. And within seven or eight years after his first entrance into the see, he had placed such store of good preachers about Kent, that, at another time, a long list of articles were drawn up against them, and given into the justices of the county at a quarter-sessions of the peace, and they by a combination preferred the complaint to the king and Council.

His high estate puffed him not up, nor made him forget the great work of his calling, which he very earnestly desired to prosecute above all things in the world. Nor did he care

¹ In the Benet Library.
at all for the high titles that were attributed to him, as he was archbishop of Canterbury, as may appear by this passage. Upon occasion of a question arising concerning his style of primate of all England, for bearing which, in his summons for a provincial visitation, Gardiner the bishop of Winchester, out of malice, had complained to King Henry against him, as though it were an encroachment upon the king's supremacy; he protested to Crumwel, then secretary, (who had sent him word of it), "That, as God should be merciful to him in the day of judgment, he set not more by any title or style than he did by the paring of an apple, further than it should be to the setting forth God's word and will." His expression was, "That they were the successors of Dioskophres that affected glorious titles, styles, and pomps;" he professed, "he could have been willing that bishops should lay aside their lofty styles, and only write themselves by the style of their offices, "The Apostles of Jesus Christ;" and wished heartily, that the Christian conversation of the people were the letters and seals of their offices, (as the Corinthians were to St. Paul, who told them, that they were his letters, and the signs of his apostleship), and not paper, parchment, lead, or wax." ¹

Great indeed and painful was his diligence in promoting God's truth, and reforming this Church, insomuch that he raised up against himself the malice and hatred of very many thereby. These memorials, before related, do abundantly evince the same. The words of Thomas Becon, in an epistle dedicatory, ² deserve here to be transcribed: "In plucking up the enemy's tares, and in purging the Lord's field, that nothing may grow therein but pure wheat, your both godly and unrestful pains, most reverend father, are well known in this Church of England, and thankfully accepted of all faithful Christian hearts; insomuch that very many do daily render unto God most humble and hearty thanks for the singular and great benefits, which they have received of Him, through your virtuous travail in attaining [unto] the true knowledge of justification, of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood," [those two things especially he laboured

¹ [Appendix, No. XIV.]
² Before his "'Treatise of Fasting." [See Parker Society's edition of Becon's Works (Catechism, &c.), p. 126, by which the above quotation has been corrected.]
to retrieve and promote a true knowledge of.] "and such other holy mysteries of our profession. And albeit the devil roar, the world rage, and the hypocrites swell, at these your most Christian labours, which you willingly take for the glory of God, and the edifying of his congregation; yet, as you have godly begun, so without ceasing continue unto the end." And so he did, to the effusion of his blood not many years after.

For he was very sensible of the gross abuses and corruptions into which the Christian Church had sunk, which made him labour much to get it purged and restored to its primitive constitution and beauty. And this he ceased not to make King Henry sensible of, putting him upon the Reformation of the English Church, as he could find occasion, and convenience serve him, to move him thereunto. Which found at last that good effect upon the king, that, towards the latter years of his reign, he was fully purposed to proceed to a regulating of many more things than he had done.1 But the subtlety of Gardiner bishop of Winton, and his own death, prevented his good designs. While the aforesaid bishop was ambassador abroad, employed about the league between the emperor and the English and French kings, our archbishop took the opportunity of his absence to urge the king much to a reformation; and the king was willing to enter into serious conference with him about it. And at last he prevailed with the king to resolve to have the roods in every church pulled down, and the accustomed ringing on All-hallows-night suppressed, and some other vain ceremonies. And it proceeded so far, that, upon the archbishop's going into Kent, to visit his diocese, the king

1 As long as Queen Ann, [Thomas] Crumwel, Bishop Cranmer, Mr. Denny, Dr. Butts, with such-like were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the Church than he? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the Church, in exploding the Pope with his vile pardons, in removing divers superstitions ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects, in putting chantry priests to their pensions, in permitting white meats in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage worship, in abrogating idle and superstitious holy-days, both by act public, and [also] by private letters [sent] to Bonner [tending to this effect].—Acts and Monum. p. 1147, a. edit. 1610 [vol. v. p. 605].
ordered him to cause two letters to be drawn up, prepared for him to sign, the one to be directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other to the archbishop of York, who were therein to be commanded to issue forth their precepts to all the bishops in their respective provinces, to see those enormities redressed without delay; which our archbishop accordingly appointed his secretary to do. And the letters, so drawn up, were sent by the archbishop up to court. But the king, upon some reasons of state, suggested to him in a letter from Gardiner, his ambassador beyond sea, being by some made privy to these transactions, suspended the signing of them.¹

And that put a stop to this business for some time, till some time after, the king, at the royal banquet made for Annebault, the French king’s ambassador, leaning upon him and the archbishop, told them both his resolution of proceeding to a total reformation of religion, signifying that, within half a year, the mass both in his kingdom, and in that of France, should be changed into a communion; and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome should be wholly rooted out of both; and that both kings intended to exhort the emperor to do the same in his territories, or else they would break off the league with him. And at that time also he willed the archbishop to draw up a form of this reformation, to be sent to the French king to consider of. This he spake in the month of August, a few months before his death. This his purpose he also signified to Dr. Bruno, ambassador here from John Frederick, duke of Saxony, some little time after, saying, “That if his master’s quarrel with the emperor was only concerning religion, he advised him to stand to it strongly, and he would take his part.”² But the king’s death prevented all.

And as for this king’s next successor, King Edward, the archbishop had a special care of his education, whose towardliness and zealous inclination to a Reformation, was attributed to the said archbishop, and three other bishops; viz. Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer, by Rodulph Gualter of Zurich, who, partly by his living some time in England, and partly by his long and intimate familiarity and correspond-

¹ [See Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 562.]
² [Id. ibid. and p. 882.]
ence with many of the best note here, was well acquainted with the matters relating to this kingdom. Of the great influence of one of these upon the king, viz. the archbishop, the former memorials do sufficiently shew.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Archbishop Cranmer procures the Use of the Scriptures.

The archbishop was a great scripturist, and, in those darker times of Popery, was the chief repairer of the reputation of the holy Scriptures, urging them still for the great standard and measure in all controverted matters relating to religion and the Church. By these he disentangled King Henry VIII.'s great matrimonial cause, when all his other divines, who had the Pope's power and laws too much in their eyes, were so puzzled about it; shewing how no human dispensation could enervate or annul the Word of God. And in the course he took about the reforming of religion, the holy Scripture was the only rule he went by; casting by schoolmen, and the Pope's canons and decretals, and adhering only to the more sure word of prophecy, and divine inspiration. And so Roger Ascham, in a letter to Sturmius, in the year 1550, when they were very busy in the Reformation, writes:¹ That such was the care of their Josiah, (meaning King Edward), the archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole privy-council, for true religion, that they laboured in nothing more than that as well the doctrine as discipline of religion might be most purely drawn out of the fountain of the sacred Scriptures; and that that Roman sink, whence so many human corruptions abounded in the church of Christ, might be wholly stopped up.

¹ "Ea vero religionis cura apud Josiam nostrum imprimis, et Cantuariensem, et universum concilium regium exubat, ut in nulla seque laboratum sit, quam ut religionis, tum doctrina, tum disciplina, ex sacrarum literarum fonte, purissime hauriatur: et ut sentina illa Romana, qua tot manusse sordes in ecclesiam Christi redundarunt, funditus obstruatur."
This his high value of the Scriptures made him at last the happy instrument of restoring them to the common people, by getting them, after divers years' opposition, printed in the English tongue, and set up in churches, for any to read that would for their edification and comfort; when, for some hundred years before, those treasures had, for the most part, been locked up and concealed from them.

But, first, great was the labour of our archbishop, before he could get this good work effected, being so disliked and repugned by the patrons of Popery. For he had almost all the bishops against him; as may appear by what I am going to relate. The king being by the archbishop brought to incline to the publishing thereof, the translation done by Coverdale was, by Crumwel or the archbishop, presented into the king's hands, and by him committed to divers bishops of that time to peruse, whereof Stephen Gardiner was one. After they had kept it long in their hands, and the king had been divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at last, being called for by the king himself, they redelivered the book. And being demanded by the king, what their judgment was of the translation, they answered, That there were many faults therein. "Well," said the king, "but are there any heresies maintained thereby?" They answered, "There were no heresies that they could find maintained in it." "If there be no heresies," said the king, "then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people." This circumstance I thought fit to mention, being the substance of what Coverdale himself afterwards, at a Paul's Cross sermon, spake in his own vindication, against some slanderous reports that were then raised against his translation, declaring his faithful purpose in doing the same: confessing withal, "That he did then himself espy some faults, which, if he might review it once [over] again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not," he said, "but to amend." This is related by Dr. Fulk, who was then one of Coverdale's auditors, and heard him speak and declare all this.

The first edition of the Bible was finished by Grafton, in the year 1537, or 1538. That year our archbishop procured

a proclamation from the king, allowing private persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houses. And about two or three years after they were reprinted, and backed with the king's authority, the former translation having been revised and corrected, whether by certain learned men of both universities, or by some members of the Convocation that were then sitting, it is uncertain. But to this translation the archbishop added the last hand, mending it in divers places with his own pen, and fixing a very excellent preface before it. In which he divided his discourse between two sorts of men: the one, such as would not read the Scripture themselves, and laboured to stifle it from others. The other, such as read the Scripture indeed, but read it inordinately, and turned it into matter of dispute and contention, rather than to direct their lives. And thereby, while they pretended to be furtherers thereof, proved but hinderers, as the others were; these being as blameless almost as those.

As to the former sort; he marvelled at them that they "should take offence at publishing the word of God. For it shewed them to be as much guilty of madness as those would be who, being in darkness, hunger, and cold, should obstinately refuse light, food, and fire. Unto which three God's word is compared. But he attributed it to the prejudice of custom, which was so prevalent, that supposing there were any people that never saw the sun, such as the Cimmerii were fancied to be, and that God should so order it, that that glorious light should in process of time break in upon them, at the first some would be offended at it. And when tillage was first found out, according to the proverb, many delighted notwithstanding to feed on mast and acorns, rather than to eat bread made of good corn. Upon this reason he was ready to excuse those who, when the Scripture first came forth, doubted and drew back; but he was of another opinion concerning such as still persisted in disparaging the publishing of the Scripture, judging them not only foolish and froward, but peevish, perverse, and indurate. And yet, if the matter were to be tried by custom, we might allege custom for reading the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe more ancient custom than for the contrary.


VOL. II.
Shewing that it was not above a hundred years since the reading it in English was laid aside within this realm; and that many hundred before it had been translated and read in the Saxon tongue, being then the mother tongue; and that there remained divers copies of it in old abbeys. And when that language became old and out of common usage, it was translated into the newer tongue; and of this many copies then still remained, and were daily found."

Then, from custom, he proceeded to consider the thing in its own nature; shewing how available it was that the Scripture should be read of the laity. For which he takes a large quotation out of St. Chrysostom, in his third sermon, "De Lazaro;" wherein that father exhorted the people "to read by themselves at home, between sermon and sermon; that what he had said before in his sermons upon such and such texts, might be the more fixed in their minds and memories; and that their minds might be the more prepared to receive what he should say in his sermons, which he was to preach to them. And that he ever had, and would exhort them, not only to give ear to what was said by the preacher in the church, but to apply themselves to reading the Scriptures at home in their own houses." And a great deal more upon the same argument.

And then, as to the other sort, our archbishop shewed, how there is nothing so good in the world, but might be abused and turned from unhurtful and wholesome, to hurtful and noisome. As above in the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, were abused by idolatry; and here on earth, fire, water, meat, drink, gold, silver, iron, steel, are things of great benefit and use; and yet we see much harm and mischief done by each of these, as well by reason of the lack of wisdom and providence in them that suffer evil by them, as by the malice of them that work the evil by them. Advising therefore all that came to read the Bible, which he called "the most precious jewel, and most holy relic that remained upon earth," to bring with them the fear of God; and that they read it with all due reverence, and used their knowledge thereof, not to the vain-glory of frivolous disputations, but to the honour of God, increase of virtue, and edification of themselves and others."

And then he backed this his counsel with a large passage
out of Gregory Nazianzen, which was levelled against such as only talked and babbled of the Scripture out of season, but were little the better for it. And lastly, he concluded his preface by directing to such qualifications as were proper for such as came to read these sacred volumes. Namely, "That he ought to bring with him a fear of Almighty God, and a firm purpose to conform himself thereunto; and so continue to proceed from time to time, shewing himself a sober and fruitful hearer and learner." This whole preface, for the antiquity and usefulness of it, and to preserve as much as we can of the writings of this most reverend man, I have transcribed and placed in the Appendix. ¹

The edition in the year 1540 had a remarkable frontispiece before it, which, because it is somewhat rare, both in regard of the antiquity and device of it, I will relate. In the upper part thereof you see King Henry VIII. sitting in state, guarded on each hand of him with the lords spiritual and temporal, holding in his right hand a bible closed, which he delivered unto Archbishop Cranmer, being on his knee, in the name of the rest of the bishops; all which stood at his right hand bareheaded, their mitres lying upon the ground, in token of their acknowledgment of the king's supremacy; and this motto issuing out of the king's mouth, "Hæc precipe et doce." Holding also in his left hand another bible, stretched towards the lords temporal, and delivered to one, (whom I suppose to be intended for the Lord Cromwell), at the head of them, standing on the left side, and this word coming out of the king's mouth towards them: "Quod justum est, judecate:" and this; "Ita parvum audietis, ut magnum:" and this; "A me constitutum est, et decretum, ut in universo imperio et regno meo homines reverecantur et pavenat Deum viventem." Among these nobles is the figure of one on his knees, and these words issuing out of his mouth: "Verbum tuum lucerna pedibus meis." Over the king's head is the figure of God Almighty sitting in the clouds, with these words coming out of his mouth in a scroll towards the right hand: "Verbum quod egreditur de me, non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet quaecunque volui." And in another scroll towards the left, with his hand pointing to the king, "Ecce servum, qui faciet

¹ No. CIV.
omnes voluntates meas.” Underneath the bishops there is another figure, representing Archbishop Cranmer; his coat of arms by him, with the distinction of a crescent. He stood with his mitre on his head, and dressed in his pontificalibus, his chaplain behind him, and a priest with a tonsure kneeling before him, in the posture of a candidate for priest’s orders, and having his hand stretched out to receive the Bible offered him by the archbishop, and out of his mouth this scroll: “Pascite, qui in vobis est, gregem Christi.” On the other side, opposite to the archbishop, and underneath the lords temporal, stood another person, whom I conjecture to be the Lord Crumwel, with his shield by him blank, without any bearing; and out of his mouth came, “Diverte a malo, sequere pacem et persequere.” In the lowest part of this frontispiece you have the semblance of a priest, preaching out of a pulpit before a great auditory of persons of all ranks, qualities, orders, sexes, ages: men, women, children, nobles, priests, soldiers, tradesmen, countrymen. Out of the mouth of the preacher went this verse: “Obsecro igitur primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus,” &c. Implying the benefit accruing to princes by the people’s knowledge of the Scriptures, namely, that it taught them to obey and pray for them. And out of the mouths of these hearers of all sorts issued, “Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex;” and out of the mouths of the children, “God save the King;” denoting the great joy the people conceived for the enjoyment of God’s word, and the preaching thereof, and their thankfulness to the king for his permission of the same. In the middle stood the title of the Bible, which was this: “The bible in English; that is to say, the contents of all the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, with a Prologue thereunto made by the Reverend Father in God Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury. This is the Bible appointed to the use of the Churches. Printed by Richard Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. An. Dom. MDXL.”
CHAPTER XXXIV.

Archbishop Cranmer compassionate towards sufferers for Religion.

As he had a great love and value for the eminent professo rs and patrons of the Gospel, so he bare a most compassionate spirit towards those that suffered for the sake of it. It made a very great impression upon him when he heard that Sir John Cheke had been taken up and indicted, soon after Queen Mary’s access to the crown; namely, in the month of August, which was the next month after. And not knowing wherefore he was indicted, whether for his meddling in the Lady Jane’s business, or for his zeal in promoting religion, he earnestly desired Sir William Cecil to inform him whether. If for the former, “considering,” as he said, “he had been none of the chief doers in that matter, he hoped he should have been one of them that should have partaken of the queen’s favour. But if it were for the latter, viz. his earnestness in religion, if he suffer for that, said he, ‘Blessed is he of God that suffereth for His sake, howsoever the world judge of him. For what ought we to care for the judgment of the world, when God absolves us?’” But wishing most passionately withal that some means might be used for the relief of him and the Lord Russel, who it seems was clapped up for the same cause.¹

And indeed, as our archbishop was in the time of King Edward, he was the same under King Henry; that is, the common patron, as far as he might, or dared, of such priests who were drawn into trouble for professing or preaching the Gospel. So he shewed himself to Turner before mentioned; and in the year 1533, or 1534, I find him in a commission for the relieving of another that had been most straitly and rigorously handled by Stokesley, then bishop of London, and his chancellor; his name was Thomas Patmore, parson of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, a learned and godly man, who had by them been condemned to imprisonment for life,

¹ [See Appendix, No. CIX]
together with the loss of his benefice and goods, because he had persuaded his curate to marry a wife; and, being privy to his marriage, did nevertheless suffer him to officiate in his church; and because he had preached certain doctrines at Cambridge, as laying little stress upon the Pope's curse, and that we are saved only by God's mercy; and that all that are saved are saved by faith; and that it is against God's law to burn heretics. This poor man, after three years' close imprisonment in Lollards Tower, by the means of his friends, who put up frequent petitions to the king and the Lady Ann Boleyn, was at last released, and obtained of the king a commission to our archbishop, to whom were joined Audley, lord chancellor, and Crumwel, secretary of state, to inquire into his injuries and unjust handling, and to determine thereof according to equity and justice.  

Thus favourable he was to religion and good men in the two former kings' reigns; but when Queen Mary succeeded, he could no longer be a sanctuary or succour unto them, unless it were to comfort them by words, and to pray for them, as was said before.

The archbishop added, "that he was for his part now utterly unable either to help or counsel, being in the same condemnation that they were. But that the only thing that he could do, he would not omit, and that was, to pray for them, and all others then in adversity." But he entreated Cecil, who by this time seemed to have gotten his pardon, or at least to be in good assurance of it, and so in a better capacity to raise up friends to those honest men, to use what means possible he could for them.

This was all he could do now for the prisoners of Christ. But while he was in place and capacity of succouring such distressed persons, as he was in King Edward's days, he gave them countenance, entertainment at his house and table, preferment, recommendation to the king and Protector. And indeed there was great need of some such patrons of poor Protestants, the persecutions in Italy, in Spain, in France, in Germany, and other places, being about this time extremely hot, which occasioned the flight of great numbers into this nation, which some of them styled "Christi

\[1\] Fox['s Acts and Monuments, vol. v. pp. 35—37].
Asylum," "A sanctuary for Christ." In the year 1549 the persecution in France grew very warm, which was partly occasioned upon the inauguration of King Henry II., and his entrance into Paris for that purpose. For the burning of martyrs in several streets of the city, where and when the king was to pass by, made a barbarous part of the solemnity. In this year many French Protestants, who had been imprisoned for religion in their own country, were either banished, or secretly made their escape into this kingdom. These applied to some French ministers, entertained, as it seems, in the archbishop's family, with Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, which ministers delivered the condition of these poor men to the archbishop. And having a petition to present to the lord protector, declaring their miserable state, and requiring relief, he appointed the French ministers to apply themselves to Cecil, then master of requests to the lord protector; and that he might be the more ready to recommend and forward the petition, to render it the more effectual, he advised Bucer, Martyr, Alexander, and Fagius, to write their letters jointly unto the said Cecil, for the French ministers to carry along with them as their letter of credence. For the archbishop well knew that Cecil had a great esteem for those learned men, and that their letters would go a great way with him. Such was the particular care and diligence our prelate piously used for relief of these poor French exiles. The copy of this letter I have thought well worthy to be put in the Appendix.

Indeed it was noted at this time, as a quality of the nation, that it was φιλοξενος, "addicted to shew favour to strangers;" nay, "to admire them." And surely it was not without the providence of God, that when, in these difficult times, so many honest, pious, learned men, were forced from their own

1 "Ad vos, ceu in asylum et portum tutissimum sub sanctissimi regis alas confuebant Germani, Galli, Hispani, Itali, Poloni, Scoti, ut illic Deo suo in fidei libertate servirent, quam ipsis patria ingratam negabant."—Gualt. Pref. ante Hom. in prior. D. Paul. Ep. ad Cor.

2 [For an account of the persecutions in France during the reign of Henry II. the reader is referred to Felice's History of Protestantism, pp. 57, et seq. (ed. Routledge, 1853), a deeply interesting and most important work].

3 No. CV.

4 "Anglos φιλοξενος esse non nego, et peregrinorum habiti sunt admiratores [maximi]."—Humfrid. de Nobilit. [p. 252].
countries, friends, and estates, they found such hospitable entertainment here. Care was taken for their sufficient livelihoods; and for those of them that were towards learning, places were assigned them in the colleges of the universities, and yearly stipends settled on them. Of those that were most forward and exemplary in these Christian offices, Dr. Laurence Humfrey, one who lived in those times, and was well acquainted with these matters, names King Edward in the first place, who, as he asserts of his own knowledge, was extraordinarily bountiful to them, both in London and in the universities. Among the noblemen he mentions Henry, earl of Dorset and duke of Suffolk; and among the bishops, Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, of whom he bestowed this character: “that he was worthy to succeed William Warham in his see, whom he so well imitated, both in courteous behaviour and hospitality.”

And as he was in King Edward’s days of such an hospitable disposition towards strangers, so he was noted for it in the reign of his father King Henry, being wont then to shew himself very kind and humane to such as travelled into these parts for learning, as well as for shelter. Gualter, the great divine of Zurich, being but a young man, came into England about the year 1537; and was so affected with the civilities he received here, that he let it stand upon record in the Preface to his Homilies upon the first epistle to the Corinthians, how humanely he was received at Oxford, not only by the students, but by the public professors, and by divers at court. But among them he particularly mentioned how Archbishop Cranmer, whom he styled “The immortal glory of England,” received him, though a young man then, and a stranger, and had no experience of things, nor any mark or excellency to recommend him.

And as he was compassionate and hospitable, so he was of a free and liberal disposition; and, as became a Christian bishop, and an English peer, kept great hospitality. Yet, however, he could not escape the imputation of niggardice and closeness. He had been once accused of it to his master King Henry, but came off with honour, the king himself

clearing him of that injurious scandal, and giving him a character of a quite contrary nature.  

And again in King Edward's reign, in the year 1552, some taking the advantage of his absence from the court, slandered him as though he were covetous. Which coming to his ear, by the cordial friendship of Cecil, the king's secretary, he wrote that courtier a letter in vindication of himself; professing "that he was not so doted to set his mind upon things here, which neither he could carry away with him, nor tarry long with them. And that he took not half so much care for his living when he was a scholar at Cambridge, as he did at that present, when he was archbishop of Canterbury; for as he had now much more revenue than he had then, so he had much more to do withal. And that he rather feared stark beggary at last."  

This, and other things to the same purpose, he signified in that letter, that Cecil thereby might the better understand his condition, and know how and what to plead at court in his behalf, as occasion served, as hath been more at large related before.

By the way, I cannot but reflect upon one of the archbishop's expressions, which seemed to have been uttered prophetically, so exactly did the event answer to his words: for to stark beggary he was indeed at last reduced, when, in his imprisonment at Oxon, he had not a penny in his purse. And, which was more, his enemies were so barbarously severe, that it would not be allowed any well-disposed person to relieve his necessity, nor to give him an alms, a privilege allowed any beggar beside. And when a gentleman of Gloucestershire, sensible of the archbishop's need, and withal knowing how dangerous it was to give the poor archbishop any money, had conveyed somewhat to the bailiffs, to be by their hands bestowed on him, Bonner and Thirlby, the two bishops that degraded him, stayed this gentleman, intending to send him up to the Council, had he not gotten off by the intercession of some friends.

2 [Appendix, No. LXVII.]
CHAPTER XXXV.

Some Account of Archbishop Cranmer's Housekeeping.

But the more fully to confute this calumny, it will not be amiss to look more narrowly into his housekeeping. His daily custom at Lambeth was, to dine in a room above, where all noblemen, and persons of better quality, that came to dine with him, were entertained. Here he was very honourably served, both with dishes and attendants. In the hall the table was every day very plentifully furnished, both for household servants and strangers, with three or four principal head-messes of officers, besides the relief of the poor at his gates. And, which is a very observable charity, as well as hospitality, he appropriated his mansion-house at Beakesbourne, in Kent, and his parsonage-barn, for harbour and lodgings for the poor, sick, and maimed soldiers that came from the wars of Boulogne, and other parts beyond seas. For these he also appointed an almoner, a physician, and a surgeon, to attend on them, and to dress and administer physic to such of them as were not able to resort to their own countries, having also daily from his kitchen hot broth and meat, besides the common aims of his household, that were bestowed upon the poor people of the country. And when any of these were recovered, and were able to travel, they had money given them to bear their charges, according to the number of miles they were to pass before they got home.

I do not know whether some might have taken advantage thus to slander him, from a laudable endeavour of his to reduce within some bounds the provisions of clergymen's tables, which in the latter times of King Henry VIII. grew to great excess and extravagancy, so unbecoming spiritual men. For in the year 1541 the archbishop, with the consent of the other archbishop, and most of the bishops, and divers other deans and archdeacons, made a constitution for moderating the fare of their tables, viz.—

"That archbishops should not exceed six divers kinds of
flesh, or as many dishes of fish on fish-days. A bishop not above five. A dean or archdeacon, four; and all under that degree, three. But an archbishop was allowed at second course to have four dishes, a bishop three, and all others two; as custards, tarts, fritters, cheese, apples, pears, &c. But if any of the inferior clergy should entertain any archbishop, bishop, dean, or archdeacon, or any of the laity of like degree, as duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron, lord, knight, they might have such provision as were meet for their degree; nor was their diet to be limited when they should receive an ambassador, [to recommend, I suppose, to foreigners the English hospitality.”] It was ordered also “That of the greater fish or fowl, as cranes, swans, turkeys, haddocks, pike, tench, there should be but one in a dish; of lesser sorts than they, as capons, pheasants, conies, woodcocks, but two; of less sorts still, as of partridges, an archbishop, three; a bishop, and other degrees under him, two; The number of the blackbirds were also stinted to six at an archbishop’s table, and to four for a bishop. And of little birds, as larks, snipes, &c., the number was not to exceed twelve.”

But so strongly bent were the clergy in those days to this sort of sensuality, that these injunctions of our archbishop were observed but two or three months; and so they returned to their old superfluity again.

The archbishop’s pious design hereby was only to curb intemperance and unnecessary prodigality in such, upon whose office those vices cast such just reflections; but it could not reasonably argue any covetous temper in him; for, that the poor might not fare the worse for this intrenchment of exorbitant hospitality, but rather the better, the archbishop in these aforesaid orders, provided, “That whatsoever was spared out of the old housekeeping, should not be pocketed up, but laid out and spent in plain meats for the relief of poor people.”

And that this charge may still appear to be nothing but

---
2 [Id. ibid.]
a mere detraction, proceeding from envy, or some other ill principle, others there were that would blame him for the contrary vice, of too much lavishing and unprofitable expense. So hard a matter is it for the best men to escape the spiteful and venomous insinuations of the world. But he patiently and with an even mind bore all.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Archbishop Cranmer humble, peaceable, bold in a good cause.

For, which is another thing to be remarked in him, he was very humble and condescending, and did not only bear to be reproved, but was thankful for it; and that even when the reproof was undeserved, which was the more to be valued in him, considering the height and dignity of his calling. To give an instance or two of this.

When, in the year 1552, Cecil had charged him with the imputation of covetousness, as a report that went of him in the court, and which himself seemed partly to believe, begging withal pardon of his grace for his freedom with him; our archbishop told him, “That as for the admonition, he took it very thankfully; and that he had ever been most glad to be admonished by his friends; accounting no man so foolish as he that would not hear friendly admonishment.”

And when, at another time, the same Cecil, (who would always take the liberty to speak his mind to his friends, whencesoever he thought they wanted counsel), had signified to him the hazard he incurred in not showing more compliance towards the duke of Northumberland, who now swayed all, and then apologizing for his boldness; Cranmer was so far from taking this ill, that he returned him his very hearty thanks for his friendly letter and advertisements; desiring him to be assured that he took the same in such good part, and to proceed of such a friendly mind, as he ever looked for at his hands, and whereof he would not be unmindful, if occasion hereafter served, to requite the same.

1 [Appendix, No. LXVII.] 2 [Appendix, No. CVII.]
And this good temper led him also to gentleness and lenity. He was no huffer nor contender, but of an exceeding peaceable and amicable spirit. Whereunto he was moved by the reason of policy as well as religion, because he well saw how a contentious quarrelsome disposition in great men would be apt to give an ill example unto inferiors. There happened once, in the year 1552, a contest between him and the lord warden of the Cinque-Ports, who lived not far from him; and so probably it might be about some worldly matters. It was Sir Thomas Cheyny, who, in the year 1549, was one of those that met with Warwick in London, and published a proclamation against the archbishop’s friend, the duke of Somerset, as a traitor, which might be an occasion that the archbishop did not much affect Cheyny, nor Cheyny the archbishop. Concerning this difference between them, which it seems was taken notice of at court, when his true friend Cecil had wrote to him, advising a reconciliation, he gave this Christian and meek answer from his house at Ford: “That there was no man more loth to be in contention with any man than he was, especially with him who was his near neighbour, dwelling both in one county, and whose familiar and entire friendship he most desired, and that for the quietness of the whole county.” Adding, “that the examples of the rulers and heads would the people and members follow.”

His peaceableness also appeared in his hearty desires of the public peace, as well as private. When, upon occasion of hearing of the wars that were about the year 1552, eagerly followed both in Christendom and out of it, he used these words: “The Sophy and the Turk, the emperor and the French king, not much better in religion than they,” [such it seems was his censure of them, by reason of the cruelty and persecution they exercised, and the disturbances they made in the world], “rolling the stone, or turning the wheel of fortune up and down; I pray God send us peace and quietness with all realms, as well as among ourselves.”

But though he were of so quiet and mild a spirit, yet, being a plain downright man, he would never learn the arts of flattery and base compliances with them that were upper-

1 [Appendix, No. CVIII.] 2 [Appendix, No. CVII.]
most; which had like to have created him much trouble from Northumberland, to whom he carried not himself with that deference and pleasingness as he expected. For Cran-
mer knew the bad heart of this haughty man, and could not forget the ill measure his friend, the duke of Somersett, had found at his hands. He did not care to make any application to him, nor to be an instrument in forwarding any of his designing business. When he was to write up to some of the court concerning Bayner Wolf, I suppose for license to print the Articles of Religion, anno 1552, he desired to take Cecil’s advice, to whom he should write; “For I know not,” saith he, “to whom to write but my lord of Northumberland;” 1 to whom to make any address he would fain have avoided if he could. There was, about the year 1552, a commission issued out for a strict inquiry to be made after all such as had defrauded the king of any goods or treasure, accruing to him by the suppression of chantries, or that belonged to churches. Now this was done by Northumberland and his creatures on purpose that it might light heavy upon Somerset’s friends, who had been the chief visitors in those affairs, and had many of them been supposed to have enriched themselves thereby. Commissioners were appointed in each county. In Kent the commission was directed to the archbishop, and to several other gentlemen and justices of peace. The archbishop, perceiving well the spite and malice of this commission, acted very slowly in it, insomuch that Northumberland began to be highly angry with him. Cecil observing it, and having ever a great veneration for that good man, and fear-
ing he might feel the effects of his fury, writ to him, signifying Northumberland’s displeasure, and giving him advice to take heed of him; for which the archbishop thanked him, and prudently writ his excusatory letter to that duke, dated November 20, signifying, “that the cause of his stay of the commission was, because he was alone, and that the gen-
tlemen and justices of peace, who were in commission with him, were then at London, [probably because of the Term], before whose coming home, if he should proceed without them, he might;” as he said, “travail in vain, and take more pains than he should do good.” 2 And by such soft but

1 [Appendix, No. LXVI.]  
2 [Appendix, No. CVII.]
honest words mollifying him for the procrastination of that, which he had no mind to meddle in.

But not long after he, and Ridley bishop of London with him, fell under great displeasure with this duke, and the rest of the great men of his party, who in the latter end of King Edward’s reign governed all. The reason whereof was, for opposing, as much as they could, though to no effect, the spoil of the church-goods, which were taken away only by a commandment of the higher powers, without request or consent of them to whom they did belong; as Ridley himself relates in his treatise, wherein he lamented the change of religion in England, 1 which indeed was more than ever Henry VIII. had done.

Add to the rest, that our bishop was of a bold and undaunted courage in the cause of God and His church. It was a brave and generous act, and worthy the chief bishop of the English church; I mean that public challenge which he made to maintain the Common Prayer-Book, and the other parts of the Reformation, by the Scripture and Fathers, in open disputation, against whomever, if the queen so pleased to permit it, which was done by him soon after the queen’s coming to the throne. And had he not been prevented by others, who dispersed copies of this challenge without his knowledge, it had been made very solemnly, as he freely told the queen’s council, by fixing this his declaration on the doors of St. Paul’s, and other churches, with his hand and seal to it. And his courage herein appeared the greater, because he was at this very time under a cloud, and in great danger, having some time before now been convened before the Council, and confined to Lambeth. 2

And whosoever shall consider that good progress that by his means was made in religion, not only in King Edward’s reign, but even in that of King Henry, under the discouragements of an anciently-riveted superstition and idolatry; and withal shall ponder the haughty nature of that prince, of so difficult address, and so addicted to the old religion; and how dangerous it was to dissent from him, or to attempt to draw him off from his own persuasions; cannot but judge


2 [See above, p. 7.]
Cranmer to have been of a very bold spirit, to venture so far as he did. And undoubtedly his courage went an equal pace with his wisdom and discretion, and was no whit inferior to his other excellent qualifications. And this I say the rather, to vindicate the memory of this most reverend prelate from an unworthy reflection, made upon him in a trifling account of his life, wherein he is charged to be "of too easy and flexible a disposition, which made him cowardly to comply with the church of Rome. And, that though he never did any harm to the Protestants, yet he did not unto them so much good as he might or ought."¹ For the confutation of which, I appeal to numberless passages which I have written of him. But it is easy to see from whence this author had this character of our archbishop; namely, from Parsons and Saunders, two malicious calumniating Jesuits. The former hath these words of him: "That to the king's will and liking he resolved to conform himself, as well in religion as in other things."² And, that when King Henry was large towards the Protestants, Cranmer was so also; but when the king became more strait and rigorous, especially after the [statute of] Six Articles, Cranmer was ready to prosecute the same."³ And therefore Saunders framed a name for the archbishop, calling him Henricianus,⁴ in the same sense as Herod's creatures in the Scriptures were called Herodiani. A very false character of this good archbishop, to say no worse of it.

I must here make a note of one quality more of our archbishop, which was this; that he was a man of ardent affections, and of an open and generous temper; and where he loved, he thought he could never enough express it. An instance of this I will give in Bishop Thirlby, to whom, for the good qualities he supposed were in him, he had a most earnest love. An account of this I will lay down in the words of Morice, the archbishop's secretary, who well knew it.⁵

¹ Fuller's "Abel Redivivus" [p. 226].
² [Three Conversions, part iii. cap. vii. No. 28, p. 371.]
³ [Ibid. p. 374.]
⁵ Inter Foxii MSS. [C.Ô.C.C. MSS. No. cxxviii.]
"Besides his special favour to him," saith he, "that way, [in recommending him to the king,] there was no man living could more friendly esteem any man of himself; as my Lord Cranmer did this Thirlby; for there was no kind of pleasure which my Lord Cranmer was liable to do, that was not at this man's commandment, whether it were jewel, plate, instrument, map, horse, or anything else, though he had it from the king's majesty; but if this man did once like or commend it, the gentle archbishop would forthwith give it unto him. And many times Dr. Thirlby, for civility-sake, would instantly refuse the same, yet would he send it unto him the next day after to his house. Insomuch that it came into a common proverb, "That Dr. Thirlby's commendation of anything of my lord's was a plain winning or obtaining thereof. So that some men thought, that if he would have demanded any finger, or other member of his, he would have cut it off to have gratified him therewith; such was his ardent affection towards him. This no small sort of honest men, now living, can testify;" that is about the year 1565, when this was written.

It may deserve also a remark, that our good prelate rose upon the fall of another great churchman, viz. the cardinal of York. For about that very time the king rejected Wolsey from his favour and employment, Cranmer succeeded into them. It may be also observed, that, as the king's great matter of the divorce was first moved and managed by Wolsey, so it was taken up, and vigorously carried on, and successfully ended, by Cranmer. And as the former started it upon an unjust policy, and so in the issue, by God's secret judgment, prospered no better by it, it finally proving his ruin; so the latter, acting in it out of a better and more honest principle of conscience and religion, became thereby advanced to the greatest honour in the church, which he held for twenty years together. Though at last indeed it had the same fatal issue to him, by the secret malice of Queen Mary, as it had to the cardinal before, by the secret displeasure of Queen Ann. But as they were thus parallel in the cause of their falls, so their demeanors under their calamities were very different. The cardinal under his shewed a most abject and desponding mind; but our archbishop's carriage was much more decent
under his, remaining unsuited and magnanimous, having a soul well fortified by the principles of solid virtue and religion, which the other had not. And this appeared in him, when, being brought forth to be baited before Brooks, the pope's sub-delegate, and Martin and Story, the king's and queen's commissioners at Oxford, he gravely, and with an unmoved spirit, used these words: "That he acknowledged God's goodness to him in all His gifts, and thanked Him as heartily for that state wherein he found himself then, as ever he did in the time of his prosperity; and that it was not the loss of his promotions that grieved him at all."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Osiander's and Peter Martyr's Character of the Archbishop.

The last thing I shall observe of him is that he always remained the same man, not altered by his honours and high advancements. As he was a person of great piety, goodness, affability, and benignity, before he was archbishop, and the sunshine of royal favour, so he continued at all times after. For a witness of this, I will set down two characters given him by two foreign learned men, both which knew him well.

The one shall be of Osiander; from whom we may take this account of what he was before he was bishop, while he remained abroad in Germany. Osiander, that great divine of Nuremberg, professed to love him for some excellent endowments that were common to him with some other good men, but especially for others more extraordinary and peculiar to himself: 1 of the former sort was, "that he was a gentleman of good birth and quality; that he had an aspect and presence that carried dignity with it, an incredible sweetness of manners; that he had learning beyond the common degrees of it; was benign and liberal towards all, and especially to those that were studious and of good literature. Of the latter, were those more abstruse and

1 "Epist. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangelic."
hersical virtues of his mind, rare to be found in the age wherein he lived, viz. his wisdom, prudence, fortitude, temperance, justice; a singular love towards his country, the highest faithfulness towards the king; a contempt of earthly things, a love of heavenly; a most burning study towards the evangelic truth, sincere religion, and Christ's glory." And this was Cranmer before he was placed in his high and honourable station.

The other character of Cranmer is that of Peter Martyr, who thus speaks of him, when he was at the top of all his earthly honour, in the middle of King Edward's reign: 1

"That his godliness, prudence, faithfulness, and his singular virtues, were known to all the kingdom. That he was so adorned with the grace and favour of Christ, as that, though all others are the children of wrath, yet in him piety, and divine knowledge, and other virtues, might seem to be naturally born and bred; such deep root had they taken in him. So that Martyr often wished and professed, he should esteem it as a great benefit vouchsafed him of God, that he might come as near as might be to his virtues, which he admired in him as the wonderful gifts of God. And, as to himself and others, fled into these quarters for religion, that Cranmer's kindness and humanity, merits and benefits towards them, were such, that if he should render just thanks, and speak of them as they deserved, he must do nothing but tell of them; and how much soever he should extoll them, the greatness of the matter would overreach his speech. And that it was well known to all how humanely he received not him only, but many other strangers of his order, and how kindly he treated them."

To both these I will subjoin the judgment of another, who, I cannot but conclude, was well acquainted with the archbishop, and a long and diligent observer of his demeanor in his superintendence over the Church; and that was John Bale, sometime bishop of Ossory. "He never placed," said he, "the function of a bishop in the administration of secular things, but in a most faithful dispensation of God's Word.2

"In the midst of wicked Babylon he always performed

1 "Epist. Dedicat. ante librum de Eucharist."
the part of a good guide of Israel. And among Papists, that tyrannized against the truth of Christ, he governed the people of God with an admirable prudence. No man ever so happily and steadily persisted, with Christ Himself, in the defence of the truth, in the midst of falsely learned men, in such imminent hazard of his life, and yet without receiving any harm. No man did more prudently bear with some false apostles for a time, although, with St. Paul, he knew what most pestilent men they were, that so they might not be provoked to run into greater rage and madness."

All this that I have before written concerning this our venerable prelate cannot but redound to his high praise and commendation, and it is very fit such virtues and accomplishments should be celebrated and recorded to posterity. Yet I do not intend these my collections for such a panegyric of him, as to make the world believe him void of all faults or frailties, the condition of human nature. He lived in such critical times, and under such princes, and was necessarily involved in such affairs, as exposed him to greater temptations than ordinary. And if any blemishes shall, by curious observers, be espied in him, he may therefore seem the more pardonable, and his great exemplary goodness and usefulness in the church of God may make ample amends for some errors.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Archbishop vindicated from Slanders of Papists.

I have given, I hope, a just, though imperfect, account, from undoubted records and authentic manuscripts, as well as the best published books, of the excellent endowments of this great prelate, and of his innocent, prudential, and useful behaviour in his high place and station. So that none, who impartially weighs the premises, can conclude otherwise of him, than that he was a very rare person, and one that deserves to be reckoned among the brightest lights that ever shone in this English church. And this all the sober
unprejudiced part of posterity will believe, notwithstanding
the unjust calumnies some hot-spirited Papists have cast
upon his memory.

I shall pass over the unhandsome name that Feckenham
gave him, calling him Dolt; as he did also his two other
brethren in tribulation, Ridley and Latimer, prisoners then
in Oxford, (men by far more learned than himself), upon
occasion of Mr. Hawks esteeming them deservedly "godly
and learned men." 1

I shall also pass by what Bishop Bonner then said of him,
viz. "That he dared to say, that Cranmer would recant so he
might have his living;" 2 as though he were a man of a pro-
stituted conscience, and would do anything upon worldly
considerations.

But there is a late French writer, whom I cannot but
take notice of with some indignation, who, to shew his
bigoted zeal to the Roman church, hath bestowed this most
defamatory character upon this our archbishop: "That he
was one of the profligatest men of England; that had nothing
of Christianity in him, but the outward appearances; being
ambitious, voluptuous, turbulent, and capable of all sorts of
intrigues." 3 Of which all that I have written is an abundant
confutation; besides the severe chastisements the right
reverend the bishop of Sarum hath lately bestowed upon
this author, who questionless was well versed in those
famous Popish calumniators of our Reformation, and of this
our archbishop, the great instaurator thereof, and had a
mind to outdo them in their talent of throwing dirt. Those,
I mean, who, living in the age past, did most bitterly and
virulently, as it fell in their way, fly upon Cranmer's memory
and fame, to eclipse it to posterity if they could; namely,
Saunders, Allen, and Parsons, and some others. But those
who read these Memorials will be able easily to confute
them, and will perceive that these men sought not so much
to say what was true, as what might serve the ends of their
anger and spite; their reports being made up for the most
part of nothing but lies and slanders illy patched together.

2 [Id. ibid. p. 107.]
3 "Varillas' History of Heretics" [L'Histoire de l'Hérésie," livre 16,
p. 695].
Allen, if he were the answerer of the *Execution of English Justice*, saith, "that Cranmer was a notorious perjured, and often-relapsed Apostate, recanting, swearing and forswearing at every turn." A heavy charge; but we are left to guess what these perjuries, these so often swearings and forswearings, these relapses and recantations, be. But it is enough for them to roar out "notorious perjuries, &c." But let us see what oaths Cranmer took, that might occasion his perjuries. He swore, at his consecration, the usual oath to the Pope, and, in his future doings, laboured to restore the king's supremacy against the Pope's usurpations, and to promote a reformation against the Pope's superstitions. Was this one of his "notorious perjuries?" It is pity the doing so good a thing should fall under so bad a name. But, at the taking of that oath, did he not make a solemn protestation openly before public notaries, and that entered down into record, that he intended not by the said oath to do anything against the law of God, the king, or the realm, and their laws and prerogatives; nor to be abridged thereby from consulting for the reformation of religion? In which way the best civilians then put him, and assured him, that by this means he might safely, without any guilt, take the oath to the Pope, which otherwise he would not have done. And truly, for my part, I think there was no other way to escape that perjury, that all other bishops elect in those times were entangled in, by swearing two contrary oaths, one to the Pope, and another to the king. Cranmer swears also, at receiving orders, to live chastely; but he afterwards married a wife. Surely hereby he broke not his oath, but rather kept it. He did likewise swear to the succession of Queen Ann; but would Allen have all that submitted to that act of Parliament to be perjured? That would reflect upon the wisdom of the three estates at that time, in making such an ensnaring law, and involve all sorts of people, both clergy, nobility, and gentry, and all other persons of age, in perjury, as well as the archbishop, excepting only two persons, More and Fisher, who would not submit to this act. And even they themselves offered to swear to the succession itself, and

1 "Sinsewh and modest Defence of English Catholics," p. 45.
refused only to swear to the preamble of the said act. There
was indeed an act made, which seemed contrary to this act,
namely, that which in the year 1536 put by the succession
of Queen Ann, and carried it to the king’s children by
another queen; and to this act the subjects were to swear
also. And we will suppose that the archbishop swore with
the rest to this act. Neither was there any perjury here;
for this oath in truth was not contrary to the former; for by
reason of some lawful impediment of Queen Ann’s marriage
with the king, as was then pretended, it was declared by
the Parliament, that the issue of that queen was illegitimate,
and not inheritable. And the first oath was only for the
succession of lawful issue by Queen Ann. Therefore, there
being no lawful issue of that queen, as was then at least
supposed, the oath to the lawful issue of another queen
might certainly be very innocently taken, without incurring
the breach of the former. And where at length is this
“notorious perjury, and swearing and forswearing at every
turn?”

Allen again lets fly upon him, calling him Apostata. But
surely it is not apostasy to leave error, superstition, and
idolatry, for the true doctrine and profession of the Gospel.
He chargeth him also with “often relapsing and recanting.”
He made no relapses nor recantations at all, as I know of,
makes a little before his death, when he subscribed to a
parcel of Popish articles, by the importunity of Papists,
working upon his frailty and long-sufferings. But he soon
reverted all again, and died most patiently in the profession
of the true religion. And to this last comes all this
mighty clamour, that he was “notoriously perjured, an
often-relapsed Apostata, recanting, swearing and for-
wearing at every turn.”

Saunders’ scurrilous and false accounts of Cranmer are
numberless; I will only mention one or two. He saith,
that from Cambridge he went to the service of Sir Thomas
Bolyn, and by his preferment was made archbishop of
Canterbury.1 Whereas from Cambridge he was immedi-
dately made the king’s chaplain, and wanted not the re-
commendation of any to his preferment, the king being so
well acquainted with his merits. And though he abode

1 Saunders “De Schism. Ang.” [lib. i.p. 58].
some time with the earl of Wiltshire, whom he styleth Sir Thomas Boleyn, yet it was not in the quality of his chaplains, but of one whom the king recommended to him. He writeth, "that the archbishop carried his wife about with him in a chest, when he removed:"¹ and addeth a ridiculous story relating thereunto. And his brother Parsons saith, "This was a most certain story, and testified at that day by Cranmer's son's widow to divers gentlemen, her friends,"² from whom Parsons saith he had it. Other Popish dignitaries in those days kept and conversed with their concubines and whores more publicly; and did the archbishop keep his wife so close? But in case he had travelled with her more openly, who should examine the archbishop, and call him to account, whether she was his wife or his concubine? and therefore the story is most improbable. The king himself knew he had a wife well enough. And when the archbishop saw the danger of having her with him, he sent her away to her friends beyond sea for a time. And that silly story comes through too many hands, before it came to Parsons, to make it credible. Cranmer's son tells it to his wife, nobody knows where; she, being a widow, tells it to certain gentlemen, nobody knows who; and they tell it to Parsons, nobody knows when. No one place, person, or time, mentioned. And so all the faith of the matter lies upon a woman's evidence, and hers upon the credit of those two very honest men, Parsons and Saunders.

In Parsons' Three Conversions of England are these many favourable expressions of our archbishop to be found: that "he was the first heretic in that order;³ [of archbishops of Canterbury.]" Because he was the first that laboured a reformation of the horrible errors of the degenerate church of Rome. And, "that he was the first archbishop of Canterbury that ever brake from the Roman faith."⁴ And, that "this was the first change of religion in any archbishop, from the beginning unto his days."⁵ Designing thereby to fix a very black mark upon him, which rather

¹ "De Sobriam. Ang." p. 57.
² "Three Conversions," [part iii. cap. vii. n. 27, p. 371.]
³ [Id. part i. cap. xi. n. 27, p. 227. See also "A Table of particular matters," at the end of vol. i.]
⁴ [Id. part i. cap. xi. n. 32, p. 281.]
⁵ [Id. part i. cap. xi. n. 27, p. 227.]
redounds to his everlasting honour. That he was an
unconstant man in his faith and belief: incontinent in his
life: variable in all his actions: accommodating himself
always to the times wherein he lived, and to the humours
of those who could do most; and this in matters even
against right and conscience.¹ No, but quite contrary;
he was constant in his faith and belief to the very last,
except one fall, which he soon recovered; most chaste in his
life, living in the holy state of marriage; steady in all his
actions; accommodating himself always, neither to the
times, nor to the humours of any man, let him be as great
as he would, any farther than he might do in right and
conscience; and often opposing king, Parliament, privy
council, and synods, to his utmost danger, in defence of
truth, and for the discharge of his own conscience.

Again, “That he was a [Roman] Catholic in most
points during King Henry’s reign.”² Whereas he was so
in no point, excepting in that of the corporeal presence.
“That he applied himself to the religion which the state
and prince liked best to allow of in that time [of King
Henry VIII.]”³ From which he was so far, that he often
boldly and publicly declared against divers things which the
king was bent upon; as in the act of the Six Articles, and
in composing the book called The Necessary Erudition.
That “these three, the king, Queen Ann, and Archbishop
Cranmer, held the Catholic faith, usages, and rites; and
went as devoutly to mass as ever, and so remained they in
outward show, even to their deaths.”⁴ Though some years
before Cranmer’s death, namely, from the first year of
King Edward, the mass was wholly laid aside, and never
used at all. That “Cranmer and Crumwel went to mass,
after the king married the Lady Ann Boleyn, as before.”⁵
What they did as to the going to mass, our histories tell us
little of; if they did, it was with little approbation of it.
“And as Crumwel on the scaffold protested, that he was a
good Catholic man” [but there is difference between a
good Catholic and a Roman Catholic], “and never doubted

¹ In his "Kalendar." ² ["Three Conversions," part iii. cap. vii.,
n. 28, p. 371.] ³ [Id. part i. cap. xi. n. 27, p. 227.]
⁴ [Id. part i. cap. xii. n. 3, p. 237.] ⁵ [Id. ibid.]
of any of the Church sacraments then used.”¹ Thereby intending, I suppose, to make a difference between them and the Gospel Sacraments. But surely Cranwell in his lifetime was so utterly against four or five of them, that he brought Aless, a learned man, into a convocation to dispute there for two only. “And the like Cranmer had done no doubt, if he had been brought to the scaffold in King Henry’s days: [as he was to the fire afterwards in Queen Mary’s]—which had been a happy case for him.”² To a scaffold they of the Roman persuasion endeavoured many a year to bring him; and they would have thought it a happy case for them, if they could have brought it to pass. But I verily believe the quite contrary to this confident assertion, and that he would have owned the truth to the last, as he did afterwards in the reign of that king’s daughter, Queen Mary.

That he always fell jump with them that governed, and could do most.³ No; he never fell in with Gardiner, who sometime had the ascendant over King Henry; nor with the duke of Northumberland, who could do most, and did all for a time with King Edward. That “when King Henry was large towards the Protestants, Cranmer was so also, joining with Cranwell to protect them. But when the king became more strict and rigorous, especially after the [statute of] Six Articles, Cranmer was ready to prosecute the same.”⁴ He argued long and earnestly in the House against those Six Articles; and, when he saw they would pass, he protested against it, and was so troubled about it, that the king sent the duke of Norfolk and the Lord Cranwell, and divers other noble persons, to comfort him in the king’s name. So that I hardly think he would after this be brought to prosecute that bloody act, the making of which he so utterly disliked. Nor is there the least footstep of it in history. Indeed Parsons bringeth in some persons, in whose deaths he would have the archbishop to: have a hand. “As may appear,” saith he, “by the sentence of death pronounced against [John] Lambert, Thomas Gerard, William Jerome, and Ann Ascup, and others, condemned by

¹ [“Three Conversions,” part i. cap. xii. n. 8, p. 237.]
² [Id. part i. cap. xii. n. 8, p. 288.]
³ [“He was full jump always with them.”—Id. part iii. cap. vii. n. 30, p. 374.]
⁴ [Id. ibid.]
him [to the fire] for denyng the real presence."\(^1\) Though in King Henry's time the archbishop believed the real presence, yet he was not for putting any to death that denied it. No; such extreme rigours, for an error, he utterly detested. Lambert suffered before the act of the Six Articles. Nor did the archbishop condemn him, but only, by the king's command, disputed against him. Gerard [he means Garret] and Jerome, and Anne Ascue, were condemned and burnt indeed; but he had no manner of hand either in their condemnation or death, as we can find in our histories. But Winchester, Bonner, and Wriothesly, and others of that gang, shed those good people's blood. And it is an impudent falsehood to lay their condemnation to the archbishop's charge.

He saith further, that "to the king's will and liking he resolved to conform himself, as well in religion as in all other things."\(^2\) If he had said this of Bishop Gardiner, the character would have better by far fitted him. He saith, "that he divorced the king of his own authority from Queen Katharine."\(^3\) Whereas, in truth, what he and Winchester, and other bishops, did in this affair, was by commission from the king, and not by their own authority. That, "he married the king to Queen Ann."\(^4\) That "it was in open Parliament, under his hand-writing, yet extant in public printed records, to his eternal shame, that the Queen [that is, Queen Ann] was never true wife unto the said king."\(^5\) Where was the eternal shame of this, when he set his hand to no more than what she herself confessed before him? See more of this before. That "after this he married the king to Jane Seymour, and after to Queen Ann of Cleves, and after that to Katharine Howard, and after that to Katharine Parr."\(^6\) Which we must take upon his word; for I think it hard by any good history to know it. And what if Cranmer did all this? That "he joined with the protector in overthrowing King Henry's will; and with Dudley against the protector." Palpable falsehoods! the contrary whereof is notoriously known to any ordinary historian. Of the same truth is, that "he joined with Dudley and the duke of Suffolk for the overthrow of the king's two

\(^1\) [Id. ibid.]
\(^2\) [Id. part iii. cap. vii. n. 28, p. 371.]
\(^3\) [Id. p. 372.]
\(^4\) [Id. ibid.]
\(^5\) [Id. ibid.]
\(^6\) [Id. ibid.]
daughters; and after that with Arundel, Pembroke, Paget, for the overthrow of Northumberland and Suffolk."¹ He joined with these for the setting the true heir in the throne, not for the overthrow of any particular persons.

Again he saith, "Cranmer and Ridley followed King Henry's religion and humour while he lived, and resolved to enjoy the pleasures and sensualities of this time, [of King Edward,] so far as any way they might attain unto."² No; they were men more mortified, and that made little account of the pleasures and vanities of this wretched world. "Getting authority into their hands by the protector, and others that were in most power, began to lay lustily about them, and to pull down all them, both of the clergy and others, whom they thought to be able and likely to stand in their way, or resist their inventions."³ Instancing in Gardiner and Bonner, and speaking of their "unjust persecutions and deprivations by such violent and calumnious manner as was proper to heretics to use; whereby a man may take a taste what they meant to have done if they had had time."⁴ Here they are set forth as a couple of most worldly, ambitious, haughty men, contriving by all, however base and unlawful ways, to build up themselves and their fortunes upon the ruin of others, and to beat down all that opposed their designs. Whereas to any that shall read their histories, there was nothing in the world so contrary to their aims, tempers, and inclinations. And things were done towards the two bishops before mentioned with great mildness and patience, under unsufferable provocations offered by them. Nor was it Cranmer's and Ridley's doings, but rather the king's council, who thought not fit to put up the affronts those bishops had offered to the government.

He saith that, "in King Edward's time Cranmer played the tyrant." That "he punished one Thomas Dobb, a master of arts of Cambridge, casting him into the Compter, where he died. And John Hume, imprisoned for the same cause by Cranmer."⁵ Both these passages the author had from Fox.⁶ Dobbs, indeed, in the very beginning of King

¹ "Three Conversions," part iii. cap. vii. n. 28, p. 372.
² Id. part i. cap. xii. n. 30, p. 256.
³ Id. ibid. ⁴ Id. ibid. ⁵ Id. part ii. cap. ii. n. 33, p. 609.
Edward’s reign, disturbed the mass that was saying in a chapel in St. Paul’s, for which the mayor complained of him to the archbishop. And what could he do better than commit him to the Compter, both to punish him for making a public disturbance in the church, and also to deliver him from the rage of the multitude, till his pardon could be obtained soon after from the duke of Somerset; but he suddenly died in prison, before his deliverance. And as for Hume, he was a servant to a very stiff Papist, who sent him up to the archbishop, with a grievous complaint against him for speaking against the mass; but whether the archbishop imprisoned him, or what followed, Fox mentioneth not, and leaves it uncertain what was done with him.

He saith, “that Cranmer stood resolutely for the carnal presence in the sacrament in King Edward’s first Parliament, wherein a disputation about it was continued for the space of four months, that is, from November 4 to March 14.”¹ Which was the full time of the second session of that first Parliament, and was in the year 1548. What he means by this long disputation in that Parliament, for so many months, I cannot tell. Does he mean that the Parliament did nothing else all that session? Indeed there was once a notable dispute of the sacrament, in order to an uniformity of prayer to be established.² Or does he mean that this four months’ disputation was the work of the Convocation sitting that Parliament time? Before it indeed lay now the matter of the priests’ marriage, which they agreed to, almost three against one, and likewise of receiving the sacrament in both kinds, which was also agreed to nemo contradicente. But not a word of any disputation then about the real presence. And yet it is strange that he should with such confidence put this story upon the world, of four months’ disputation in the Parliament concerning the real presence, and that the archbishop then was so resolute for it. Which cannot be true neither on this account, that Cranmer was a year or two before this come off from that opinion. He adds, “that Cranmer stood resolutely in

¹ [“Three Conversions,” vol. i. part ii. cap. xii. n. 33, p. 609.]
² King Edward’s Journal. [See Burnet’s History of Reformat. vol. ii. part 2, pp. 7, 8.]
that first Parliament for a real presence against Zuinglianism." 1 But there was neither in that Parliament, nor in that Convocation, a word of the real presence. "And that Cranmer and Ridley did allow a real presence, and would not endure the sacrament should be contemptibly spoken of, as some now began to do." 2 The real presence that Parsons here means is, the gross corporal presence, flesh, blood, and bone, as they used to say. This real presence Cranmer and Ridley did not allow of at this time of day, now they were better enlightened. But most true it is, notwithstanding, that they could not endure to have the sacrament contemptibly spoken of.

He tells us romantically on the same argument, that "many posts went too and fro, between Peter Martyr and Cranmer," while the imaginary disputation before mentioned lasted, whether Lutheranism or Zuinglianism should be taken up for the doctrine of the church of England. "For that he was come, in his reading upon the eleventh of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, to those words, 'This is my body,' and did not know how to determine it, till it was resolved about. The message returned him was, that he should stay, and entertain himself in his readings upon other matters for a while. And so the poor friar did, [as Parsons calls that learned man,] with admiration and laughter of all his scholars." 3 Surely some of them had more esteem and reverence for him. "Standing upon those precedent words, 'Accepit panem, &c.' And, 'Gratias agens, &c. Fregit. Et dixit, accipite et manducate, &c.' Discoursing largely of every one of these points." 4 And surely they were words of sufficient weight to be stood upon, and points to be discoursed largely of. "And bearing one from the other that ensued, 'Hoc est corpus meum.' But when the post at length came, that Zuinglianism must be defended, then stepped up Peter Martyr boldly the next day, and treated of 'This is my body;' adding moreover, that he wondered how any man could be of any other opinion." 5 The reporters of this story Parsons makes to be Saunders, Allen, and Stapleton, and others that were present. Excellent witnesses! Peter

1 ["Three Conversions," vol. i. part ii. p. 383. p. 609.]
2 [Id. ibid.]
3 [Id. p. 610.]
4 [Id. ibid.]
5 [Id. p. 611.]
Martyr is here represented as a man of no conscience or honesty, but ready to say and teach whatsoever others bade him, be the doctrine right or wrong, and at the beck of the state to be a Lutheran or a Zuingleian. But if he were of such a versatile mind, why did he leave his country, his relations, his substance, his honour, that he had there? which he did because he could not comply with the errors of the church in which he lived. But all this fine pleasant tale is spoiled, in case Martyr were not yet come to Oxford to be reader there; for he came over into England but in the end of November 1548, and was then sometime with the archbishop before he went to Oxford. Which we may well conjecture was till the winter was pretty well over; so that he could not well be there before the 14th of March was past. The author of the "Athenae Oxonienses" conjectures, that he came to Oxon in February, or the beginning of March; but that it was the beginning of the next year that the king appointed him to read his lecture. So that either he was not yet at Oxon, or, if he were, he had not yet begun his reading till the Parliament was over. And thus we have traced this story till it is quite vanished.

Further still, he writes, "That Cranmer wrote a book for the real presence, and another against it afterwards, which two books Bonner brought forth, and would have read them, when he was deposed by Cranmer and Ridley; or at leastwise divers sentences thereof, that were contrary one to the other." If Cranmer wrote any book for the real presence, it was in Luther’s, not in the Popish sense; and against that sense indeed he wrote in his book of the sacrament. Nor did Bonner bring any such books forth at his deposition, or deprivation, nor offered to read them, nor any sentences out of them, for aught I can find in any historians that speak of Bonner’s business; and I think none do but Fox, who hath not a word of it, though he hath given a large narration of that whole affair. Indeed Bonner at his first

1 ["Itaque, sub exitum Novembris, anni 1547, permissa senatus, in Angliam discessit. Cum autem aliquando eum archiepiscopus secum detinuisset, Martyr jussu regis sacris litteris interpretandis Oxonii praefectus est."]—Simleri Orat. in Obit. P. Martyr, [p. 18].
2 Page 107.
3 ["Three Conversions," vol. ii. part iii. cap. vii. a. 32, p. 375.]
appearance told the archbishop, "that he had written well on the sacrament, and marvelled that he did not more honour it." To which the archbishop replied, (seeing him commend that which was against his own opinion), "That if he thought well of it, it was because he understood it not." Thus we may see how Parsons writ he cared not what; and took up any lying, flying reports from his own party, that might but serve his turn. But observe how this writer goes on with his tale: "But Cranmer blushing, suffered it not to be shewed; but said, he made no book contrary to another." Then he needed not to have blushed. But if he did, it must be at the impudence of Bonner, who carried himself in such a tumultuous, bold manner throughout his whole process, as though he had no shame left. And lastly, (to extract no more passages out of this author), to prove that our archbishop was for a corporal presence in the beginning of King Edward, he saith, that "in the first year of that reign he was a principal cause of that first statute intituled, An Act against such persons as shall unreverently speak against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the altar." And a very good act it was; but it does not follow, that because the archbishop was the cause of this act, that therefore he believed a gross carnal presence; the plain design of the act being occasioned by certain persons, "who had contemned the whole thing, for certain abuses heretofore committed therein, (I use the very words of the act), and had called it by vile and unseemly words. And it was levelled against such as should deprave, despise, or contemn the blessed sacrament." Nor is there any word in that act used in favour of the carnal presence.

:" For a conclusion, let the reader not hear me, but another speak for our archbishop against one of these calumniators, and he a Portugal bishop: "After Cranmer, by hearing of the Gospel, began to savour of Christian profession, what wickedness was ever reported of him? With what outrage of lust was he enflamed? What murders, what

2 ["Three Conversions," vol. ii. part iii. p. 376.]
3 [Id. p. 375.]
seditious tumults, what secret conspiracies, were ever seen or suspected so much to proceed from him? unless ye account him blameworthy for this, that when King Henry, father to Mary, upon great displeasure conceived, was for some secret causes determined to strike off her head, this reverend archbishop did pacify the wrath of the father, and with mild continual intercession preserved the life of the daughter, who, for life preserved, acquitted her patron with death. As concerning his marriage, if you reproachfully impute that to lust, which Paul doth dignify with so honourable a title, I do answer, that he was the husband of one wife, with whom he continued many years more chastely and holily than Osorius in that his stinking, sole, and single life, peradventure one month, though he flee never so often to his Catholic confessions. And I see no cause why the name of a wife shall not be accounted in each respect as holy, with the true professors of the Gospel, as the name of a concubine with the Papists.” Thus Fox. 1

And so I have at last, by God’s favourable concurrence, finished this my work, and have compiled an imperfect history, yet with the best diligence I could, of this singular archbishop and blessed martyr, and, in the conclusion, have briefly vindicated him from those many false surmises and imputations, that his implacable enemies of the Roman faction have reported and published abroad against him; not contented with the shedding of his blood, unless they stigmatized his name and memory, and formed the world into a belief that he was one of the vilest wretches that lived, who in reality and truth appeareth to have been one of the holiest bishops, and one of the best men that age produced.

WHARTON'S OBSERVATIONS.

[The following portions of the corrections of Wharton, on "The Memonals of Archbishop Cranmer," are given in illustration of the statements of the text, which appear in the second volume.]

Page 8, line 35. "So on the day appointed, August 27, 1553, the archbishop, together with Sir Thomas Smith, King Edward's secretary, and Dr. May, came before the queen's commissioners; and the archbishop brought in his inventory. We are left to guess what he was now cited for. I suppose it was to lay to his charge heresy, and his marriage." It was undoubtedly to charge him with treason, for what he had done in the business of Queen Jane, which the appearance of Smith and May at the same time with him confirmeth. It was too early yet to object to him either heresy or marriage.

Page 11, line 18. "Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, formerly deprived, was restored. Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, restored; Nicholas Ridley, being removed from the said see, and cast into prison, &c." These words are said to be verbatim described out of the Register of the church of Canterbury. I know not, Sir, whether you inspected that Register with your own eyes; but I assure you that Register relateth the matter otherwise; viz. that Bonner was restored to the see of London, then canonically void by the translation of Ridley, the bishop of it, to the see of Durham, (made in the very end of King Edward's reign); and that Tunstall was restored to Durham, void by the deprivation of Ridley, deprived thereof for heresy and sedition.

Page 11, line 25. "How they proceeded with the clergy in general for being married, may be measured, &c.—'Some were deprived, never convict, nor called,' (I use the words of an author that then lived, Dr. Parker.)—'Some induced to resign upon promise of pension; and the promise, as yet, never performed.'" Over against these latter words are placed in the margin the names of Dr. Poinet, Taylor, Parker. Of Poinet and Taylor it had been said immediately before, in this and the foregoing page, that they were deprived of their bishoprics. If then they were deprived, they were not induced to resign upon pro-

B 2
mise of pension. Of Poinet particularly it was related from the Register of Canterbury, that 'he was ejected, and imprisoned, and deprived of episcopacy for being married.' I suppose the words of the Register are 'privatus episcopatu,' which ought to be rendered, 'deprived of his bishoppic,' (viz. of Winchester,) not of episcopacy; for the order is indelible, and so allowed to be by those who deprived him. The causes of Taylor's deprivation are reported from the same Register; but marriage is not mentioned among them. Nay, we are assured by undoubted testimony, (vide supra, [vol. i.] page 222,) that he never was married. Farther, this account, said to be taken from the words of Dr. Parker, is not his, but they are the words of the anonymous large Defence of Priests' Marriage, published by him.

Page 24, line 1. "In the first year of Queen Mary, a very foul scandal was blown about of her, that she was with child by Bishop Gardiner; however it was raised, whether of her enemies, to render her odious, or of some zealots of Popish religion, to show the desire they had of her matching with him." It will be very difficult to persuade the world, that any zealots of the Popish religion, who are so prejudiced against the marriage of the clergy, should desire the marriage of a queen, whom they loved so much, with a bishop of their own communion, whom they no less admired.

Page 32, line 12. "Cardinal Pole, in answer to both Queen Mary's letters, thought fit to send his mind at large by his messenger Thomas Goldwel, who was once, if I mistake not, prior of the church of Canterbury, but long since fled out of England, and lived with Pole, and by the queen afterwards preferred to the bishoppic of St. Asaph." The prior of Canterbury, and bishop of St. Asaph, had nothing common but their names. The one was a regular, the other a secular. The first, doctor of divinity before the other was born, and dead before the other was made bishop.

Page 39, line 18. "This is some account of the church of Canterbury's doings, in pursuance of the queen's instructions before mentioned; viz. against the married clergy." This account relateth only the proceedings of that chapter against the married clergy, members of the cathedral church, or incumbents within the deanery of the Arches. The same Register of that church, (from whence this account is taken), relateth at large their proceedings against all the married clergy within the whole diocese of Canterbury, and in the other deaneries of the peculiar jurisdiction of that see.

Page 40, line 29. "Bernard Ochin, prebendary of Canterbury." So also page 144, &c. His name was Bernardinus, a man sufficiently known.

Page 42, line 38. "The said Poinet, late bishop of Winchester, but now an exile, very learnedly answered this book, (of Dr. Martin against Priests' Marriage,) in two several treatises.———The second
treatise—he lived not to finish: but the copy falling into the hands of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, he published it, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with very large and excellent additions of his own." The same book is ascribed to Poinet, p. 43, line 28; with some doubt, page 42, line 31, [vol. i.] page 78, 100, &c.] This book was most certainly none of Poinet's; for the author of it saith of himself, more than once, that he was a layman; had designed indeed to enter into holy orders, but was prevented by the death of King Edward, and the iniquity of the times succeeding to it. He lived in or about either Norwich or Lincoln, and died before the end of Queen Mary's reign. Archbishop Parker, in publishing it, did not adjoin his own additions to all the printed copies, but only to a few of them.

Page 48, line 33. "The other thing thought hard concerning these orders taken with the married clergy was, that, after these poor men had thus done their penances, the imposers of these penalties were not so good as they pretended they would be, &c. towards them, not restoring them to their ministration." This is not universally true. All secular married clergymen, who desired it, were restored after such penance undergone, unless some other great demerit intervened. But no regulars could obtain that favour; marriage in them being accounted apostasy from their vow and order.

Page 98, line 32, &c. "Latimer's character is best taken from them who best knew him, and lived in his time. One of these (Thomas Becon) thus speaks of him, while he was yet alive, in the beginning of King Edward:—'Latimer was very famous for the sincerity and goodness of his evangelical doctrine, which, since the beginning of his preaching, had in all points been so conformable to the teaching of Christ and his Apostles.——His fame began to grow apace, while he was at Cambridge, some years before 1530, doing abundance of good there among the students by his sermons.—Before them he did, by invincible arguments, &c. prove, that the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue of all Christian people, whether they were priests or laymen,'" &c.] Good Mr. Becon did herein either want true information, or hath imposed upon his readers. Latimer was so far from maintaining this doctrine ever since the beginning of his preaching, that he was one of those divines who, (being deputed by the University of Cambridge), joined with Archbishop Warham, and other bishops and divines, in condemning all English translations of the Scripture, and solemnly subscribed this determination: "The publication of the Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue is not necessary to Christians; and the king's majesty and the bishops do well in forbidding to the people the common use of the Holy Scripture in the English tongue." This was done in the year 1530.

Page 120, line 6. "The queen would not alter her determination to have Archbishop Cranmer burnt, by the instigation, as I suppose, of Pole the legate." I would not have remitted you to so obscure an
author as Anthony Harmer, if yourself had not mentioned him in your 
Preface. He hath offered some reasons (in his Specimen, page 144), not 
altogether contemptible, to clear Cardinal Pole from this imputation. 
I am so charitable as to be willing at least to assent to his reasons; 
yourself can better judge of the validity of them.

Page 141, line 20. "Among Archbishops Cranmer's writings are 
reckoned, (from Bale,) Letters to Learned Men, one book; and thereto 
is added, 'This I cannot hear any tidings of.'"] The archbishop's 
Letters to Learned Men never were, either by himself or others, col-
lected into one or more books, especially at that time. But it was 
Bale's foolish way to account to every great man, whom he hath placed 
in his rhapsody of writers, one book of epistles.

Epist. Dedicat. page viii. line 18. "The judgment of Archbishop 
Arundel was for the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, 
and for the laity's use thereof. For he, preaching the funeral sermon 
of Queen Anne in 1392, commanded her particularly for her study of 
the Holy Scriptures, as I find by an ancient MS. fragment, formerly 
belonging to the church of Worcester, &c." This MS. fragment hath 
been often published. And Arundel, when he preached this sermon, 
was not archbishop of Canterbury, nor one of Cranmer's predecessors, 
as is here supposed. But, after all, the judgment of Archbishop 
Arundel in this case is better declared by an authentic decree, than by 
a rhetorical passage in a sermon, wherein he was obliged to commend 
the deceased queen. He was so far, then, from favouring the trans-
lation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, or the use of them by 
the laity, that, in the year 1408, he made this famous decree in the 
synod of Oxford; "Periculosa res est, &c. It is a dangerous thing to 
translate the Holy Scripture.—We decree therefore and ordain, that 
henceforth no man by his own authority translate any book of Holy 
Scripture into the English, or any other tongue, by way of book, libel, 
or treatise; and that no such book or translation be read by any one, 
upon pain of the higher excommunication." I might also observe to 
you, that the case of Archbishop Chichely, which you had mentioned 
immediately before this, is mistaken, he doing therein nothing more 
than what was usual; as also the case of Archbishop Islip, who 
decreed, in the case by you mentioned, nothing but what was con-
sonant to the rules of Canon Law, and the Papal definitions; it being a 
rule in both, that "Simplex votum impedit matrimonium contra-
hendum, sed non dirimt contractum." But I fear I have been too 
long already. I will only put you farther in mind, that when, in the 
following pages, you compare the archbishops of Canterbury preceding 
to, and succeeding the Reformation, and accuse the former to have 
minded chiefly "great worldly pomp and appearance;" but praise the 
latter "for regarding little or nothing the vain shows of exterior 
grandeur and glory;" the comparison is not altogether just: for 
Parker and Whitgift, (whom you choose to instance in), lived in as great 
state, pomp, and magnificence, and were attended with as large a 
retinue, as most of their predecessors. And that in your Preface,
page xvi, instead of "an Augustine monk of Canterbury," should be substituted, "a monk of St. Augustine's in Canterbury." And lastly, that, page xxi, Edward Howes should, (if I mistake not), be changed into Edmund Howes.

These, Sir, are the only errors which I have discovered in your history. That the observation of them may in any measure contribute to the illustration of your work, (as I doubt not but your work will highly contribute to the information of the curious, and the justification of our Reformation), is the hearty desire of,

Sir, your most humble Servant,

Hen. Wharton.

Novemb. 13, 1693.
APPENDIX

TO THE

MEMORIALS OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

No. I.

Account of Mr. Pool's Book by Dr. Cranmer.*

To the Ryght honorable, and my syngular good Lorde, my Lorde of Wyshire.

It may please your lordeship to bee advertised, that the kynges his grace, my lady your wyfe, my Lady Anne, your daughter be in good helth, whereof thankes be to God. As concernyng the kynges his cause, Mayster Raynolde Poole hath wryten a booke moch contrary to the kynges his purpose, wyth such wytte, that it appereth, that he myght be for hys wysedome of the counsyl to the kynges his grace. And of such eloquence, that if it were set forth and knowne to the commen people, I suppose yt were not possible to persuade them to the contrary. The pryncypal intent whereof ys, that the kynges his grace sholde be contente to commyt hys grete cause to the jugement of the Pope: wherein me semeth he lacketh moch jugement. But he swadeth that with such goodly eloquence, both of words and sentence, that he were lyke to persuade many: but me hee persuadeth in that poynyt nothyng at al. But in manye other thynges he satysfeth me very wel. The som wherof I shal shortly reherse. Fyrst, he sheweth the cause, wherfore he had never pleasure to intrumytte hymself in this cause. And that was, the trouble, which was lyke to ensue to this realme therof by dyversitie of tytles. Wherof what hurte myght come, we have had exsample in our fathers dayes by the tytles of Lancastor and Yorke. And where os God hath gyven many noble gyfts unto the kynges his grace, as wel of body and mynde, os also of fortune: yet this exceedeth al other, that in hym al tytles do mete and come togyder, and this realme ys restored to tranquillitie and peace; so oweth he to provide that this londe fal not agayne to the forsaid mysery and troble, which may come aswel by the people within this realme, (whiche thynke surely that they have an hayre lawful already, with whom they al be wel contente, and wolde be sory to have any other, and yt wolde be harde to persuade thaym to take any other, leyynge her), as also by the emperour, whych ys a man of so grete

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. [Lansdowne MSS. cxv. fol. i.]
power, the quene byeng hys swnt, the princes hys nece, whome he so much doth, and ever hath favored. And where he harde reasons for the kynges hys party, that he was moved of God hys lawe, which doth strightly forbed, and that with many grete threttes, that no man shal many hys brother hys wife; and os for the people, yt longeth not to thayr judgement, and yet yt ys to be thought, that thay wilt be contente, when thay shal knowe, that thay shal knowe, that the awncynt doctores of the Chyrch, and the determinations of so many grete universtities be of the kynges hys sentence. And os concermyng the emperour, if he be so unryghtful, that he wyl mayntene an unjust cause, yet God wyl never sayl thayn, that stonde upon his party, and for any thyngne wyl not transgresse Hys commawndments. And besyde that, we shal not lacke the ayde of the Frenshe kyng, whyche partely for the lege, whych he hath made with us, and partly for the dyspleasure and olde grutch, which he bereth toward the emperour, wolde be glad to have occasion to be avenged.

Thies reasons he bryngeth for the kynges party agaynst hys owne opynyon. To which he maketh answer in this maner. Fyrst, os towechyng the lawe of God, he thynketh that yt the kings were pleased to take the contrary parte, he myght os wel justify that, and have os good grownde of the Scripture therfore, os for that parte which he now taker. And yet if he thought the kynges parte never so juste, and that this his marriage were undowytedly agaynst Godis pleasure, than he cowde not deny, but yt sholde be wel done for the kynges to refuse this marriage, and to take another wyse; but that he sholde be a doar therein, and aetter forwarde therof, he cowde never fynde in hys harte. And yet he grawnteth, that he hath no good reason therfore, but only affection, which he bereth, and of dewty oweth unto the kynges person. For in so doing he sholde not only wyke, ye and utterly take away the princes title, but also he must neds accuse the most, and cheife parte of al the kyngs lyfe hiderto, which hath bene so infortunete to lyve more than xx yers in a matrimonie so shamefull, so abominable, so bestial and agaynst nature, yt it be so os the books which do defend the kynges party do say; that the abomination therof ys naturally wryttyn and graven in every mans harte, so that none excussion can be made by ignorance. And thus to accuse the noble nature of the kynges grace, and to take away the title of hys successyon, he cowde never fynde in hys harte, were the kyngs cause never so good. Which he doth knowlege to be only affection. Now os concermyng the people, he thynketh not possible to satisfye thaym by lernyngne or prechyngne; but os thay now do begyn to hate prises, this shal make thaym rather to hate moche more both lerned men, and also the name of lernyngne, and bryng thynm in abomination of every man. For what loryngne men towards their prynee wolde gladly heare, that eyther thayr prynee sholde be so infortunete, to lyve so many yers in matrimony so abominable, or that thay sholde be taken and cownten so bestial, to approove and take for lawfull, and that so many yers, a matrimonie so unlawfull, and so much agaynst nature, that every man in hys harte naturally doth abhorre yt. And that ys more, when they heare this matrimony dysprayed, and spoken agaynst, neyther by thayr ownminde, nor by reasons that be made agaynst this matrimony,
can they be persuaded to grute against the matrimony, but for any thynge they do grute against the divorcse. Wherin the people shold shew thaym selves no men, but bests. And that the people shold be persuaded herto, he cannot thinke yt. And os for the au-
toritie of the universitie, he thynketh and sayeth, that many tymes thay be led by affections, which ys well known to every man, and wyssheth that thay never did erre in thayr determinatios. Than he keweth with how gret difficultie the Univeristyere were brought to the kyngs party. And moreover agaynst the autoritie of the universitie, he setteth the autoritie of the kyng grace father, and hysoncounsel, the quenes father, and hysoncounsel, and the Pope and hysoncounsel. Than he cometh agayzn the Pope and thempour, and French kyngs.

And first the Pope, how much he ys adversary unto the kyngs purpose, he hath shewed diverse tokens already, and not without a cause. For yt he shold be consent to the kyngs purpose, he must needs do against hyson predecessors, and also restrate yse owne power more than yt hath bene in tyme past, which rather he wolde be glad to extend, and moreover he shold set gret seditio in many realmes, os in Portugal, of which kyngs thempour hath maried on suster, and the duke of Savoy the other. Than he extollieth the power of thempour, and diminishing the ayd of the French kyngs towards us, sayinge that thempourer without drawynge of any swordes, but only by forbidding the course of merchandise into Flawanders and Spayne, may put this realme kin gret dammage and ryne. And what yt he wol therto draw yse swordes, weren ye so much power, which byeng of much lasse power than he ys now, subdued the Pope and the French kyngs? And os for the Frenchmen, they never used to kepe lase with us but for thayr own advantage, and we can never fynde in our herts to trust thaym. And yet yt now contrary to thayr olde nature they kepe thayr lase, yet our nation shal thinke thaymselfe in miserable condition, yt thay shal be compelled to trust opon thayr ayde, which alwayes have been our mortal enemies, and never we loved thaym, nor thay us. And yt the Frenchmen have any suspicition, that this new matrimony shall not continue, then we shall have no succor of thaym, but opon such conditions os shall be intolerable to this realme. And yt thay followynge thayr olde nature and customes, than do break lase with us, than we shal loke for none other, that that Englynde shal be a prey between thempour and thaym. After all this he conmeth to the pouyte to save the kyngs honour, sayenge that the kyngs stondeth evyn opon the brayne of the water, and yet he may save al hyse honour; but yt he put forth hyse fote but on steppe forwards, all hyse honour ys drowned. And the means which he hath devised to save the kyngs honour ye this.

The reste of this mater I must leave to shewe your lordshippe by mouth, when I speake with you, which I purpose, God willynge, shal be to morrow, yt the kyng's grace let me not. Now the bearer maketh such hast, that I can wryte no more; but that I heasse no words from my benefice, nor Mayster Russell's servant ys not yet retourned seyn, whereof I do not a lytle marveil. The kyng and my Lady Anne rode yesterday to Windsoawe, and this nyght they be loked for agayne
at Hampton Courte: God be their guidye, and preserve your lordshippe to hys most pleasure. From Hampton Courte this xiiij. day of June [1581].

Yours most humble beideman,

THOMAS CRANMER.

No. II.

Dr. Cranmer, Ambassador with the Emperor, his Letter to the King.*

To the Kings Highness.

PLEASITH it your highness to understande, that at my last solicitation unto Monsieur Grandenayle for an answer of the contracte of merchandize betwene the merchants of your graces resalme, and the merchants of the emperors Low-Countryes; the said Monsieur Grandenayle shewed me, that forsooch as the diate concerneyng the said contracte was lately held in Flandres, where the quene of Hungary is governatrice, thumperor thought good to do nothyng therin without her advice, but to make answere by her, rather than by me. Wherefore it may please your grace no further to loke for answeres of me herin, but of the quene, unto whom the whole answeres is commytted. Morover, when the said Monsieur Grandenayle enquered of me, if I had any answeres of the aide and subsidy, which thumperor desyered of your grace, I reported unto hym fully your graces answeres accordyng unto myn instructions sent unto me by your graces servant William Paget. Which answeres he desyered me to deliever hym in wrythyngye, that he myght refere the same truly unto thumperor, and so I dyd. Neverthelesse thumperor, now at his departyng, hath had such impertune busyynes, that Monsieur Grandenayle assigned me to repaire unto thumperor agayn at Lints, for there, he said, I shal have an answeragayn in wrythyngye. The French ambassador, and I with al diligence do make preparacion to furnishe our selfes of wagans, horses, shippes, tents, and other thynges necessary to our viage; but it wil be at the lest viij or x dayes before we can be redy to depart hens. Yet we trust to be at Lyntz before thumperor; for he wil tary by the way at Passaw x or xij dayes.

As for the Turke, he resideth still in Hungary, in the same place, environned upon al partes, whereof I wrote unto your highness in my last letters. And thumperor departed from Abagh toward Vienna the seconde day of this month by lande, not commynghe by this towne: but the same day the kyngge Ferdinando departed from this towne by water, and at Passaw xijij myls hens they shal mete, and so passe furth unto Lyntz, which is the mydds way from hens unto Vienna. And there thumperor wil tary to counsel what he wil do: and there al the ambassadours shal know his pleasure, as Monsieur Grandenayle shewed me.

I have sent herewith unto your grace the copy of thumperors proclamation concerneyng a general councele, and a reformation to be had in Germany for the controversies of the faith. Also I have sent the

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
APPENDIX.

taxe of all the states of th'empire, how many souldiers every man is lymitted unto, for the aide agaynst the Turk. Wherein your grace may perceyye, that the greatest prince in Germany (onely the duke of Burgondy and Austry except) is not appoynted above 120 horsemen and 554 fotemen. Thus our Lord evermore have your highnes in his preservation and governance. From Regenspurgh the iiij. day of September.

Your graces most humble subjecte, 
    chaplain, and beidman, 

THOMAS CRANMER.

No. III.

A Parcel of Jewels sent from Greenwich to Hampton Court to the King. 
To the receipt of which he set his hand.*

Henry R.

Sent unto the king's highnes from Grnewwhiche to Hampton Courte, by master Norrys the xxist day of Septembre in the xxiijth year of his graces reigne thies parcelles ensueing. Which parcellex his grace doth knolege him self to have receyved by this present byle, signed with his most gracieux hand the day and yere above expressed.

Firste, one carkeyne of gold antique warke, having a shielde of gold, set with a great rose, conteyning xij dymants. One fayer table dymant. One poyneted dymant. One table rubye. One table emrawde. And iiij fayer hinging perles.

Item, another carkeyne of golde of harts with ij hands holding a great owche of golde, set with a great table balasse. One pointed dymant: two table dymants: whereof one rising with lozanges, and the other flat. And one other long lozanged dymant. And iiij perles, with one longe perle pendaunt.

Item, another carkeyne of golde enameled with blac and white, with an owche of golde enameled white and blew: set with a great rockey rubye: one rocky emrawde: one pointed dymant. One table dymant. A harte of a dymant, rising ful of lozanges. And one fayer hinging perle.

Item, another carkeyne of lynks of gold. The one enameled blac, the other golde: having an owche of golde, set with a great rockey balasse: two smal table dymants; and one lozanged dymant. Five alight perles, and one long perle pendaunt therat.

Item, another carkeyne of gold, garnished thorowly with xxij coletts of dymants, conteyning in al xxvij dymant smal and great: and xliij perles, with an owche of antique, set with xiiij dymants, one rockey rubye, and one rockey emrawde; and a flat round hinging perle.

Item, another carkeyne of golde, enameled blac, with an owche, set with a fayer table balasse, and three smal tryangled dymants, and five perles.

Item, a George on horse-back: garnished with xvij smal dymants. And in the belly of the dragon a rockey perle.

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
APPENDIX.

Item, another caskeyne of golde : al bian, having a George on horse-
back; garnished with xvij smal dyamants. And in the belly of the
dragon a pere rugged.

Item, a cheyne of golde, of Spaynishe fucius, enameled, white, red
and black.

No. IV.

The King to Dr. Bonner, his Majesty's Agent, to declare to the Pope his
Appeal from him, and his Sentence.*

By the King.

Henry R.

Trusty and wellbeloved, we grete ye well. Signifying unto the
same, that we have appalled from the Pope's sentence, lately gevyn
against us ; which appele ye receiving herewith, with a proxy devised
for that intent, our mind and pleasure is, that if it is thought to you
good and beneficial, for conservation of the same, ye intimate the same
to the Pope after the order and forme of lawe, and according to our
said proxy sent unto you. And if not, to advertise us of your mind
and opynyon in that behalfe. Given under our signet at our castell of
Windemour, the xvij day of August.

To our trusty and wellbeloved Mr. Doctor Bonner.

No. V.

Cranmer's Protestation his Consecration.†

In Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis autentica persona et testibus
fide dignis, hie presentibus, ego Thomas in Cantuar. archiepiscopatu
electus dico, allego, et in his scriptis palam, publice et expressè pro-
tester, quod vnum juramentum, sive juramenta al electis in Cantuar.
archiepiscopis summo pontifici præstari solita, me ante seun conse-
crationem aut tempore ejusdem pro forma potius quam pro esse, aut re
obligatoria, ad illam obtinendum oporten, non est, nec erit, nee
voluntas aut intentionis per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta,
qualitercumque verba in ipsis poëta somare videbuntur, me obligare
ad aliquod ratione sorundem posthac discedendum, faciendum, aut at-
temtandum, quod erit, aut esse videbitur, contra legem Dei, vel
contra illustissimum regem nostrum Angliae, aut rampublicam, hujus
sui regni Angliae, legemve aut prærogativas ejusdem, et quod non
intende per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta quovismodo me
obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere et consensuere valeam, in
omnia et singulis, reformationem religionis Christiane, gubernma-
tionem ecclesiae Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam coronæ ejusdem, reipub-
lisseve commodatam, quæcumque convenantem, et sa ubique ex-
equi et reformare, qua mihi in ecclesia Anglicana reformanda vide-
buntur; et secundum hane interpretationem et intellectum hunc, et
nen aliter, neque alio modo, dicta juramenta me praestatrum protestor

* Sir W. H[iche's] MSS.  † Cranm. Reg. [fol. 4].
et profiteretur; protestando insuper quodcumque juramentum sit, quod
mens procurator summo pontifici, meo nomine, antehac præstatit, quod
non erat intentionis aut voluntatis meae sibi aliquam dare potestatem,
cujus vigore aliquod juramentum, meo nomine, præstare potuerit,
contrarium aut repugnans juramento, per me præstato aut imposerat
praestando praefato illustri Anglie regi; et casu, quo aliquod
tale contrarium aut repugnans juramentum, meo nomine præstitit,
pro nullo et invalido esse volo. Quae protestationes in omnibus
clementibus et sententiis diotorum juramentatorum repetantur et re- 
vestantur vabo, a quibus per aliquod mea factum vel dictum quovis-
modo rescindere non intendo, nec recessum; sed sae mihi semper salvas
e esse vabo.

---

No. VI.

Cranmer’s Oath taken at his Consecration to the Pope.*

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Thomas, electus Cantuarisensis, ab
hac hora, in pace, fidelis et obediens ero hæc Petro sanctoque apo-
stolicæ Romane ecclesiæ, et domino nostro desimo Clementi papæ vi-
jusque successoribus sanemini in partibus; non ero de consilio aut
consensu, vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiatur
male captione; consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se: seu
numina: seu litteræ, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam:
papam in Romanum, et regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis: ero ad retardum
et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra eorum hominem.
Legatum sedis apostolicæ in mundo et redemund honorifis tractabo, et
in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo; vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi
præseditus fuerit canonica præseditione; apostolorum limina Romanæ
curia existente cistra Alpæ singularis annis, ultima vero montes singulis
his annis visitabo aut per me, aut meum numinem, nisi apostolica absol-
vat licentia; possessiones vero ad mensam miæ archiepiscopatus perti-
mittere non vendam neque donabo neque impignorabo neque de novo
intendabo; vel aliquo modo alienabo, in consullo Romano pontificio: sic
me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sanctora Dei evangelia.

---

No. VII.

Cranmer’s Oath to the King for his Temporalities.†

I, THOMAS CRANMER, renoncee and utterly forsake all suche clauses,
words, sentences, and graunts, whiche I have of the Popes Holynes in
his bulls of the archbishropichre of Cauterbury that in any maner wise,
is, or may be hurtfoul, or prejudiciall to your highnes, your heires,
successors, astate, or dignite roiall. Knowling my selfe to take and
holde the said archbishropichre immediately, and only, of your high-
ness, and of none other. Most lawly beseeching the same for resis-
tucon of the temporalities of the said archbishropich; promysing to

* Cranm. Reg. [fol. 5].  † [Cotton MSS.] Ciaopatru, R. vi. [216].
be faithful, true and obedient subject to your said highnes, your heires
and successors, during my lif. So helpe me God, and the holy
Evangelists.

No. VIII.

The King's Proclamation* for bringing in Seditious Books. †

The kinges moost royall maiesie being environed that sundry conten-
tions and synestre opinions hath by wrong teachynge and naughtie printed
boks in crewyd and growen wt in this his realme of England and other his
domynges amonge hys loving subjects of the same contrary to the true
faythe, reverence and due observation of such sacraments and sacra-
mentals and laudable rytes, ceremonys, as heretofore have ben used
and accustomed within the Churche of England, whereof hys hieghnes
immedeily, under God is iustely and lawfully sovereyn, chefe and
supreme heede in erthe immediately under Christ Estymyng also that
by ocasion of sundry prynyte bookes in Englishe tongue as be brought
from outward partes and by suche like bookes as have been prented
within this his realme sett forth wth priviledge conteynyng annotacions and
additions in the margines, prologos, and calendare, imaginyn and invented
by the makers dyvisers and printers of the same books, as by sundry
strange persone of Anasbaptists and Sacramentarys which be lately
comen into this realme wher some of them remayn privily vynnowen. And
by some other his hieghnes subjects using som supersticious speches and
rashe words of erroneus matters, and fantastical opynions both in their
prechys and famylyyar communications whereby diverse and many of
his simpie loving subjects have ben enuuned and encouraged arrogantly
and supersticiously to argue and dispute in open places taverne and
alkehowes not onely vpon baptyse but alse vpon the holy and blessed
sacrament of the aultre, and farther alsoo to brake contempe
and despise of their own private willes and appetites, other holy sacra-
ments laudable rytes and ceremonys heretofore vseyd and accus-
tumed in this his graces realme and churche of England not only to
the greate slaundry of sundry the kinges true simple and unlearned sub-
jects and other but also to the reproche and vituperacion of this said
bole realme and church, to his graces hiegh discontentacion and dis-
pleasor wth daunger of encrease of, the said enormities and abuses, onles
his hieghnes shuld speedely reforme and redresse the same. Wherupon
his maiesic moost prudently pondering and consideringe the greate cure
and chardgge which it hath pleased Allmyghty God of his infynyte good-
nes to commytt to his maiesic over all the congregation of the said
church of England. And above all things ernestly willing and desiring
to advance and sett furth the holy worde of God to his dyvin honor
and glorie, and to conserve his said realme and churche commytted to

* Printed in this edition from the instrument itself in the British
Museum; in which are several corrections and additions in the hand-
writing of King Henry VIII., distinguished here by Italics.—[Ed.
Oxford, 1840.]
† Cleopatra, E. v. [321].
APPENDIX.

his chardge in peace vnytie rest and tranquillitie from all wykked errors and erronuose opynyons and dissension. Doth therfor straitly chardge and commaundc by this his present proclamation aswell all and singuler his subjects off what degrce so ever they be as all other what soever resyaunts or inhabitaunts win this his realme or any other his domynyons that from hensforth they and everly of them for his part shall obey kepe and observe all and singuler such articles as hereafter folowe vppon the paynes and penalties conteynd and specifyd in the same.

First for expelling and advoyding the occasion of the said errors and sedyczous opynyons by reason of bookes emprinted in the Enlish thai brought and transported from outward partes. The kings moost royall maestie straitly chardgeth and commandeth that no personne or personnes of what estate degrce or condytion so ever he be, shall from hensforth withowt his maesties specyall licencce, transporte or bring from outward partes into this his realme of Englande or any other his graces domynyons any maner books printed in the Enlish tong nor sell gyff vter or puplishe any such books from hensforth to be brought into this realme or into any other his hieghnes domynyons vppon the paynes that the offendor in that article shall not only incurre and rune into his grac's moost hiegh displeaser and indignacion, but alse shall lose and forfait to his maestie all hys or their goods and catalls, and haue emprysonnement at his grac's wyll.

Item that no person or persones in this realme shall from hensforth printe any books in the Enlishhe tonge onles vppon examynacion made by some of his grac's pryve counsaile or other such as his hieghnes shall appoint, they shall have licence so to do and yet so haryng not to put thes words cum privilegio regali w ought addynge ad imprindem tumolum. And that the hole copie or ells at the last theeffect of his licence and privilege be therw printed and playnly declared and expressed in the Enlishhe tonge vnderneth them nor from hensforth shall print or bring into this his realme any boks of dyvyn scripture in the English tonge any annotaciones in the margyn or any prologue or addytyons in the calendar or table except such annotaciones be first viewed examyned and allowed by the kyngs hieghnes or such of his counsaile or other as it shall please his maestie to assigne thereto but oonly the playn sentence and texe a table or repertory instructing the reader to fynde redely the chapters conteynd in the said booke and theeffects thereof. Nor shall from hensforth pryn to any bokes of translacionis in the Englishh tonge, onles the playnte name of the translator thereof be conteynd in the same boke, or ells that the printer wull answer for the same as for his owne pryve dede and acte and otherwise to make the translateur the prynter to suffre emprysonnement and make a fyne at the kings will and pleassor.

And the maynteners abettes printers sellers vterers and keepers of any boks owt of the which any suche lewde opynyons eyther against the moost blessed sacrament of the aultur or settting forth any erronuose opinion of the said anabaptistes maye be gathered his hieghnes also intendeth in like case to punish as is aforesaide wotw any fluor or mercy to be shewed to any of them offending in any of the premisses.

VOL. II.
APPENDIX.

Item that no persone or persones using the occupation of printing of bokes in this realme shall print vttter sell or cause to be published any books of scriptur in the English tong vntyll such tymes as the same bokes be first viewed examyned and admitted by the kings hieghness, or oon of his graces privie counsaille, or oon bishop of this realme whose name also we woll to be expressyd vpon payne not only to incurre and runne into the kings moost hiegh displeasour and indignacion, but also to lose and forfeit all their goods and catalls and suffre emprisonement at his graces wyll.

Item forasmuch as dyverse and sundry straungiers of the sect and false opynyon of the Ansbaptistes and Sacramentaries ben lately comen into this realme, wher they lurke secrecyly in dyverse corners and plac's myndyng craftely and subtely to provoke and stirr the kings loving subjects to their errors and opynyon wherof parte of them by the greate travaile and diligence of the kings hieghness and his counsaille be apprehended and taken. The kings moost royall maistrie declareth and notfyseth to all his loving subjects that his hieghness like a godly and Catholike prince abhorreth and detesteth the same sectes and their wykked and abhomynable errors and opynyon and entendeth to proced against such of them as be all redy apprehended according to their merities and the lawes of his realme, to thentent his subjects shall take example by their punyshmentes and not adhere to their false and detestable opinions but vterly forsake and relinquishe the same which his hieghness straitly commandeth them soo to doo vppon payn of like punyshment and also that wheresover any suche be knowne they shall be detected and with a conventent diligence as may be informe his maistrie or summe of his counselle to the intente they may be punyshed according to there desarts and the maynteners abetters or prynters of the same opynionis w't any oother abjectiones off all bokes ought of whiche any suche leade opinyonis mygh be gederyd. And over this his maistrie straitly chargeth and commandeth all other stranngiers of the same Ansbaptistes and Sacramentaries erroneouse sectes not being apprehended or knowne that they within viij or x days after this present proclamacion w't all celeritie shall departe oute of this realme and all other his domynions vppon payn of lose of their lyvyes and forfeicature of all their goods w'out any favor remission or indulgence to be administrated to any of the offenders against the tenor of this present article.

Item forasmuch as the moost blessed and holye sacrament of the awter is the versus body and bludd of o' lorde Thus Crist o' only savior and redemor and so hath and ought to be taken and beleved by the hole congregacion of Christen men vppon the perill of dampnacion truly and w'out any synistre argumentes or sophistical opynyon grounded w'out fayth vppon fantastical reasons. His hieghness therfor myndyng ernestly to conserve his people in the true and just fyth of the said holly and blessed sacrament, and that they shall not be seduced or bigyled by fantastical reasons and argumentes straitly chardgheth and commandeth all and singular his loyng subiects and other resiants win his this his realme and all other his domynions that they nor any of them from hensforth shall reason dispute or
argue vpon the saide hooly and blissed sacrament nor of the mysteries therof vpon payne of losse of their lyves and forfeituer of their goodes w’owt any favour or pardon to be shewed by his maistie to any offending in this bhalfe. Except and reserved to lerned men in holye scripture instructed and taught in the universities their libertie and privilege in their scoles and places accustomed concerning the same and otherwise in communicacion w’owt slaunder of any man for the onely confirmation and declaration of the trweth therof.

Item forasmuch as dyverse and sundry personnes have presumed and doo arrogantly attempt of their sensuell appetits and frowarde rashe wills to contemple breke and violate dyverse and many laudable ceremonies and rites heretofore vsed and accustomed in the Church of Englands and yet not abrogated by the kings hieghnes authoritie, whereby dayly riseth much difference strife and contention amongs dyverse and sundry his loving subiects, as for and concerning the ceremonies of holy bredd, holye water, processyon, kneling and krepeing ead Good Pryday to the crosse and Ester daye, setting vpp of lights before the Corpus Christi, beryng of candels vpon the daye of the puryfycacion of the ladye, ceremonies vsed at the purificacion of wemen delivere of child, and offering of their crysomes keping of the foure offering dayes, payment of tythes according to the old customes of the realme, and all other such like laudabyl ceremonies heretofore vsed in the church of England which as yet be not aboblished nor taken awaye by the kings hieghnes. — His maistie for advoyding such contentions and the occasions of the same amongs his loving subiects, dooth straitly chardge and commaunde all and singuler his subiects and other resyants win this his realme that they and every of them shall observe and kepe all and singuler the ceremonies before specified and all other such like ceremonies heretofore vsed and accustomed in this realme and not abrogated nor abolished by his hieghnes nor by his lawes or authoritie royall, soo as they shall vsse and observe the same w’owt superstition and esteem them for good and laudable ceremonies, tokyns and signes, to put vs in remembrance of the hiegh perfection and non otherwise, and not to repose any trust of saluacion in theim but take them for good instructions vtntyll such tymse as his maistie doo change or abrogate any of them, as his hieghnes vpon reasonable consideracions and respects if it shall hereafter seme, to his moost excellent wisdom so to be convenyent and expedient for the quyntnes of his people and the advauncement of his coem wealth bothe may and intendyth to doo.

Finally his maistie understanding, that a fewe nombre of this his realme being pretese aswell religious as other, hane taken wifs and maryed themselfs contrarry to the holsumme monicions off saint Palle ad Thimotheum ad Titum and ad Corinthianes bothe first and seconde and contrary also to the oppinions off meny off the olde faders and exposteris off scripture not estimyng also the awowe and promysse of chastitie which they made at the receyving of their holye ordes knyghtnes in no wise myndyng that the generalitie of the clergie of this his realme shuld w’theexample of such a fewe number of light persones proceede to maryage w’owt a coem consent of his hieghnes and the realme dothe
therefor straitly charge and command as well all and singuler of the said prestes as have attempted maryages as all such as well hereafter presumptuously proceed in the same, that they ne any of them shal ministe any sacrament or other ministry misticall me have any office, dignite, cure, privilege, profite or commodyte heretofore accustomed and belonging to the clerge of this realme but shall utterly after such maryages be expelle and deprive from the same and be had and reputed as lase persones to all purposes and entente, and that suche as shal after this proclamation contrarie to this commandement of their presumptuous mynd take wife and be meryed shall rone in his grac's indignacion and suffre further punishment and enprisionment at his grac's will and pleasor.

No. IX.

Bishop Fisher to Secretary Crumwel, declaring his willingness to swear to the Succession.*

After my most humyl commendacions. Where as ye be content, that I shold wryte unto the kyngs hyghnes, in gode fathe I dread me, that I cannot be soo circumscipt in my writeng, but that some word shal escape me, wherewith his grace shal be moved to some farther displeasure aganst me, wherof I wolde be veray sory. For as I wyll answer byfor God, I wold not in any maner of poynste offend his grace, my dentity saved unto God, whom I must in every thing prefer.

And for this consideracion I am full loth, and full of feare to write unto his hyghnes in this matter. Nevertheless sythen I conceyve, that it is your mind, that I shal so doo, I wyll endeouer me to the best that I kan. But first hear, I must byseeche you, good M. Secretary, to call to your rememberance, that at my last beyng byfor you, and the other comissionars, for taking of the othe concernyng the kyngs most noble succession, I was content to be sworn unto that parcel concernyng the succession. And ther I did rehears this reason, which I saide moved me. I dawt not but that the prynce of any realme, with the assent of his nobles and comons, myght appoynte for his succession royal such an order, as was seen unto his wisdom most accordyng. And for this reason I saide that I was content to be sworn unto that part of the othe, as concerning the succession. This is a veray trouth, as God help my soul att my most needs; albeitt I refused to sware to some other parcels, bycause that my conscience wolde not serve me so to doo.

No. X.

[Rowland] Let, Bishop Elect of Litchfield and Coventry, to Secretary Crumwel concerning Bp. Fisher.†

Plesseyth you to be aduertised, that I have been with my lorde of Rochester, whois as yee lefte hym: that is to say, ready to make hys

APPENDIX.

ote for the succession, and to swore never to melt more in disputacion of the validite of the matrimony, or invalidite, with the lady dooger; but that utterly to refuse. But as for the case of the prohibition Leviticall, his conscience is see knytt, that he cannot put it off from him, whatsoever betyde hym. And zeytt hee wyll and dothe vermelily profess his allegians to our soveraign lorde, the kyng, during his lyfe. Treuly the man is negh goyne, and dowtlesse cannot contynew, onles the kyng and his counsel be mercifull to hym. For the body cannot bere the clothes on his bake as knewyth God. Whoo preserve you. In hast scriblyd by your own mest bounden.

ROLAND CO. ET LITCH. electus et confirmatus.

No. XI.

The Archbishop to Secretary Cramwel, in behalf of Bp. Fisher and Sir Thomas More.*

Right Worshipful Master Cramwel,

After most harty commendations, &c. I doubt not but you do right wel remembre, that my lorde of Rochester and Master More were contented to be sworne to the Act of the Kings Succession, but not to the preamble† of the same. What was the cause of their refusal thereof, I am uncertain, and thay wolde by no means expresse the same. Nevertheless it must nedis be, either the diminution of the aucorite of the bushope of Rome, or ells the reprobation of the kynges first pretensed matrimony. But if they do obstinatly persaste in their opinions of the preamble, yet, me semeth, it scholde not be refused, if thay wil be sworne to the veray Acte of Succession: so that thay wil be sworne to mayntene the same against all powers and potentates. For hereby shalbe a greate occasion to satisfy the prinsesse dowager and the Lady Mary, which do thynk that they scholde dampne their sowles, if thay scholde abandon and relinquysab their estates. And not onely it scholde stoppe the mouthes of thaym, but also of th'emperor, and other thair freinds, if thay gyve as moche credence to my lorde of Rochester, and Master More spekynghe or doynghe agaynst thaym, as thay hitherto have done, and thought, that al other scholde have done, when thay spake and did with thaym. And peradventure it scholde be a good quietation to many other within this realme, if such men scholde say, that the succession, comprised within the said act, is good and according to Gods lawes. For than I thynke there is not one within this realme, that would ones reclayme against it. And where as diverse persones, either of a wilfulnes, wil not, or of an indurate and inverterble conscience, can not, alte from their opinions of the kyngs first pretensed mariage, (wherein thay have ones said thair minds, and percase have a persausion in thair heads, that if thay scholde now vary therefrom thair fame and estimation were distayned for ever,) or ells of the autoritie of

† The preamble to this act may be read in the History of the Reformation, part i. p. 145 [vol. i. pp. 294—297].
the busshipe of Rome: yet if at the realme with one accordes wolde apprehende the said succession; in my jugement it is a thynge to be amplected and imbraced. Which thing, although I trust surely in God, that it shall be brought to passe, yet hereunto might not a little avayle the consent and othes of thses two persones, the busshipe of Rochester, and Master Moore, with their adherents, or rather confederates. And if the kynges pleasure so were, their said othes might be suppressed, but whan and where his highnes might take some commodite by the publishing of the same. Thus our Lord have you ever in his conservation. From my maner at Croyden the xvii day of April.

Your own assured ever

THOMAS CANTUAE.

No. XII.

Nix, Bishop of Norwich, to Warham, Archbishop of Cant., for suppressing such as read Books brought from beyond Sea.*

After most humbell recommendation, I do your grace tundredastande, that I am accombrd with such, as kepith and redith these arronious boks in English, and believe and giff credence to the same, and teacheth others, that they shal so do. My Lorde, I have done that lieth in me for the suppression of suche persons; but it passith my power, or any spiritual man for to do it. For diversely saith openly in my diocesse, that the kings grace wolde, that they shalde have the saide arronious boks, and so maynteyneth themself of the kings. Whereupon I desired my lorde abbot of Hyde to shew this to the kings grace, beseeching him to sende his honorabill lettres unde his seal, downe to whom he please, in my diocesse. That they may shew and publish, that it is not his pleasure, that suche boks should be had or red; and also punish suche as saith soo. I truste before this letter shal come unto you, my saide lorde abbot hath done so. The saide abbot hath the names of some, that crakith in the kings name, that their false opinions shold goe furth, and wil dye in the quarrell, that their ungracious opinions be true, and trustith by Michalmes dayes, ther shal be more, that shal believe of ther opinions, than they, that beleeveth the contrary. If I had known, that your grace had bene at London, I wolde have commanded the saide abbot to have spoken with you. But your grace may send for him, when ye please, and he shall show you my whole mynd in that mater; and how I thought best for the suppression of soch, as holdyth these arronious opinions. For if they continue any time, I think they shal doe us all. The saide abbot departed from me on Monday laste: and with that tyme I have had moche trouble and business, with other in like mater; and they say, that wheresoever they go, they here say, that the kings pleasure is, the N. Testament in English shal go furth, and men shold have it and read it. And from that opinion I can no wise induce them. But I had gretter suctoritie to punyse them, than I have. Wherfore I beseeche your good lordship, to advertise the kings grace, as I trust the said abbot hath done,
APPENDIX.

before this letter shall come unto your grace; that a remedy may be had.

For now it may be done well in my diocese: for the gentilmen and the commony be not greatly infect; but marchants, and suche that hath ther abyding not ferre from the sea. The saide abbot of Hyde cann show you of a curat, and well lerned in my diocese, that exorted his parisheners to beleve contrary to the Catholic faith. There is a college in Cambrige, called Gunwel haule,* of the foundation of a bp. of Norwich. I here of no clerk, that hath commen ought lately of that college, but severith of the frying panne, tho he spek never so holey. I beseeche your grace to pardon me of my rude and tedious writings to you: the sale and love, that I ough to Almighty God, cause me this to do. And thus Almighty God longe preserve your grace in good prosperite and health. At Horne the xiiijth. day of Maij, 1580.

Your obedient and dayly orator.

R. NORWICH.

No. XIII.

Archbishop Cranmer to King Henry, complaining of a Prior in Canterbury that had preached against him.†

PLEASURTH it your grace to be advertised, that where aswel by your graces special lettres, dated the thirde day of June in the xxvijth. yere of your graces most noble reigne, as also by mouth in Winchester at Michelmas last past, your grace comawnded al the prelates of your realme, that they with al acceleration and expedition sholde do their diligence every one in his diocese, fully to perswade your people of the bp. of Rome his autoritie, that it was but a false and unjust usurpation, and that your grace of veryr right and by Gods lawe is the supreme head of this Church of England, next immediatly unto God: I to accomplish your graces comawndment, incontinent opon my returne from Winchester, (knowinge that al the countrie about Otforde and Knol, where my most abode was, were sufficiently instructed in those maters alredy) cam up into thses parties of Este Kent onely, by preaching to persuade the peple in the said two articles. And in mine own church at Cantorbury, bicause I was informed, that that towne in those two poynets was lest perswaded of al my diocese; I preached there two sermons my selfe. And as it then chawned, Dr. Leighton was present at my first sermon, beinge then your graces visitor. Of whome, if it so please your grace, you may heare the report what I preached.

The scope and effect of both my sermons stode in three thynges. First, I declared, that the bp. of Rome was not Gods vicar on erth, as he was taken. And although it was so taught thses three or four hundreth yers, yet it was done by the meanes of the bp. of Rome, who compelled men by othes so to tech, to the mayntenance of his autoritie contrary to Gods worde. And here I declared by what meanes and

* From whences came Shaxton, bishop of Sarum; and Skip, Queen Anne's chaplain, and bishop of Hereford.
† [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. vi. 232.
APPENDIX.

craft theibushe of Rome obtayned such usurped autoritie. Seconde,
bycause the see of R. was called Sancta Sede Romana, and theibushe
was called Sanctissimus Papa; and mensys consciences peradventure
coulde not by quyte to be separated from so holy a place, and from Godds
most holy vicar: I shewed the people, that this thyng ought nothyng
to move theym. For it was but a holines in name. For in dede there
was no such holynes at Rome. And hereupon I took occasion to
declare the glory, and pome of Rome, the covetousnes, the unchast
lyving, and the mayntenence of al vices. Thirde, I spake agaynst the
bp. of Rome his lawes. Which he calleth Divinas Leges and Sacros
Casowes, and maketh theym equal with Godds lawes. And here I
declared, that many of his lawes were contrary to Godds lawes. And
some of theym, which were good and laudable, yet they were not of
such holynes, as he wolde make theym; that is, to be taken as Godds
lawes, or to have remission of synnes by observyng of theym. And
here I sayd, that so many of his lawes, as were good, men ought not
to contemne and despise theym, and wilfully to breake theym. For those
that be good your grace hath receyved, as lawes of your realme, untily
such tyme, as other shold be made. And therefor as lawes of your
realme, they must be observed, and not contemned. And here I spake
as wel of the ceremonies of the Church, as of the foresaid lawes;
that they ought neither to be rejected or dispised, nor yet to be ob-
erved with this opinion, that they of themselves make men holy, or that
they remytt synne. For seingle, that oure synnes be remitted by the
deth of our Savior Christ Jesus, I sayd, it was to mocch injury to
Christ, to impute the remission of our synnes to any lawes or ceremo-
nies of mans makynge. Nor the laws and ceremonies of the Church
at theire first making were ordened for that intent. But as the common
lawes of your graces realme be not made to remit synne, nor no man
dothe observe theym for that intent, but for a common commodity, and
for a good orede and quietnes to be observed among your subjectts;
evyn so were the laws and ceremonies first instituted in the Church
for a good orede, and remembrandes of many good thynges, but not for
remission of oure synnes. And though it be good to observe theym wel
for that intente, they were first ordened; yet it is not good, but a con-
tumelie unto Christ to observe theym with this opinion, that they
remit synne; or that the very bare observation of theym, in it self, is
an holines before God: although they be remembrances of many holy
thyngs, or a disposition unto goodnes. And evyn so do the lawes of
your graces realme dispose men unto justice, to peace, and other true
and perfite holines. Wherfore I did conclude for a general rule, that
the people ought to observe theym, as they do the laws of your graces
realme, and with no more opinion of holines or remission of synne, than
the other common lawes of your graces realme.

Though my ij sermons were longe, yet I have written briefly unto
your highnes the sum of theym both. And I was informed by sundry
reports, that the peple were glad, that they harde so much as they did;
until such time, as the prior of the Blacke Frears at Cantorbury preached
a sermon, as it was thought and reported, clene contrary unto al the ij
thyngs, which I had preached before. For as touching the first parte
APPENDIX.

where I had preached against the erronious doctrin of the busshope of Rome his power; which errour was, that by Goddes law he should be Goddes vicar here in erthe; the prior would not name the busshope of Rome but under color speake generally, that the Church of Christ never erred. And as touching the second part, where I speake of the vices of the busshopes of Rome and their see; the prior said, that he wolde not solawnder the busshopes of Rome. And he said openly to me in a good audience, that he knew no vices by none of the busshopes of Rome. And he said also openly, that I preched uncharitably, when I said, that thies many years, I had daily prayed unto God, that I might see the power of Rome destroyed: and that I thanked God, that I had now sene it in this realm. And yet in my sermon I declared the cause, wherfore I so prayed. For I said, that I perceived the see of Rome worke so many thyngs contrary to Goddes honor, and the welth of this realme, and I sawe no hope of amendement, so longe as that see reigned over us: and for this cause onely I had prayed unto God continually, that we myght be separated from that see: and for no private malice or displeasure, that I had either to the busshopes or see of Rome. But this semed an uncharitable prayer to the said prior, that the power of Rome sholde be destroyed.

And as for the iijth part, where I preched agaynst the lawes of the busshope of Rome, that they ought not to be taken as Goddes lawes; nor to be esteemed so highly, as he would have theym: the prior, craftely leyngye out the name of the busshope of Rome, preched, that the lawes of the Church be equal with Goddes lawes. Thies thynges he preched, as it is proved both by sufficient wytnes, and also by his own confession.

I leave the judgement hereof unto your grace and to your counsail, whether this were a defense of the busshope of Rome, or not: and I onely, accordyng to my bownden duty, have reported the truth of the factes. But in myn opinion, if he had spoken nothyng elles; yet whosoever saith, that the Church never erred, mainteneth the busshope of Rome his power. For if that were not erroneous, that was taught of his power, that he is Christes vicar in erthe, and by Goddes lawe head of al the world, spiritual and temporal, and that al people must bylyve that de necessitate salutis, and that whosoever doth any thyng agaynst the see of Rome is an heretike; and that he hath auctoritie also in purgatory, with such other many false thyngs, which were taught in times past to be articles of our faith: if thies thynges were not erroneous, yea, and errors in the faith, than must nedis your graces lawes be erroneous, that pronounce the busshope of Rome to be of no more power by Goddas law than other busshopes; and theym to be traytors, that defende the contrary. This is certen, that whosoever sayth, that the Church never erred, must either deny, that the Church ever taught any such erreours of the busshope of Rome his power, and then they speke agaynst that which al the worlde knoweth, and al books wrytten of that matter thies iij or iij hundreth yers do testifie; or elles they must say, that the said erreours be none erreours, but truthe. And than it is both treason and heresy.

At my first examination of hym, which was bfore Christmas, he said,
that he preached not agaynst me, nor that I had preached any thyng amis. But now he sayth, that I preached amiss in veray many things, and that he purposely preached agaynst me. And this he reported openly. By which words I am marvelously scawndered in these parties. And for this cause I beseech your grace that I may not have the judgement of the cause: so much as he taketh me for a partie: but that your grace wol commit the hearyng hereof unto my lorde pryvye seale: or elles to associate unto me some other person at your grace's pleasure, that we may bear the cause joyntly together.

If this man, who hath so offended your grace and preached agaynst me openly, being ordinary and metropolitane of this province: and that in soch matters, as concerne the authoritie, the myalyvyng, and the lawes of the busshope of Rome; and that also within myn owne church; if he, I say, be not looked uppon, I leave unto your grace prudence to expende, what example this may be unto other with like colour to mayntene the busshope of Rome his authoritie: and also of what estimation I shalbe reputed hereafter, and what prudence shal be gyven unto my preychynge, whatsoever I shal say hereafter.

I beseech your grace to pardon me of my longe and tedious wrytyng, for I could not otherwise set the matter furth plaine. And I most heartly thank your grace for the stagg, which your grace sent unto me from Wyndesor Foreste. Which if your grace knewe, for how many causes it was welcome unto me, and how many wyres it did me service, I am sure, you would think it moche the better bestowed. Thus our Lorde have your highnes alwayes in his preservation and governance. From Forde the xxvj day of Auguste.

Your graces most humble chaplain and bedissman,

T. Cantuarien.

No. XIV.

The Archbishop to Mr. Secretary Cromwel, concerning his styling himself Primate of all England."

Right worshipfull in my moste hartie wise I commend me unto you. Moste hartely thankyng you for that you have signifed unto me, by my chapelyn Maister Champion, the complaynte of the busshope of Winchester unto the kynges highnes in two thyngs concernyng my visitation. The one is, that in my stile I am written Totius Angliae Primas, to the derogation and prejudice of the kynges highe power and authoritie, beyng supreme hedde of the Church. The other is, that his dioceze not paste five yeres agone was visited by my predecessor; and must from hencefurth pay the tenth part of the spiritualities accordyng to the act granted in the last session of Parliament. Wherfore he thinketh, that his dioceze should not be charged with my visitation at this tyme.

First, as concerning my style, wherein I am named Totius Angliae Primas, I suppose that to make his cause goode (which else indeed were nawght) he doth myzte it with the king's cause; (as ye know the

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleop. F. i. 260.
APPENDIX.

man lacketh neither lernynge in the lawe, neither witty invention, ne cratfe to set furth his matiers to the beste) that he might appeare not to maintayne his owne cause, but the kynges. Against whose highnesse he knoweth right well, that I will mayntaine no cause, but gyre place, and lay both my cause and my self at my princes feete. But to be playne what I thinke of the bishop of Wynche ster, I cannot persuade with my self, that he so moche tendereth the kynges cause, as he doth his own, that I shoul not visite hym. And that appereth by the very tyma. For if he cast no farther but the defence of the kings grace authoritie, or if he entendeth that at all, why moved he not the matier before he receyved my monition for my visitation. Which was within four miles of Wynchester delivered unto him the xxth. day of April last, as he came up to the court. Moreover I do not a little mervayl, why he should now fynde fault rather then he did before, when he toke the bp. of Rome as cheff hedde. For though the bishop of Rome was taken for supreme hedde, notwithstanding that, he had a great number of primates under hym. And by having his primates under hym, his supreme authoritie was not lesse estemid, but moche the more. Why then may not the kyngs highness, being supreme hedde, have primates under hym, without any dymynyahung, but with the augumentyr of his said supreme authoritie. And of this I doubt not atall, but that the bussheope of Wynchester knoweth, as well as any man lyving, that in case this said style or title had bryn in any paynte impediment or hinderance to the bussheoppe of Rome's usurped authoritie, it would not have so long ben unreformed as it hathe bryn. For I doubt not, but all the bussheops of England would ever gladly have hadde the archbussheoppe both authoritie and title taken awaye, that thei myghte have bryn equal to gether. Which well appeareth by the many contentions against the archbussheops for jurisdiction in the court of Rome. Whiche had beene easly brought to passe, if the bussheops of Rome had thought, the archbussheops titles and styles to be any derogation to their supreme authoritie.

All this notwithstanding, if the bussheops of this realme passe no more of their names, styles and titles, then I do of myn, the kings highness shal sone order the matier setwixt us all. And if I sawe that my stile were agaynst the kynges authoritie (whereunto I am specially sworne,) I woulde sue my self unto his grace that I myghte leave it; and so would have don before this tym. For I pray Gode never be mercyfull unto me at the general judgement, if I perceyve in my heart, that I set more by any title, name or stile, that I write, then I do by the paring of an apple, farther than it shalbe to the setting forth of Gods worde and will. Yet I wil not utterly excuse me herein. For God must be judge, who knoweth the botome of my harte, and so do not I my self. But I speake for so much as I do feale in my harte. For many evill affections lye lurking ther, and wil not lightly be esped. But yet I would not gladly leave any just thyng at the pleasure and suite of the busshope of Wynchester, he byng none otherwise affectionate unto me, than he is.

Even at the begynnyng of Chriists profession Diatrephees desyerd gerere primatum in Ecclesia, as saith Saincte John in his last epistell.
And since he hath had no successors than all the apostells hadd, of whom have come al theis glorious titleis, stiles and pompes into the Church. But I would, that I and all my brotheren, the busshops wold leave all our stiles, and write the style of our offices, callynge our selves apostolos Jesu Christi: so that we toke not upon us the name vaynly, but were so even in deade. So that we myght ordre our dioces in such sort, that neither paper, parchemente, leade nor wexe, but the very Christian conversation of the people myght be the lettres and scales of our offices. As the Corinthians were unto Paule, to whom he said, Litterae nostrae et sigilla apostolatus nostri vos estis.

Now for the seconde, where the bp. of Winchester alledged the visitation of my predecesser, and the tenth parte now to be paid to the kyng. Truth it is, that my predecesser visited the dioces of WyncheSTER after the the decease of my Lorde Cardynall [Wolsey] as he did all other diocesess (sedc vacante.) But els I thinke, it was not visited by none of my predecessers this forty yeres. And not withstanding that, he hymself, not consydering their chargis at that tyme, charged theym with a newe visitation within lesse than half a yere after: and that agaynste all righte, as Doctour Incent hath reported to my chancellor: the clargie at that tyme paying to the king halfe of their benefices in five yeres. Which is the tenth part every yere, as thei paid before, and have payd syns, and shal pay stil for ever by the laste act. But I am veray gladd, that he hath nowe some compassion of his dioces, although at that tyme he had veray smale, when he did visit theym the same yere, that my predecessour did visite. And also other busshoppes, whose course is to visite this yere, kepe their visitation, (where I did visett the laste yere,) notwithstanding the tenth part to be paid to the kings grace. Howbeit I do not so in WyncheSTER dioces. For it is nowe the third yere syns that dioces was visited by any man. So that he hath the laste cause to complayn of any busshopp. For it is longer syns his dioces was visited then the other. Therefore where he layeth, to aggravate the matier, the charges of the late acte granuted, it is no more agaynst me than agaynst all other busshoppes, that do visett this yere; nor maketh no more agaynst me this yere, then it made against me the laste yere, and shall do every yere hereafter. For if thei were true men in accomptynge and payinge the kyngs subsidie, thei are no more charged by this new acte then they were for the space of ten yeres past, and shall be charged ever hereafter. And thus to conclude, if my said lorde of WyncheSTers objections shoulde be allowed this yere, he myghte by such argumentes both disalowe al maner visitations, that hath be donn thes ten yeres past, and that ever shalbe done hereafter.

Nowe I pray you, good Maister Secretary of your advice, whether I shall nede to writte unto the kyngs hignes herein. And thus our Lord have you ever in his preservation. At Otteford the 12 day of May.

Your own ever assured

THOMAS CANTUAR.
APPENDIX.

No. XV.

The Appeal of Stokesly Bishop of London to the King, against the Archbishop's Visitation.*

Contra Visitationen Archiep. Cant.

First, that tharchbp. of Canterbury in al his monitions and writings, sent to the bishopp, abbots, priors and archdeacons of London, concerning this his visitation, called himself Apostolice Sedis legatum: and that therfor the bishopp of London, with the chapitre, did not only adverte the archbp. therof by their letters before the day of visitation: but also that same day of the commencement thereof in the chapitre house of Powles, the said bp. and chapitre, before the delivery of the certificate to the abp. made there openly a protestation, reding it in wryting, signifying, that they wolde neither accept him as such a legate, nor admitty or obey his visitacion, jurisdiction, or any thing, that he wolde attempte by the pretexe or color of that name of legate, or otherwyse, against the crown of our soveraigne, his regalitie, statutes, or customes of his realm. And required the said archbp. to commaunde his registre (there present) to enact the said protestation. Which he refused utterlye to do; shewing himself not willing to admit the said protestation.

Item, that tharchbp. in his said monition to the bishopp did expressely intythe and signyfye to him, that he wolde in this his visitation suspend al the jurisdiction of the bp. the dean and archdeacons from the beginning thereof to the ending. In soche wise, that the bp. nor his officers, deane nor archdeacon, should or myght all that time, (which he would not determine how long it should endure) use no jurisdiction, whatesoever causes or necessities should chance of correction, institutions of benefices, confirmations of elections, consecrations of churches, celebracions of orders, or probation of testaments, with many other things mo appertaining ad forum contentiosum. But al and every of thise the archbp. and his [officers] wold have, and suffer none other to use and exercise the same, unto thend of his visitation. Which he hath now continued until the first day of December: pretending, that then he may likewise continuie it other six months, and so forth without end at his pleasure during his life, from tyme to tyme. So that by this means he only, and noon other, should be bp. but titularis, in all his province during his life, but at his pleasure. Which were an inconvenience intolerable, and such as never was rede nor herde of, that ever any metropolitane, so mate legate or bp. of Rome, in the most tyrannie had usurped the semblable.

Item, that all men learned, and books of the canon lawe dothe agree, that no metropolitane or primate, may thus, by any lawe written, suspende all the jurisdiction of the bishopps, for the tyme of their visitations, or exercise the premyses during the same jure metropolitico. And this the counsaille of the archbishop doth not denye, nor cannot.

Item, where the said archbishop doth pretend, that his prede-

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleop. F. ii. 124,
cessours tyme past hath put in use and exercise all the premysses: And so, though the common lawe doth not favor him, yet he may leyne to prescription: First, it is to be considred and remembr'd, that the suspension of all jurisdiction of all the bishopps in maner aforesaid seemeth to be against holy Scripture, and thauctority given unto theym by God; and as it was said before, that suspension were a thing permittioe, not redde, nor herde of, to have be attempted by the most tyranny of all the bishopps of Roome, without the great offence of the bishopp. And as for the rest, considering, that none of his predecessors this hundred yeres did visite thus his province; and therefor noo man living can know this by experience, it had byne necessarie for tharchbp. to have shewed booke for the professe of thise his sayings and pretences. Which he and his officers, being therunto desired, as well before the visitation, as sithens, ever did refuse and deferre to duc.

Item, it is to be remembr'd, that in case it shal appere in any booke of th'archbishopp that his predecessors have attempted any of the premysses; First, that his predecessors were legats, and though they did visite jure metropolitico, yet they might peradventure, as legats, attempte some things, which they had had no right nor colour to duc, if they had be only metropolitians and primates. Secondly, in this behalf and case it is to be remembr'd, that many of those archbpe. of Canterbury, were not only legats, but also chancellors of England. By the which auctorite they peradventure did enforce and maintaigne many things attempted against the lawe, as the late cardinall did. And therfor it is to be dissevered what they did as legats, and what as metropolitans, and what by force after repelled, and what by right possiblye enjoyed. And not to knyt now jure metropolitico such things as were done by his predecessors, as legats: nor to chalenge prescrip'tion, now the auctorite of the see of Rome is repealed and here extinguished in soche things, as were attempted oonlye by the pre'texte of the auctorite of that see; or else after were appealeid, repelled or resisted. Thirdly, in this case it is to be remembr'd, that it appears by the ancient registers of the bishopps, and their chirches, that when the predecessors of tharchbishopp did attempt any of these cases aforesaid, the bishopps and their clergie did appeale to the see of Roome. And dyvers times they obtaineid sentences and executions against hym; and some remaigned undecid'd by the reason of the dethe of the ab. or bp. complainant for remedye and redresse of the same. In like maner as we, your faithful subjects have nowe for this our grise appelle unto your majesty.

Item, it is to be considred, whedre any metropolitane in odre Christen realmes, being now legatt, doth exercise the premysses after the fourme now here pretended, in his visitation. And in case they do not, as it is said they do not attempt anye such things, but oonly, in their visitations provinciall, useth that the comon lawe giveth theym, then here to be repelled and extinguished for ever. To thentent that the bishopps of Roome hereafter shal have no color to mainteigne and justyfye, that they kepe here yet, and continuallye the possession of their auctoritie, and of our subjexion by their legate.
Saying, that although th'archbishopp doo relinquish the name of a legate, yet nevertheless he exerciseth soche jurisdiction as the lawes never gave to metropolitane, nor noo archbishopp in Christendome dothe exercise (legates of the see of Roome onely excepted.) And therfor it is to be provided, that noo sparks remaigne, wherby he might suscitate any suche flame, if the matter shuld come in question.

Finally, it is to be remembred, that the bishops, nor their clergies doo not refuse to accept and obey the visitation of tharchbishopp as metropolitane, and to pay to him proxies due and accustomed. But where the bishopps hath not only the comune lawes, but also bulls and sentences executed against his predecessours, and that longe before the making of the statutes against provisions, declaring whatc summes he shal not passe for his proxies of their churches, the officers of th' archbishopp demandeth moche more: neither shewing the lawe, (for thereis none to bere theym) nor yet president nor example in any auncient books, wherby they might be satisfied. Which doon he should without difficulty or grudge, have forthwith al his proxies upon the conclusion of his visitation. Unto the which time it is not due in monye. Many other things and consideracions there be, to be alleged concerning the preysesses: which may be spokyn in tyme and place, as the debating of the matter shall require.

And for a conclusion, it may please your majesty to be advertised, that if my lorde of Canterburye can shewe by auncient presidents, that any his predecessours have used peassibly the premises without interrupcion, and soo have enjoyed the same, those presidents shewed and brought in presens, allowed also by your lerned counsell of the lawes spiritual, to be presidents sufficient, and of auctorisitie in this behalf, we shal then immediatlye in all the preysesses, obey the said abpp. without any further contradiction. In this our soo doing, whether we offer him reason or not, we referre us onely unto your majestie, and unto your gracious judgement. Humble beseching the same, that forasmuche as all the lawes be for us, and this hundredd years past: and nowe also in our dayes we have not herde nor sene the contrarie used to the said lawes: we nowe most lowye, as your power and true subjects, desiere your majestie, that with your gracious favoure and license, we may use suche defence, as your lawes, and your high court of your parliament, hath politikely provided for us, and other your subjects.

No. XVI.

An Inventory of the Cathedral church of S. Swithins in Winchester, as it was given in, by the Prior and Convent, to Cromwell, Secretary of State, and the Kings Vicar general over al Spiritual men. *

And first of the things that are abroad in the Church.

IMPRIMIS, the nether part of the high altar, being of plate of gold, garnished with stones. The front above being of brodering work and

* C.C.C.C. MS. Miscel. G. [No. cxlix. 355].
pearls, and above that a table of images of silver and gilt, garnished with stones.

Item, Above that altar a great cross, and an image of plate of gold, garnished with stones.

Item, Behind the high altar S. Swinhtens shrine, being of plate silver and gilt, and garnished with stones.

Item, In the body of the church a great cross, and an image of Christ and Mary and John, being of plate silver and partly gilt.

Item, A cross of plate of silver and gilt with an image over the iron door. And the two images of Mary and John are but copper gilt.

The Inventory of the Sextre.

Jewels of Gold.

Imprimis, There are in the sextre five crosses of gold, garnished with precious stones. And one of the five is but of plate of gold fixed upon wood.

Item, One shrine of plate of gold garnished with precious stones.

Item, One little pair of candlesticks of gold.

Item, One little box of gold with his cover to bear the H. Sacrament.

Item, Three chalices of gold, and one of them garnished with precious stone.

Item, One little pax of gold.

Item, One little sacring bel of gold.

Item, Four pontifical rings of gold with precious stones.

Item, One pectoral of gold set with stones.

Item, One pectoral, partly gold, partly silver, and gilt, set with stones.

Item, Two saints armes of plate of gold, garnished with stones.

Item, S. Philips foot, covered with plate of gold, and with stones.

Item, A book of the four Evangelists, written al with gold; and the utter side is of plate of gold.

Jewels of Silver.

Imprimis, One table of our Lady, being of silver and gilt.

Item, Nine crosses of silver and gilt, and one of cristal.

Item, One and twenty shrines, some al silver and gilt; and some part silver and gilt; and part copper and gilt; and some part silver and part ivory, and some copper and gilt, and some set with garnished stones.

Item, Twelve chalices of silver and gilt, belonging to the sextre, and to the altars, and chaunties founded in the church.

Item, Four paxes of silver and gilt belonging to the sextre, and other altars.

Item, Six casts of candlestick belonging to the sextre, and the chaunties, being of silver and gilt.

Item, One candlestick of silver, belonging to S. Swinhtens shrine.

Item, Six pair of cruets of silver belonging to the sextre and chaunties.

Item, Seven censers of silver and gilt.
APPENDIX.

Item, Two Sarys, one of silver and gilt, and the other only of silver.
Item, Three pair of basins of silver and gilt.
Item, Two Ewers, one of them silver and gilt, and the other only silver.
Item, Six images of silver and gilt.
Item, One and thirty collars, six of them garnished with plate of silver, and gilt, and stones; the residue of brodering work and pearls.
Item, Six pectorals of silver and gilt, garnished with stones.
Item, Three pastoral staves of silver and gilt.
Item, One pastoral staf of an unicorns horn.
Item, Three standing mitres of silver and gilt, garnished with pearls and precious stones.
Item, Ten old mitres, garnished with pearls and stones, after the old fashion.
Item, One rectors staf of unicorns horn.
Item, Four processional staves of plates of silver.
Item, Four sacring bells of silver and gilt, belonging to the sextre and altars.
Item, Nine pices of chrysal, partly garnished with silver and gilt.
Item, Seven tables with relicks fixed in them; and four of them are of plate of silver and gilt, and the three other of copper and gilt.
Item, Five saints heads, and four of them of plate of silver and gilt, and the first painted.
Item, Three saints armes, two of them covered with plate of silver and gilt, and the third is painted.
Item, Seven books, the outer parts of them being plates of silver and gilt.
Item, One book of K. Henry the Sevenths foundation, covered with velvet, and garnished with bosses of silver and gilt.

Copya.

Imprimis, One principal cope of needle work, wrought with gold and pearles.
Item, One Chysible. Two tymasyles, and paral of the albes of the same work, of my L. Cardinal Beaufords gift.
Item, Eight and twenty other copyes of divers other works and colors, and divers mens gifts.
Item, Forty two copyes of tissheuw: the one half of them blew, and the other of red.
Item, Twenty copyes of red bawdkyne, wrought with connes.
Item, Eight white copyes. Four of them of white velvet, and the other four of white damask, brodered with white red roses.
Item, Eight and twenty copyes of white bawdkyne, woven with copper gold.
Item, Nine and twenty copyes of blew silk, woven with rayes of gold.
Item, Thirty other copyes of divers colors and works; and many of them perished.

VOL. II.
APPENDIX.

Chrysbile, Tynnikyle [Tunicles] and Stolys.

Item, Imprimis, Eleven principal chrysbile with Tynnikyle, of divers sorts, and suites.
Item, Six and thirty old chrysbile of divers colors and works, and bene commonly used, and some of them perused.
Item, Fourteen stolys of needle work.

Hangings for the Altars.

Item, Eight divers hangings for the high altar, some of them precious, and some of them of les value.
Item, One and twenty pair of hangings for the altars of the Church.

Vestments, Albes, &c.

Item, Twelve albes of silk.
Item, Of linn in albes, belonging to the sextre and other altars 326.
Item, Vestments belonging to the altars and chanoyns are of divers values and works, to the number of twenty six.
Item, Corporows cases, and corporaws thirty six.
Item, Altar cloths of diaper, and linnin one and twenty.
Item, Mas books thirteen, belonging to the sextre and altars.

The Inventory of our Ladies Chappel.

Imprimis, Five little shrines of copper and guilt.
Item, Three challes of silver and gilt.
Item, Two paxes, the one of silver and gilt, and the other of silver.
Item, Two pair of beads, and silver and gilt, being but of ten stones a piece.
Item, Three chappels of divers suites.
Item, Two copys of silk.
Item, Thirteen albes, and three of them white silk.
Item, Three collars for the three altars of silk, garnished with plate of silver and gilt, and with stones.
Item, Four altar cloths of linnin.
Item, Two altars of silk for the altar.

The Inventory of the Priors House.

Imprimis, Six saltis, with three covers of silver and gilt.
Item, Six spoons of silver and gilt.
Item, Five and twenty other spoons of silver.
Item, Three standing cups; one plain, and other two swaged with their covers of silver and gilt.
Item, Seven bollis of silver and gilt with one cover.
Item, Six silver cuppes with one cover.
Item, Four nuts with three covers.
Item, Two masers with one cover.
Item, Two silver basins with their ewers.
Item, Two gallon pots of silver and gilt, to serve Peter and Paul.
Item, Two small silver pots.
Item, Two chalices of silver and gilt.

The Inventory of the Subpriors House.

Item, Two salts of silver and gilt with a cover.
APPENDIX.

Item, One little salt of silver with a cover.
Item, Three silver pesses.
Item, Eighteen silver spoons.
Item, Three old masers perused.

The Inventory of the Hordars House.

Item, Two salts of silver and gilt with a cover.
Item, One standing nut with a cover.
Item, Three silver pesses.
Item, Eighteen silver spoons.
Item, Three old masers perused.

The Inventory of the Fratiric.

Imprimis, One standing cup of mother pearle, the foot and cover being of silver and gilt.
Item, Two great bolls of silver.
Item, One standing cup of silver and gilt with his cover.
Item, One standing massar with a cover of wood.
Item, Three great bolls of wood with bonds of silver and gilt.
Item, Seven and thirty silver spoons of divers fashions.
Item, Four old masers perused.

No. XVII.

A Reply to the Archbishop, against his Court of Audience.*

To the firste, hys protestations sheweth no more, but that he is not to be suspected to kepe that courte of his Audience by the authoritie of any legacy from Rome, as by the name of legat of Rome. But forasmoche as no abp. within Christendome hath, nor never hadd, any authoritie to kepe any suche courte by the reason of hys archebishoprike, but only legats of the see of Rome. Whiche legats what vexations and oppressions they have doone by the pretense thereof, not onely to ordinaries, but also to the layfee, by calling of poore men from the farthest parte of the realme to London for an halfpeny candell, or for a litell obprobrious worde, as was declared and proved playnely in this Parliament: which was a grete cause of making of a statute to remedy that, before the statute of thabolishement of the bisshops of Rome, authoritie within this realme; insomuch that this execution of legacies in other jurisdictions and realmes, hath ben on of the gretest and the intolerable usurpations of the bpe. of Rome these many yeres emonge the comonaltie, and thersore a thing most necessary of reformation: in consideration of the premisses no archebishop can exercise this authoritie, except he implieth to all the worlde (tho he speak it not, nor write it not) that he ys a legate of the see of Rome. And in case it shall please the kings grace to gyve like authoritie, notwithstanding so many incommodities to his graces subjectes proved by the use thereof, and not oon commoditie at al to abyden by, yt shuld

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, F. i. p. 88.

T 2
some better to gyve it to some other by special commission at his grace's pleasure. Wherby it shalbe known certeynely to come from his grace rather than to yoyne it to tharchebishopse see: wherby tholde peyson might stil lurke and break out on day agayne, if yt shuld chances some to be archebishop of Cant. that would chaunge theyr copie, as hath ben in tymes paste.

And more over, if his grace should make hym his legate, it should peradventure derogate the powre of his grace generall vicare. And if both shuld occupie, then shall the people somoche the rather take occasion to think and say, that his grace's vicare exerciseth the power of a legate by his grace's authority, and the apb. of Canterbury, by authorite of the bishop of Rome.

And wher thebp. sayth, that he seith no cause, whye he should not kepe that court, at the lest, by authoritie of thact of Parliament, as al others enjoy by that acte al things, that they hadd before from the see of Rome; it seemeth that he never redd the said acte; nor yet can dysserde bytwen a thing absolute, that may endure without a dependence, as an advounson in grose, and a thing that standeth in a contynual dependence, as service to the seignorie. For exemptions and dispensations, and such others be absolutes, depending nothing of the grantor after his grant. But legacyes be but respectfulves: and as no longer lord, no longer service, so no longer bishop of Rome lord here, no longer hyis vicare, which was but his servant: as appereth by the text of his legacy, whereof theses be the words in the chaptre, Quem non ignoretis de officio legati, qui in provincia sua vice nosstras gerere comprobatur. And the act of Parliament which he allegeth is so plenly to every reder, that it cannot be drawn with twenty teme of oxen to stretch to the continuance of this courte of his Audience. It is in the xxjth. chapter of the session anno xxx. and in the xxvjth. lexe in the later ende. The words therof ther be these: "Provided alwayes that this act, or any thing therin conteyneyd shall not herafter be taken, nor expounded, to the derogation, or taking away, of any grantees or confirmations of any liberties, privileges or jurisdictions of any monasteries, abbies, priories, or other houses or places exempte; whiche before the making of this act, hath ben obteigned at the see of Rome, or by theauthoritie thereof." Loo, this act speketh oneiie of ex- emptions, which is a thing absolute: and that onely of houses exempte, and of their jurisdictions. Which might be suffered upon their few parochians and neibourhe; as prebends hath in cathedrall churches. But this act speketh not of no jurisdiction universal of archbishop, bishop, or other person. Legacye ys of that other sorte, and universall jurisdiction depending of hym, that usurped an universall authorite through the worlde.

And consydering, that the bp. of Canterbury besyde all the courts within hyis own diocese, kepith in London a courte at theArches, suffeciently autorized to hier and to determine all causes and complayntes apperteyning to a metropolitane; whye shuld he require this other court of his Audience, to kepe yt in London, within the churche and jurisdiction of an other bishop except he mynded to call other bps. obedientiary out of their jurisdiction, contrarie to thact? Or else
APPENDIX.

at the lest, forasmoch as this courte is kept within the church and jurisdiction of London, and thArches Courte within the city, but not within the jurisdiction, if he may not vexe the citizens and dioecesanes of London at thArches, without an appele first from hys ordinary ymmediately, because of the canon lawes, yet he might pull theym to hys Audience at Pauls, as he dyd heretofore by hys legacie, and yet offende not that act made anno xxiiij. That no man shalbe called out of his own dioces.

And where the abp. sayth, that the kings grace badd hym continne that court still, yt ys to be marveld, that he then hath not, in his citations and other writings of that courte, expressed or signified the same, as he dyd call hymself in al his writings Legatum Apostolicae Sedis longe after that act of the abolishing.

No. XVIII.

Archbishop Cranmers Order concerning the Proctors of the Court of Arches shown to be inconvenient, by a Paper presented to the Parliamet, as followeth.*

ALTHOUGH it be expedient, that every thing, which any weye may be noysfull unto the common wele, be duely reformed; yet is there nothing that shulde be rather loked upon for reformation, than suche abuses as maye be occasion of not indifferent ministration of justice. Wherfor amongst so many things, as heretofore hath been wel and condignely reformed, tochinge other the spirituallie or the temporallie, there is nothing that more necessarily required speedy reformation, than a certain ordinance late procured in the court of thArches at London, by the means of the proctors there, for theadvancement of their singular wele only. By the which maye and doo come divers abuses in the said court, and occasion of not indifferent ministration of justice, and chargeable and prolix processe there. Theeffect whereof is this.

The proctors of the said courte of thArches hath of late, upon fayned suggestion, surmysed unto the most reverend father in God, my lord archbusshop of Canterburie, president and hedd of the said corte, to have ben for the conen wele and ease of his provincialles, induced his grace to make suche an ordenance or statute in his said corte of thArches, that where heretofore, there were in the same twenty or four and twenty proctors, and my said lorde grace at his libertie alwayes to admit moo or fewer proctors there, as shulde be seen expedient to his grace for the sufficient attending of the causes there depending for the tyme; there shulde be from thencefoorth no man admitted proctor there, untill the said nombre of proctors, than being there, were decreased, and come downe to the nombre of tenne: and than the same nombre of ten proctors never after to be exceeded. And furthermore lest my said lorde grace might be advertisd at any tyme afterwards, upon better causes and considerations, to dissolve the

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleop. F. i. p. 91.
said statute, as his predecessors did alike other statute, made in semblable case long before: the said proctors knowing, that his grace wold, as alwayes did, applye hymself to that thing that shul be most profitable for the comen wele; and intending to take awaye that libertie from hym, abusing also his graces benigneitie and good zeal, to the restrainet of his liberties, and fulfilling of their covetous intent; incontintuently apone the obtayning of the said statute, procured the same to be confirmed by the chapitre and costent of Christ Church in Cant. So that by reason of the same confirmation, my said lordes grace me his successors can not, as the said proctors do pretend (though they see never so good a cause therto) infringe, ne dissolve the same. And so therby made in maner an incorporation among theym, the they call it not so.

Wherin be it considered, whether they have first offended the king’s lawes, which do prohibite such incorporacions to be made without licence had of the king’s highness first thereunto. And though all incorporacions in any misterie or facultie be not lightly to be admitted, in this case, wherupon dependeth good or yll ministration of justices, moost of all suche confederacies are to be eschewed.

Also the said statute is divers wayes noyefull to the commonweale of this royalm, and prejudiciall to the king’s go’s subjects in the same, and occasion of divers abuses in the said court hereafter to be declared.

But because the said proctors are persuaded, that my said lord of Cant’s goe cannot himselfe dissolve the same, and seing that no man will lightely contend alone with all the said proctors for the dissolvynge thereof, (for though it toche every man generally, no man singularly will suppose the same to touch him so moche, that he shuld for thimpugnation of the same put himselfe in busynes agenst so many and so rich a company, as the said proctors be) it were not only expedient, but also necessarie, for the indifferente and speedy ministration of justice in the said courtes, that the said unreasonable statute were infringed and dissolved by the auctoritie of this present Parliament, (where all other abuses and excesses noyefull to the comen weale ought to be reformed,) for these causes following.

First, the said statute is prejudicial unto the comen weale, because it is occasion of prolux suite and superfluous delayes in the said court, else more necessary to be restrained than augmented. For the said nombre of ten proctors appoynted by the said statute is unsufficient for the speedy and diligent attending of mens causes in the said court, though all ten were procuring there at same: as it is not like but that three or four of the same shal bee alwayes impotent or absent. For such they account also within the said nombre of ten. And besides that the same ten or fewer, that shalbe onely procuring, shal serve not onely for the said court of thArchese, but also for my said lord of Canterburie Audience (wherein be as many causes as in thArchese) and for the Consistorie of the bushe of London. For by the statutes of both the same Courts of Audience and Consistorie, there is no man admitted to procure in the same, unless he be a proctor admitted first in thArchese. So that so few proctors, appoynted for so many causes
APPENDIX. 279

as shall be in traverse in all the said courts, can never be able to speke their business without great delays taking.

For heretofor whan there were in the said courtes twenty proctors continually occupying, and moo, it hath been seen, that divers of them hath been than so overladde with causes, that they were driven to take oft and many delays and prorogations ad iudicem, for to bring in their matières, libelles and plees. Than moche more must they do the same now being but ten of them. And most of al, when of the same ten there shalbe, (as like it is allwayes to be,) three or four absent or impotent, undoubtedly they must needs use infinite delays. Which had also rather more need to be restrayned, then that any occasion shuld be yet given of more using the same. For by reason of the same the king’s subjectes, called to the said court, are putto great expenses, tedious labour, and losse of tym. And therfor divers, that have good right to many things pleadable in the said courts, had lever renounce and forgoo their interest in the same, than ente so desperate a sute in the said courts therfor.

Also mens causes cannot be diligently attended by so fewe proctors. And men shalbe destitute of counsaill (whereof shuld be allways plenty in every court.) And through the negligence of the proctors, that they must be than of, when they shalbe have so moche busynes, divers good causes muste neds perish, for lacke of good looking unto; as lightely maye be: for the forgeting of one houre, or mistaking of a worde, doth in the said courts otherwhiles marre the best matiere.

And it is impossible, that the said ten proctors only shalbe able to applye accordingly al the causes, that shalbe depending in al the said courts, as proctors of ductie shuld. For a proctor’s office is laborious, and requireth moche busynes. First, a proctor must take sufficient instructions of his clients, and kepe every court-daye, remember every houre, that is appoynted him to doo any thing at; solicite and instruct his advocates; write and penne every instrument that shalbe requisite to be made in his matières. And whosoeuer of the proctors, that shalbe negligent or forgetfull in doing any of these his matières, must needs decaye. But so fewe proctors as be appoynted by the said statute are not able not only to do in each matiere, but also scant able to remember their clients names, for so many that they shalbe than have. Each matiere, if it were exactly applied, and men able so to do, wold require a proctor alone. But because every man is not able to find a proctor for every one matiere, it were best, next the same, that there were so many proctors appoynted, as might most easily apply their causes, as they shuld. And though that were less profit to the said proctors, whose wele is best, when they are moost charged with busines: yet it shuld be more profit for the common wele, whose interest were to have causes speedily and diligently applied in the said courts.

Also, the fewer that there be of the said proctors, the sooner they maye agree among themselues to give delays each to other: because that one may have the same leave, that he gave the other: as they do in termes to prove. Where, to each of the three termes, which they
cal terminos ad probandum. A moneth would suffice, though they dwelled never so far from the court within this realme; they take now by cross suffrancce of each an other of theym a quarter of a yeare commonly for ech of the same three termes. Which were enough and too moche, though the parties dwelled in Paris. Which delays though they be nothing profitable, ne commodious for the poore suitors, be both profitable to the said proctors; by reason that the causes are kept thereby the longer in their handes. And also commodious by reason, that they, being greatly occupied, shuld have the longer time to do their busynesse.

And for like consideracion the said proctors do omitte commonly in every matier a certayn othe ungeven, called Juramentum Calumniae, which is the best provision ordyneyed in al the said lawe of civile and canon, for the restraint of unlawful sutes and prolix processe. The efffect wherof is this. Both the parties being in sute, or their proctors, shal by the same oath swear, first the plaintiff, that he believeth himself to have a just cause to sue; and the defendant, a just cause to defend. Secondly, that neyther of theym shall use any unlawful delays, whereby justice may be deferred or letted. Thirdly, that eyther of theym, whan they shalbe asked by the juge, shall answer truly to every thing, that is asked of theym according to their belief. Fourthly, that there is nor shalbe nothing geven, ne promised, to the judge, or any other officer, but only the fees and duty permitted by the law. And fiftly, that neyther of them shal use, ne procure, any false witness wittingly in the matier.

Which othe yf it were geven in every matier, as it shulde be, there shulde not be so many wrongful causes attempted and kept in the said courts, nor so many delays, used in the same. But because that neither of bothe that standes with the proffitt of the said proctors, by common assent and cross suffrancce of ech other of theym, they omitte the same moost commonly not only ungeven, but also not spoken of. And yf they saye, that they do so, because that ofte accustoming of othes maketh men to sett lesse by an othe; trueth it is that it doth so. And therefore the said othe ought to be chieflie commended. For the geving of the same but ones in any matier shuld excuse theym from geving of many other oaths that they geve in euery matier. For it alone conteyneth the effect of div's other othes requisita. And where one shuld serve for all, better it were for advoyding of too ofte swereng, that the same alone shuld be given, and al other omitted, than that it alone shuld be lefft, that al the other doth supply.

Also, the said statute of ten proctors may be occasion, that the same shuld waxe hauite, arrogant, negligent, and lothe to take payne, and excessive in taking, by reason that they shulde be so fewe. As we see experiently in al other faculties or mysteries, where fewest occupiers be of the same there be they moost dangerous, and hardest to be gotten to do their facultie, and moost excessive in taking for the same: as scarsitie or raritie of any thing else maketh the same desir. For when there be few of a facultie, they know than that be they never so excessive in taking, or negligent in their doing, they shalbe occupied.
wel enough: when men can have no other choice but of a fewe, that be al alike agreeyd upon the price of every thing; as they maye soone doo, when they be but a fewe. Where yf they were many, all shuld be contrary.

Moreover, the said statute of tenne proctors may be occasion, that justice shuld not indifferently procede in the said courts for lack of laufull defense. As if the juges of the said courts, or any of themy, be affectionate in any matier depending before theym (as it may be that the juges there shall not be alweys of such integritie as they be of, that be there nowe,) the said proctors dare not be retayned of his part, that the juge doth not favor: or if they be retayned, they dare not purpose their client's best interest and remeedy, yf the same do any thing offend the said juges affection. By reason that the said proctors be removeable from their proctors offices at the said juges pleasure, and the same made so beneficall unto themy by reason of the said statute.

Than, when the said proctors shalbe in suche fear of the said juges, to speak in matiers of instance, where the juge doth bear but a light affection to another man: much more will they be so in cases of office, where the juge is parte hymself, and hath his owne matier in hand. And no mervail, if they dare not speak in such. For it hathe not ben seldom seen, and harde there, that it hath ben spoken unto such proctors, as hath spoken any thing constantly, or frely, in their clients causes, by the juges aforesaid, *Non es amicus curiae*: and that they were threatened of expulsion from their offices, and put to silence. Yet no lawe forbeth the contrary, but that every man shuld have his lawful defense, yea, against the juge himself.

But if there were many proctors in the said courts, the juges could not so lightly keep them al in such subjection and feare of themy. Nor than the said proctors shuld not have so great cause to fear theym so moche, seeing their offices shuld not be so beneficall unto themy than. And lesse shuld they yet fear to purpose their clients right duely, if it were ordeined, that the same proctors shuld not be removeable from their offices, at the said juges pleasure, (as here-tofor they were; and now are) but only for certain greate offences proved afore indifferent juges, to be committed by theym after their admission. And by reason, that the said proctors be so abondoned unto the said juges, where men had most node of trusty coun-sailors, there they be most destitute of the same, as when the juge is not indifferent. For the partialitie of a juge is more to be feared, than the manifest malice of an adversarie. For the tone hurteth prively, and is able to execute his malice: and the tother doth aperty all that he goeth about. And a man may provide for thadvoying of the intent. And he is not so able to execute his purpose as the tother is. And though partialitie of any juge is to be greatly feared, yet most of all in the courts spiritual: where al depends upon the juges hands, and that one man's commonly. For which partialitie the remedie of appeal was first invented. Which remedy, like as it was at the first most holosomely provided for the avoyding of thiniquity of partail juges; so it is nowe most wickedly abused for the main-
temance of yll doers in their wrongful causes and avoyding of due execution of justice, by reason that they be infinite: specially, after the canon laws. For by civile, there is but appellacion permitted; and that not without penaltie on him that shal than appeal without cause: and that is more reasonable.

For like as it is daungerous to abide one mans jugemt, so it is unreasonable that a man shall not abide the jugemenes of never so many. And therfore it were very expedient, that the same appeals were restrained somewhat. For of theym it is cheffily long, that matiers be in maner infinite in the said courts. And that maye be the better doon, by reason that there be two legats within this royalm. Which were so appoynted, because that they might determinye al matiers spirituall within this royalm, without moche recourse to Rome, being so farr from this contrey.

To the foresaid inconveniences may come also, through the said statute, this abuse abuse following: that is to wete, if there be a mightier or a richer man, that do use a proror man in the said courts; the richer man maye the sooner, by reason that there be so fewe proctors, retain the moost partye and best lerned of theym. And another proctor, by reason that they shall be than so welthi by their great occupying, which they shall have, when they be so fewe, wil rather sett more by the same great mans favor, than the poore mans fee. And therefor wil other refuse to be retayned of the poor mans parts; or when they be retayned they wilbe slacke in doing their dutie, for fear of displeasing the same great man. Where yf there were many proctors, their offices would not be excessive gainesfull, but that they wold set as moche by their fees, as by any mans pleasure lightely.

Also, the said statute is a greate discouraage to young [men] to leve their studie in the lawes. For by the same the reward of studie is taken away, and possesed by a few. And the fewer that be promoted for their lerning, the fewer wil study to atteigne the same.

And to this, it maye be occasion, that the said proctor be not so well lerned, nor so diligent, when they are so fewe, as they wold be, if they were many. For when there is choysse ynoough of theym, they that are best lerned, and most diligent shalbe allwayes most reassorted. And than shall they studie every man to excell other in lerning and diligence, when they see suche cheffily reassorted unto. And so no man wil labour than to be a proctor, onlesse he be well lerned, seeing that learned men shuld only have al the moost reassort. And they that be unlerned will aweiye, and provide theym livers elsewhere, when they see themself nothing frequented with causes.

Furthermore, the said statute is playne contrary to their owne lawe of civile and canon. For by the same it is permitted for every man to be proctor for other; but only a fewe, which are specially and justly excepted by the same, as a woman, a child, a madde man, and such other. And by the said statute it is prohibited, that no man shal procure, in the said court for other, but only a fewe, that are specially admitted thereto, and that within a precise and incompetent nombre.
The said law doth except and repell very few; and that of them that are not mete to procure; and the said statute doth yet admit fewer, and that of them that are sufficiently qualified to procure. So that white and black can be no more contrary together, than the said law and statute be either to other.

And though any man wold rather preferre the said law before the said statute, ye he did but only consider, how that the law is made so long ago by the concord and discrete opinions of so many great and wise clerkes and holy men, and afterward approved by continuall usage of divers countries, and long succession of tyme, and expieriently known to be holosomely ordeined for the comen wele. And of, the tother side, how that the said statute is but lately made by the procurement of a few private pesons for their singular advantage; approved by no tract of time to be profitable for the comen wele; but expieriently known to be contrary. Yet besides that, ye al that were sett parte, the lawe is grounded upon bettre reason, than the said statute is. For seing a proctor representeth him that he is proctor for, and maye make or marr his clients matier by one word speaking well or yll; and that thoffice of a proctor was first invented for men, that might or wolde not intend to their own busyness theymself; it were more consonant with reason, that a man were suffred to take to his proctor such as he lusteth, and maye best trust unto of his matier, than be driven to commit the order of his cause, being maye fortune of great weight, to suche a one as he never knew, ne saw biforme. For whan a man is at his to choysse him what proctor he lusteth best, ye his matier do decaye through the defaulte of his proctor, than, he can blame no man but hymself. For that that he wold not take better hede, to whom he shuld have committed his matier unto. And whan a man is compelled to take one that he knows not, ye his matier do than decaye, he maye putt the blame therof to that statute, that constrained him to take suche a proctor.

Nevertheless though the tone of bothe those weyes, that is the same that is taken by the said lawe, be moche better than the tother; yet the meane weye betwene bothe (as of al other extremites) were best. That is to saye, that nother every man onlernd, or unexerpt, shuld forthwith be admitted to procure for every man in the said courtes, lest of that there shuld be no good ordre, but a confuse tumulte there: nor yet that there shuld be so fewe admitted therunto, that they were not able, ne sufficient, for the due exercise of causes there depending. But moost reasonable and highly expedient for the common wele it is, that it were enacted by thauctorite of this present Parliament, that there shuld be as many of suche as were sufficiently lerned, and exercised in theexperience and practise of the said courtes, admitted to procure there, as shuld be seen sufficient to my said lorde of Cant. grace, or other presidents of the said courtes, for the due exercise and expedicion of causes there depending; as it was used there heretofore, till the obteigning of the said statute, without prefixion of any precise nombre, which for no cause maye be exceded. For howe can any precise nombre of proctors be prefixed, when the nombre of causes can never be appoynted? For causes doth growe and decrease, as the nature of seasons and men doth requiere.
And therefore it were more expedient, that there were no proctors than should suffice admitted, than fewer. For better it were, that some of them should lacke causes, than causes should want them. And that suche one, so admitted, shuld not be removable from the same their offices at the said juges, or any other mans, pleasure, as they were here-fofor: but only for certain great offences proved to be committed by them after their admission, and judged so to be of indifferent juges, chosen to examyne the same by the consent of the proctors, that shalbe accused thereof. And because that the proctors aforesaid are all sworne [at the] tyme of their admission, that they shall never after be against the liberties, jurisdiction and prerogatives of the said courtes; but shal mayntene and defend the same to their power: and that there may be in the said courts otherwhiles such causes depending, as shuld appertaine to the kings graces determinacion by his royall prerogative, or suche other as may be there attempted against the juges or presidents of the said courtes: it were highly expedient as wel for the conserva-
tion and soliciting of the kings interest there, as for the faithfull and bolde assistance of proctors there to the kings subjects, that were called thether at the instance of the said juges, or their factors, or any other person; that, like as his grace hath, in other his courtes temporall, his solicitors and attorneyes, he shuld also have in the said courtes two proctors, or moo admitted by his grace and his counseil, which shuld be only sworne to promote and sollicite his graces interest there, and to advertise the same of any thing, that shuld appertaine to his Gr. prerogative, and to defende suche of the kings subjects, as shall desire their assistance, boldeely and without feare or affectiion of the said juges. And that the same proctors so admitted be not removable from the same their offices by any man, but the kings grace or his counseil.

Which so enacted and establisshed shuld be the readeast meanes, that the foresaid abuses, with divers others here not rehearsed, caused through the occasion of the said statute, shuld be utterly taken aweye, and justice more plainly and speedyly proceede in the said courtes, than hereto-fofor hath beene to doo. And the kings subjects called thether from all parts of England shuld have plenty of counseil, faithfull assistance in their matters, and speedy processe in the same. Which ought to be tendered affectently of every man, that regardeth the encrease of the common wele, and true execution of justice.

No. XIX.

The Archbishop to the L. Cromwel giving him some account of his Visitat-
tion of his Dioces.*

These shalbe to advertise your Ip. that syns my last comyng from London into Kent, I have found the people of my dioces very obstinately given to observe and kepe with solemnnitie the hali dayes lately abro-
gated. Whereupon I have punished divers of the offenders; and to divers I have given gentle monition to amend. But inasmuch as by examination I have percyeyed, that the people were partly animated

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. p. 292.
therunto by their curates, I have given streight commandement and injunction unto al the Parsons and vicars within my dioces, apone payne of depryvation of their benefices, that thei shall not only, on their bhalf, cause the said haly dayes, so abrogated, from tym to tym to not to be observed within their cures: but also shal from hensforth present to me suche persons of their parishes, as will practise in wounde or dead contrary to that ordainace or any other; which is, or hereafter shalbe, set forth by the kings grace's authority, for the redresse or ordering of the doctrine or ceremony of this church of England. So that now I suppose thorowgh this means all disobedience and contempe of the kings graces acts and ordainaces in this bhalf shalbe clearly avoided in my dioces hereafter. Not doubting also, but if every bp. in this realm had commandement to do the same in their dioces, it would avoyd both moche disobedience and contention in this said realme. And I wold fayne, that al the envie and grudge of the people in this matier should be put from the king and his counsaille; and that we, whiche be ordinaries, should take it upon us. Or else I feare lest a grudge against the prince and his counseil, in suche causes of religion, shall gendre in many of the peoples harts a faynte subjection and obedience.

But, my lorde, if in thecourte you do kepe such hollidayes and fastynge dayes, as be abrogated, whan shall we persuade the people to cease from kepyng of them? For the kynge's owne house shalbe an example unto al the realme to breake his owne ordinances.*

Over this, whereas your lp. hath twise written for this poore man William Gronnow the berer herof to my lorde deputie of Callic, for him to be restored to his rowme; as far as I understand, it prevayed nothing at al. For he can get none answer of my lorde deputy. So that the poore man dispaireth, that your requeste shal do hym any good. If your lp. wold be so good to hym, as to obteign a bill signed of the kings grace to the treurers and controllers of Callic for the tymbe, commanding them to pay to the said William Gronnow his accustomed wages yerly, and to none other, your lp. should not only not farther trouble my said lorde deputy any more, but also do a right meritoriouse deade. For if the poore man be put thus from his lyving, he were but utterly undone. Thus, my lorde, right harteley fare you well. At Forde the xxvij day of Auguste [1537.]

Your Lordships own ever
T. CANTUARIEN.

No. XX.

Richard Grafton the Printer of the Bible to the Lord Crumwell, complaininge of some that intended to print the Bible, and thereby to spoyle his impression.†

+ 1537.

Mooer humbly beseeching your lordship to understand, that accordyng as your commission was, by my servant to send you certen Bibles,

* This was writ with the abps own hand. Al the rest of the letter was his secretaries. † [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. fol. 325.
so have I now done, desiring your lordship to accept them, as though they were well done. And whereas I wryt unto your lordship for a preuyse seale to be a defence unto the enemies of this Bible, I understande, that your lordshipes mynde is, that I shall not need it. But now, moost gracyous lorde, forasmooch as this wyrke hath bene brought forthe to our moost great and costly labours and charges: which charges amount above the sum of five hundred pounds; and I have caused of these same to be prynted to the sum of fifteen hundred bookes complete: which now by reason that of many this wyrke is highly commended; there are, thar will and dothe go about the pryntynge of the same work agayne in a lesser letter: to the entente that they may sell theri lytle bookes better chape than I can sell these gret; and so to make, that I shal sell none at al, or else verye fewe, to the utter undoynge of me your orator, and of all those my creditors, that hath bene my conforters and helpers therin. And now this wyrke, thus set forthe with great studie and labours, shall soche persons, (moved with a lyttle covetousyse, to the undoynge of other for their owne pryvate welthe,) take as a thynge done to their hands. In which haffe the charges shal not come to them, that hath done to your poore orator. And yet shall they not do yt, as they fynde yt, but falsefye the texte; that I dare say, looke how many sentences are in the Byble, even so many fautes and erreurs shalbe made therin. For their seekyng is not to set it out to Gods glorious, and to the edifying of Christes congreagation, (but for covetousyse.) And that may aper by the former Bybles, that they have set forthe; which hath nether good paper, letter, yinke, nor correcyton: and even so shal they corrupt this wyrke, and wrap it up after their fassyonys, and then may they sell it for nought at their pleasure. Yea, and to make yt more truer then yt is, therfore Douche men, dwellynge within this realme, go about the pryntynge of yt: which can nether speke good Englysh, ner yet wryt none. And they wilbe bothe the prynters and correctors thereof; because of a lyttle covetousyse, that wyll not bestow twenty or farty pounds to a learned man to take payne in yt, to have yt well done.

It were therefore, (as your lp. doth evyndently percease,) a thing unreasonable to permytt, or soffer them, which now hath no soche busynesse, to enter into the laboures of them, that hath had both sore trouble and unreasonable charges. And the trueth is this, that if it be prynted by any other, before these be solde, (which I think shal not be these three yere at the lest,) that then am I, your poore orator, utterly undone.

Therfore by your moost godly favor, if I maye obtayne the kynges most gracyous privilege, that none shal prynt them, till these be solde, which at the least shall not be this fyf yere, your lordshipp shall not fynde me unthankfull, but that to the uttermost of my power I wyll consyder yt. And I dare say, that so wil my lorde of Cantorbury, with other my moost speciall frenes. And at the least God wil loke upon your mercifull heart, that consyderest the undoynge of a pore yonge man. For truly my whole lyvyng lyeth herupon. Which if I maye have salde of them, not being hyndered by any other man, yt shalbe my makynge and wealth, and the contrary is my undoynge. Therfore most humbly I beseche your lordship to be my helper herin, that I maye
obtayne this my request. Or else, yf by no meanes this pryvilege may be had, (as I have no doubt thorow your helpe yt shall) and seeing men are so deseruous to be prynyte of yt agayne, to my uter undoyng as aforsyde that yet forsoooke as it hath pleased the kyngs highnes to lynce this work to go abroade; and that it is the moost pure worde of God which teacheth al true obedience, and reproveth al seismes and contencions: and the lack of this worde of the Almightie God, is the cause of all blyndnes and supersticion: yt maye therefore be comanded by your lordship in the name of our most gracous prynce, that every curt have one of them, that they maye learne to knewe God, and to instruct their paryshens. Ye, and that every abbaye should have six, to be layd in six several places, that the whole covent, and the resoruters therunto, maye have occassyon to looke on the Lordes lawe. Ye, I wold none other, but they of the papistical sorte, shuld be compelled to have them. And then I know there should be ynow found in my lorde of Londons dyocese to spende awaye a great part of them. And so shuld this be a godly sorte, worthy to be had in remembrance, whyle the world doth stonde.

And I know, that a small comysyon wyll cause my lorde of Cantorbury Salsbury and Worsetter, to cause yt to be done thorow their dioces: ye, and this shuld cease the whole seism and contencion, that is in the realme. Which is, some callyng them of the Olde, and some of the Newe. Now shuld we al folow one God, one book, and one learnyng. And this is hurtful to no man, but proffytale to all men.

I will trouble your lordship no lenger, for I am sory I have troubled you so moche. But to mak an end I desire your most gracous answer by my servant. For the sycknes is bryme about us, or els would I wast upon your lordship. And because of comyng to your lordship I have not suffered my servant with me, since he came over. Thus for your continual preservation, I, with all that truly loves God, do most bartely praye, that you may overcome al your adversaries of the papistical sorte.

Your orator RICHARD GRAFTON.

No. XXI.

Archbishop Cranmer to the King for a Suffragan of Dover.*


APPENDIX.

regnii vestri Anglie in hoc casu editi et provisi, vestre regis majestati per has literas misit nomine et presente; ac eisdem majestati vestre humiliiter supplico, quatenus alteri eorumdem, (cae vestra regis majestas id munus conferendum prespetaverit,) titulum, nomen, styllumque et dignitatem episcopalem ac suffraganeam ad sedem predictam misericorditer conferre. Ipsumque mihi prefato archiepiscopo infra cujus dioc. et provinciam sedes antedicta consistit, per literas vestras patentes regias intuitu charitatis presentare, mihiique mandare dignetur vestra regia majestas; quatenus ipsum sic nominatum et presentatum, in episcopum suffraganeum sedis predict. juxta formam statuti predict. effectualiter consecrarem et benedicerem, ceteraque faciam et exequar in ea parte, qua ad officium meum archiepiscopalem spectaverint, seu requisita fuerint in praemissis. Vivat denique et valeat in annis multis vestra regis celatudo presbilibita in eo, per quem reges regnam, et principes dominantur. Dat' apud Lambeth primo die mensis Deceb. anno Domini miliesimo quingentesimo tricesimo septimo: et regni vestri florentissima, vicecimo nono.

——

No. XXII.


THOMAS permissione divina Cantuar. archiepiscopus, totius Anglie primus et metropolitanus, venerabili consilio nostro domino Richardo Dei gratia sedis Doveries nostre Cantuar. dioecesos suffraganeos, salutem, et fraternam in Domino charteram. De tua fidelitate et circum-

spectione industria plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinente, ad con-

firmandum saori chrismatis unioncione pueros quosque in infra civitatem et dioecesin nostras Cantuar., et jurisdictiones nostras, et ecclesiae nostre Christi Cantuar. immediatas, ad jurisdictionem nostram vil.

calais, et marchias ejusdem sub obedientia excellentissimi principis, et domini nostri, domini Henrici octavi, Dei gratia Anglie et Franciae regis, fidei defensoria, et domini Hiberniae ac in terris sub Christo ecclesiae Anglicanae capitis supremi ubilibet constitu. Necnon altaria, calices, vestimenta, et alia ecclesiae ornamenta quacunque et ea con-

cernent., benedicens, locaque profana sique, inveneritis, de quibus te inquirere volumus, a divinorum celebracione legime suspendem., ecclesiae etiam et cemiteria sanguinis vel seminis effusione polluta forsan seu polluent. reconciliand., ecclesiae et altaria noviter sedifiat.

consecrand. Omnes orines minores quibuscumque civitates, dioecesos, et jurisdictionem nostrarum predictarum ipsos orines a te recipere volentib., et ad hoc habilibus ad jurejurando de renuntiando Romano
episcopo et ejus auctoritatis ad de acceptingo regiam majestatem pro

supremo capite ecclesiae Anglicanae juxta statuta hujus regni in hac

parte edita ab eisdem ordinand. et eorum qualibet per te primitum recepito, conferend. Ac etiam oleum sanctum chrismatis et sacraeunctionis

consecrando, ceteraque omnia et singula, qua ad officium pontificale

in praemissis, vel aliquo praemissorum quovis modo pertinent, vel per-

tinere poterunt, faciendo, exercendo et expediendo, tibi tenore presen-

APPENDIX.

...tium committimus vices nostras, et plenam in Domino potestatem. Téque quoad præmissa suffraganeum nostrum ordinamus et præstícinus per præsentes; donec eis ad nos duxerimus revocand., et ut officium tuum hujusmodi possis in præmissis liberius exercere, universis et singulis decanis, rectoribus, vicarij, capellánis, curátis, et non curátis, clericis et apparitoribus quibuscumque in virtute sacre [sae] obedíentis firmiter tenore præsentium injungendo mandamus, quatenus tibi in præmissis et quolibet præmissorum sint obedientes, assistentes, et intendentes in omnibus, prout deceat. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Dat. in manerio nostro de Lamehith, decimo die Decembr. anno Domini mill. quin. xxiij. et nostre consecrationis anno quinto.

No. XXIII.

A Declaration to be read by all Curates upon the publishing of the Bible in English.*

Where it hathe pleased the kinges majestie, our most dreadde soveraigne lord and supreme hed under God of this Churche of England, for a declaracyon of the grete zeale he hereth to the setting furth of Gods woorde, and to the vertuous maintenance of his commonwealthe, to permyt and comande the Bible, being translated into our mother tongue, to be synecorely taught and declared by us the curates, and to be openly layde furthe in every parrish churche: to thintent, that all his good subjects, aswel by reading thereof, as by heering the true explanation of the same, may first lerne their duteties to Almighty God and his majesty, and every of us charitably to use other: and thenne applying themselves to doo according to that they shall here and lerne, may both speke and doo chrestienly; and in al things, as it besseameth the Christian men. Because his hieghnes very much desireth, that this thing being by him most godly begonne and sett forward, maye of al you be receyved, as is aforesaid; his majestie hath willed and commanded this to be declared unto youe, that his graces pleasure and hiegh commandement is, that in the reading and heering thereof, first most humbly and reverently using and addressing your selves unto it, you shall have always in your remembrance and memorye, that all things conteyned in this booke is the undoubted wyll, lawe, and commandement of Almighty God, thonly and streit meane to knowe the goodnes and benefyts of God towards vs, and the true duty of every Christen man to serve him accordingly. And that therefore reading this book with such mind and firm faythe, as is aforesaid, you shall first endeavour yourselves to conforme your owne lyvings and conversation to the contents of the same: and so by your good and vertuous example to encourage your wives, children, and servants, to live wel and christienly according to the rule thereof.

And if at any tym by reading any doubt shall come to any of you, touching the sense and meaning of any part thereof; that thenne, not geving to moche to your own minds, fantasies, and opinions; nor

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 237.
having thereof any open reasonyg in your open tavernes or alehowses, ye shall have recouerse to such lernd men, as be, or shalbe autorized to preache and declare the same. Soo that avoyding al contencions and disputacions in suche alehowses and other places, unmeet for such conferences, and submystyng your opiniones to the judgments of such lernd men as shalbe apoynted in this behalfe, his grace may wel perceyve, that you use this most hiogh benefyte quietly and charitabily every of you, to the edysfying of himself, his wise, and famylye, in al things aunswering to his hioghnes good opinione conceyved of you, in thadvancement of vertue, and suppressing of vice; without failing to use such discrete quietenes, and sober moderatyon in the premises, as is aforesaid; as ye tender his graces pleasure, and intend to avoyde his hiogh indignacion, and the perill and daunger, that may ensue to you and every of yonde for the contrary.

And God save the King.

No. XXIV.

The Answer or Declaration of Richard Bishop of Chichestre, in the presence of the Kings Majestie, against the Sixt Reason or Argument of John Lamberte, concerning the Most Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Author.

There are the words of his sixt article. "Paule doth take it for a more inconveniency, Deducere Christum ex orte, Rho. 10. And yet must the prestes do so, bringing his natural body into the sacrament: or elles they cannot bringe the same body into the sacrament. Which I believe rather."

The Answer of the Bishop.

By this reason you maye evidently perceyve the vanitie, and also the malyce of this man. So that you may judge by what spirite he is ledde, to make such an argument against so hiogh and precious a mystery as this is.

What Christen man is so ignoraunt, that knoweth not this to be evidently true, that this most holy sacrament hath not his vertue of the prest, which is a mortall man, and many tymes a sinner. For he is but a ministre, and a very instrument, by whom God worketh. Sainct Chrysoem. saith, "that the ministre is as it were the penne, God is the hands. The grace, the vertue is of God." In the 27th. Homelye in the second tome. So dothe teache the Apostle to the Corinthiases, in the third chapitre of the first epistle. "What is Apollo," saith he, "What is Paule? Ministree of him, in whom ye beleve; and as he hath gyven to every one. I have planted," saith S. Paule, "Apollo hath watered: but God hath gyven the encrease. Wherfore neither he that planteth, nor he that watereth, is ought, but he that gyveth the encrease." For "men must esteem us as ministres of Christ," saith he in the next chapitre. By these words he proveth, that the minister giveth none effect or vertue, but onely God.

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 371.
Sanct. August. ad Oresconium Grammaticum saith also expressly, that "if there be among good ministers one better than another, the sacrament is no better given by the better; and it is no worse gyven by an evell man." Ther is for this purpose a goodly saying of Eusebius Emissenus, which was much persecuted by the Arians. These are his wordes, "Invisibils sacerdos visibles creatures in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui, verbi sui secretas potestate, convertit." No Christen man maneth, who is this invisible prest; which is our Savior, the highe prest, the perpetuall prest, as the apostle saith Ad Hebr. 7. Which to our carnall eyes is invisible, and otherwyse may not be sene, but by the eyes of our solew, and faith onely. This invisible prest, saith Eusebius, verteth and tourneth the visible creatures of bread and wyne, not only into his body and blood, but into the substance of his body and blood.

It is not thonne the prest, that worketh this thing, or bringeth Christ out of heuy, as this man mockingly and skornefully wryteth in this artycle, but it is Christ himself. For of S. Augustin saith, "Idem est Mediator, qui offert, et qui offertur."

And what spirit this man hath towards this mooste holy sacrament, you maye well conjecture, and evidentely perceyve his malignitie, which not only gathereth a certaine nombre of vayne arguments together, to the nombre of eght; that it might appear to the simple ignoraunt people, as though it were a great fundacion, which he hath for his detestable purpose: and yet (as I saies), they are all vayne, and grounded only uppon gross naturall reason, which canne in no wise attayne to this high misterie: but also in so grave, weigthy, and moost reverend cause, as this is, he dalyeth, tryfleth, mocketh, and scorneth in this fonde reason, without any reason; saying, that the prest must bringe the body of Christ out of hevyn. But it is little to be wayed in this man, though that he scorneth the ministiration of the prest; sith that he so depraveth the veray Lorde and maistre.

And in case that he would say, that he doth not skorne the ministiration of the prest, thonne must he nedes be veraye ignorant, to suppose in any wyse, that the prest worketh any thing in this, or any other sacramente, more thonne as I have before sayde.

In this argument also he alleadgeth one parte of scripture in the tenth chapitre to the Romaynes, to blind also the symple people, that they should think all that he speaketh is the veraye scripture. And surely this place of scripture maketh evidentlye against him, and such as he is. For it is written against infideles, such as wollnot believe the word of God written, but woldie yet have knowledge from heaven. And so the apostle ther maketh example of him, that woll not believe, that Christ is ascended; but notwithstanding the testimonye of scripture, he demandeth, "Quis ascendet in caelum? Hoc est, Christum de coelo deducere," sayth the apostle. Wherefore the apostle monysheth every Christen man in this maner, "Ne dixeris in corde tuo, Quis ascendet," &c. That is to say, Thinke not in thy mind, have no such doubt to sake, who ascended, or how: but beleve the scripture. For as Moses in the 30th. chap. of Deuteronomy sayth, "Thou shalt not nede to seek into heauen for the knowleage of these
things: it is not set, nor left in heaven; it is not above thee; it is not ferre frome the; but the wordes of God is nigh the; even in thy mouth,” as it were, and redye at hande: believe that, and doo according to that. For so it was answered to the rich man in the 16th. chapitre of Luk, “Thy bretheren have Myyses and the prophetes, let them heare them.” And, “Ye they wolle not heare and beleve them, they wolle not beleve any onee, that shall come frome hens.”

Wherfore Chriseost’, in the forrimer tenth chapitre of Paul, teacheth every Christen man in these things of the faith, in no wyse to ask or searhe, how it maye be; but leaving this infirmitye and weakness of our thoughts or reasons, let us recyve with a certain undoubted faith the promesses of God by his word.

Sainte Cyprian also, in a worke De cena Domini, hath these wordes, “The flesheye man is not to be admitted to this feast of the table of God. Whosoever the flesh and the bloode,” that is to saye, the natural reason of the mortall man, “estemeth or judgeth, nedes must be excludde from this mystery. For it saverseth nothing to this mater, or in any wyse helpeth, whatsoever the soubtilitie of mannes witte attempeth to searhe. Such are wise men of this worlde, that whatsoever is above their wit, they think it otherwise thene the truthe. But the truthe,” saith he, “cannot be comprysed by mannes witte, which is erroniousse and many tymes deceyved. Wherfor they that are faithfull and pore in spirite, not arrogante of their owne witte, by their faith do see parfaitely this sacrament.”

We have the expresse wordes of Christ, “Hoc est corpus meum, This is my bodye.” The wordes are plaine not onely in Matthiew, but the same playne wordes are in Luke and Mark, without any figurate speaking. Wherfore we may not add, diminyshe, chaunge, or alter these wordes, that are so manifeste and playne; but certainly beleve these wordes to be true in the same sense, that they are clearely spoken, howsoever they are imposseble to mannes witte. For as it is impossable for God to make a lyse, as the apostle saith in the sixth Ad Heb. so every thing is possible to him, howsoever it is thought impossible to men.

We must therfore leave all our carnall reasons, and only recyve, without any doubte, the teaching, the wordes, the promesses of God, howsoever they seem impossible to our naturall and fraill reason. Or elles we shulde not believe the power of God to be so hiegh and abso- lute as it is: to whome is nothing impossible.

---

No. XXV.


Illustri et erudito Viro Joachimo Vadiano, Consuli apud Sanctum Gallum in Helvetia.

TANDEM a negotijs consilijsque publicis missionem, vel verius respi-

rationem nactus, et inter ceteros doctos viros, quorum epistolis response jam diu debueram, tibi quoque, Vadiane, vir illustri doctissimeque, nuno demum vertente anno respondere incipiens, (ut potuit cujus literas superius hyeme accerim, una cum munere literario, quod genus quidem soleo vel inter preciosissima numerare) illud imprimis mecum reputare pudebundus occipi, vererique, ne forte suspicione, aut etiam opinionem mihi aliquam sinistram apud animum tuum, silentio meo tam diuturno, contraxerim; quia sciam apud vagus hominum fieriplerumque solere, omn hospes hospitem salutat, ut in primo maxime aditu responsum solicite exspectent. Quid si differentur, vel superbia aliquam vel neglectum sui, vel, ut minimum, oblivionem, intervenire suspicantur, qualemque in primo illo accessu invenere, tales in universam reliquam vitam erga se fore prejudicant. Cum qui cito respondet, libenter et gratanter id facere judicatur, eumque proinde humanum, faciendum gratumque interpretantur. Contra, qui tarde, fastuosus, difficilis, et incivilibus ac inamoenis moribus predictus existimatur. Usque adeo bis facit, cito facit, quicquid quis cito facit. Verum ego de tua nequitiam vulgaris prudentia, et humanitate meliora mihi polliceror, confidoque te hanc meam non spontaneam tarditatem aut cessationem; sed necessariam dilationem beneigne accepturum, eamque non tam moribus quam negotiis meis imputaturum. Quae quidque et quanta fuerint, puto rumores ad vos usque jampridem pertulisse, et ego de eisdem non nihil ad Grynum meum, imo nostrum, scripsi, cum quo pro amicitiae jure omnia, tibi communia futura esse non ambigo. Ad illum igitur te remito, siquid haec re offenderis, qui me tibi reddat excusatiorem.

Tuam erga me voluntatem et promptitudinem animi ad contraheandam mecum sanctiorum necessitudinem, in literis tuis perspicio, et libens amplerctor osculorque. Virum enim dignum te judico, quem ego propter eximiam eruditionem, qua me quoque adjutum profecisse nequitiam dissimulavero, et propter morum probitatem, multorum gravissimorum virorum testimonii comprobatam, omni amore, favore, ac veneratione prosequar. Veruntamen ut animi mei sensum (sicuti inter bonos viros fieri oportet) ingenue tibi profitear, argumentum quod tractas in sex illis libris, quos mihi dono dederas, in totum mihi displicet, vellemque vigilias suas tantas felices collocasses, et mecum juvundae amicitiae melioribus, aut certe minus improbatis, auspiciis fuisses usus. Nam ego nisi certiora afferri video, quam hactenus videre potui, sententiae illius vestrae nec patronus nec stiipulator esse volo. Et plane mihi vel ex eo maxime persuasum est, causam esse non bonam, quod eam viri tam ingeniiosi, tam diserti, tamque omnibus artibus et disciplinis instructi, non videamini satis valida tueri ac sustiner. Vidi plerque omnia, quae vel ab Ecolampadio, vel a Zuignio scripta sunt et edita, didique omnium hominum omnia cum delectu esse legenda. Et fortasse illud D. Hieronymi de Origine elegium in illos quoque non aburde aliquis detorserit, "ubi bene, nemo melius," &c. Nos est enim quod sequitur. Quatenus quidem papistices et sophistiosos errores et abusus indicare, convincere, corrigereque sunt conati, laud*
et approbo. Atque utinam istra fines illos constituteam, neque fruges una cum xiranijs concussest, hoc est, veterum doctorum primorumque in ecclesias Christi scriptorum anctoritatem, una violarent. Nam ut ingenia vestra quantumunque veravereis, mihi tamen certe nunquam approbaveritis, nec aniquam, opinor, secuo lectori, veteres illos autiores in hac controversia praest qualia sententia. Fuistis enim in investigandis erroribus plus satis curiosi, et dum omnia pungere studetis, illic quoque errorem subesse putavistis, ubi nullus fuit. Quandoc hic certe si error est, jam inde a primordio ecclesiae, ab ipsis patribus et viris apostoliciis, nobis fuit propinatus. Quod quis pius sustinuerit vel audire, nemum credere? Ut nequid interim dicam, quod bonus Dominus noster unice dilectam sponsam suam nunquam in tam pudenda necessitate tamdiu dereliquisset. Quamobrem quarum hae, quam tenemus, catholica fides de vera presentia corporis tam apertis ac manifestis scripturis fuerit ecclesiae ab initio praelata, et cadem postea, per primos ecclesiasticos scriptores, fidélum anribus tam clare, tamque studiose commendata, ne queso, ne mihi per gagis eam tam bene radiasti et suffultam ante amans convallavere aut subvcre. Satia jam satia tentatum est hactenus. Et nisi super firmam petram fuisse firmiter sedificata, jam dudum cum magno ruine fragro ecclesiis. Dici non potest, quantum hae tam cruenta controversia, cum per universum orbem Christianum, tum maxime apud nos, bene currenti verbo evangeli obtiterit. Vobis ipsis affert ingens periculum, et ecdem omunibus procest non dicendum offendiculum. Quo circa si me audictis, hortor et susdeo, imo vos orco, obserco, et visseribus Jesu Christi obteser et adjuro, uti concordiam procedere et ore sinasit, in illam confirmans totis viribus incumbatis, paeoque Dei tandem, que superat omnem sensum, ecclesiis permittatis, ut evangelicoam doctrinam unam, sanam, puram, et cum primitive ecclesiae disciplina consonam, junctis viribus quam maxime propaguemus. Facile vel Turcas ad evangelii nostri obedientiam converterimus, modo intra nosemotpeos consentiamus, et pia quadam conjunctione conspiremus. At si ad hunc modum perginus ad invirom contedere, et commondere, timendum erit, ne quod dicens abominor, juxta comminationem apostolicam, ad invirom consunamur.

Habes, opisime Vadiane, meam de tota controversia illa nequitiam factam sententiam, una cum admonitione libera ae fideli. Cui si obtenereris, non modo inter amicos, sed etiam vel inter amicissimos mihi nomen tuum scripsero. Bene vale. [1587.]

T. CANTUARIENS.

No. XXVI.

Part of a Letter from a Member of Parliament, concerning the transactions of the House, about passing the Act of the Six Articles.*

And also newes here, I assure you never prince shewed himself so wise a man, so well heroed, and so Catholick, as the king hath done in this Parliament. With my penne I cannot express his marvelous good-

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 129, b.
APPENDIX.

nese, whoe is come to such effects, that we shall have an act of Parliament so spiritual, that I thinke none shall dare say, in the blessed sacrament of the altar doth remayne either bred or wine after the consecration: nor, that a priest may have a wif: nor, that it is necessarie to receave our Maker sub utroque specie: nor, that privat masses shold not be used, as they have be: nor, that it is not necessarie to have auricular confession. And notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Elye, my lord of Salisbury, my lords of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davys, defended the contrary long tyme: yet finally his highness confounded them all with Goddes lerning. York, Duram, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwich e and Carlile have shewed themselves honest and well lerned men. We of the temporalie have be al of one opynyon. And my lord chauncellor, and my lord pryvye seal as good, as we can devise. My L. of Cant. and al this byshoppes have geven their opinion, and come in to us, saue Salisbury, who yet con-tinueth a lewd foole. Fynally, all England have cause to thank God, and most hertlie to rejoyle of the kings most godlie proceedings.

Without any name subscribed.

No. XXVII.

The Solution of some Bishop to certain Questions about the Sacraments.*

The King's Instructions, of his own head.

The Questions.

1. What is a sacrament by the Scripture?
2. What a sacrament is by the authors ancient?
3. Howe many Sacraments be there by the Scripture?
4. Howe many Sacraments be the by the ancient auctors?
5. Whither this word sacrament be, and ought to be, attribute to the seven onely?

The Answers.

1. Scripture useth the word, but it definth it not.
2. In them is founde no perfect definition, but a general declaration of the word, as a token of an holy thing.
3. Soo named onely matrimeny: in effecte muo: and at the lest vij, as we find the Scripture expounded.
4. Auctors use the word sacrament to signifie any Mystery in the olde or newe Testament: but specially be noted Baptisme, Eucharist, Matrimonie, Chrisme, Impositio manuum, Ordo.
5. The worde, by cause it is general, is attribute to other thennes the seven. But whether it ought specially to be applied to the vij onely, God knowith, and hath not fully revealed it soo as it hath been receyved.

Then why hath the Chyrche so long erryd, to take upon them se to name them?

Whither the seven sacraments be found in any of the old auctors, or not?

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 36.
### The Questions.

6. Whither the determinate number of seven sacraments be a doctrine eyther of the Scripture, or the olde authors; and soo to be taught?

7. What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven sacraments. So although the name be not in Scripture, yet whither the thing be in Scripture or noo; and in what wise spoken?

8. Whither confirmation cum obispos of them that be baptised be found in Scripture?

9. Whether the Appostells lacking higher power, not having a Christen king among them, made bishops by that necessete, or by auctorite given them by God?

10. Whether bishoppes, or prestes were first: And if the prestes were first, thenn the prest made the bishop?

11. Whether a bishop hath auctorite to make a prest by the Scripture, or

### The Answers.

6. The doctrine of Scripture is to tech the things, without numbrlyng, or namyng the name sacrament, saving only in matrimony. Old authors number not precisely.

[Twelve Articles of the Faith not numbed in Scripture, ne Ten Commandments, but rather now come, Diligent, vij petitiones, vij desyndes.]

7. Scripture speaketh—
1. Of baptismem manifestly. 2. Of the holy communyon manifestly. 3. Of matrimony manifestly. 4. Of abysyon manifestly. 5. Of bishoppes, prestes and deacons ordered per impositionem massae cum oratione expressely. 6. Laying of the hands of the bishop after baptism, which is a part of that done in confirmation, is grounded in Scripture. 7. Uncion of the sick with prayer is grounded in Scripture.

8. The thing of confirmation is found in Scripture, though the name confirmation is not there. Of obispos, Scripture speakith not expressly, but it hath been had in high veneracion, and oberved synnes the begynnyng.

9. The calling, namyng, appoyntement, and preference of one before another to be bishop or prest, had a necessete to be done in that sort, a prince wanting.

The ordering apperith taught by the Holy Gost in the Scripture per massam impositionem cum oratione.

10. Bishoppes, or not after.

11. Scripture warranteth a bishop (obeying high powers, as his prince
The Questions.

12. Whether in the Newe Testament be required any consecration of a bishop or prest, or only appointing to thoffice be-suf-ficient?
13. Whether if it for-tun-ned a prince Christian lernd, to conquer certain dominions of infideles, hav-ing noone but temporal lernd men with him, it be defended by Goddes law, that he and they shuld preach and teach the Word of God there, or no; and also make and institute prestes, or noo?
14. Whether it be for-fended by Goddes law, that if it soo for-tun-ned, that al the bishoppes and prests of a reigne were ded, and that the Word of God shuld remayne there un-preched, the sacrament of Baptisme, and other un-ministered, that the king of that region shuld make bishoppes and prestes to supplie the same, or noo?
15. Whether a man be bounde by auctoritie of this Scripture Quoruus remiscitur, and suchlike, to confessse his secrete dedly synnes to a prest, if he may have hym, or noo?
16. Whither a bishop or a prest maye excommuni-cate?

The Answers.

christianed) to ordere a prest per ma-ssum imposi-tionem cum orations. And soo it hath been from the begynnyng.
12. Manum imposittio cum oraciones is required. Which is a consecration. Soo as onely appointing is not suf-fi-cient?
13. It is to be thought, that God in such case, assis-ting the perfection of such an enterprise, wold further tech and inspire the conscience of such a prince, what he shuld and might doo, more thene is yet openly taught by the Scripture. Which in that case were a good warrant to solowe. For a secrete vocation supplieth, where an open wantith.
14. [A reason: Necessite, in things absolutely neces-sary, conteyneth in it or-der, law and auctoritie.]
15. [This question is without the compass of Scripture.]
16. They maye, being before of their prince au-to-rised to ministre.

For what crymes?

And whether they onely by Goddes law.

For open, publike, dedly sins.

Of excommunication by other we rede not in the Newe Testament.
APPENDIX.

The Questions. | The Answers.
---|---
17. Whither union of the sick with oyl to re-mitte venial sinesse, (as it is now used,) be spokene of in the Scripture, or in any auncient auctours. | 17. The thing is in Scripture, and in auncient auctours, according whereunto the use shalbe. Howe it is indece used, is a matter of facte, and not of lerning.

No. XXVIII.

The judgment of another Bishop upon the aforesaid Questions.*

I. To the first, Scripture sheweth not what it is, but useth the word sacramentum in Latyn for the word mysterium in Greke.

II. Sacrament by the auctours is called sacre rei signum, or visibile signaculum, sacramentum signaculum, visibile verbum, visibilia forma invisibilia gratia; and perfect definition we fynde none.

III. In Scripture we fynde no determinate number of sacraments.

IV. There be very many in the most general signification: and there is no precise or determinate number of sacraments in the auncient auctours.

V. Not only to the seven, but to many more. We fynde in the old auctours Matrymony, the holy Communyoun, Baptisme, Confirmation, Orde, Penaunce, and Extreme Uction. In Penaunce it is doubted of the name of sacrament.

VI. As touching the determinate number of seven onely, we fynde neyther in the Scripture, ne auncient auctours, any such doctrine, that there should be seven onely.

VII. Of Baptisme Scripture speaketh, that by it synnes be remitted. Of Eucharistica, that we be united by it to Christ, and receive thereby spiritual nourishment to the comfort of our soules, and remission of our synnes. Of Matrymony, that the acte of it is made lawful, and without synne; and grace given, whereby to directe ordinarly the lusts and appetites of the fleshes. Of Penaunce, that by it we be restored agayne to the favoure of God, from which we dyd falle by synne. Of Orde, that by it grace is given to mynistre effectually in preaching the worde of God, and ministration of the sacramentes. Of Confirmation, (which is contained in Scripture, speaking De impositione manuum post baptismum,) it appeareth by Scripture, how thereby encrease of grace is given. Of Inunction of the sick, Scripture speaketh, that by unction of the sick, and prayer of the presest, comfort is givene to the sick, and sins be forgenen hym.

VIII. Impositionem manuum post baptisma, which we call Confirmation, we reade in the Scripture. But that it was done cum chrismate, we fynde not in the Scripture expressed. But in the olde auctours we fynde, that chrisma hath been used in the sayd confirmation.

IX. Making of bishopes hath two partes. Appointment and Ordering.† Appoyntament, whiche the appostels by necessyte made

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleop. E. v. 38.
† Where is this distinction fonde? [The King's Note.]
by common election, and sometyme by their owne several assignment,
coulde not then be doon by Christen princes, because at that tyme
they were not: and nowe at these dayes apperteyneth to Christen
princes and rulers.* But in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred
(as afore) the apostells dyd folowe the rule taught by the Holly Ghoste,
Per manuum impositionem cum oratione et jejunio.†

X. Christe made the apostels first; which were of his making bothe
prestes and bishopes. But whether at one time some doubt. After
that, the apostels made bothe bishopes and prestes. The names
whereof in the Scripture be confounded.

XI. A bysshope having auctoritie of his Christian prince to give
orders, maye by his ministerye, geven to him of God in Scripture,
ordeyne a preste. And we rede not, that any other, not being a
bishope, hathe sence the begynnynge of Christes Churche ordered a
preste.

XII. Onely appointmente is not sufficient, but consecracion; that is
to saye, imposition of handes with fasting and prayer is also requyred.
For soo thatapostells used to ordre them, that were appoynted: and soo
have been used continually; and we have not rede the contraye.

XIII. In that necesste, the prince and his lerned men shulde
preache and teache the words of God, and baptise. But as for making
and constituting prestes, the prince shal and maye thenne doo, as God
shal thenne by inspiration teache him. Whiche God hath promysed to
doo allwayes to his Churche, in reveling and teaching every necessary
knowledge, where any doubt requyres discussion doth arryse.

XIV. The aunswer to the other questyon nexte before dissolveth
this.

XV. He that knoweth himselfe gyly of any secrete deadlye synnes,
must, if he wyll obtayne the benefyt of absoluacyoun ministred by
the preste, confess the same secrete synnes unto hym.


Absolution to be ministred by a preste, if a convenient preste
may be had, is necessarie.


Absolution by a preste is the surest waye, if he may be con-
venently had.

XVI. Bishoppes and prestes, auctorised by the prince, may excom-
municate by Goddes lawe, for publique and open crymes. But that

* Now sins you confesse, that the appostyllys did occupate the won part,
which now you confesse belongeth to princes, how can you prove, that
ordering is woyny committed to yow bysshopes? [The King's Note.]
† Ubi hoc? [The King's Note.]
other thenne bishopes and prestes maye excommunicate, we have not 
rede in Scripture. Summe soolemen sayse, that other, thenne prestes 
or bishopes, deputed therunto by the Church, maye excommunicate. 
Becausse it is an acte jurisdictionis, and not ordinis.

XVII. We find it spoken of in Scripture and in old auctours.

No. XXIX.

Archbishop Cranmer to Osiander concerning some abuses in Matrimony 
among the Germans.*

Doctissimo D. Andree Osiandro, Concionatori Norenbergensi.

Salve plurimum. Vix tribus abhinc diebus elapsis, Osianeri dilectissime, literas ad te scriptitabam, quas per subitum et festinatum Tabellarij discessum coactus sum abbreviare. Imo abrumpere plane, pretermissae eo, quod et tum quam maxime scriptum volui, et nunc otij plusculum nactus, nescio quam nervoe, verboe certe decrevi prettractare. Res est, ut mihi quidem videtur, non parva, neque leniter animadvertere, ut quae ad omnium evangelicam veritatem profentium suspicacionem, ne dicam ignominiam et culpam, manifeste pertinent. Proinde te rogo, ut et scripsum hoc meum legas attentè, et tuum vicesim responsuum super eo conficius accuratè, maturèque remittas, quo habeam tandem, quod respondam ipsis, qui me interrogant. Nostì enim, opinor, ut solet homines hic omnium, quæ etiam geruntur, a me rationem exigere: alij quidem bono animo, et communis evangelicae causa studio soliciti, ne quid a vobis fieret, secus quam operatur. Aliae autem malus est animus, mala mens. Nihil magis cupitur, aut captant, quam ut justam aliquam, vos et vestra facta dictave reprehendendi, ansam undecusque apprehendant; et gaudent, si mihi in os subinde talis possint objicere. Quibus duobus inter se diversis hominum generibus respondec. Ego peresse, qui vel ipsa comminisci possum, vel que ex scriptis vestris, sive in publicum emissis, sive ad me privatim missis, possim colligere. Incidunt tamen persequam nonnulla, que nec negare possum, nec absque rubore fateri, neque denique quo pacto a vobis honestè aut pie fieri doceantur, rationem ullam saltem exogitare sufficientem. Nam ut interim de usuris taceam, a vobis aut vestrum certe nonnullis, ut appareat, approbatis, deque eo, quod magnatum filij concubinias habendas permittitis, (videlicet ne per nuptias legitimas hereditates dispergantur) qui concubinatum in sacerdotibus tantopere averterest estis; quid poterit a vobis in excusationem allegari pro eo, quod permittitis, a divorcio, utroque conjuge vico, novas nuptias coire, et quod adhuc deterius est, etiam absque divorcio uni plures permittitis uxores. Id quod et tute, si recte memini, in quibusdam tuis ad me litteris apud vos factum disertè expressisti, addens, Philippum ipsum sponsalibus posterioribus, ut paranymphum credo atque aus picem, interfuisse.

Quae ambo, tum ipsius conjugij rationi, que non duo, sed unam car
nem facit, tum etiam scripturis sunt expresse et manifeste contraria.

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 111.
Ut patet Matth. 19. Marc. 10. Luc. 16. Ro. 7. i Cor. 7. Quibus locis perspicuum fit ex apostolorum, atque adeo Christi ipsius, institutione, unum uni debere matrimonio conjungi, nec posse sic conjunctos postea, nisi interveniente morte alterutrius, denuo contrahere. Quod si respondetis, hoc intelligi excepta causa fornicationis: An uxoris adulterium fuerit causa, quum Philippus marito permeredit aliam superducere, vos melius nostis. Quod si fuerit, tunc obiciemus, ab inouente lucuque ecclesia (cujus exemplis oportet scripturam interpretationes conformarique) namquam, quod scimus, hoc sic fuisset acceptum. Augustinus, quid ipse de hoc senserit, imo quid ecclesia ante ipsum, et usque ad ipsum, clare docet, li. de adulterinis conjugiis, ad Pollentium. Quid igitur ad haec dictis, libenter vellem audire abs te quidem, si et ipse in eadem cum ceteris ea seuentia. Sin minus, per te saltem vellem cognoscere, quid ab illis exploraveris ad talia responsum iri. Nam cum eorum nonnulli, ut audio, statuta nostra parlamentia censorship nimis, ac superciliósse condempnent, quorum tamen gravissimae justissimaeque causae ac rationes ignorant; mirum est, quod interim ipsi non adversant apud ipsos plurima designari, quae optimis atque gravissimis viris jure optimo displicerant. Scire atque aveo, an ista tanquam honesta, et promiscue quibusvis licita, ac evangeliae veritate non repugnantia defendant: an secundum indulgentiam (ut dixit apostulos) ad ea, dum à quibusdam fiunt, conniveat, nequid gravius contingat, neu idem omnibus itidemque permissumi. Illud prius, hau equidem credo illos esse facturos, nisi legis Machometanis potius quam Christianae auctoribus videri voluerint. Posterior hic si faciunt, videant, quomodo permittant, quae Christus, apostoli, evangelistæ, atque adeo totius ecclesiæ consensus districte ab initio huc usque prohibuit.

Quod si fortè dixerint, ea jam quoque tollerari posse, eo quod ante Christum natum fuerunt vel approbata vel tolerata; tunc enimvero causam nobis reddant, cur non et cetera toleremus, quæcumque tunc legitimus pari jure usitata; aut definiant, quænam hujus generis, aut quatenus erunt admittenda. Nam in Veteri Testamento expressum habemus olim patrem concubuisse cum filiabus, ut Loth; socerum cum nuru, ut Judam; patrem familias, nempe Abraham, cum ancilla pellice, conscia uxore, atque etiam id ultimo suadente, nempe Sara; eundem ipsum uxorem suam, adhuc juvenculam ac formosam, sororem nominasse, eâmque, regibus, Pharaoni et Abimelech, autro in concubinam permisisse. Proterea, unum sêpe hominem plures habuisse uxores, ut Jacob et Mosen ipsum, legis latorem a Deo constitutum. Postremo, principes multos, eosque nec illudatos, praeter uxorum numerosa continentia, concubinarum etiam greges aliusse: ut Davidem, Solomonom, &c. Nec Assueru vitio datum, quod singulis pene noctibus concubinam novam asciverit. Et Hester, femina laudatissima, utpote quam ad salutem populi sui Deus excitavit, quum esset Judæa, et legi Mosaice obnoxia, Assueri regis cubicularum ante nuptias intravit. Quid pluribus opus, quum gravissimi auctores, Ambrosius et Augustinus, disseitis verbis affirmant, hic poligamiam, ille concubinatum, peccato tum caruisse, quando nec contra morem, nec contra praecipuam fereant, quæ nunc et legibus et moribus pronuntiant esse contraria. Talia, inquam, constat apud veteres fuisset usitata, nec a bonis quidem viris

Hae ego ad te potissimum, ohariissime Osianer, in presentia scribenda duxi propter eam, que inter nos est, et jam diu fuit summa necessitudo et familiaritas; quamvis putem, atque adeo certo sciem, te ab huicmodi tam absurdum et moribus et opinionibus quam alienissimum esse. Cum esteris vesttribus doctoribus levior et minus arcta michi intercedit amicitia, cujus ipsius quoque fateor me multum penitetur, si scirem hos esse fructus novi evangeli ab ipsis tantopere jactitati, et a vobis quoque hactenus, ut putabamus, non temere aliqua ex parte probati. Bene vale. Dat. Lambeth xxvijmo. Decembri.

Tui Amantissimus,

T. Cantuarien.
APPENDIX.

No. XXX.

The French Kings Licence to print the English Bible in Paris.*


No. XXXI.

Three Discourses of Abp. Cranmer, occasioned upon his review of the King's Book, intitled, The Erudition of a Christian Man.†

I. FAITH.

This book speaks of pure Christian faith unseigned, which is without colour, as well in heart as in mouth. He, that hath this faith, converteth from his sin, repenteth him, that he like Felix prodigus, vainly consumed his will, reason, wits and other goods, which he received of the mere benefit of his heavenly Father, to his said Fathers displeasure: and applyeth himself wholly to please him again: and trusteth assuredly, that for Christ's sake be wil, and doth remit his sins, withdrawing his indignation, delivereth him from his sin, from the power of the infernal spirits, taketh him to his mercy, and maketh him his own son, and his own heire. And he hath also the very Christian hope, that after this life he shall reign ever with Christ in his kingdom. For S. Paul saith "Si filij sumus, et heredes, heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi." This is the very pure Christian faith and hope, which every good Christian man ought to profess, believe, and trust: and to say of himself even as Job said, "Scio quod Redemptor meus vivit," &c.

And as for the other faith, that the good shall arise unto glory, and

* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. 5, 326, b.
† MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D. [No. civ. 241].
the evil unto pain, or, that those that persevere in God's precepts and laws, so long as they do, they be the right inheritors of his kingdom, this is not the commendation of a Christian his faith, but a most certain proposition, which all the devils believe most certainly. And yet they shall never have their sins forgiven by this faith, nor be inheritors of God's kingdom. Because they lack the very Christian faith; and not trusting to the goodness and mercy of God for their own offences. But they hate God, envy his glory, and be utterly in despair.

For the more large declaration of the Christian faith, it is to be considered, that there is a general faith; which all that be christned, as well good as evil, have. As to believe that God is; that he is the maker and creator of all things; and that Christ is the savior and redeemer of the world; and for his sake al penitent sinners shall have remission of their sins; and that there shall be a general resurrection at the end of this mortal world; at the which Christ shall judge all the good to joy without end, and the evil to pain without end; with such other like thynges. And all these things the devils also believe, and tremble for fear and grievousness of Gods indignation and torment, which they shall endure, and ever shall do. But they have not the right Christian faith, that their own sins by Christ's redemption be pardoned and forgiven; that themselves by Christ be delivered from God's wrath, and be made his beloved children, and heirs of his kingdom to come. The other faith have al devils and wicked Christen people, that be his members. But this pure Christen faith have none but those that truly belong to Christ, and be the very members of his body, and endeavor themselves to persevere in his precepts and laws: altho' many pretend to have the same pure faith, which nevertheless have it not, but only in their mouths. For as there is a ly in the mouth, and a ly in the heart; even so there is a faith in the mouth, and a faith in the heart. Examine every man, if he trust in God, and love God above all things. And in word he will answer, Yea. But examine every man's acts and deeds, and surely in a great number their acts and deeds condemn their words. For they walk after their own wills and pleasures, and not after Gods commandments. And Christ himself saith, "Qui diligit me, mandata mea servat." And S. John saith, "Qui dicit se noesse Deum, et mandata ejus non custodiat, mendax est." And therefore al those, that bridle not their own appetites, but follow them, and accomplish the will of their own carnal minds, they trust in God, and trust God no further, then the lips. And if they persuade themselves, that they trust in God, and love God in their hearts, and be of any estimation before God, then be they much deceived; and as S. Paul saith, "they deceive their own hearts." Our own flesh and carnal mind is contrary to the spirit, and motion of God. And "they," saith S. Paul, "that belong unto Christ, do crucify their flesh with the affections and lusts thereof." And contrary he saith, "They that follow the lusts of the flesh shall not inherit the kingdom of God." These be very notable, and fearful sentences unto al such as be not repentant, but live after their own wills, and not after Gods will: neither have the right faith, nor love unto God, nor shall be inheritors of his kingdom. And
APPENDIX.

though Christ hath payd a sufficient ransome for al the sins in the world, and is a sufficient Redeemer and Saviour of al the world; yet shal they have no part therof. For they belong not unto Christ, and Christ utterly refueth them for his, which have faith and love only in their mouths, and have not the same engraven in their hearts, and expressed in their actions and deeds.

And so he goes on more largely to illustrate this argument of the necessity of more than a mere faith in the mouth. Afterwards the discourse thus procedes.

If as treacle, kept only in the mouth, doth not remedy poyson in the whole body; but the treacle must enter down into the body; and then it altereth the whole body, and expells al venome and poyson: in like maner, he whose profession of his faith is only in his mouth, and altereth not his evil life, is not forgiven his sins; is not delivered from he, nor from the power of devils; is not made the son of God: but continueth sti in his poyson of sin, in the wrath and indignation of God, and in the damnation of the wicked in hell.

But if the profession of our faith of the remission of our own sins, enter within unto the deepness of our hearts, then it must needs kindle a warm fire of love in our hearts towards God, and towards all others for the love of God; a fervent mind to seek and procure Gods honor, wil and pleasure in al things; a good wil and mind to help every man, and to do good unto them so far, as our might, wisdome, learning, counsel, health, strength, and al other gifts, which we have received of God, will extend: and in summa, a firm intent and purpose to do al that is good, and leave al that is evil. This is the very right, pure, perfect, lovely, Christian, hearty, and justifying faith, which worketh by love, as S. Paul saith, and suffereth no venome or poyson of sin to remain within the heart: (Acts 15. "Fide Deus purificans corda.") But gendreth in the heart a hatred unto al sin, and makes a sinner clean a new man; and is the faith which every Christen man ought to profess in his creed. And of this faith runneth al our paraphrase upon the same. For as for the other fained, pretended, hypocritical and adulterate faith in the mouth, it is but only a painted visor before men; but before God it is hollow within, dead, rotten, and nothing worth.

II. JUSTIFICATION.

AND for a further declaration, to know how we obtain our justification, it is expedient to consider first, how naughty and sinful we are al, that be of Adam's kindred: and contrariwise, what mercifulnes is in God, which to al faithful and penitent sinners, pardoneth al their offences for Christ's sake. Of these two things no man is lightly ignorant, that ever hath heard of the fal of Adam, which was to the infection of al his posterity: and again, of the inexplicable mercy of our heavenly Father, which sent his only begotten Son to suffer his most grievous passion for us, and shed his most precious blood, the price of our redemption. But it is greatly to be wished and desired, that as al Christen men do know the same, so that every man might acknowledg himself a miserable sinner, not worthy to be called his

VOL. II.
son; and yet surely trust, that to him being repentant God's mercy is ready to forgive. And he that seeth not these two things verified in himself, can take no manner of emolument or profit, by knowing and believing the said things to be verified in others. But we cannot satisfy our minds, settle our conscience, that these things be true, saving that we do evidently see, that God's word so teacheth us. The commandments of God lay our faults before our eyes; which putteth us in fear and dread, and maketh us to the wrath of God against our sins. As S. Paul saith, “Per legem agnito peccati.” Et, “Lex iram operatur.” And maketh us sorry and repentant, that ever we should come into the displeasure of God, and the captivity of the devil.

The gracious and benign promises of God, by the mediation of Christ, showeth us, and that to our great relief and comfort, whatsoever we be repentant and return fully to God in our hearts, that we have forgiveness of our sins, be reconciled to God, and be accepted and reputed just and righteous in his sight, only by his grace and mercy, which he doth grant and give unto us for his dearly beloved Son's sake, Jesus Christ, who paid a sufficient ransom for our sins; whose blood doth wash away the same; whose bitter and grievous passion is the only pacifying oblation, that putteth away from us the wrath of God his Father: whose sanctified body, offered on the cross, is the only sacrifice of sweet and pleasant savour, as S. Paul saith; that is to say, of such sweetness and pleasantness to the Father, that for the same he accepteth and reputeth of like sweetness al them, that the same offering doth serve for. These benefits of God with innumerable others, whatsoever extendeth and well pondereth in his heart, and thereby conceiveth a firm trust and feeling of God's mercy, whereof springeth in his heart a warm love, fervent heat of zeal towards God: it is not possible, but that he shall do work, and be ready to the performance of all such works, as he knoweth to be acceptable unto God.

And these works only, which follow justification, do please God; forasmuch as they proceed from a heart ensued with pure faith and love to God. But the works which we do before our justification, be not allowed and accepted before God, although they appear never so great and glorious in the sight of men. For after our justification only begin we to work, as the law of God requireth: then we shall do all good works willingly, although not so exactly as the law requireth, by means of the infirmity of the flesh, nevertheless by the merits and benefits of Christ, we being sorry, that we cannot do all things no more exquisitely and dually, all our works shall be accepted and taken of God as most exquisite, pure and perfect. Now they that think they may come to justification by performance of the law, by their own deeds and merits, or by any other means, than is above rehearsed, they go from Christ, they renounce his grace. “Evacuati estis a Christo,” saith S. Paul, Gal. 5, “quicunque in lege justificamini; a gratia excidistis.” They be not partakers of his justice, that he hath procured, or the merciful benefits that be given by him. For S. Paul saith, (a general rule for all them, that will seek such by-paths to obtain justification,)
"Those," saith he, "that will not knowledg the justice, or righteousness, which cometh by God, but go about to avance their own righteousness, shall never come to that righteousness, which we have by God, which is the righteousness of Christ." By whom only all the saints in heaven, and all others that have been saved, have been reputed righteous, and justified. So that to Christ our only Savior and Redeemer, of whose righteousness both their, and our justification doth depend, is to be transcribed all the glory thereof.

III. FORGIVENES OF INJURIES.

These two may stand both wel together: that we as private persons may forgive all such as have trespassed against us with all our heart, and yet that the public ministers of God may se a redres of the same trespasses that we have forgiven. For my forgivenes concerns only mine own person, but I cannot forgive the punishment and correction, that by Gods ordinance is to be ministred by the superior power. For in so much as the same trespass, which I do forgive, may be the maintenance of vice, not only of the offender, but also of others taking evil example therby, it lyes not in me to forgive the same. For so should I enterprise in the office of another, which by the ordinance of God be deputed to the same. Yea, and that such justice may be ministred to the abolishment of vice and sin, I may, yea and rather, as the cause shall require, I am bound to make relation to the superior powers, of the enormities and trespasses, done to me and others: and being sorry, that I should have cause so to do, seek the reformation of such evil doers, not as desirous of vengeance, but of the amendment of their lives. And yet I may not the more cruelly persecute the matter, because the offence is peradventure done towards me: but I am to handle it as if it were done to any other, only for the use of the extirpation of sin, the maintenance of justice and quietness: which may right well stand with the ferventnes of charity, as the Scripture testifieth. "Non oderis fratem tuum in corde tuo, sed publice argue sum, ne habeas super illo peccatum." Levit. 19. So that this may stand with charity, and also the forgivenes that Christ requireth of every one of us.

And yet in this doing, I must forgive him with all my heart, as much as lyes in me; I must be sorry, that sin should have so much rule in him; I must pray to God to give him repentance for his misdeeds; I must desire God, that for Christs sake he wil not impute the sin unto him, being truly repentant, and so to strengthen him in grace, that he fall not again so dangerously. I think I were no true Christen man, if I should not thus do. And what other thing is this, than as much as lyeth in me, with all my heart to remit the trespass? But I may by the lawes require all that is due unto me by right. And as for the punishment and correction, it is not in my power to enterprize therin: but that only belongeth to the superior powers, to whom, if the grievousnes of the cause shall require by the commandment, which willeth us to take away the evil from among us, we ought to shew the offences, and complain thereof. For he would not that we should take away the evil,
but after a just and lawful means, which is only, by the ordinance of
God, to shew the same to the superior powers, that they may take an
order in it, according to God's judgment and justice.

No. XXXII.

Other Discourses of Archbishop Cranmer.*

I. De Consolatione Christianorum contra matem mortis. Ex Doctoribus
Eclesiasticis.

If death of the body were to be feared, then theym, which have
power to kill the body should we fear, lest they do their exercise over
us, as they may at their pleasure. But our Saviour forbids us to fear
them, because when they have killed the body, then they can do no
more to us. Wherefore it is plain, that our Saviour would not that we
should fear death. "To dy," saith S. John Chrysostom, "is to put off
our old garments, and death is a pilgrimage of the spirit from the
body:" (he means, for a time) "and a sleep, somewhat longer than the
old custome." The fear of it, saith he, is nothing else, than the fear
of buggs, and a childish fear of that thing that cannot harm thee.
Remember holy S. Ambrose's saying, which S. Augustin, lying on his
death bed, ever had in his mouth, "I do not fear to dy; for we have
a good and merciful Lord and Master." Lactantius, the great learned
man confirms the saying of Cicero to be true, which said, "that no
man can be right wise, which feareth death, pain, banishment or
poverty: and that he is the honest and vertuous man, which not re-
gardeth what he suffers, but how well he doth suffer." Sedulius, one
of disciples, defineth death to be the gate, by which lyeth the
strait way unto reign and kingdom. Basilus, who as in name, so
both in vertue and learning was great, thus he exhorteth us:
"O! man," saith he, "shrink not to withstand your adversaries, to
suffer labors; abhor not death, for it destroyeth not, nor makes not an
end of you, but it is the beginning and occasion of life. Nor death is
the destruction of all things, but a departing, and a translation unto
honors." And S. Hierom, the strong and stout champion of Almighty
God, saith, declaring this saying of holy Job, "the day of death is
better than the day of birth;" "that is," saith he, "because other
[either] that by death it is declared what we are, or else because our birth
doeth bind our liberty of the soul with the body, and death doth loose it."
The holy martyr Cyprian saith, "he ought to fear death, that would
not, nor hath no lust to go to Christ: and that he hath no will to God,
the which believeth not, that by death, he shall begin to reign with
Christ, as it is written, 'The right wise man liveth by faith.' Where-
fore," saith he, "do not ask that the kingdom of God may come, if
this earthly bondage do delight us, &c."

With a great deal more: ad upon allegations.

* MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D. [No. civ. 299.]
II. An Exhortation to take Sickness wel, and Adversity patiently : drawn out of Cyprian.

"This misliketh some men, that disease of sickness cometh to the Christen, no less then to the heathen. As who should say, that therefore the Christian believeth, because he should be quiet from danger of adversity, and might have the fruition of this world at his own pleasure: and not because that after he hath suffered adversity here, he shalbe reserved for the joy to come," &c.

III. An Exhortation to take the Pain of Sickness patiently; translated out of S. Augustin. Lib. 1. De Visitatione Infirorum.

"Thou wilt say, I love God: God grant, saith S. Augustin, that it be so indeed as thou promisest in words. The proof and trial of the love of God is the fulfilling of his commandments, the fulfilling of his works, willingly to love that God loveth, with a fervent desire to embrace that, the which God worketh. Then if thou lovest God, thou lovest that that God doth, and if thou love that that God doth, then thou lovest Gods disciplin. When thou art chastened, thou lovest Gods rod. Thou art pained with the cough, the lunge faileth thee: thy stomack abhorres his meat: thou pinest away with a consumption: thou tastest not thy drink: thou art vexed within thy body: thou art grieved with many sundry and divers kinds of diseases. But at these, if thou have an eye to perceive, if thou reckon God, al these, I say, are the gifts of God. Son, cast not away the discipline of the Father. There is no child, which the Father doth not correct," &c.

No. XXXIII.

Interrogatories for Dr. London.*

Whether he commanded Serles upon Palm-Sunday even, to write such articles or sermons, as had been preached in Kent: [by those of the new learning: which Serles would have to be done' by the countenance of Cranmer.]

Whether Serles brought the articles upon Palm-Sunday.

Whether he required Serles to go with him to the Council, to present the said articles, or else to subscribe them with his hand. And Serles refused so to do, because they were not proved by witnesses, but only by hear-say.

Whether he threatened Serles, because he would not set to his hand; notwithstanding that Serles knew them not, but by hear-say.

How Dr. London did find out Serles; and how long he had enquired for him before he could find him.

Whether in the presence of Serles Dr. London did pen the articles anew, otherwise then they were presented.

Whether Serles said then to Dr. Willoughby, whom Dr. London had persuaded to go with him to the Council; "Beware what you do: for

* MSS. C.C.C.C. init. Synodalia. [No. cxxviiij. 203.]
you shall never be able to prove of this sort, that Dr. London doth now pen them."

Whether beside the book subscribed by divers prebendaries and others of Cant. Dr. London made another great book of many more articles. Where that book is, and of whom he had his instructions.

What matters he knew against the abp. of Cant. or others in Kent, before Palm-Sunday last past, when he had articles of Serles. And of whom he had such knowledge before the said day.

Dr. Willoughby's Confession and Submission; as to his meddling in the Abp. of Canterburies busines, under his own hand.

He declared, that he first met Serles at Dr. Londons house at London, on Palm-Sunday, coming to London to speak with the chamberlain of London. And then they opened the busines first to him. That he was not able to say any thing against any one person mentioned in these articles, more then by hear-say. That he and Gardiner had been gathering of matter a quarter of a year before. That he knew nothing that they minded any thing towards his grace, til he saw it in writing; by whom, and whose devise God, the devil and they know; he knew nothing for his part. And that it was the most deceitful and disobedient country in the world. As concerning their preferment of their articles at the sessions, he knew nothing of that neither. Nor was in Kent at that time, nor knew of no sessions, as God should be his help. Nor that he spake with any justices of peace in this matter; or that he was privy, that any of them did. That he told Mr. Moyle, and Mr. Thwaite [two eminent justices] what Mr. London said to him, that the justices al would be shent, because they suffered such preachings and contentions without doing any thing therein. That he only consented to bear the name of putting up of these matters [that is, of preferring the articles to the sessions.] He acknowledged, that he said, he heard that it was in the country in many places: lying upon himself like a fool: and yet that he never came before the Council, nor never minded. But to avoid the suspicion, he made much babbling, bringing himself into much slander.

And for this doing he submitted himself to God, and my lords grace. That, by his father, [a sort of oath] he had doing with Pettit, nor any other lawyer, or did know what they did, as to indictment, or any other thing thereunto belonging: nor ever reasoned with Pettit about any such matter. What effect or head they intended to bring this matter unto, God knoweth: most likely to subdue his graces power. That they had good hope to have had other commissioners, than his lordship. So London promised them at the beginning, or else they would not have meddled so much, as they did: and especially against his grace. That as concerning their authority, he suspected they took it of Londons presumption, seeing him go forward against such men of worship [meaning the late indictments of so many eminent persons at Winson] and of the rigor in handling and fetching up of persons.

Another Confession of Dr. Willoughby.

MR. SKELLES manentimes resorted home to me, and stil lay upon me to
put up articles that he and they should devise, because I was the
kings grace s chaplain. Whereupon I granted, so they might be
proveable and true. And so it fortuned in Passion week, he and
I on Friday in the same week rode to London, and on Saturday he
had be with Dr. London and put up his articles, [nothing to my
knowledge, that he had any] and promising him, that he would put
them up himself. And on Palm-Sunday in the morning he sent for
me, and prayed me to go with him to Mr. London: and so I did. And
there (wo worth them both, London and Serles, who is ordained to
cause much trouble) he told London that I would put up the articles :
and so asked me the question. And I bad him read them, for I never
saw them before, nor knew whether they were true or false: and so I
told him. And Serles said, Ye know, it is openly spoken. And I
said, Though I hear such things, I am not sure they be true; and also
here is no record to affirm them true: which methink were row [rough]
matter, knowing neither party nor record. And therefore seeing
Serles hath put them to you, let him present them himself. Then
Mr. London said, I have showed them to part of the Council already :
and chid sore with Serles, saying, that he would shew the truth, who
brought them. Then said Dr. London to me, Put ye them up, knowing
such shameful articles presented here before your own face, it shal
be hard for you to byde the danger hereof, knowing the kings wil is to
have it so. And also fear not; for I have set such a spectacle before you
at Wimor, in bringing to light abominable heresies: at the which the
kings majesty was astonied, and wondred, angry both with the doers and
bearers. And therefore if ye shrink herein, ye shal shew your self not
to be herein the kings true subject. Therefore seeing ye be his chap-
lain, ye did him never such service, as ye may do herein, to present
them for your discharge. For now ye shal not be rid of them, and ye
would. [Having heard them read, and so being privy to them.

And with this threatening and fear I was content. And so Dr. London
writ them new, and added to them at his pleasure: wherewith both
Serles and I were vexed. Meaning, as he said, to bring the matter
into the justices bond, and certain of the spiritality; whose names
Serles recited at his request: saying to us, it would never be known to
be our doing. And so was I fain to take the old copy with me into
Kent, to get them recorded. And he sent his copy to my L. of
Winchester. And so when I came down into Kent, remembering this
article to be put up in my name, and neither had record, nor knew
them to be true, I came to the prebend of Christchuch, and brought
with me the articles, being al of Serles hand, and gathering of him,
and them among themselves: and bad me ask for one Salisbury that
had the key of his chamber, for certain other writings, and copy al in
one, and set their hands to them: and Mr. Gardiner to sign for himself,
and Serles to boot. I could get neither writing nor sign. And so I
went up again: and told London of it with a heavy heart. Then
Mr. London told me, I should tel Mr. Moyle, that the Council said to
him, that the justices of every shire should be shent, that such things
should be, and not brought to knowledge. For if every justice had
done his duty, according to the kings injunctions, such enormities need
not to have been. And I told Mr. Moyle and Mr. Thwaites both, what I heard of London. Also Mr. London came to Mr. Moyle's lodging one day, and talked with him his mind, as may fortune he hath better in remembrance then I. But then I heard him tel Mr. Moyle, how he took up my L. of Cant. before the Council. Then the next day I came to Mr. Moyle again; and because he heard, that the Council should say so, and also had other commandments for his discharge, sent certain letters to Mr. Thwaites, Mr. Walter Moyle, Mr. Green and Mr. Norton, to search out any priest that lacked a crown with such articles as the country rumoured of. Whereupon each of them sent up some; and then the prebendaries wrote up space. And Mr. Moyle brought all that came to his hand to my L. of Cant. And therwith Mr. London was angry, and said he would mar al.

Then I went down into Kent again, and brought up the articles, wherein was matter against my L. of Cant. and received them of Mr. Gardiner on Good-Friday or Easter-Even. Mr. Shetter copied them again. Which articles they prayed me to carry to my L. of Winchester. And I kept it, and let Dr. London see it. And he caused me to send it down to be signed with the hands of them. And so I did, and kept the copy. And then, when I had it signed, I kept it still, till their coming. And they took it of me, and carried it to the Council themselves. And Dr. London had a copy of them, or else before. And they told me, they had great comfort of my L. of Winchester, and of Mr. Baker both.

Also Dr. London brought me by commandment of mine allegiance, to go with him to the Council chamber door; meaning to have me in before the Council. But he went in, and told them of my being there; giving me this lesson, that I should say. "My lords all; it is so, that the Kings majesty and his honourable council hath been at great charges, and taken great pains, to set a good and a godly way among us. And for all that, in Kent among us we have the most enormous heresies, that may be. And because I heard of this gracious token, that his will and pleasure is, that every man in pain of his allegiance to bring in what he knoweth, or else hereafter we know, and would not speak it, our damage would be thence. And because of this, I come for my discharge to shew this." But I came not in, nor spake with none: their business was so much.

Also the next day after Dr. London carried me to my L. Privy Seals chamber, and the articles with us. But he had no leisure to see them.

Also the next day after that I had been with my L. Privy Seal, Dr. London carried me to my L. of Winchester. And there he was carried in to my lords secret chamber: and tarried there an hour, and had his articles new copied with him. And in the next day, in the morning betimes, I went there to speak with my L. of Winchester my self. And I spake with him, and prayed him, that the articles that Mr. London brought, should not be put up in my name, for I knew not the matter; but in the names of them that sent them. And he said, he would. And another time I came to my L. of Winchester, and brought a roll from Mr. London: and then I prayed him again,
that he would not put them up in my name, and had him recommended from Mr. Gardiner, that he would be good lord to him for a business of for he had taken great paines in this matter. But he made me no promise. And also my L. of Winch. bad me not fear to do my duty. And the matter were not to be byde by, the doers should bear the blame, and not the presenter. It is al our duties to stand in such things, as are contrary to the kings injunctions.

And here is al that ever I did in this matter, as I can remember: and al the Council that ever I came before in this matter, or any other. But thus by the comforting in this matter of my L. of Winchester, and Dr. London's threatnings, have brought my self in great dangers with other mens matters nothing of my self, that I can either se or prove, nor never did. But busied myself with other mens articles: yet had I never done it, and London had not been, that threat me to be no true subject. Wo worth them both, he and Serles: for by their false inventions I am shamed. If their articles be false, punish the inventors with shame: for shameful matters, and many have been gathered among them.

Also Mr. London commanding both Serles and me, that in any wise whee should get as much matter as could be devised: for it would be the goodliest deed, and the most bounden duty to our prince, that ever we did.

Also Mr. Shether sent his man to me on Sunday before Al-Solne day, bidding me in any wise not to be known of nothing: for that they had uttered nothing themselves. And that I should go to his brother Parson, and I should know more. But he was sworn not to write to me: but he had written to his brother al his mind: and of him I should know al. For Mr. Dr. Cockes, and Mr. Hossy, as he thought, was sent to catch me. And therefore he sent his man to be afor. And if I did speak with them, I should say, that I received no letter, but of Cockson, which is dead. And this was but to bring me in danger, and skuse themselves. And if I come before the Council, I will byde by al this: for it is true. But it is impossible for a man, to have every day or time in remembrance, that hath been done or said in a year. But I put al to Gods grace, and the kings, and to your lordship.

Also, I asked Shethers man, whether he had been with my L. of Winch, since the coming down of my lords grace. And he said, Yea: and told my lord, how al was handled here among us. And my L. of Winch. answered and said, My lord of Cant. could not kil them. Therfore suffer. For al was against himself that he did. And he should se, what would come of it.

Also, at the coming up of the prebendaries to London, Mr. Shethet put the articles and writings to Mr. Ford, that married his sister; that he should write them. Which was a great book of two dayes labour. What was the contents therof I know not. I think al the whole articles compiled together.

Also Mr. Dr. Thornton in the ale [alley] before my door in London, I desired him to speak to my L. of Cant. or some of his officers, to instruct him, that I never put up articles against any man in my life. And he bade me stick to it, and be not afraid. For he had spoken to
the Counsell his mind therin, as he was bound: and so be ye, being
the kings chaplain: or else hereafter it would be laid to your charge.

By me JOHN WILLOUGHBY.

Another Writing of Willoughby.

ABOUT Avent Mr. Series preached at home with me at Chilham, and
there he talked of his trouble: saying, he had put up certain articles to
the kings majesty: and yet they were so cloaked, that his grace never
saw them. Whereupon at his return he was layd in prison. And so
he lay upon me, and moved me, to put up such articles, as he and his
company should devise. Whereupon I granted, so they might be true
and proveable. So I heard no more of this, till Passion-Sunday. For
that day he preached with me again. At which time he told me, he
would to London that week, and so to Oxford. And I promised to ride
with him. And so I did, meaning no more of this matter, than the child
unborn. Mine errand was to speak with the chamberlain of London. So on
Palm Sunday in the morning, he sent his man for me to come meet him
in Pauls. And so I did meet him there. And so he prayed me to go to Dr.
London with him. Which man I never saw before, of my faith. But he
had been with him the night before, and put up his articles: promising
him, that he would go on Monday in the morning with him to the
court, and put them up before the Counsell: as Mr. Loud. said before
his face. And in the morning he was clean changed; saying to Mr.
London, that there was one Willoughby, that came to the town with
him, which had promised him, that whencesoever we will bring our
articles unto him, he will present them. And so Dr. London told me,
that Series said so unto him; and hereupon he moved me. And I
desired to hear them: and so they were read unto me. Which things
methought were but trifles. And I said, they were of no effect, to
present before the Counsell: and also neither knew, nor could affirm
none of them to be true: saying, Let Series put them up, that brought
them hither. For here is no record to affirm none of them to be true.
Then said Series, Ye know that at the country doth speak of these.
And I said, Though I did hear part of them, yet I am not able to say,
that one of them is true. And because ye know them perfect, and the
doors of them, and have also brought them hither, it is most meet for
you to answer to them. And then Mr. London said, that he had
showed them to part of the Counsell, and to my L. of Winchester. For
I see the copy that was sent to my lord, was of London's own hand.
For he that copied them out before us, was a gentleman of my L.
Winchesters, or to him belonging, Mr. Londons copy lying before him.
This appeareth, that this matter was consulted before: Series can tel
what the man was; (and so cannot L.) that did write them. But as I
now remember, it was German, [that is, German Gardner.]

By me JOHN WILLOUGHBY.

Gardiners penitent Letter unto the Archbishop.

GENTLE father. Whereas I have not born so good, so tender a heart
towards you as a true child ought to bear, and as you never gave unto
me occasion otherwise, but rather by benefits provoked me unto the
contrary, I ask of you with as contrite a heart, as ever did David ask of God, mercy. And I desire you to remember the prodigal child: which although from his father swerving, yet into favour received again, to receive me, although unkindly now by folly I did forsake you, and not born my heart so lovingly, so truly towards you, as in dutifulness I should have done. I am full sorry for my fault. And yet, good father, be you well assured, as I opened my conscience unto you at my last communing with you, that I never did bear malice against you. But the greatest cause, that ever occupied my heart against you, and for the which I did bear my heart so little towards you, was, as God shall save the soul of me, that I saw so little quietness among us, and so great jars in Christ’s religion: supposing, that by your permission and sufferance, (which was not so, as I do now perceive,) that it did arise unto the great grief of my conscience. I condescended the sooner unto the making of the book against your grace, when I was thereunto moved by that same suggester, Willoughby; where and of whom he took occasion to bring his bills unto Canterbury, I know not. Good father, for my setting forth the same book, partly by me made, heartily confessing my rashness, and indeliberate doings, I ask of you mercy. Requiring of you, of your charity, to impute the great fault of it unto those, which ministered unto me occasion; and to remit unto me my lightness. For of truth I was greatly seduced. Remember, good father, that our parent was seduced, and yet of God forgiven. Forgive me, good father. By whom I was seduced, my confession doth declare. And, father, if it shall please you now, more of your goodness than of my deserving, (punishment and that sharp I have deserved) to forgive unto me this my fault and unkindness: you shall never hereafter perceive in me, but that at all times I shall be as obedient, and as true unto you, as ever was child unto his natural father. If otherwise at any time you find of me, never trust me, never do for me; but utterly without all favor cast me into pain, as possible is for a wretch to suffer. Gentle father, ponder my grief, which is at my heart not little. And through your goodness remitting unto me my unkindness, and granting mercy with liberty, I desire your grace to set me into ease, both of heart and body. I am yours, and shall be yours; and that truly, while I live. God prosper your grace

per me WILLIAM GARDINER.

Good father, I have given my self unto you, heart, body and service; and you have taken me unto you. Now remember me, that I am your true servant.

Another Letter of Gardiner to the Archbishop.

Most honourable prelate. Due commendations premised, these be to give thanks unto your grace, for that that you did yesterday, so favourably, as my sending for unto your presence: whom I thought that I should never (pensiveness lay so sore to my heart) have seen again. And among all your communications, that your grace had unto me, I noted these words of highest comfort. Your grace did note that I did call you father in my writings, you said unto me yesterday, “You call me father: in good faith I will be a father unto you in-
deed." Words of high comfort unto me. Besides this, most honorable lord, you promised that I should have a book of all articles layd in against me, to make answer unto them. I beseech your grace that I may so have. For there is nothing that I have done or known to be done, but if I can call it into remembrance, I will truly open it. God prosper your grace.

By yours, and ever shal be, WILLIAM GARDINER.

Sheethers Letter of Submission to the Archbishop.

My duty always remembred unto your gracious lordship. I most humbly beseech the same to have compassion upon me your prisoner. And for as much as I think, by the articles, which Mr. Joseph mentioned, that your grace hath not only the articles subscribed with the witness hands, but also other articles: which I noted since that time; as I heard by Mr. Gardiner, Coxton, Morice and others. So that your gracious lordship knoweth al, that ever I have heard. Pleaseseth it your lordship to understand, that many of those articles last noted were of the book, that was presented to my L. of Winchester, as unperfect and not proved: as indeed many could never be justified, as far as ever I heard. And therefore my L. of Winchester sent it again, as I have said in my first declaration. And it was never willed to be shewed as true. But gracious lord, whether I have offended in that, that I noted those articles, after that I was willed by Mr. Baker, to mark the chiefest santors of new opinions, I refer it to your gracious judgment: and whatsoever shal be thought (as nothing can be hid, nor I would should not, of any my life, from any of you both,) that I have offended in; I beseech you both of your mercy and favor, and to be good to me, instantly and briefly (for I am loth to trouble you, or to seem to mistrust your goodness) desiring you to have in remembrance my weak nature, and the long and solitory durance I have suffered, with grievous vexation of mind. And for refreshing thereof to licence me to eat and drink at meals with company: and being so nigh my chamber, that I may remain in the same: to the intent I may pas the time with my own books. Heartily desiring your goodIGO, that notwithstanding any thing heretofore done, or how ever I have before wanded, not conformably to your gracious advertisement or expectation: yet gracious lord, accept a poor heart, which would gladly be received into your fatherly favor again, to declare his faithful mind, he hath conceived towards your goodness, upon such pity as your gracious lord hath shewed, and I trust now wil, in his extreme need. Assuring your grace that my whole confidence and only trust is repose in your goodness only, and gentle Mr. Doctours; whose native merciful hearts, as they have be declared oftentimes towards many, so I most meekly beseech you both mercifully to interpretate my acts, and declare your pitty in releasing my sorrows as shortly as shal seem convenient to your-wisdomes. For whom I wil not cease to be a perpetual orator to Almighty God. I most heartily desire to know your gracious pleasure in the premises, and especially whether your lordship hath the book subscribed with the witness hands or no. For although that, in the copy of my brothers book, it appeareth who hath subscribed
APPENDIX.

to other articles of Mr. Drom and Mr. Scory and others, which I
do not remember.

Your gracious prisoner EDMOND SHEPHERD.

Milles Letter of Submission.

Most reverend father in God, my humble duty remembred unto
your grace. And I know right wel in that I subscribed unto certain
articles (though unadvisedly) have shewed great unkindness unto your
grace in so doing. And again, for that have deserved little kindness
at your graces hand, and do now suffer cold imprisonment at your
graces pleasure. Which is very tedious painful unto me, and as I
fear, great danger might ensue unto me, by augmenting that cold and
cough, that I have taken before, and now increaseth. Besides the
inward pensiveness of heart taken, for this my rash fact, at other mens
light motion, as others of my company did: which now I think
lamenteth them much: yea so much, that at such time as I have been
in company with them, I have heard them say, that they could not
sleep, neither eat that thing, or drink, that did do them much good,
as I am one of them. Wherefore, most gracious lord, these premisses
and others considered, by the which sickness of body may not the heart
wast, this shal be to humbly beseech your grace to mercifully intreat
me, and that now I may find some drop of mercy at your graces hands,
for this my imprisonment. Assuring your grace that I shall take this
punishment for my learning; and not at any time hereafter to be
so lightly allured at any mans motion to put so unadvisedly my hand,
or consent to any such matter hereafter. Now, gracious lord, shew
pity and mercy unto me, which I do ask of your grace, and do heartily
desire it with weeping ey, and sorrowfull heart, as knoweth God.

By your JOHN MYLLS.

No. XXXIV.

A Letter prepared for the King to sign, to ratify certain Ecclesiastical
Laws.

HENRICUS octavus Dei gratia, Anglie et Francie rex, fidei de-
fensor, et dominus Hiberniae, ac in terris Anglicanis sub Deo caput
supremum: omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, clericis,
ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, generosis, ac
alijs cujusque generis hominibus, subditis et legibus nostris, per reg-
num nostrum, et dominia nostra ubilibet commorantibus, salutem, et
evergeliece veritatis incrementum.

Cum VOS optimi cives mei mihiqve charissimi, me nunc unum
atque solum hujus regni principem, in terrisque secundum Deum, hujus
ecclesie Anglicane unicum supernumique caput, quemadmodum divini
atque humani juris ratio postulat, potestatemque tam ecclesiastice
quam mundanae politicæ mihi majoribusque meis, ipso jure divino con-
cessam (verum multis seculis unius Romani episcopi malitia, fraudle,
dolis atque aetia ereptam) ad me et successores meos pertinere una
voce, uno omnium assensu agnoscitis, non possum in dies magis ma-
gisque, numeris atque officij mei rationem non habere, deque illustra-
tranda Dei gloria, de Christianae pietatis vera doctrina propaganda, de
imperij hujus incolumitate, et quie tecuenda, summa animi cura atque cogitatione non esse sollicitus. Occurrant enim subinde animo meo verba illa, quae Sapiençiae cap. septimo habentur ad hunc modum: 


Quod si tanta cura, ac solicitude quibusuque regibus opus est, quam anxios igitur ac sollicitos Christianos reges esse debere censendum est, quibis non politia modo civilis, sed ecclesiasticae etiam potestas data est? Hoc enim non tantum quæ ad humanam societatem pertinent, sed etiam quæ divinae Christianæque religionis maxime consentanæ sunt, curare necesse est. Praesentem hujus seculi felicitatem principes Christianos ita metiri convenit, ut haec potestate sua ad Dei cultum dilatandum utantur, et in hoc incumbant, ut recta doctrina propagetur, orneturque Dei gloria.

Cum igitur a Christianis regibus justitiam in imperio, pacis tuae et pietatis, studium juveniscendi et ornandæ religionis Christianæ exigat animadvertam, nihil mihi potius esse debere judicabam, quam ut omnes inirem rationes, quo minus in hoc meo regno haec a me desiderentur, et quo ad possessem, munere imposito satisfacerem. Hoc ut facilius, expeditiusque praestare valeat, non ignorantis vos, quantam curam adhiberim in illis rebus, promovendis tuendisque, quæ haec negotio maximum conducere, atque adjuvamento esse videantur; quæ contra impedire atque obesse visa sunt, quanto studio tollere ac delere conatus sum, assidueque conor. Abunde enim vobis declaratum hactenus fuit, quam in hac nostrâ Britannia, multis retro seculis, episcopi Romani vis injusta, ac non ferenda, sacro sancto divino numini inimica fuit; quantopere religionis Christianæ, verae doctrine propagandae adversata est, quantum hujus reip. loco a tranquilliæm seipsisimæ intertur- bavit, protestâtemque regiam divinitus constitutam labefactando, debitis omnium obedientiam, a vero ac justo principis sui imperio, contra omnes jus divinum et humanum, ad se transferre ausus est. Hujus potestatem haec cum divino munere sublatam esse manifestum est, et nequid superasset, quo non planè fractam illius vim esse constaret, leges omnes, decreta atque instituta, que ad authore episcopo Romanæ pro- fecta sunt, prorsus abroganda cessimus. Quorum loco, ut facilius impostrum Dei opt. max. gloria illustretur, et verae philosophiae Christianæ regnunquam Christi vigere posseet, et quæ omnìa decenter et ordine in Christi hac ecclesiæ gerantur; en vobis authoritative nostra editas leges damus, quas a vobis omnibus suscipi, coli et observari volumus, et sub nostra indignationis poena mandamus, ut vestra in Deum piets, amor erga patriam, principemque vestrum obedientiam, non sine immense divini nominis gloria omnibus conspicua sit, ac osmetipso non minus de vestris rationibus sollicitos ostendatis, quam ego vestra causa de officio fuerim meo, stricte præcipientes, ut his nostrâs constitutionibus vos
omnes et singuli, tam in judicia, quam in gymnariis utamini, severè prohibentes, ne quisquam vestrum alias, præter has, et regni nostri leges admittere presumat. Valet.

No. XXXV.
The Bishop of Winchester to Archbishop Cranmer: relating to the Reformation of Religion.*

After my duty remembred to your grace. Your letters of the third came to my hands the of the same. And, upon the reading, and advised consideration of the matter in them, have thought requisite to answer unto them: and at length to open my mind frankly in some points of them. Tempering my words so, as I shall not be seen to have forgotten your place and condition, ne such familiarite, as hath been between your G. and me. The remembrance of which familiarite maketh me speke as frely, as on the other side your estate by ye deleth me to be more moderate in speche, then sum mater I shal herafter speke of, wold elles suffre and permit.

It grieved me moch to rede wrytten from your G. in the begynynge of your lettres, how the king our late soveraign was seduced, and in that he knew by whom he was compassed in that I cal the Kings Majesties Book. Which is not his book, because I cal it so, but because it was indede so acknowledged by the hol Parliament, and acknowledged so by your G. thenn, and al his life; which, as you afterwaerdz write, ye commanded to be published and red in your diocesse, as his book: against which by your G’s spech ye commanded Joseph he shuld not prech. Al which I think your G. would not have doon, if ye had not thought the book to have conteynyed truth. And in the truth can be no seduyng to it, as the kings book conteynyeth; but from it. Which if it had been so, I ought to think your G. would not for al the princes christened, being so high a bishop, as ye be, have yeelded unto. For “Obedire oportet Deo, magis quam hominibus.” And therefore after your G. hath foure yere continually lyved in agrement of that doctrine under our late soveraine lord, now so sodeny after his death, to wryte to me, that his highness was seduced, it is, I assure you, a very straunge spech. Which if your G. shuld bring in to open contention, as I know your G. of your wisedome, wyl not; but in that case wyl I, as an old servaunt of my late soverayne

Much wanting.

it self so many calamities besides, wherof I have more lyeuer to think on, thenn your G. as my chance is now, which I reckon in this respect very good; after so many yeres service and in such trouble without danger passed over, to aryve in this haven of quystene without losse of any notable takel, as the marryners say, (which is a great mater as the wynds hath blownen) and if the present estate in this world wer to be considered, I have many times alleged for confirmation of thopinion of some in religion and the Protestants take it for a gret argument, to establish theh procedynge, that themperor was ever letted,

* Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. cccxvij. 79-88.]
APPENDIX.

when he went about to enterprise any thing against them, as Bucer declareth at gret length in a letter written to the world. And whenne Sledanus was here in England, he told me the like at Windsore: and then tægnum prædicit of the effect of certain eclipses: adding, that I shulde see magnas mutationes. And so I have seen, and have heard meravelous chaunges synnes that; but otherwise than Sledanus toke it, and to destroy thier fancies, if that were to be regarded. But for my self, I have seen my soveraine lord, with whom I consented in opinion, make the honourable conquest of Bolen, and honorably in his life maintayne it. And after in honorable peace made, leave this world over soon to us: but that was due by him to be payd to nature, discharged it honorably; buried honorably with sorrow and lamentation of his servants and subgetts; and my self his poor servant, with a litle fleetying of this world, conveyed to an easy astate, without diminution of my reputation. And therfore whenne I hear fondly alleged, or rede more fondly wryten, the favor toto, that is by Bale, Joye and Joseph, or such like, newly called the word of God, to be embraced for preseruation of the worldly astate, I se the clere contrary in experience, and conclude with my self, that it proveth nought before man; and take it before God to be abomination. Which causeth me to spend some of my layson to wryte so long a letter to your G. who hath lesse layson: wyshing that our layson, gret or litel, may be spent otherwyse then to trouble this realm in the time of our soveraine lords minority, with any novelte in matiers of religion: being so many other matiers, which, for that I was so late a counsellor, cannot out of my memory: requiring the hol endeavoure of such as have charge, and silence in the people, who shuld serve and obey, without quarelyng among themselfe for matiers in religion. Specially considering it is agreed our late soverain is receyved to Goddes mercy. And though some wold say, he had [his errors] and saw not perfetely Gods truth: yet for us, it were better to go to heven with one yie after hym, thenne to travayle here for another yie with daunger to lose both. There was good humanite in him that said, "Malim errare cum Platon, quam cum alijs vera sentire." Which affection were to the world plausible touching our soveraine lord, that made us: but we Christen men may not teach so, but esteme God above all, and his true divinite. In which case nevertheless, whemne the divinite pretended is so rejected of many, and utterly reproved: so doubted of many other, as it is suspected and confessed among us, it is not necessary. For our soveraine lord is gone from us to heauen, in his way.

It is a meravelous matier what a certain loss it is aforeshand to entreprize to serch, which among a very few hath the name of divinite, and of all the rest is so named* as I wil not rehearse. And this I write not, because your G. entendeth any such thing soo far. For I may not, and wil not so think of you. But this I take to be true, that the way of error is let in at a little gappe. The vheemence of novelty wil flow further thenne your G. wold admitte. And

* Heresie.
when men bear of new gere, every man maketh his request, sum new hose, sum new robes, sum newe cappes, sum newe shirtes. Like as in religion we have seen attempted, where the people thought they might prevyse. Which caused the commotion in Germany in bello civili rusticorum, and hath made the same stir there now in bello civili nobilium. It was a notable act of our late soveraine lord, to reform and thenne moderate religion, as he did. Which he did not without al trouble. And how safe we be in religion, when al quietnes is acquired you wisdome canne consider. Our late soveraine lord was wont to say, which I never forget, speaking of himself man had not looked to the pacification. He saw men desirous to set forth their own fancies, which he thought to have excluded by his pacification.

If your G. would say to me now, that I wasted moch speche in vaine, and declared therby, I had to moch layسور to write so moch in this matier, as though I feared that nedeth not to be feared: for your G. hath commanded our late soveraine lords book * to be redde, and mindeth nothing now, but oonly mylles, wherin your G. wold, I shuld write. Which to do wer neyther gret paine, ne hardnesse to me: and I might as soon wryte an homilie, as these letters. As for the facilite of the matier of wryting, or wryting by not traverse. But then I consider what controversie may arise in wryting. As for example (for seing I have layςor to wryte, I will forget what layςor your G. hath to rede) if I should make an homily de vita perfecta, I wolde note two parts, one of life, another of perffiteness. For the grownde of the oon, I wolde take S. John, "Misi Deus filium suum, ut vivamus per eum." And for the other, "Estote perfecti, sicut Pater vester, &c." In declaration of life, I wolde take occasion to speke of faith the gift of entre to life, and of charite the very gift of life; which who hath not remaineth in dethe. And therfore S. James said, "Fides sine operibus mortua est." Not expounding that so, as though faith without charite were no faith, as we say a dead man is no man. For I wolde wish the people in any wise to beware of that fashion of teaching, and such a sophistical understanding of S. James; and for detection thereof, declare, that deth conteyne not always a denial of the thing dead not to be, but oonly whe the name of the thing noted now dead, conteyne before in it a signification of life. As the word man signifieth a body living: and thenne it is truly said, that a dead man is no man, no more thenne a paynted man. But faith signifieth not always a life in it. For devils have faith without life. And when we spoke of ded faith, it is like as when ye spoke of a body indeed without life, but apt and mete to receyve life. As spawne is a body without life, and dead, but mete to receyve life with convenient circumstance. And then we say not, that a body dead is no body. And therfore we may not say, that a dead faith is no faith. After which understanding, we should make S. James to treate, whether no faith might justify a man, or no: which were a cold matter. And yet so must we say, if we wil expound this saying, that a dead faith is no faith.

* The Erudition of a Christian Man.

VOL. II. X
APPENDIX.

And in this poynt I wole, in my homily De Vítæ, be most earnest to shew, that in charity is life, whereunto faith is theatre. Which faith without charite is not moo faith, but dead. And therfore God, that giveth al life, giveth with faith charite: wherof I wold make the moo words in the homily, because the handling of S. James in the other sophistical interpretation is an entry to unwholesome doctrine. And if your G. wold say, What of this, or to what purpose shuld it be wrynten to you, that myndeth no such matter: surely for nothing but because I have plenty of leaseur, and wryte as though I talked with you. And that not al in vaine, for that I have berto for harde of other, whom I have harde mooch glory in that exposition, to say S. James meaneth, that dead faith is no faith, even as a dead man is no man. Which, by my faye, is overfar out of the way: and yet myn omlytie might in such an homiler, and company of omlyties, encontre with oon of the trade I have spoken of; and bring forth matter of contention and altercation, without al frute or odification. And thus much for example of trouble in homylies: which these two yeares have rested without any busines, and the people weel done their dutties, I trust, to God in heven, and knew weel, to ther sovereign lord in ywrth. And our sovereign lord, that governed them without these omlyties gone to heven, whether, I trust, we and the people shal go after, although we trouble them with moo homylies. Which shal hardly be so accumulate ex diversis tractatiis, with diverse fashion of wryntyng, diverse phrase of speches, diverse commodis in teachings, diverse endis per case intende, as some wil construe.

The rest is wanting.

No. XXXVI.

Gardiner Bishop of Winton to the Duke of Somerset, concerning the Book of Homilies and Erasmus Paraphrase, englised.*

After my moost humble commendaciens to your good grace with harte thanks that it haith pleased yow to be content to heare from me. Wherein now I have liberty to write at large from yow; I cannot find the like gentelnes in my bodye to spende so much tyme as I wolde. And therfore I shal nowe desier your grace to take in good partes, though I gather my matter in breaf sentences.

The injunctions in this last visitation conteyne a commandement to se taught, and leerned two bookes. One of Homilies, that must be taught; another of Erasmus Paraphrases, that the prestez must leerne.

These bokes stryve one against another direcly. The booke of the Homilies teacheth faith to exclude charite in the office of justification. Erasmus Paraphrases teacheth faith to have charite joyned with him in justification.

The boke of Homilies teacheth how men may swere. The Paraphrasis teacheth the contrarie verye extremelye. The boke of Homilies teacheth howe subjectes owe tribute to theire prince, and obedience

APPENDIX.

verye wel. The boke of the Paraphrases in a place upon S. Poule violentlie, and against all truethe, after it hath spoken of dewtie to heathen princes, knytteth the matter up untrulye; that betwene the Christen men at Rome, to whome he writeth, which is a lesson for all, there shoude be no debte, or ryght, but mutuall charity, which is a marvelous matter. The boke of Homilies in another place openeth the Gospell one waye. The Paraphrases openeth it clerely contrarye. The matter is not greate, but because there is contrarietie.

Nowe to consider each of the foresaid bookes. The boke of Homilies in the sermons of salvation teacheth the clere contrary to the doctrine established by that of Parliament; even as contrary as included is contrarie to excludede. For these be the words of the doctrine established by Parliament; where in a certain place faith doth not exclude. The doctrine of the Parliament speaketh how they be justified in justification. The homile speaketh the virtues to be present in the manner justified, and how faith excluded the them in thoffice of justifiaci. Which can never be proved; and is in the mean time contrarye to the act.

The boke of Homilies hath in the homilie of salvation, how remission of synne is taken, accepted and allowed of God for your perfect justification. The doctrine of the Parliament teacheth justification, for the fulness and perfection thereof, to have more parts than remission of sinne, as in the same appereth. And altho'ght remission of sinne be a justification, yet it is not a full and perfect.

The boke of Homilies numbret the hallowing of bread, palmes and candles among papistical superstitions and abuses. The doctrine of the Parliament willett them to be reverently used. And so do the injunctions nowe set forth. Which made me thinke the printers might thrust in an homelie of his own devise.

The boke of Homilies hath wordes of S. Crissostome alledged untrulye, and not after such a sort, as might escape by over sight, but of purpose. As calling that saith which Crissostome calleth hoope. And in place of one sentence putteth another, which should better serve the purpose of the maker of the homelie. Nowe if one wold reason with me, that Crissostome menthe this, I would denye it him, as I may. But I maye affirm, that Crissostome saith not. It is but a defamation of the truethe: and under such a prince name as our severant lord is, whose tongue, in this so pure innocency, hath not bene defiled with any untrue; I assure you, I thought there was not so great hast in homelies, but they might have tarried the printing either, for that only cause. Truth is able to maintain it self, and needeth no help of untrue alligation. It serves only for enemies to tak avantage. All which [i. e. enemies] use to be curious to know what they may reprove.

And nowe al the eyes and ears of the world be turned towards us. And as they shall have cause to talke honorablie of your valiant-

* But these are not the words of Erasmus, but S. Paul. Rom. xiii. 8.
† In the book of The Eradition, &c.

Y 2

Digitized by Google
nes in the warres, so they talke otherwise of that, that is done in your absence, if any thing be amisse.

Now shal I shew your grace what autor Erasmus is, to be, by name and especiall commandement, had in credit in this realme. Yf he be to be believed, the doctrine of only faith justificat, is a verye poysen. And be writeth by expresse termes, and calleth this another poysen, to deny punishment in purgatory after this life. And another poysen, to denye the invocation of saintes, and worshipping of them. And this he calleth a poysen, to saye, We nede no satisfactory works, for that were to mistrust Christ. Erasmus in another place conferring the state of the Church in the beginning, and nowe, he concludeth, that if S. Paule were alive at this dayes, he would not improve [i.e. disallow] the present state of the Church, but only out of mens faultes. This is Erasmus judgment in his latter dayes.

His work, the Paraphrasies, which should be authorized in the realm: which he wrote above 26 yeres agoe, when his penne was wanton as the matter is so haued, as being abrode in this realme, were able to minister occasion to evill men to subverter, with religion, the policing and order of the realme.

Theis be the generall wordes, the uttering whereof to your grace is the place you occupy, wer a great faute, unless I wold shewe ye good ground and true, whye to saye so. And therfor I am glad I do rather writ to you, then to have come and speake with you, because my words in nymbre might flye away; whereas written words remain to be red agayne and agayne.

First, as concerning the pollicye and state of the realme, wheresover Erasmus might take an occasion to speake his pleasure of princes, he paleth home, as roundly, as bishops have been of late touched in playes. And suche places of Scripture as we have used to alledge for the state of princes, he writeth and windeth them so, as if the people rede him and believed him, they wold after smale regard that allegacion of theim. And if Erasmus did truly, and that the Scripture bound him so to daye, yt were more tolerable, (for truth must have place) but when it is done in some place untrue, and in some place wantonlye, to check that estate, yt can be no good doctrine among people, that sholde obey. And this booke of Paraphrasies is not like the other expositions of Scripture, where the auctor speakeith in his owne persone. For Erasmus taketh upon him the evangelists persons and Chrisitians person, and enterpriseth to fill up Christes tale and his wordes. As for example where the Gospel rehearsith Christes speach, when he said, Give to the emperoure, that is the emperoures; (by which speache we gether and trulye gether, that Christ confessed themperoure to have a dewtie;) Erasmus writeth it with an IF, after this sorte, "IF there be any thing dewe to them." Which condition Christ put not to it, but speake planely, "Give to Cesar the things which are Cesaers, and unto God the things that are Gods." And I write the verie words of the Paraphrases, as they be in Englishishe, for I have the booke with me. And so shall no manne saie, that I myreporte the boke. The words be theis. "Render therefor unto Cesar, if any things appertaine unto Cesar. But first of all, rendre unto
God the things, that appertaine unto God. Meaning that it is no hurte
to godlines, if a man being dedicate to God, do give tribute unto a pro-
phane prince, altho he ought it not." These be the words in the book
ordered to be set forth. Wherin what needeth Erasmus to bring in
doubt the dutie, when God putteth no doubte at all. It were too
long to write to your grace every fault. This one I put for example,
wher Erasmus doth corrupt Christ's wordes, with a condition, which
Christ spake not.

The other places of raylings wolde encumber your grace overmuch.
But as I wrait, your grace shall finde true, that whatsoever might be
spoke to defame princes government, is not left unspoken. Busheppes
be more gentle handled. Erasmus maketh theim verye kings of the
Gospel, and calleth the true kings of the world prophane kings.
Bushepshave the swordes, he saith, of God geven, that is to saie, the
Gospel. Prophane princes, as he calleth theim, have a sword per-
mitted unto theim, and by Homer, he saith, be called "Pastures of
the people." This matter is within the compass of the Paraphrases, if
it be not lefte oute; with a comendacion also of Thomas Becket of
Cauterbury, in excommunicating the king of the realm, that then
was, by implacation, for the manor of Oxforde, which the kinge, as he
reherseth, then withhealde. It maye be the translator woulde have
left this owte. But Erasmus penne in those dayes [was] very light.

Moreover when, Erasmus teacheth, that betwene Christen menne is
no debt, or right, but charitie. It is a meravelous matter to the dis-
solution of lawes and duties. And therin Erasmus doth violate
God's Scripture, and saith not true.

Thus far is the doctrin permitions for comen policy. Nevertheles
yf he hath saied trueth, let the truth prevail, but the truth is not so.

As touching religion in this wokre of Paraphrases, it is so wantonly,
(I beseeche your grace note my wordes) and therwith untrulye han-
dled, as if we should use to readd it, ther should ensue a meravelous
confussion. Some specialitiees I will note, but not all.

The sacrament of the aultar is so wantonly talked of by him, that as
the world is nowe, the reading of him were the whole subversion.
Erasmus in his latter dayes, hath for the sacrament of the aultar spoken
as reverendlye, and said as muche for confirmation of it, as maye be, and
cryeth out of them, that would take him otherwayes. But this in thend,
when age had tempered him.

In this Paraphrases, whiche he wroght in his wanton age, the words
and termes were able to subverte, if it were possible, as Christ saith,
theelecte.

If this Paraphrases goe abrode, people shalbe lerned to call the sacra-
ment of the aultar holy bread, and a symbole. At whiche newe name
manye will maravour. And they be wanton wordes spoken of Erasmus
without necessitie.

By the doctrine of the Paraphrases, whosoever had done awaye
his wyfe for advotrie might marrie agayne. By the Paraphrases all
men maye marrye, busheppes and preestes. Wherin Erasmus toke his
pleasure to understand S. Poule, as though he should describe, of
whate qualitie priests wyves shuld be, wherin he forgatt himselfe.
For Saint Paul knewe, that if a bysshopp or preest were once married, his wife must passe with al her faultes; and it shuld be to late to tel what she should be. For otherwise then she is, she will not be, neither for St. Poul, nor St. Peter. And if byshoppe had that privilidge, that they might change while the founde suche one, as Erasmus saith S. Poule wold have them, their estate wold be wonderfully envied. But S. Poule did not speak there of byshepws wyues. And so therin he doth violence to the Scriptures undoubtedlys. Wherefor I write somewhat merely to shewe the absurditty of the things.

By the Paraphrases the keeping of a concubynye ys called but a light fault. And that were good for Lancashire. And Erasmus bringeth it so pretily, that a ruller of a countrey, yt he be himselfe the servant of avarice or ambition, should not browne with his brother, because being overcome by weaknesses of flesh he useth a concubine. Even thus it is Englished in the booke that should goove fourth. And when to have a concubine, yt is called a light fault, methinks if the maid can reddy, yt maye serve well, lightiye to persuade hir. And yet if the man doth it, overcome by the weaknesses of his flesh, as the book termeth it, is made matter. Wherin Erasmus speake over lightly, to call it a light fault. And the translator in English wanted speacess, when he turned it thus: That a man overcome with the weaknesses of his flesh should desyre a concubine. I am bould with his grace, to joyne here Erasmus lyghttaes with the discretion of the translator. Yt to kepe a concubine shalbe by authoritie called a light fault, the multitude of them maye make the faulte heavye.

By the doctrine of the Paraphrases, every man must eume to the high pricks of vertue, or to be extremely nought. Which differeth far fro the teaching of the Homelies, and from the truthes also.

The Paraphrases teacheth thus trulys: "More glorious it is to dye for the Gospel sake. Which deathe, though yt shalbe violent and sore; yet yt shal not come before the daye. Whensoeuer yt cometh yt shal not come without the providence of God." And by this it cometh to passe, that if ye endeavor to avoyd it, ye cannot. This ys the doctrine which if yt were taken for true, might engender like obstinacy in mayne, as it hath of late in some. Erasmus teacheth here farther, then he hath warrante by Scripture.

The Paraphrases in another place dothe clerely violente the texte, and untrulye handle yt, in a matter of tythes, which your grace is desierous, as appeareth by the injunctions, to have truly paid. Wherin if Erasmus had said truth, lett truth prevale; but when he handleth it untruly, it is pity it should be suffered.

Thus have I here reekened your grace some speciall faultes, that be Erasmus owne faultes, with a greate number, that I have not spoken of. And further your grace shal understande, that he which hath taken the labours to translate Erasmus into English, hath offended sometime, as appeareth plainely, by ignorance, and sometime of purpose, to put in, leave oute, and change, as he thought best. Wherwith I will not encumber your grace, but assure you it is so. And therin I will grante to your grace, that for every lye, that I make unto your grace, set on one hundreth pounds fine of my bed; and lett me line here like a
Roger Ascham to Mr. Cecil, giving him an account of a Disputation in S. John's College, whether the Mass and the Lord's Supper bee at one.†


Audivimus Canariense nobis iniquorum suisse. Nec mirum est, nam adversarii nostri, coger invitus acerbiori voce uti, prudentissime vir, tragici clamoribus hanc rem illi detulerunt. Quod factum illorum majus in alitis, aut imperitia institutum fuit dubitari potest. Thomas enim Aquinas probat missam Dominicanam oceana multis praeconatis superasse, et longissime ad ea discrepasse multis notis; sexu, missari enim mulieres non debent, a cosa tamen non excluantur: estate, vitio parentum, luxatione memororum. Nam puere, noti et mutilati a missae dignitate repeliuntur, ad causae humiliatem recipiuntur, et multis alia modis. Ut siquis affirmaret eandem esse misam et oceam, multo magis exsalamant.

† MSS. Sir W. H[icks].
Sed quid dicam de his nostris? Nihil aliud, nisi quod "Herodes turbatus est, et tota Hierosolyma cum eo." Dixunt nos esse præscriptos. Certe nemo tam præcepit, quam facile revocari possit; ut calcariolos potius, quam habemus tota Cantabrigia egent.

Sed quod institui tibi narrare, quamquam disputatio nostra fuerit prohibita, studia tamen nostra in eadem re quodammodo aucta sunt. Scripsimus enim febre justum librum de misis, quem brevi offeree instituimus D. protectori, nisi tibi et magistro Checco aliter visum fuerit.

Quantum ad tractationem rei pertinet, vellem ut judicium tuum, non sermonum aliorum, sed ipsi rei reservare valis. Neque hoc dicimus, quia de nobis aliquid polliceri audemus, sed quis veremur, ne certi homines nimirum studiunt illud impedire quovis modo, quod ipsi non probant.


Dignitatis tue studiosiss. R. ASCHAMUS.

Ornatissimo Viro Magistro Gulielmo Cicello
Suplicium libellorum Magistro.

No. XXXVIII.

The University of Cambridge to the Archbishop.†

ALIQUID a te suppliciter petere, cum tu omnia nobis lubenter tribuis, doctissime presul, non inane et supervacaneum negotium, sed gratiae voluntatis debitum potius officium esse ducimus. Rogamus igitur te, ut in hoc senatu vestro, privilegia nostra confirmentur. Quantum reipub. interest, ut doctrinae ratio habetur, omnes fere intelligunt: quantum vero purae religiosiæ interest, tu unus plus universis alii ænimadvertis: scis enim tu, quod annis abhino quingentes, aut plus eo, cognitio literarum, regum vitio, a quibus ali debuerat, et conspectus hominum esse abducere, et in tenebris relabi oport. In quibus temporibus sic caliginis obductis, sic ignorantia involutis, aper illis singularis de sylva, supra modum depopulatus est vineam Jesu Christi, non proculcans solum reges terræ, et imperium sibi collocans mundi; sed its

* Dainus Cicestrensis. † Aschami Epp. [pp. 314, 315].
invasit eruipite in sanctam sedem, et templum conscientiae, ut nulli fere nunc sint mores [hominum], nulla institutio vitae, nullus cereo-
niarius ritus, nullum ecclesiae sacramentum, nullum Christi vestigium, quod non sit eis aut fulmine prostratum, aut halitu fecdatum; quod non sit (ut mitius, seu significatius cum divo Paulo loquamur), pru-
dentia humanae idolothebixias fecississe corruptum, et constupratum. 
Hec nox disciplinarum, et ignoratio vocem Domini nobis subtilit, et 
humane doctrinae imperium, in illam libidinem exedit, ut pro vero-
cultu Dei, recto divinissimarum rerum usu, integra et pura vitae con-
suetudine, hypocrisia, idololatria, et adulterium cervicibus hominum 
aestissime impomeretur. Hanc inscientiae pestem libentius commemo-
ramus, quod nunc in magnam spem ducimur constituenda de integro-

dignitatis literarum, in his praestim temporibus, cum omnia ad veram 
religionem illustrandum, a qua praeclara doctrina abesse certe non 
potest, mirifice comparata sunt. Et cum prudentia tua, ad verbum 
Dei restituendum, divinitus sit et nunc excitata, et diu reservata: non-
dubitamus, quin omne operam et authoritatem tuam, ad salutem 
etiam literarum continentem collatus sis: commotus aliquid certe 
vel hae ratione, quod nulla hoc tempore literis vel insperata clades, 
vel expectata commoditas acceideret potest, cujus tu non aut author ad 
magnam commendationem; aut particeps ad aliquam reprehensionem, 
voce ac sermone omnium jactatus eris. D. Jesus, &c.

No. XXXIX.

Richard Smith D.D. his Recantation of his Books.*

In my book of Traditions I sayd and affirmed, that Christ and His 
apostles taught and left to the church many things, without writing, 
which we must both beleue stedfastly, and also fulfil obediency under 
pain of damnation ever to endure. Among the which I rehersed by 
name a great number to be obeyed, kept and followed: as, the observa-
tion of Lent from fresh or wyne; the keeping of the sacrament in the 
pix; the receiving [of] it at the priest’s hands; the hallowing of the 
water in the font; the thricely dipping of the child in the water at the 
christening; the putting on of the chrism; the consecration of the 
cury; the anointing of the christened children; the hallowing of the 
altare; the praying toward the east; the censing of the altar; the 
washing of the hands; the saying of “Confiteor;” the lifting up of 
the sacrament at mass; the making of holy water; that the twelve 
apostles, every man a piece for his portion, made the Crede; and many 
more beside these. And after like sort I spake of canons, decrees, and 
ordinances of bishops and general counsels. I do now confes the 
said doctrine, as concerning the observing of the said traditions, [under-
that pain,] to be false and tyrannical, and unjust, unlawfull and 
untrue, burden of men’s consciences, not fit to be taught, preached 
or defended.

There be many things ascribed to the apostles, and called traditions, 
deduced from the time of the apostles, and read in the name of old-

* Becon’s Reports, [part 3, vol. ii. f. 271].
authors, and set forth under the pretended title of their name, which
be both feigned, forged and nothing true, ful of superstition and
unrath, feigned by them, which would magnify their power and au-
thority; as is the epistles of Clemens, Anacletus, Evaristaus, and
Fabianus and others, which are set forth by the bishop of Rome, and his
accomplices, which be forged, fayned and of no authority, nor to be
believed, but counterfeited by them; who, with the colour of antiquity
would magnify that usurped power of the bishop of Rome.

And now concerning another book, which I made of the sacrifice of
the mass; where the most chief and principal article of our faith, and
most directly pertaining to the redemption of our sins, and to our
salvation, is, that our Savior Christ Jesus, by His most precious
death, and effusion of His most precious blood upon the cross, did
redeem mankind, taking away our sins, pacifying the indignation of
His Father, and cancelling the obligation, that was against us. In
which sacrifice—making unto His Father, our said Savior Jesus Christ,
as St. Paul saith plainly to the Hebrews, was not a priest after the
order of Aaron, forasmuch as he was of another tribe: and also, that
priesthood was imperfect and unprofitable, bringing nothing to per-
fection. But our Savior Christ made His sacrifice upon the cross per-
factly, absolutely, and with the most highest perfection that could be,
so much that after that one oblation and sacrifice for sin, made by Him
but once only, neither He nor any other creature should at any time
after make any more oblations for the same. And for that St. Paul
saith, he was called an eternal priest after the order of Melchizedec,
and not of Aaron.

This faith ought every man and woman undoubtedly to believe,
and openly to profess upon pain of everlasting damnation; and also
to die in this profession, if case shal so require. The which most
wholsome and most necessary doctrin of our faith, I not diligently con-
sidering, as many times to right great clerks and learned men in much
writing in like matters it hath chanced to say too far, the infirmity
and weakness of men being such, that seldom in many words error
hath escaped; so in my book of the sacrifice of the mass, I did incir-
cumspectly and rashly write and set forth to the people, that Christ
was not a priest after the order of Melchizedec, when He offered
Himself upon the cross to His Father for our sins, but was a priest
after the order of Aaron. And that when Christ did offer His own
body to His Father after the order of Melchizedec, to appease His
wrath, it may not be understand of the sacrifice of the cross, but of the
sacrifice, that Christ made at His maundy in form of bread and wine.
To the which indeed St. Pauls doctrin is contrary, both in other places,
and in the epistle "Ad Hebræos," very manifestly. Against whom,
(who without doubt had the very Spirit of God), neither it becometh,
nor I wil not willingly teach or defend any thing. Wherefore ye shal
impute that, good audience, to the frailty of mans nature, and to my
negligent marking, having at that time rather a respect to a fantasy
that I then had in my mind, than to the true and infallible doctrine of
Scripture.

And moreover, in the same my book I said not only, that the
APPENDIX.

sacrifice of the mass is the self same substance of Christ, but also the self same oblation or offering of our Savior Christ's very flesh and blood, which Himself once offered to His Father on the cross to appease His wrath: and that the priests do continually and daily in the mass offer not only the self same body of Christ, but also to the same effect, that Christ did offer Himself to His Father at His Maundy. Of the which words and doctrine, if they be not very warily and circumspectly read, and more favorably taken, then the words as they ly, may well bear, it might be gathered, that priestes herein be equal with Christ. Priestes of the order of Melchizedec, appeasing the wrath and indignation of the Father of heaven, crucifying, or offering Christ to the same effect, that Christ in His own person did upon the cross, is a blasphemy intolterable to be heard of Christen ears. For Christ, as St. Paul saith, was but once offered, once gave up Himself for the redemption of our sins on Good-Friday upon the cross; nor never before, nor after was offered for us, but in a sacrament, and as a commemoration of the same. And so of the Maundy or Supper of the Lord, Christ himself saith, "Hoc quotiescumque faciatis, in meam commemorationem facitis." Once He dyed for our sins, and once again He rose for our justification. He dyeth no more. And his sacrifice was so good, so ful, so pleasant, so precious to God, that they need no more oblations to appease God, not only for the sins past, but also for all the sins to the day of doom. There need no more sacrifices, no more offerers, but as having a respect and a remembrance of that most holy, most perfect, and most entier Lamb, then and for ever offered up for us.

But these things aforesaid, I cannot deny, but they were spoken of me, and written. And as I do not now like them, so, as at the example of St. Austin and other good doctors, I am not ashamed to retract them, and call them again and condemn them. For when I followed mine own invention, not directed by Scripture, I began, as the nature of man is, to wander, and at the last went clean contrary to God's word. Wherefore I heartily exhort every man, as touching matters of faith, to found the same upon God's certain, true, and infallible word; lest by doing the contrary, they fall into superstition, idolatry, and other manifold errors, as myself, and many other have done.

Wherefore these two books, the one "of the sacrifice of the mass," and the other, "of the traditions unwritten," in those points before rehearsed, and al other, wherin they be not full consonant to Scripture, I forsake and renounce as false, erroneous, and against the true word of God; requiring the good Christian reader, whosoever shall read them, to give no further credence to them, then I would myself: that is, not to take, as undoubted truth, all that is therein written, but as written of a man, that some time falleth; to be so far true as they be consonant to Scripture: wher they be not against Scripture, to be human persuasion, which may either be so, or not so, as the greater reason shall lead; where they be not consonant to Scripture, to be erroneous and false; and that I much lament and am sorry, that I wrote them in those points. And I desire every man, that hath any of the said books to beware of them, and to give no credence to them in al such
things in them written, as be not consonant to the Scripture, as they will avoid occasion of error, and tender the truth of God's word and His glory. To whom be laud, praise, and honor. Amen.

No. XL.

Archbishop Cranmer Answers to the fifteen Articles of the Rebels Devon.*

anno 1549.†

When I first read your requests, O ignorant men of Devonshire and Cornwall, strangely came to my mind a request, which James and John made unto Christ: to whom Christ answered, "You ask you wot not what." Even so thought I of you as soon as ever I heard your articles, that you were deceived by some crafty Papists, which devised those articles for you, to make you ask you wist not what.

As for the devisors of your articles, if they understand them, I may not call them ignoant persons, but, as they be indeed, most rank Papists, and wilful traitors and adversaries, both to God and our soveraign lord the king, and to the whole realm. But I cannot be persuaded so to think of you, that in your hearts willingly you be Papists and traitors: but that those that be such have craftily seduced you, being simple and unlearned people, to ask you wot not what.

Wherefore, my duty unto God, and the pity that I have of your ignorance, move me now at this time to open plainly and particularly your own articles unto you, that you may understand them, and no longer be deceived.

In your first article you require, that all the general counsels and holy decrees of our forefathers, may be observed and kept, and who soever shall against them to be held as heretics.

This you ask, but what you ask I dare [boldly] say very few, or none of you understand. For how many of you, I pray you, do know certainly which be called the general counsels, and holy decrees of the fathers, and what is in them contained. The holy decrees as they call them, be nothing else but the laws and ordinances of the bishop of Rome. Whereof the most part be made for his own advancement, glory and lucre; and to make him and his clergy governors of the whole world; and to be exempted from all princes lawes, and to do what they list. And would you ask, if you knew what you asked, that we should put away the lawes of our own realm, and be governed by the bp. of Rome lawes? If you mean this, then be you traitors to the king, and enemies to your own realm. And if you mean it not, consider what persons they be, and how they have deceived you, that make you ask you wot not what.

And as for the general counsels, you say you will have them all kept: but you be not so destitute of reason, that you would have spoken such words, if you had known what you had said. For a great number of the counsels repugn one against another. How

* MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D. [No. cii, 337].
should they then be all kept, when one is contrary to another, and the
keeping of one is the breaking of another. And among your own
articles you say, you will have divers things observed, which be not only
contrary to the general counsels, but also contrary to the laws of this
realm, and also to God's law, as it shall be plainly declared, when we
come to the articles.

And all reason is contrary that you should have asked such things,
if you had known what you had asked. I have this opinion of the
greater number of you, that you would fain walk in the right way, if
you could find it. And forasmuch as I perceive, that wicked and
false guides, under pretence to bring you to the high way, have
brought you clean out of it, my good wil shall be, seeing you so
far wandering out of the way, and so blindfolded with ill persuasions,
that you cannot see where you go, to open your eyes that you may
see, and to set you again into the right way. And when your eyes be
so opened, that you may se, and the right way shewed unto you,
wherin you should walk; then if you will still wink, and not see,
and run headlong in error, and not come to the right way, [then] you
may no longer be called simple and ignorant people, but perverse,
froward and wicked Papists and traitors, enemies to God and your own
realm.

But now I will come to your articles, particularly opening every
one of them by himself, that you may see the bowels thereof, and what
is contained in the same. That when you shall understand the whole,
you may judge whether you knew before what you asked, or you were
deceived by subtil and wily papistical traitors.

Your first Article is this,

"We wil have al the general counsels, and holy decrees of our
forefathers observed, kept and performed: and whosoever shall
againsay them, we hold them as hereticks."

First, to begin with the manner of your phrase. Is this the fashion
of subjects to speak unto their prince; We will have? Was this manner
of speech at any time used of the subjects to their prince, since the
beginning of the world? Have not all true subjects ever used to their
soveraign lord [and king] this form of speaking. Most humbly be
seeceth your faithfull and obedient subjects. Altho the Papists have
abused your ignorance in propounding such articles, which you un-
derstand not, yet you should not have suffered your selves so much to
be led by the nose, and bridled by them, that you should clearly forget
your duty of allegiance unto your soveraign lord, saying unto him,
This we wil have; and that saying with armoure upon your backs and
swords in your hands. Would any of you, that be householders, be
contented, that your servants should come unto you with harness
unto their backs, and swords in their hands, and say unto you, This we
wil have? If then you would abhor and detest this in your servants
towards your selves, how can you allow your fact? th what con-
science can you, being but subjects, do to your king that thing, which
you would condemn in your servants towards your selves? But
answer me this, Be you subjects or no? If you be subjects, then I
admonish you, as S. Paul taught Titus, saying, "Warn them to be subject to princes, and rulers, obeying them at a word." But tell me again, Partaineth this to subjection and obedience to say, This we wil have! S. Peter saith, "Be subject unto kings, as chief heads, and to other rulers sent by them. For so is the wil of God." Gods wil is, that you should be ruled by your princes. But whether is this to be ruled by your king, or to rule your king, to say, Thus we wil have the realm governed? Your servants be by the Scripture commanded, as they fear God, to be obedient to their masters, whether their masters be good or evil. And can you think it meet or lawful for you to dis-obey your undoubted king; being a prince most innocent, most godly, and most careful for your surety and wealth? If any thing can declare disobedience, what can declare it more than subjects to come with force of arms to their natural king and prince, and say, This we wil have?

But now leaving your rude and unseemly manner of speech to your most sovereign lord, I wil come to the point, and joyn with you in the effect of your first article. You say, you wil have all the holy decrees observed and kept. But do you know what they bee? The holy decrees, as I told you before, be called the bishop of Rome's ordinances and lawes. Which how holy and godly soever they be called, they be indeed so wicked, so ungodly, so ful of tyranny and so partial, that since the beginning of the world, were never devised or invented the like. I shall rehearse a certain of them, [whereby you may judge of the rest, to the intent] that your selves may see, how holy they be, and may say your minds, whether you would have them kept or no. And at the hearing of them, if you shal not think them meet to be kept here in this realm, then you may see how they deceived you, that moved you to ask this article. And if you like them and would have them kept, after you know what they be, then I say assuredly, that you be not only wicked Papists, but also heretics, and most hainous traitors to the king and this his realm. And yet how an absolute Papist varieith from an heretick or traitor, I know not: but that a Papist is also both a heretic and a traitor within.

One decree saith, "That whosoeuer doth not acknowledg himself to be under the obedience of the bishop of Rome is an heretic." Now answer me to this question, Whether be you under the obedience of the bishop of Rome, or not? If you say, that you be under his obedience, then be you traytors by the lawes of this realm. And if you deny it, then be you heretics by this decree. And shift is there none to save you from treason, but to renounce this decree, that commandeth you to be under the bishop of Rome: and so to confesse contrary to your own first article, that all decrees are not to be kept.

Yet a great many other decrees be as ill, and worse than this. One saith, "That al princes lawes, which be against any decree of the bishop of Rome, be void, and of no strength." Another decree saith, "That all the decrees of the bishop of Rome ought for ever to be kept of al men, as Gods word." Another decree there is, "That whosoeuer receiveth not the law of the bishop of Roma, neither availeth him the
Catholic faith, nor the four evangelists. For his sins shall never be forgiven.” Yet is there a worse, and more detestable decree, “That all kings and princes that suffer the bishop of Rome to decree to be broken in any point, are to be taken as infidels.” Another is there also, “That the bishop of Rome is bound to no manner of decree, but he may constrain all other persons, both spiritual and temporal, to receive al his decrees, and canons.” Another is yet more devilish; then any before rehearsed, “That to the bishop of Rome neither regard his own salvation, nor no man else, but put down with himself headlong innumerable people by heaps unto hell, yet may no mortal man presume to reprove him therefore.” But what should I tarry, and make you weary in rehearsing a number [of laws]? For a thousand other like canons and decrees there be, to the advancement of the bishop of Rome his usurped power and authority.

I cannot think of you, that you be so far from all godliness, from al wit and discretion, that you would have these decrees observed within this realm, which be so blasphemous to God, so injurious to al princes and realms, and so far from al equity and reason. But here you may easily perceive, what wily foxes you met withal, which persuad you to arms your selves, to make sedition in your own country, to stand against your princes, and the laws of your realm, for such articles as you understood not, and to ask you wist not what. For I dare say for you, that the subtil Papists, when they moved you to stand in this article, that all the holy decrees should be observed, they shewed you nothing of these decrees, that they would have taken for holy decrees. For if they had, they knew right well, that you would never have consented unto this article; but would have taken them for traitors, that first moved you thereto.

For now shal I shew you, what miserable case you should bring your selves unto, if the kings majesty would assent unto this [your] first article, that al the decrees should be kept and observed. For among other partial decrees made in favor of the clergy, this is one, “That none of the clergy shall be called, or sued before any temporal judge, for any manner of cause, either for debt, suit of lands, felony, murder, or for any other cause or crime: nor shall have any other judge, but his bishop only.” Another is, “That a spiritual man may sue a temporal man before a spiritual or temporal judge at his pleasure; but a temporal man cannot sue a spiritual, but only before his ordinary.” I cannot deny, but these be good and beneficial laws for the liberty of the clergy. But for your own parts, I suppose you do not think it an indifferent law, that a priest shall sue you where he list with the licence of his ordinary; and you shall sue him for no manner of cause, but only before his own ordinary. Or if a priest had slain one of your sons or brethren, that you should have no remedy against him, but only before the bishops. What meant [then] those Papistical preists, that stirred you to ask, and wil, such decrees and lawes to be observed in this realms, but ostently and craftily to bring you under their subjection: and that you your selves ignorantly asking you wist not what, should put your own heads under their girdles!

For surely if you had known these decrees, when you consented to
this article, you would have torn the article in pieces, and them that moved you therto also. For these decrees be not only partial, and against al equity and reason, made only for the favor of the clergy, and the suppression of the laity; but also they be, and ever have been, clearly contrary to the laws and customs of this realm. And yet by this article you wil have the old antient laws and customs of this realm (which have ever been used in al kings times hitherto) to be void and to cease, and these decrees to come in their place, and be observed of al men, and againsaid of no man. For whosoever speaketh against them, you wil hold them for heretics. And in so saying, look what sentence you give of your selves, altho your article say it, yet I am sure you be not so much enemies to your own realm, that you would have the old antient laws and customs of this realm (for the defence whereof al the noble kings of this realm have so valiantly and so justly stand against the bishops of Rome) now to be taken away and give place unto Romish decrees. And then by your own article you hold and condemn yourselfs to be heretics.

How be you bewitched by these false Papists! Why do you suffer them thus to abuse you by their subtility, to make you condemn yourselves of heresy? Why do you not send them unto the kings majesty, like errant traitors, as indeed they be, saying unto him, "Most mighty prince, and most dread soveraign lord, we present here unto you most heinous traitors against your majesty and realm, and greatest dissemblers and falsest deceivers of us, your simple and ignorant people, and yet in our hearts your true and faithful subjects. We have erred, we have grievously offended your majesty: but by ignorance, being so seduced, and provoked by the crafty persuasions of these most heinous traitors, that we wisst not what we did. But pardon us, soveraign lord, have pity upon our simplicity and ignorance: and these abominable traitors punish, according to their deservings. Have mercy, most mercifull prince, of us, your poor flock, which were ignorantly led out of the way, and strike with the swords those malicious guides, that purposely would have led us to our utter destruction."

If you did thus, then should you do the parts of true faithful and loving subjects, and should declare to the world, that al that you have hitherto done was done by error and ignorance. And I would nothing doubt of the kings majesty his clemency and mercy towards you.

But yet, to the intent that you may further know how unreasonable your first article is, I wil yet rehearse another sort of the holy lawes and decrees. One is, "That no lay man may have a benefice to farm." Another is, "That none of the clergy may give any thing to the relief of the commonweal, and necessity of their own realm, without the consent of the bishop of Rome." Another is, "That no lay man may meddle with election, or any other thing, that pertaineth unto any of the clergy." Another is, "That none of the clergy ought to give any oath of fidelity to their princes, except they have temporal lands of them." Another is, "That princes ought to obey the bishops and the decrees of the Church, and to submit their heads unto their bishops, and not to be judges over the bishops." Another is, "Whoseover offendeth the liberties of the Church, or doth break any interdiction that cometh from Rome,
or conspireth against the person or estate of the bishop or see of Rome, or
by any manner offendeth, disobeyeth, or rebelleth against the same bishop
or see, or that killeth a priest, or offendeth personally against a bishop or
other prelate, or invadeth, spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth lands
belonging to the church of Rome, or to any other church, immediately
subject unto Rome, or whosoever invadeth any pilgrims, that go to
Rome, or any suitors to the court of Rome, or that let the devolution
of causes unto that court, or that put any new charges or impositions,
real or personal, upon any church, or ecclesiastical person;" and gene-
really, "all other that offend in the cases contained in the bul," which
is usually published by the bishops of Rome upon Maunday Thursday; al
these can be assoiled by no priest, bishop, archbishop, nor by none
other, but only by the bishop of Rome, or by his express licence. These
with an infinite number of like sort, be the godly and holy decrees,
which you long so sore for, and so much desire.

Now would I know, whether you think, that these decrees were
made for the common wealth of al realmes, or only for the private weal
of the bishop of Rome, and of his bishops and clergy? And whether you
like and long for these laws; or now, at the hearing of them, your
longing is done? If you like them, well, for my part, I would you had
them practised among you for a while, so that the rest of the realm
were not troubled, neither with you, nor with your decrees, unless you
repented your selves of your foolish demands. I think within a year
you would kneel on your knees to the kings majestie, desiring him to
take from your necks the yokes and halters, which you had made for
your selves.

But to conclude the sum of your first article in few words. It is
nothing else but a clear subversion of the whole state and lawes of this
realm; and to make this realm to be whole governed by Romish lawes,
and to crown the idol and antichrist of Rome, king of this realm, and
to make our most undoubted and natural king his vile subject and
slave. Oh! what was in your minds to ask such a thing, and so pre-
sumptuously to say, that you wil have it? I trust there be not in
you so much malicie and devilishness, as the article containeth: but
that you were hastily bornate by subtill Papists to ask and demand
you wist not what.

If you had asked, that the word of God might be duly observed and
kept every where within this realm: and whosoever would gainsay
Gods word, to be holden as a heretic; you had declared your selves to
be godly men; [and] al that be godly would have commended and
furthered your requests. But forasmuch as you ask Romish canons and
decrees to be observed and kept here in England, and whosoever
shal gainsay them, to be holden as heretics, there is neither godly,
nor truly English man, that will allow you, or consent to your articles.
But clean contrary to your articles, a great number of godly persons
within this realm, for the very love that they have to God, that his
name may be glorified above al things, be daily humble suitors to the
kings majesty, that he, following the steps of his father, wil study, and
travail to weede out of this his realm, al Pospel decrees, lawes and
canons, and whatsoever else is contrary to Gods word: and that the
speakers against God's word may be taken, as they be indeed, for heretics. And is any of you so far from reason, that he thinketh the king's majesty ought to hearken to you, that by force and stoutness say, you will have Romish laws and decrees kept in this realm, and to turn his ears from them, that with all humility be suitors for God's word?

But now will I come to your other articles, wherein I will be brief, forasmuch as in the first I have been long and tedious.

Your second Article is this,

"Wee will have the law of our sovereign lord K. Henry VIII., concerning the Six Articles, to be used again, as in his time they were."

Letting pass your rude stile, nothing becoming subjects, to say, "You will have." First, I examine you of the cause of your wilful will, wherefore you will have these Six Articles, which were not laws in no region, but this: nor in this realm also, until the 81st year of King Henry VIII. And [then] in some things so enforced by the evil counsel of certain Papists against the truth, and common judgment, both of divines and lawyers, that if the king's majesty himself had not some personally into the Parliament house, those laws had never passed. And yet within a year or little more, the same most noble prince was faine to temper the said laws, and moderate them in divers points. So that the statute of Six Articles continued in his force little above the space of one year. Is this then so great a matter to make these uproars, and to arise against the whole realm? Will you take away the present laws of this realm, which be and ever have been, the laws of al other countreis also, and set up new laws, which were not, but in this realm only, and were here in force not fully thirteen months! And how chancest it, that you be so earnest in this article, which is directly contrary to your first article, but [that] you know not what neither of the articles meanest; but be persuaded by Papists to ask you what not what! But now hear the repugnance of your two articles: by your first you will have al general counsels and decrees observed and kept; and by your second article you will have the Six Articles used again. Then let us compare the general counsels and decrees with the Six Articles; and you shall see them agree as well together, as black and white.

First, it is contained in the canons of the apostles,* that a priest under no pretense of holiness may put away his wife; and, if he do, he shall be excommunicate. And the Six Articles say, that if any priest put not away his wife, he shall be taken for a felon. If he keep her not still, he must be excommunicate by the canon of the apostles. And if he keep her still, he must suffer death by the Six Articles. You be cunning men, if you can set these together. Also, the Council of Nice, which was the chief of all the general counsels, and was celebrated more than twelve hundred years past, decreed clean contrary to the Six Articles. For where the Six Articles command al priests to be separate from their wives, Nice Council determined clean contrary, that

* [Canon. Apostol. can. vi. ed. (Bruna.) Berol. 1839.]
they should not be separated, confessing such copulation to be holy and godly. And the Council of Gangrenose, which was about the same time, so much allowed the marriage of priests, that they assurred [all] them that would abstain from the administration of priests, because they were married.* These counsels vary so far from the Six Articles, that either you must put the general counsels out of your book, or else the Six Articles.

Likewise, concerning private masses, the law of Six Articles far differeth from the canon of the apostles, and from the counsels, Nicean and Antioch, as shall be declared in the next article.

Other things there be divers also in the Six Articles, which cannot stand with sundry old canons, decrees and counsels. So that if you will stand to the canons, decrees and counsels, you must of force be constrained utterly to put out of your book your second article, which requireth the usage of the Six Articles. But now for shortness of time I will come to your third article: which is this,

The third Article.

"We will have the Mass in Latine, as was before, and celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him."

Forsmarch as there is nothing with you, but "wil," let your will be conferred with reason and God's word; and then you shall see how far your wil differeth from them both: first as touching the Latine masses, whatsoever the priest saith in the old masses, whether he pray and ask any thing of God, or give thanks to God, or make the true profession of the faith, or whatsoever he doth beside, al he doth in your persons and in your names; and you answer unto that which he saith, sometimes "Amen," sometimes "Et cum spiritu tuo;" and sometimes other things, as the matter serveth. For all the whole that is done should be the action of the people, and pertain to the people, as well as to the priest. And standeth it with reason, that the priest should speak for you, and in your name, and you answer him again in your own persons; and yet you understand never a word, neither what he saith, nor what you say your selves? The priest prayeth to God for you, and you answer "Amen" you wot not whereto. Is there any reason herein? Wil you not understand what the priest prayeth for you? What thanks he giveth for you, what he asketh for you? Wil you neither understand what he saith, nor let your hearts understand what your own tongues answer? Then must you needs confess your selves to be such people as Christ spake of, when he said, "These people honor me with their lips, but their hearts be far from me." Had you rather be like pyes or parrots, that be taught to speak, and yet understand not one word what they say, then be true Christen men, that pray unto God in heart and in faith? The priest is your proctor and attorney, to plead your cause, and to speak for you al; and had you rather not know, then know what he saith for you? I have heard suitors mutter at the bar,

* [Concil. Gangren. can. i. p. 107. Id.]
because their attorneyes have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended, that the priests, which plead your cause before God, should speak such language, as you may understand? If you were before the kinges highnes, and should chuse one to speak for you al, I am sure you would not chuse one, that should speak Greeke or Hebrew, French or Italian; no, nor one that should speak Latine neither. But you would be glad to provide such one, as should speak your own language, and speak so loud, that you might both hear him, and understand him: that you might allow or disallow that that he said in your names. Why do you then refuse to do the like unto God?

When the priest desiereth of God any thing for you, or giveth thanks for you, how can you in your heart confirm his sayings, when you know not one word what he saith? For the heart is not moved with words, that be not understand.

But if reason wil not persuade you, I wil prove what Gods word will do unto you. S. Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, saith, that whosoever shal speak to the people in the church to their edification, must speak such language as the people may understand: or else he willeth him to hold his peace, and speak softly to himself and to God. For he that speaketh in a strange language, which the people understand not, doth not edify them, as S. Paul saith. And he giveth an example of the trumpet in the field, which when it giveth such a sound, that the soldiers understand, [then] it availleth much. For every soldier therby knoweth what to do. But if such a blast be blown, as no man understandeth, then the blast is utterly in vain. For no man knoweth therby, whether the horsemen shall make them ready, or leap upon horseback, or go to their standard. Or whether the footmen shall make them ready, or set themselves in array, or set upon the enemy, or retyre to the standard. Even so should the priests be Gods trump in his Church. So that if he blow such a certain blast, that the people may understand, they be much edified therby. But if he give such a sound, as is to the people unknown, it is clearly in vain, saith S. Paul. For he speaketh to the air, but no man is the better or edified therby; nor knoweth what he should do by that he heareth. Furthermore in the same place S. Paul saith, that if a man giveth thanks to God in a language to the people unknown, how can they say “Amen” to that they understand not? He doth wel in giving thanks to God; but that nothing availleth or edifieth the people, that know not what he saith. And S. Paul in one brief sentence concludeth his whole disputa-
tion of that matter: saying, “I had rather have five words spoken in the church to the instruction and edifying of the people, then ten thousand in a language unknown, that edifieth not.” And for this purpose [St. Paul] allledged the prophet Esay. Who saith, that “God will speak to his people in other tongues, and in other languages.” Meaning therby that he would speak to every country in their own language. So have the Greeks the mass in the Greek tongue, the Syrians in the Syrye tongue, the Armenians in their tongue, and the Indians in their own tongue. And be you so much addict to the Romish tongue, which is the Latine tongue, that you wil have your mas
APPENDIX.

in none other language, but the Romish language? Christ himself used among the Jews the Jews language: and willed his apostles to do the like in every country, wheresover they came. And be you such enemies to your own country, that you wil not suffer us to laud God, to thank him, and to use his sacraments in our own tongue: but wil inforce things contrary, as wel to al reason, as to the word of God? So many as [either] be godly, or have reason, will be satisfied with this. But the mere Papists will be satisfied with nothing. Wherfore I wil no longer tarry to satisfy them, that never wil be satisfied, but wil procede to the second part of this article, wherin you say, that you wil have neither man nor woman communicate with the priest. Alas! good simple souls, how be you blinded with the Papists! How contrary be your articles one to another! You say in your first article, that you wil have al general counsels and decrees observed, and now you go from them your selves. You say, you wil have no body to communicate with the priest. Hear then what divers canons, decrees and general counsels say clean against you. There is one decree which saith thus, "When the consecration is done, let all the people receive the communion, except they will be put out of the church."* And in the canons of the apostles, in the eighth chapter, is contained, "That wheresoever there is any mass, or communion, if any bishop, priest, deacon, or any other of the clergy, being there present, do not communicate, (except he can shew some reasonable cause to the contrary) he shall be put out of the communion, as one that giveth occasion to the people to think evil of the ministers."† And in the ninth chapter of the same canons of the apostles,‡ and in the general council held at Antioch, is thus written, "That al Christen people, that come into the church, and hear the holy Scriptures read, and after will not tarry to pray, and to receive the holy communion, with the rest of the people: but for some miscordering of themselves, wil abstain therfrom, let them be put out of the church, until by humble knowing of their fault, and by the fruits of penance, and prayers, they obtain pardon and forgiveness."§ And the council Nicene also sheweth the order, how men should sit in receiving the communion, and who should receive first.§ All these decrees and general counsels utterly condemn your third article, wherein you wil, that the priest shall receive the communion alone without any man or woman communicatig with him. And the whole Church of Christ also, both Greeks and Latines, many hundred years after Christ, and His apostles, do al condemn this your article: which ever received the communion in flocks and numbers together, and not the priest alone. And beside this, the very words of the mass, as it is called, shew plainly, that it is ordained not only for the priest, but for others also to communicate with the priest. For in the very canon, which they so

* [Corpus Juris Canonici, Decret. part iii. "de Consecrat." dist. ii. can. x. tom. i. col. 1150, ed. Lips. 1839.]
† [Canon. Apost. can. viii. and ix. p. 2, ed. (Bruns.).]
‡ [Concil. Antioch. i. can. ii. p. 81. Id.]
§ [Concil. Nican. can. xviii. p. 19. Id.]
much extol, and which is so holy, that no man may know what it is (and therefore is read so softly, that no man can hear it) in that same
canon, I say, is a prayer concerning this; that "not only the priest,
but also as many beside, as communicate with him, may be fulfilled
with grace and heavenly benediction."* How agreeeth this prayer
with your article, wherein you say, that neither man nor woman shall
communicate with the priest? In another place also of the said canon,
the priest prayeth for himself, and "for all that receive the communion
with him, that it may be a preparation for them unto everlasting life."
Which prayer were but a very fond prayer, and a very mocking with
God, if no body should communicate with the priest. And the com-
monion concludes with two prayers in the name of the priest, and them
that communicate with him, wherein they pray thus: "O Lord, that
thing which we have taken in our mouth, let us take it also with pure
mind, that this communion may purge us from our sins, and make us
partakers of heavenly remedy." And besides all this, there be an
infinite sort of "postcommuns" in the miss-books. Which all do
evidently shew, that in the masses, the people did communicate with
the priest.

And althe I would exhort every good Christen man often to receive
the holy communion: yet I do not recite al these things to the intent,
that I would in this corrupt world, (when men live so ungodly as they
do) that the old canons should be restored again, which commanded
every man present to receive the communion with the priest. Which
canons, if they were now used, I fear that many would receive it un-
worthily. But I speak them to condemn your articles, which would
have no body, neither man nor woman, to be communicated with the
priest. Which your article condemneth the old decrees, canons and
general counsels, condemneth al the old primitive church, al the old,
antient, holy doctors, and martyrs, and al the formes and manner of
masses, that ever were made, both new and old. Therefore cast again
this article, if you wil not be condemned of the whole world, and of
your selves also by your first article: wherein you wil al decrees,
and general counsels to be observed. But forasmuch as I have been
toe tedious in this article, I wil endeavour myself to be shorter in
the next.

Your fourth Article is this,

"We wil have the Sacrament hang over the high altar, and there
to be worshipped, as it was wont to be; and they which wil not
therto consent, we wil have them dy like heretics against the
holie Catholic faith."

What say you, O ignorant people in things pertaining to God? Is
dis the holly Catholic faith, that the sacrament should be hanged over
the altar and worshipped? And be they heretics, that wil not con-
sent therto! I pray you, who made this faith? Any other, but the
bishops of Rome! And that after more then a thousand years after
Christ's faith was ful and perfect. Innocent III, about 1215 years

* [Canon. Misse. See Roman Missal, p. 238, ed. Mechlin, 1840.]
after Christ, did ordain, that the sacrament and chrism should be kept under lock and key.* But yet no mention he made of hanging the sacrament over the high altar, nor of the worshiping of it. After him came Honorius III. and he added further, commanding that the sacrament should be devoutly kept in a clean place, and sealed, and that the priests should often teach the people reverently to bow down to the host, when it is lifted up in the mass time, and when the priests should carry it to the sick folk.† And altho this Honorius‡ added the worshiping of the sacrament, yet he made no mention of the hanging thereof over the high altar, as your article purporteth. Nor how long after, or by what means, that came first up into this realm, I think no man can tell. And in Italy it is not yet used until this day. And in the beginning of the Church it was not only not used to be hung up, but also it was utterly forbid to be kept.

And will you have all them that will not consent to your article, to dye like heretics, that hold against the Catholic faith? Were the apostles and evangelists heretics? Were the martyrs and confessors heretics? Were all the old doctors of the Church heretics? Were all Christen people heretics, until within three or four hundred years last past, that the bishops of Rome taught them what they should do and believe? All they before rehearsed neither hanged the sacrament over the altar, nor worshiped it, nor one of them al spake any one word, either of the hanging up, or worshiping of the sacrament. Mary, they speak very much of the worshiping of Christ himself, setting in heaven at the right hand of his Father. And no man doth duely receive the sacrament, except he do, after that manner, do worship Christ, whom he spiritually receiveth, spiritually feedeth and nourisbeth upon, and by whom spiritually he liveth, and continueth that life that is towards God. And this the sacrament teacheth us.

Now to knit up this article shortly. Here is the issue of this matter: that you must either condemn of heresy the apostles, martyrs, confessors, doctors, and all the holy Church of Christ, until the time of Innocentius and Honorius, because they hanged not the sacrament over the altar to be worshiped; or else you must be condemned yourself by your own article, to dye like heretics against the holy Catholic faith. Now to your fifth article.

Your fifth Article is this,

"We will have the Sacrament of the Altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind."

Methinks you be like a man, that were brought up in a dark dungeon, that never saw light, nor knew nothing that is abroad in the world. And if a friend of his pitying his ignorance and state, would

* [Corpus Juris Canonici, Decretal. Gregor. IX. lib. iii. tit. 44, cap. i. tom. ii. col. 624.]
† [Id. ibid. lib. iii. tit. 41, cap. x. tom. ii. col. 617.]
‡ [In the MS. it is "this Innocentius," not "Honorius." Strype's version is retained in the text as being more correct.]
APPENDIX.

bring him out of his dungeon, that he might see the light and come to knowledge, he being from his youth used to darkness, could not abide the light, but would wilfully shut his eyes, and be offended both with the light, and with his friend also. A most godly prince of famous memory King Henry VIII. our late sovereign lord, pitying to see his subjects many years so brought up in darkness, and ignorance of God, by the erroneous doctrines and traditions of the bishop of Rome, with the counsel of all his nobles and learned men, studied by all means, and that to his no little danger and charges, to bring you out of your said ignorance and darkness unto the true light, and knowledge of God's word. And our most dread sovereign lord, that now is, succeeding his father, as well in this godly intent, as in his realmes and dominions, hath with no less care and diligence, studied to perform his fathers godly intent and purpose. And you like men, that wilfully shut their own eyes, refuse to receive the light, saying [that] you will [still] remain in your darkness. Or rather you be like men, that be so far wandred out of the right way, that they can never come to it again without good and expert guides: and yet when the guides would tell you the truth, they would not be ordered by them, but would say unto them, Woe will have, and follow our own ways.

And that you may understand how far you be wandred from the right way in this one article, wherein you will have the sacrament of the altar delivered to the lay-people but once in the year, and then but under one kind, be you assured, that there was never such law, nor such request made among Christen people, until this day. What injury do you to many godly persons, which would devoutly receive it many times, and you command the priest to deliver it them but at Easter. All learned and godly men have exhorted Christian people, (altho they have not commanded them;) often to receive the communion. And in the apostles time, the people at Jerusalem received it every day, as it appeareth by the manifest words of the Scripture. And after they received it in some places every day: in some places four times in the week: in some three times: some twice: and commonly everywhere at the least once in the week. In the beginning, when men were most godly and fervent in the Holy Spirit, then they received the communion daily. But when the spirit of God began to be more cold in mens hearts, and they waxed more worldly than godly, then their desire was not so hot to receive the communion, as it was before. And ever from time to time, as the world waxed more wicked, the more the people withdrew themselves from the holy communion. For it was so holy a thing; and the threatenings of God be so sore against them, that some thereto unworthy, that an ungodly man abhorreth it, and not without cause dare in no wise approach therunto. But to them that live godly, it is the greatest comfort, that in this world can be imagined. And the more godly a man is, the more sweetnes and spiritual pleasure and desire he shall have, often to receive it. And will you be so ungodly, to command the priest, that he shall not deliver it to him, but at Easter: and then but only in one kind? When Christ ordained both the kinds, as wel
for the lay-men, as for the priests: and that to be eaten and drunken at all times.

What enemies be you to all lay-men, and to your selves also, that refuse to drink of Christ's cup, which be commanded all men to drink upon, saying, "Take and divide this among you;" and, "Drink you all of it?"

But need any more be brought for the reproving of this article, then your own first article, where you will have kept all decrees and counsels. Now in the decree de Consecrat. Di. 2, there is one decree that commandeth all men to receive the communion at the least three times in the year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. Another commandeth every man to receive the same upon Shrove Thursday.† The Council Agathense saith, that all lay-men which receive not the communion at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, shall not be taken for Catholics.‡ And the decree of Gelasius [saith], that the receiving under one kind is great sacrilege.§ Then by your first article you do not only condemn your first article, but also you show your selves not to be Catholics, except you receive the communion at the least three times in the year; and that under both kinds. Which is clean repugnant to this article. And yet I pray God, you receive it worthily once in your life; which you shall never do, except you wonderfully repent this your misbehaviour: and al your life time study to amend and redress that you have now offended. Now to your sixth article.

Your sixth Article is this,

"We will that our curates shall minister the Sacrament of Baptism at all times, as well in the week day, as on the holy day."

Who letteth your ministers to baptize your child every day, if any case of necessity so do require? But commonly it is more convenient, that baptism should not be ministered, but upon the holy day, when the most number of people be together. As well for that the whole church [of Christ] there present may rejoice together of the receiving of new members of Christ into the same church, as also, that all men, being present, may remember, and the better know what they promised themselves by their godfathers and godmothers in their own baptism; and be the more earnestly stirred in their hearts to perform the same: and also, may altogether pray for them, that be baptized, that they may have grace to perform their profession. S. Greg. Nazianz. as great a clerk as ever was in Christ's church, and master to S. Hierome, counselled, that children should not be christened, until they came to three years of age, or thereabouts, except they were in danger of life.‖ And it was thought sufficient to our forefathers to be done two times in the year, at

---

* [Corpus Juris Canonici, Decreti, pars iii. de Consecrat. dist. ii. can. xvi. tom. ii. col. 1152.]
† [Id. ibid. can. xvii.]
‡ [Id. ibid. can. xviii. (See also Canon. Apost. et Concil. (Bruns.) pt. ii. p. 151.)]
§ [Id. ibid. can. xii.]
Easter and Whitsuntide, as it appeareth by divers of their counsels and decrees, which forbid baptism to be ministered at any other time than Easter and Whitsuntide, except in case of necessity. And there remained lately divers signes and tokens thereof. For every Easter and Whitsun even, until this time, the fonts were hallowed in every church, and many collects and other prayers were read for them that were baptised. But all was in vain, and as it were a mocking with God. For none were baptised at those times, except it were by chance, but all were baptised before. For as vigils, otherwise called watchings, remain in the calendars upon certain saints evens, because in old times the people watched at those nights; and Vigilantius, because he spake against those watchings, was condemned of heresy; but now these many years those vigils remained in vain in the books, for no man did watch; even so until this day, the order and form of christening was read and kept every year at Easter and Whitsuntide, but none was then christened. Wherin it appeareth how far we be swerved from our forefathers.

And, to conclude this article shortly, if you will needs have baptism ministered no more at one time than another, then must you needs renounce your first article; which will the counsels and decrees of the forefathers to be observed and kept. And this briefly sufficeth for the sixt article.

Your seventh Article is this.

"We wil have holy bread and holy water [made] every Sunday, palmes and ashes at the time accustomed; images to be set up again in every church; and all other antient, old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother holy Church."

Oh! superstition and idolatry, how they prevale among you! The heavenly bread, the food of everlasting life, offered unto you in the sacrament of the holy communion, you refuse to eat, but only at Easter. And the cup of the most holy blood, wherewith you were redeemed and washed from your sins, you refuse utterly to drink of at any time. And yet in the stead of these you will eat often of the unsavoury and poisoned bread of the bishop of Rome, and drink of his stinking puddles, which he nameth holy bread and holy water. Consider, oh! ignorant people, the authors and intents of the makers of them both. The water of baptism, and the holy bread and wine of the holy communion, none other person did ordain, but Christ himself. The other that is called holy bread, holy water, holy ashes, holy palmes, and all such other like ceremonies, ordained the bishops of Rome; adver-

APPENDIX.

saries to Christ, and therefore rightly called antichrists. And Christ ordained His bread His wine and His water to our great comfort, to instruct us and teach us what things we have only by him. But antichrist on the other side hath set up his superstitions, under the name of holines, to none other intent, but as the devil seeketh al means to draw us from Christ, so doth antichrist avance his holy superstitions, to the intent that we should take him in the sted of Christ, and believe that we have by him such things, as we have only by Christ. That is to say, spiritual food, remission of our sins and salvation.

First, our Savior Christ ordained the water of baptism to signify unto us, that as the water washeth our bodies outwardly, so be we spiritually within washed by Christ from al our sins. And as that water is called water of regeneration, or new birth, so it declareth unto us, that through Christ we be born anew, and begin a new life towards God: and that Christ is the beginning of this new life. And as the body that is now born, altho it have life within it, yet can it not continue [without meat and drink; even so can we not continue] in the spiritual life towards God, except we be continually nourished with spiritual food. And that spiritual food is Christ also. For as he is the first beginning of our spiritual life, so is he the continuance and ending thereof. And for this cause did Christ ordain in the holy communion, to be eaten bread, and drunken wine, that we should surely believe, that as our bodies be fed with bread and wine in these holy mysteries, so be we out of doubt that our souls be fed spiritually with the lively food of Christ's body and blood; whereby we have remission of our sins and salvation. But the bishop of Rome invented new devises of his own making, and by them promised remission of sins and salvation, that he might be set up and honored for a savior equal to Christ. And so to be esteemed above all creatures, and to set in the temple of God, that is in the Church of Christ, as he were God.

And to bring this to pass he hath horribly abused holy Scriptures, altering them to his purpose in the sted of Christ's most holy blood, putting in his holy water. As it appeareth evidently in this sentence of S. Paul written in the ninth chap. to the Hebrews:—"If the blood of oxen and goats," saith S. Paul, "and the ashes of a yong cow purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh, how much more the blood of Christ (which through the eternal Spirit offered himself, [being] without spot unto God) shall purge your consciences from dead works, for to serve the living God. And for this cause he is the Mediator of the new testament." Consider wel this sentence of Paul, and you shall find two purifyings, one of the body and another of the soul, or conscience. You shall find also two mediators: one was the priest of Moses law, and the other is Christ. The priests of the old law, with the blood of oxen and goats, and other their sacrifices, purged only the bodies of them that were defiled, but the soul, or conscience, they could not help. But our Savior Christ by His own blood purged both body and soul. And for that cause He, and none other, is the Mediator of the new testament. But the bishop of Rome, to make himself also a mediator with Christ, hath taken upon
him to purify the soul and conscience with holy water, holy salt, and
other his holy creatures of his own devising, to the intolerable injury
of Christ's blood, which only hath that effect. And to bring this to
pass, he hath most shamefully changed the words of the Scripture, and
wrested them to his purpose: some words putting out, and only in the
stead of Christ's blood, putting in his own holy water and salt. For
wheras S. Paul, "if the blood of oxen and goats, and the ashes of a
cow, purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh;"
here the bishop of Rome leaveth out these words, "as touching the
purifying of the flesh." And where S. Paul, extolling the effect of
Christ's blood in comparison of the blood of oxen and goats, saith, "How
much more the blood of Christ, which through the Eternal Spirit
offered Himself, being without spot, unto God, shall purge your con-
sciences." Here the bishop of Rome, extolling his water and salt put-
teth out Christ's blood, and in the place thereof putteth his holy water
and salt; saying, "How much more water, which is sprinkled with
salt, and bellowed with godly prayers, shall sanctify and purify the
people." Oh! intolerable blasphemy against the most precious blood
of Christ! Oh! shameless audacity and boldness, so to corrupt and
pervert God's holy word! If he by his holy water presume to purify
our souls, as Christ did by His blood, what is that else, but to make
himself equal, and another mediator with Christ? And what is it, to
tread under [his] foot the Son of God, and to make the blood of the
N. testament (whereby we be sanctified) like other common things,
and to dishonor the spirit of grace, if this be not? And yet not con-
tented with this blaspheming [of] the blood of Christ, he preferreth his
holy creatures far above the blood of Christ, promising by them many
benefits, which by the blood of Christ be not promised. For in the
same place he promiseth by his holy ceremonies to take away from us
dearth and scarcity of all worldly things, and to multiply and encrease
us with the same. Also to defend us from the assaults of the devil,
and all his deceits, and to give us health both of body and soul. But
all men be him so shamefully to ly in these worldly things, that no man,
that wise is, will trust him in the rest. Nor no man, that is godly,
will desire such things to remain stil, which so much have deceived
simple people, and dishonored God, and been contumelious to the
blood of Christ.

But now to your images, which, you say, you will have set up again
in every church. What moved you to require this article, but only
ignorance? For if you had known the laws of God, and the use of
godly religion, as well before the incarnation of Christ as four or five
hundred years next after, and by whom images were at first brought
into Christ's Church, and how much idolatry was every where com-
mittted by the means of the same, it could not not have been, that ever
you would have desired this article, except you had more affection to
idolatry, then to true religion. For Almighty God, among the Ten
Commandments rehearsed this for the second, as one of the chief,
"Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven image, nor the likeness of
any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor in the
water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow to them, nor worship
them." This commandment was diligently kept in the old testament, so long as the people pleased God. For in their tabernacle was not one image, less nor more, that the people might see. Although upon the propitiatory were [set] two cherubims of gold by the commandment of God. And that was in such a place, as the people never came near, nor saw [them]. But when the people forgetting this commandment, began to make images, and to set them up in the place of adoration, by and by they provoked Gods indignation against them, and were grievously punished therefor.

The Church of Christ likewise in the N. testament, for the space of four or five hundred years after Christ's ascension, utterly refused to have images in the church, a place of adoration. As it may plainly appear* by al the old antient authors, that lived and wrot in that time, so much, that above four hundred years after Christ, when some superstitious, and ignorant people, in some places, began to bring painted images, not into the church, but to the church doores, the great clerk Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, finding such a painted image of Christ, or some other saint, hanging at the church door, in a town called Anablastha, he cutt it in pieces, saying, that "it was against the authority of Scripture, that in the church of Christ should hang the image of a man." And the same Epiphanius wrot unto the bishop of Jerusalem, that he should command the priests, that in no wise they should suffer such images to be hanged in the church of Christ, which were contrary to our religion.†

But peradventure you will mervail, and ask me the question, how it was brought to pas, that of late years al churches were so ful of images, and so much offering, and pilgrimages done unto them, if it were against the commandment of God, against the usage of all godly people in the O. testament, and also against the custom of Christes church in the N. testament, so long as it was pure and holy, and kept from idolatry? Who was able to bring this to effect, contrary both to Gods express commandment, and the custom of al godly people from the beginning of the world, until four or five hundred years after Christ? No man surely could have wrought this thing so much contrary to God, but antichrist himself, that is to say, the bishop of Rome. To whom God hath given great power to work wonders, to bring into error those that will not believe the truth. But by what means did he compass this matter? By such means as was most meet for himself, and as he hath commonly practised in al other matters: that is to say, by sedition and murder, by confederacies and persecutions, by raising the sons against their fathers, the childe against their mother, and the subjects against their rulers; by deposing of emperors and princes, and murdering of learned men, saints and martyrs. For thus

be wrought against the empire of the East parties from Gregory II. his time, until Gregory III.* who at length, after this contention had endured above five hundred years, in a council held at Lyons, by feigned promises, persuaded the emperor of the East to descend to his purpose, as we to receive images into the churches, as to other his requests. But nevertheless the bishop of Rome failed of his purpose. For yet to this day the Christen men in the East do not allow images to stand in their churches; neither the Greeks; nor the Armenians, nor the Indians, nor none other Christen men. And that more is search the at the world through out, of what religion soever they be, whether they be Jews, Turks, Saracens, Tartaries, or Christen people: and you shall not find an image in none of their churches, but that was brought in by the bishop of Rome, and where the bishop of Rome is, or with in these forty years was, taken for the head of the Church, and Christ's vicar in earth.

And at the beginning the bishops of Rome, to cloak their idolatry, pretended to have images set up, only for a remembrance to lay men, and to be, as it were, lay mens books. But after, they defined plainly that they should be worshipped. And so it increased at length, that images were kneeled unto, offered unto, prayed unto, sought unto; incensed, and pilgrimages done unto them, and al manner of superstition and idolatry that could be devised. Almighty God knoweth our corrupt nature better than we do our selves. He knoweth well the inclination of man, how much he is given to worship creatures, and the work of his own hands: and especially fond women, which commonly follow superstition rather than true religion. And therefore he utterly forbade the people the use of graven images; especially in places dedicated to the honour of God, knowing assuredly that of the having would follow the worshipping them.

Now, thanks be to God, in this realm, we be clearly delivered from that kind of idolatry (which most highly offended God), and we do according to the council Eliberturn,† which ordained, that no images should be in churches. And this is so antient, that it was about the same year that Nicene Council was. What should then move you to ask again your images in the church, being not only against Gods commandments, and the use of Gods church evermore, since the beginning of the world, when it was pure from idolatry; but also being chargeable to the realm, and great occasion of hainous idolatry; but that some Papistical and covetous preists have persuaded you heretes? Which care neither for Gods [dis]honour, nor your damnation; so that they may have any commodity or profit therby.

I have been very long in this article, and yet the matter is so large that it requireth much more to be spoken therein, which for shortness of time I am constrained to leave, until a more occasion; and so come to your eighth article.

APPENDIX.

Your eighth Article is this,

"We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game: but we will have our old service of Mattins, Mass, Even-song, and Procession in Latine, as it was before. And so we the Cornish men, wherof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this new English."

As concerning the having of the service in the Latine tongue, is sufficiently spoken of in the answer to the third article. But I would gladly know the reason, why you Cornish men refuse utterly the "New English," as you call it, because certain of you understand it not: and yet you will have the service in Latin, which almost none of you understand. If this be a sufficient cause for Cornwal to refuse the English service, because some of them understand none English, a much greater cause have they, both of Cornwall and Devonshire, to refuse utterly the Latin service; for as much as fewer of them know the Latine tongue, than them of Cornwall the English tongue. But where you say, that you will have the old service, because the new is "like a Christmas game," you declare your selves what spirit you be led withal, or rather what spirit leadeth them, that persuaded [to] you, that the word of God is but like a Christmas game. It is more like a game and a fould play to be laughed at of all men, to hear the priest speak aloud to the people in Latine, and the people listen [to some] with their ears to hear; and some walking up and down in the church, some [in the church] saying other prayers in Latin, and none understandeth other. Neither the priest nor the parish wot what they say. And many times the thing that the priest saith in Latine is so fond of itself, that it is more like a play, then a godly prayer.

But in the English service appointed to be read, is there nothing else but the eternal word of God. The New and the Old Testament is read, [the word] that hath power to save your souls: which, as S. Paul saith, "is the power of God to the salvation of all that believe:" the clear light to our eyes, without the which we cannot see; and a lantern to our feet, without which we should stumble in darkness. It is in it self the wisdom of God, and yet to the Jews it is a stumbling block, and to the Gentiles it is but foolishness. "But to such as be called of God, whether they be Jewses or Gentiles, it is the power of God and the wisdom of God." Then unto you if it be but foolishness and a "Christmas game," you may discern your selves what miserable state you be in, and how far you be from God. For S. Paul saith plainly, that the word of God is foolishness only to them that perish: but to them that shall be saved it is Gods might and power. To some it is a lively savour unto life; and to some it is a deadly savour unto death. If it be to you but a Christmas game, it is then a savour of death unto death. And surely persuade your selves, that you be not led by the spirit of God, so long as the word of God savoureth no better to you, but seemeth to you a Christmas pastime, and foolishness. And therefore the old service pleaseth you better. Which in many things is so foolish and so strangely, that it seemeth rather to be old wives' tales and lies, then sounding to holy godlines. The devil is a lyer, and the author of lies: and
they may think themselves governed rather of his spirit, then of God, when lyes delight more than Gods most true word.

But this I judge rather of your leaders then of your selves; who by ignorance be carried away by other, you wot not whether. For when the service was in the Latine tongue, which you understood not, they might read to you truths or fables, godly or ungodly things, as they pleased: for you could not judge that you understood not. And that was the cause why S. Paul would have such languages spoken in the church as the people might understand. That they might learn and be edified therby, and judge of that which should be spoken, whether it were according to Gods word, or not.

But forasmuch as you understood not the old Latine service, I shall rehearse some things in English, which were wont to be read in Latine, that when you understand them, you may judge them, whether they seem to be true tales, or fables: and whether they, or Gods word seem to be more like plays and Christmas games. "The devil entered into a certain person; in whose mouth S. Martin put his finger. And because the devil could not get out at his mouth, the man blew him, or cackled him out behind." This was one of the tales, that was wont to be read in the Latine service, that you wil needs have again. As tho the devil had a body, and that so cress, that he could not pas out by the small pores of the flesh, but must needs have a wide hole to go out at. Is this a grave and godly matter to be read in the church, or rather a foolish Christmas tale, or an old wives fable, worthy to be laughed at and scorned of every man, that hath either wit or godly judgment! Yet more foolish, erroneous and superstitious things be read in the feasts of S. Blase, S. Valentine, S. Margaret, S. Peter, of the Visitation of our Lady, and the Conception, of the Transfiguration of Christ, and in the feast of Corpus Christi; and a great number mo. Whereof some be most vain fables, some very superstition; some directly against Gods word, and the lawes of this realm: and altogether be ful of error and superstition. But as Christ commonly exoussed the simple people, because of their ignorance, and justly condemned the Scribes and Pharisees, which, by their crafty persuasions, led the people out of the right way: so I think not you so much to be blamed, as those Pharisees and Papistical priests, which, abusing your simplicity, caused you to ask you wist not what, desiring rather to drink of the dregs of corrupt error, which you know not, then of the pure and sweet wine of Gods word, which you may and ought to understand. But now have I sufficiently bespoken of your eighth article: I wil go forward unto the ninth.

Your ninth Article is this,

"Wz wil have every preacher in his sermon, and every priest at his mass, pray especially by name for the souls in purgatory, as our forefathers did."

To reason with you by learning, which be unlearned, it were but folly; therfore I wil convince your article with very reason. First, tell me, I pray you, if you can, whether there be a purgatory or no: and where or what it is. And if you cannot tel, then I may tel you,
APPENDIX.

that you ask you wot not what. The Scripture maketh mention of two places, where the dead be received after this life. Viz. of heaven, and of hel: but of purgatory is not one word spoken. Purgatory was wont to be called a fire, as hot as hel, but not so long during. But now the defenders of purgatory within this realm be ashamed so to say: nevertheless they say, it is a third place. Where or what it is, they confes themselves they can no tel. And of Gods word they have nothing to shew neither, where it is, nor what it is, nor that it is. But al is fained of their own brain without authority of Scripture.

I would ask of them then, wherfore it is, and to what use it serveth. For if it be to none use, then it is a thing frustrate and in vain. Mary, say they, it is a place of punishment, wherby they be purged from their sins, that depart out of this life, not fully purged before. I cannot tel, whether this saying be more foolishness, or more contumelious to Christ. For what can be more foolish, then to say, that paines can wash sins out of the soul. I do not deny but that correction and punishment in this life, is a calling of men to repentance and amendment; and so to be purged by the blood of Christ. But correction without repentance can nothing avail: and they that be dead be past the time of repentance; and so no correction or torments in purgatory can avail them. And how great a contumely and injury is this to Christ, to affirm that al [they] have not ful and perfect purgation by his bloud, that dy in his faith? Is not al our trust in the bloud of Christ, that we be cleansed, purged, and washed therby? And wil you have us now to forsake our faith in Christ, and bring us to the Popes purgatory, to be washed therin: thinking that Christes bloud is an imperfect lee or sope, that wasbeth not clean? If he shal dy without mercy, that treads Christes bloud under his feet, what is treading of his bloud under our feet, if this be not? But if according to the Catholic faith, which the holy Scripture teacheth, and the prophete, apostles and martyrs confirmed with their bloud, al the faithful, that dy in the Lord, be pardoned of al their offences by Christ, and their sins be clearly spunged and washed away by his bloud, shal they after be cast into another strong and grievous prison of purgatory, there to be punished again for that which was pardoned before? God hath promised by his word, that the souls of the just be in Gods hand, and no pain shal touch them: and again he saith, "Blessed be they that dy in the Lord. For the spirit of God saith, that from henceforth they shal rest from their pains." And Christ himself saith, "He that believeth in him, that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shal not come to judgment, but shal pas from death unto life." And is God no truer of his promise, but to punish that, which he promiseth to pardon! Consider the matter by your own cases. If the kings majesty should pardon your offences; and after, would cast you into prison, would you think that he had wel observed his promis? For what is to pardon your offences, but to pardon the punishment for the same? If the king would punish you, would you take that for a pardon? Would you not allsdg your pardon, and say, that you ought not to be punished? Who can then, that hath but a crum of reason in his head, imagin of God,
that he wil, after our death, punish those things that he pardonéd in
our life time!

Truth it is, that Scripture maketh mention of paradise and Abra-
ham's bosome after this life; but these be places of joy and consolation,
not of pain and torments. But yet I know what subtil sophisters use
to mutter in men's ears to deceive them withal. David, they say, with
many other, were pardonéd of their offences, and yet were they sore
punishéd after, for the same, of God. And some of them, so long as
they lived. Wel, be it were so. Yet after their lives, they were not
punishéd in purgatory therefore. But the end of their lives was the
end of their punishamento. And likewise it is of original sin after
baptism, which altho it be pardonéd, yet certain paines thereof continue
so long as we live. But this punishamento in our life time is not to
revenge our original sin, which is pardonéd in baptism; but to make
us humble, penitent, obedient to God, fearful to offend, to know our
selves, and ever to stand in fear and aw; as if a father, that hath
beaten a wilful child for his faults, should hang the rod continually at
the child's girdle, it should be no small pain and grief to the child, ever
hanging by his side. And yet the father doth it not to beat the child
for that which is past and forgiven; but to make him beware hereafter,
that he offend not again, and to be gentle, tractable, obedient and loth
to do any thing amiss. But after this life there is no such cause of
punishment: where no rod or whip can force any man to go any faster
or further, being already at the end of his journey. Likewise a master,
that hath an unthriftily servant, which out of his masters sight doth nothing
but riot and disorder himself, if he forgive his servant, and for the love
he beareth to him, and the desire he hath to see him corrected and re-
formed, he will command him never to be out of his sight: this com-
mandment, altho indeed it be a great pain to the servant, yet the
master doth it not to punish those faults, which before he had pardonéd
and forgiven, but to keep him in stay, that he fall no more to like dis-
order. But these examples and cases of punishamento in this life,
can in no wise be wrested and drawn to the life to come. And so in
no wise can serve for purgatory.

And furthermore, seeing that the Scriptures so often and so dili-
gently teach us, almost in every place, to relieve al them that be in
necessity, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick and
the prisoners, to comfort the sorrowful; and so to al other that have
need of our help: and the same in no place maketh mention, either of
such pains in purgatory, or what comfort we may do them; it is cer-
tain that the same is feigned for lucre, and not grounded upon Gods
word. For else the Scripture in some place would have told us
plainly what case they stood in that be in purgatory, and what relief
and help we might do unto them. But forasmuch as Gods word
spaketh not one word of neither of them both, my counsel shal be,
that you keep not the bishop of Rome's decrees, that you may come to
purgatory, but keep Gods laws, that you may come to heaven. Or else
I promise you assuredly, that you shall never escape hell. Now to
your next article.
APPENDIX.

Your tenth Article is this,

"We will have the Bible, and all books of Scripture in English, to be called in again. For we be informed, that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics."

Alas! it grieveth me to hear your articles: and much I rue and lament your ignorance: praying God most earnestly once to lighten your eyes, that you may see His truth. What Christian heart would not be grieved to see you so ignorant, (for willingly and wilfully, I trust, you do it not) that you refuse Christ, and joyn ye your selves with antichrist. You refuse the holy Bible, and all holy Scriptures so much, that you wil have them called in again; and the bishop of Rome decrees you wil have advanced and observed. I may wel say to you as Christ said to Peter, "Turne back again, for you savor not godly things." As many of you as understand no Latine cannot know Gods word, but in English, except it be the Cornish men, which cannot understand likewise none, but their own speech. Then you must be content to have it in English, which you know, or else you must confess, that you refuse utterly the knowledge thereof. And wherfore did the Holy Ghost come down among the apostles in fiery tongues, and gave them knowledge of all languages, but that all nations might hear, speak and learn Gods word in their mother tongue? And can you name me any Christian nation in all the world, but they have, and ever have had Gods word in their own tongue? And the Jews, to whom God gave his Scriptures in the Hebrew tongue, after their long captivity among the Chaldees, so that no of them knew the Chaldee than the Hebrew tongue, they caused the Scripture to be turned into the Chaldee tongue, that they might understand it: which until this day is called Targum. And Ptolomy, king of Egypt, caused sixty [seventy] of the greatest clerks, that might be gotten, to translate the Scripture out of Hebrew into Greek. And until this day the Greeks have it in the Greek tongue; the Latines in the Latine tongue, and all other nations in their own tongue. And will you have God further from us, then from all other countries: that he shal speak to every man in his own language, that he understandeth, and was born in, and to us shal speak a strange language, that we understand not? And will you, that all other realms shal laud God in their own speech, and we shal say to him we know not what?

Altho you savor so little of godlines, that you list not to read his word your selves, you ought not to be so malicious and envious, to let them that be more godly, and would gladly read it to their comfort and edification. And if there be an English heretic, how wil you have him confuted, but in English? And wherby else, but by Gods word? Then it followeth, that to confute English heretics, we must have Gods word in English, as all other nations have it in their own native language. St. Paul to the Ephesians teacheth al men, as wel lay-men, as priests, to arme themselves, and to fight against al adversaries with Gods word: without the which we cannot be able to prevail, neither against subtil heretics, puissant devils, this deceitful world; nor our own sinful flesh. And therfore until Gods word came to light, the
bishop of Rome, under the prince of darkness, reigned quietly in the world: and his heresies were received and allowed for the true Catholic faith. And it can none otherwise be, but that heresies must reign, where the light of God's word driveth not away our darkness.

Your eleventh Article is this.

"We have Dr. Moreman and Dr. Crispin, which hold our opinions, to be safely sent unto us; and to them we require the kings majesty to give some certain livings, to preach among us our Catholic faith."

If you be of Moremans and Crispins faith, I like you much the worse. For "like lettuce, like lippe." And to declare you plainly the qualities of Crispin and Moreman, and how unmeet men they be to be your teachers, they be persons very ignorant in God's word; and yet therto very wilful, crafty, and ful of dissimulation. For if they were profoundly learned, and of sincere judgments, as they be not, they might be godly teachers of you. Or if they were not toto wilful, and standing wholly in their own conceits, they might learn, and be taught of other. But they be so wilful, that they wil not learn, and so ignorant, that they cannot teach, and so ful of craft and hypocrisy, that they be able to deceive you all, and to lead you into error after themselves. So that if you ask them, you ask your own poysen. Now if a man were in such a sickness, that he longed for poysen (as many diseases desire things most noyful unto them) yet it were not the part of a good physician to give it unto them. No more is it the office of a most godly prince, to give you such teachers, altho you long never so sore for them, as he knoweth would corrupt you; feeding you rather with sower and unwholsome leaven of Romish Pharisaical doctrine, then with the sweet, pure and wholesome bread of God's heavenly word. Where you would have God's word in English destroyed, and Crispin and Moreman delivered unto you, you do even as the people of the Jews did; who cried out, that Christ might be crucified, and that Barabbbas, the strong thief, might be delivered unto them.

Your twelfth Article is this,

"We think it very meet, because the L. Cardinal Pole is of the kings bloud, [that he should]* not only have his pardon, but also be sent for to Rome, and promoted be of the kings Councel."

In this article I wil answer no more but this, if ever any cardinal or legate were beneficial unto this realm, we may have some hope of some other to follow his steps. But if all that ever were in this realm were pernicious and hurtful unto the same, I know not why we should be with child to long for any mo. For by the experience of them, that have been heretofore, we may conjecture of them, that be to come. And I fear me, that Cardinal Pole would follow rather the old race of the rest, than to begin a better of himself. Surely I have read a book of his making, which whosoever shal read, if he have a true heart to our

* [These words are not in the C.C.C.C. MSS.]
APPENDIX.

late soveraign lord K. Henry VIII. or to this realm, he wil judge Cardinal Pole neither worthy to dwell in this realm, nor yet to live. For he doth extend al his wits and eloquence in that book to persuade the bishop of Rome, the emperor, the French king, and al other princes, to invade this realm by force. And sure I am, that if you have him, you must have the bishop of Rome also. For the cardinal cannot be a subject, but where the other is his head. This sufficeth briefly to this article.

Your thirteenth Article is this,

"We wil that no gentleman shal have any mo servants then one, to wait upon him, except he may dispend one hundred mark land. And for every hundred mark we think it reasonable he should have a man."

Yet have you not foreseen one thing, you wise disposers of the common wealth. For if a gentleman of an hundred pounds land, (who by your order must have but one servant, except he might spend two hundred marks) should send that one servant to London, you have not provided who shall wait upon him, until his servant come home again. Nor you have not provided, where every gentleman may have one servant, that can do al things necessary for him. I fear me the most part of you, that devised this article (whom I take to be loiterers and idle unthrifits) if they should serve a gentleman, he should be faine to do al things himself, for any thing that you could, or would do for him. For one thing methink very strange; for where much complaint is made of divers gentlemen, because they keep not houses, you provide by your order, that no gentleman shal keep house; but al shal sojourn with other men. For who can keep a household with one servant, or with two servants, after the rate of two hundred mark, or with three after the rate of three hundred, and so upward? For here it seemeth you be very desirous to make gentlemen rich. For after this proportion every gentleman may lay up clearly in his coffers at the least one half of his yearly revenues, and much more.

But it was not for good mind, that you bare to the gentlemen, that you devised this article; but it appeareth plainly, that you devised it to diminish their strength, and to take away their friends, that you might command gentlemen at your pleasures. But you be much deceived in your account. For altho by your appointment they lacked household servants, yet shal they not lack tenants and farmers. Which, if they do their duties, wil be as assured to their lords, as their own household servants. For of these lands, which they have or hold of their lords, they have their whole livings for themselves, their wives, children and servants. And for al these they attend their own business, and wait not upon their lords, but when they be called therto. But the household servant, leaving al his own business, waiteth daily and continually upon his masters service: and for the same hath no more but meat and drink and apparel for himself only. So that al tenants and farmers, which know their duties, and be kind to their lords, wil dy and live with them, no les then their own household servants. Therefore I would
wish you to put this fantasy out of your heads, and this article out of your book, as well for the unreasonableness, as for the ungodliness thereof.

For was it ever seen in any country since the world began, that commons did appoint the nobles, and gentlemen, the number of their servants? Standeth it with any reason to turn upside down the good order of the whole world, that is everywhere, and ever hath been! That is to say, the commoners to be governed by the nobles, and the servants by their masters. Wil you have now the subjects to govern their king, the villains to rule the gentlemen, and the servants their masters? If men would suffer this, God wil not; but wil take vengeance on al them, that wil break his order; as he did of Dathan and Abiram: although for a time he be a God of much sufferance, and hideth his indignation under his mercy; that the evil of themselves may repent, and as their own folly.

Your fourteenth Article is this,

"Wew wil that the half part of the abby lands, and chantry lands in every mans possession, howsoever he came by them, be given again to two places, where two of the chief abbies were within every county. Where such half part shal bee taken out; and there to be established a place for devout persons which shal pray for the king and the common wealth. And to the same we wil have al the almes of the church box given for three seven years."

At the beginning you pretended, that you meant nothing against the kings majesty, but now you open your selves plainly to the world, that you go about to pluck the crown from his head; and against all justice and equity, not only to take from him such lands as be annexed unto his crown, and be parcel of the same: but also against all right and reason, to take from all other men such lands, as they came to by most just title, by gift, by sale, by exchange, or otherwise. There is no respect, nor difference had among you, whether they come to them by right, or by wrong. Be you so blind, that you cannot see how justly you proceed, to take the sword in your hand against your prince, and to dispossesse just inheritors without any cause? Christ would not take upon him to judg the right and title of lands betwixt two brethren; and you arrogantly presume, not only to judg, but unjustly to take away all mens right titles; yea, even from the king himself. And do you not tremble for fear, that the vengeance of God shal fall upon you, before you have grace to repent? And yet you, not contented with this your rebellion, would have your shameful act celebrated with a perpetual memory; as it were to boast and glory of your iniquity. For in memory of your fact, you would have established in every country two places to pray for the king, and the commonwealth: whereby your abominable behaviour at this present may never be forgotten, but be remembred unto the worlds end. That when the kings majesty was in wars with Scotland and France, you, under pretence of the common wealth, rebelled, and made so great sedition against him within his own realm, as never before was heard.
APPENDIX.

of. And therfore you must be prayed for for ever, in every county of this realm.

It were more meet for you to make humble supplication upon your knees to the kings majesty, desiring him not only to forgive you this fault, but also that the same may never be put in chronicle nor writing; and that neither shew nor mention may remain to your posterity, that ever subjects were so unkind to their prince, and so ungracious toward God; that contrary to Gods word they would so use themselves against their sovereign lord and king. And this I assure you of, that if al the whole world should pray for you until doomsday, their prayers should no more avail you, then they should avail the devils in hell, if they prayed for them; unless you be so penitent and sorry for your disobedience, that you wil ever hereafter, so long as you live, study to redubbe and recompense the same with al true and faithful obedience: and not only your selves, but also procuring al other, so much as lyeth in you. And so much detesting such uproars and seditions, that if you se any man towards any such things, you wil to your power resist him, and open him unto such governors and rulers, as may straitways repres the same. As for your last article, thanks be to God, it needs not to be answered, which is this.

Your last Article is this,

"For the particular griefes of our country, we wil have them so ordered, as Humphrey Arundel and Heury Bray, the kings maior of Bodman, shal informe the kings majesty, if they may have salve conduct in the kings great seal to pas and repes with an herald of armes."

Who ever heard such arrogancy in subjects, to require and wil of their princes, that their own particular causes may be ordered, neither according to reason, nor the lawes of the realm, but according to the information of two most hainous traitors? Was it ever heard before this time, that information should be a judgment, altho the informers were of never so great credit? And wil you have suffice the information of two villainous papistical traitors? You wil deprive the king of the lands, pertaining to his crown, and other men of their just possessions and inheritances, and judg your own causes, as you list your selves. And what can you be called then, but most wicked judges and most errant traitors: except only ignorance or force may excuse you; that either you were constrained by your capitains against your wills, or deceived by blind priests, and other crafty persuaders, to ask you wist not what. How much then ought you to detest and abhor such men hereafter, and to beware of al such like, as long as you live: and to give most humble and hearty thanks unto God, who hath made an end of this article, and brought Arundel and Bray to that they have deserved; that is, perpetual shame, confusion, and death? Yet I beseech God so to extend his grace unto them, that they may dy wel, which have lived il, Amen.
APPENDIX.

No. XLI.

The Archbishops notes for an Homily against the Rebellion.*

Sentences of the Scripture against sedition.

1 Cor. 3. Quis sit inter vos zelus et contentio, nonne carnales estis, et sicut homines ambulatis? Et
1 Cor. 6. Quare non magis injuriarum accipitis? Quare non magis fraudem patimini.
Jas. 3. Si zelum amarum habetis, et contentiones sint in cordibus vestri, &c. non est ists sapientia desursum, descendens a Pate lumine, sed terrena, animalia, diabolica. Ubi enim zelus et contentio, ibi inconstantia, et omne opus pravum, &c. [Quae autem desursum est sapientia, primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica, modesta, suadibilia, &c. Fructus autem justitiae in pace seminatur facientibus pacem.]
Jas. 4. Unde bella et lites intre vos? Nonne ex concupiscentiis vestri, quae militat in membris vestris?

How God hath plagued sedition in time past.

Num. 18. Dathan and Abiram, for ther sedition against Moses and Aaron, did miserably perish by Gods just judgment, the earth opening and swallowing them down quick.
2 Reg. 15. & 18. Absalom moving sedition against David, did miserably perish likewise.
2 Reg. 20. Seba for his sedition against David lost his head.
3 Reg. 1. & 2. Adonias also for his sedition against Solomon was slain.
Acts 8. Judas and Theudas for their sedition were justly slain.
Acts 21. An Egyptian likewise, which moved the people of Israel to sedition, received that he deserved.


In Germany for their sedition were slain almost in one month about two hundred thousand.
The sword by Gods word pertaineth not to subjects, but only to magistrates.
Tho the magistrates be evil, and very tyrants against the commonwealth, and enemies to Christs religion, yet the subjects must obey in all worldly things, as the Christians do under the Turk; and ought so to do as long as he commandeth them not to do against God.
How ungodly then it is for our subjects to take the sword, where there reigneth a most Christian prince, most desirous to reform al griefs?
Subjects ought to make humble suit to their prince for reformation of al injuries, and not to come with force.
The sword of the subjects at this present cometh not of God, nor for the commonwealth of the realm; but of the devil, and destroyeth the commonweale.

First, for that it is against the word of God.
Secondly, for that they rise so many lies, whereof the devil is ever the author. "Quia mendax est, et pater ejus."

* Ex MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D. [No. cii. fol. 529—534].
Thirdly, for that they spoil and rob men, and command every man to come to them, and to send to them what they please.

Fourthly, for that they let the harvest: which is the chief sustentation of our life, and God of His goodness hath sent it abundantly; and they by their folly do cause it to be lost and abandoned.

Fifthly, for that they be led by rage and fury, without reason; have no respect neither of the kings minority, nor of the papists in the west country; nor of our affairs in France, nor Scotland; which by their sedition is so much hindered, that there could not be imagined so great a damage to the realm.

Sixthly, that they give commandment in the king's name, and in pain of death, having none authority so to do.

Ever against God the devil hath raised sedition. As appeareth by the sedition of Dathan and Abiram; and all the murmurations of the children of Israel against Moses and Aaron. Also, of the conspiracies against Zorobabel in the re-edifying of the temple. Also, against Christ and His apostles, in sundry parts of the world. Also, in Germany lately, and now among us. For the devil can abide no right reformation in religion.

Civil war is the greatest scourge that can be, and most certain argument of Gods indignation against us for our ingratitude: that we either wil not receive His true word, or that they, which receive the same, dishonor God in their living, when they pretend to honor Him with their mouths. Which ingratitude and contumely God can in no wise bear at our hands.

The remedies to avert Gods indignation from us is to receive His word, and to live according therunto, returning unto God with prayer and penance. Or else surely more grievous afflictions shall follow, if more grievous may be, than civil wars among ourselves.

The chief authors of all these tumults be idle and naughty people, which nothing have, nor nothing or little will labor to have; that will riot in expending, but not labor in getting.

And these tumults first were excited by the papists, and others, which came from the western camp, to the intent that by sowing division among ourselves, we should not be able to impeach them.

No. XLII.

The Lady Mary to the Council, justifying her self for using the Mass, in K. Edwards Minority.*

It is no small grevye to me to parseyve, that they, whom the kings majesty my father, (whose soule God pardon) made in thys worlde of nothing, in respecte of that they be come to now; and at hys last ende put in trust to se hys wyll performed, wherunto they were al sworn upon a boke; it gryeveth me I say, for the love I beare to them, to se bothe howe they break his wyll, and what usurped power they take upon them, in making (as they call it) lawes both cleane contrarye to hys procedynges and wyll, and also aigneyst the constome of al Cryst-
tendome, and (in my conscience) agyeast the lawe of God and hys Chyrche. Which passeth al the reste. But thoughse you amonge you have forgotten the kyng my father, yet both Gods commandment and nature wyll not suffre me to do so. Wherefore, with Gods helpe, I wyll remayne an obedient chyld to hys lawes, as he lefte them, tylle suche tyme as the kynges majeste my brother, shal have parfayt yers of discrecyon to order that God hath sect hym, and to be a judge in theyse matters hymself. And I doubte not but he shal then accept my so doing better then theyr, which have take a pece of his power upon them in his myncyte.

I do not a little mervayle, that you can find fawte with me for observing of that lawe which was allowed by him that was a kyng, not only of power, but also of knowledge, how to order his power. To which lawes al you consented, and seemed at that tyme to the outward appearance very wel to lyke the same. And more immediately when the kyng reasons to have his proceedynge observed. Wherfore I do wonder that you can fynde fawte with me, and non al thys wytle with some amongst your selves, for runnyng halfe a year before that, which you now call a lawe: ye, and before the byshoppes cam together. Wherin me thynketh you do me very myche wronge, if I should not have as mych preesynence to contynue in kepyng a ful an-
thorysed lawe made without parcylyte, as they had, both to break the lawe, which at that tyme your selves must nede confess was of ful power and strengthe, and to use alteracyons of theyr own invencyon contrary both to that, ye, and to your new lawe, as you call it.

No. XLIII.

The Archbishops Letter to Martin Bucer, inviting him over into England.*

[Thomas Cranmer, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, ad Martinum Bucerum Epistola.]

Ghatiam et pacem Dei in Christo. Legi tuas literas ad Johannem Halesium, in quibus tristissimae Germaniae caesus commemorans, in tua urbe verbi ministerio vix diutius praeesse posse scribis. Gemens igitur Prophetae illud exclamavi, "Mifiris misericordias tueas, qui salvos facis sperantes in te a resistentibus dexterae tuae." Nec dubito, quin Deus hos et similes piorum gemitus exauditaris sit: et veram doctrinam, quae hactenus in vestris ecclesie sinecere propagata est, et conservaturas et defensus sit, adversus omnes diaboli et mundi furores. Interim sevientibus fluctuum procellis, in portus consu-

* Buceri Scripta Anglica. [pp. 190, 191].
APPENDIX.


Tu ad nos accessus cupiuntissimus,

THOMAS CRANMERUS, Archiep. Cantu.

No. XLIV.

A Catalogue of Books published by Paulus Fagius.

In Folio.


Sepher Tehillim: hoc est, Psalterium, cum Commentario R. David Kimhi, Hebraice excusum fœm, anno minoris suppositionis a creatione mundi.


Collatio precipuaram, quæ in usu sunt, Translationum V. Testamenti, in praecipuos S. Scripturæ locos: in quibus cum interpretum, tum commentatorum mira est varietas. Ex qua non tam ipsae variationis causas, quam quis intépretum, ac expositorum, cum veterum, tum recentiorum, vel a scopo veritatis, longius aberravit, vel ad illum proprius accesserit; ex ipsa veritate Hebraica pulchre cognoscere licebit. Authore Paulo Fagio.

Opus inabsolutum, partim propter illorum temporum difficultates; partim propter exilium, et obtinum præmaturum optimi atque doctissimi viri paulo post subsequentem.

In Quarto.

OPUSCULUM recent Hebraicum, a doctissimo Hebræo Elia Levit
Germano, grammatico elaboratum. Cui titulum fecit, Thibites. In quo DCCXII. vocum, quae sunt partim Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Arabicae, Graecae et Latinae; quaque in dictionarij non facile inveniuntur; et a rabinis tamen Hebraorum in scriptis suis passim usurpantur, origo, etymon et verus usus docte ostenditur, atque explicatur, per Paulum Fagium, in gratiam studiose lingue sanctae, Latinitate donatum.

Sententiae verae elegantiae, piae miraeque cum ad linguam discendam, tum animum pietate excolendum utiles, veterum sapientium Hebraorum, quas Pirke Avoth, id est, capitula, aut, si mavis, apophthegmata, patrum nominant; in Latinum versae, scholiasque illustratae, per Paulum Fagium.

Exegesis, sive Expositio, Dictionum Hebraicarum literalis et simplex, in quatuor capita Genesis, pro studiis lingue Hebraeae. Cujusdam scriptum Judaei, ad Christianismum conversi ante annos CC. In quo obiter ostendit causas aliquot, propter quas multi Judaei, etiam si veritatem agnoscant, ad fidem tamen nostram accedere verentur.

Sententiae Morales, ordine alphabeti, Ben Syrae, vetustissimi autors Hebrei, qui a Judaeis nepos Hieremiae prophete fuisses creditur: cum succincto commentario, Hebraice et Latinae.

Tobiæ Hebraice; ut is adhuc hodie apud Judaeos inventur. Omnium ex Hebraeo in Latinum translata, in gratiam studiose lingue sanctae.

Sepher Abiwas, id est, Liber Fidei, Hebraice impressus Isae, anno CCCII. minoris supputationis a creatione mundi.

Liber Fidei, praeiosis, bonus et jucundus, quem edidit vir quidam Israelites sapiens et prudens, ante multos annos, ad docendum et comprehensionum in ea argumentis sufficientibus et evidentibus, quod fides Christianorum, quem habent in Deum Patrem, Filium et Sp. Sanctum, atque alia, perfecta, recta, et indubitata sit, collocata super fundamentum legis, prophetarum et hagiographorum. Idea vocavit nomen ejus Sepher emanah, i.e. Liber Fidei, seu Veritatis; ad illuminandum in eo oculos escorum, et ad ducendum in viam rectam errantes. Translatus ex lingua Hebraeae in linguam Latinam. Opera Pauli Fagii.


Parvus Tractatus ex libello Hebraico exerptus, cui nomen est Sepher emanah, id est, Liber Fidei, Judaei cujusdam ad Christianismum conversi ante annos CC. In quo obiter ostendit causas aliquot, propter quas multi Judaei, etiam si veritatem agnoscant, ad fidem nostram accedere verentur. Per P. Fagium translatus.

Sepher Midoth, id est, Liber Virtutum Germanice compositus, Hebraicis tamen characteribus exaratus.

Grammatica Heliae Levitæ Hebraice, excusa Isae.

Compendiariar Isagoge in linguam Hebraeam, autore Paulo Fagio.

Prima quattuor capita Genesis Hebraice, cum versione Germanicae et regione, Hebraicis tamen characteribus exarata, caque juxta usitatam Judaeorum interpretationem, ad verbum translata, una cum succinctis in fine adiectis scholijs, et ratione legendi Hebraeo-Germanica.
APPENDIX.

Tredecim fundamenta fidei Judeorum: que compositum R. Mosche, fillius Majemon. Hebraice excusus, absque ulla vel loci vel temporis notatione prefixa, aut subscripta.

In Octavo.

NOMENCLATURA Hebraica, authore Helia Levita Germano grammatico. In gratiam omnium tyronum ac studiosorum linguae sanctae.

[No. XLIV.]

Dr. Cox, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, his Oration at the conclusion of Peter Martyrs Disputation.*


Auscul tantavimus nos hanc Christianam velationem, quae veritatis indagandae atque investigandae causa, est suscepta. Qui quidem status, in omni disputatione, atque quam unicus scopus, ad quem omnes collinent, perpetuns esse debet. Hanc scrutari oportet omnes, quibis sincera religio cordi est. Quid enim alius vult, "scrutamini scripturas," nisi e scripturis veritatem indagat? Ceterum de hisce controversijs sen-

* P. Martyris Opera [Defens. doctr. vet. de Eucharist. Sacram. p. 723].
tentiam ferre, et item prorsus dirimere, modo non decrevimus. Tum autem decernetur, cura regiae majestati, et ecclesiae Anglicane proceribus visum fuerit.


Porro, unum est, quod vos omnes admonere debemus, nimium, ut vale dicitis universis nugis papistice, superstitionibus, et simulato Dei cultu, veritati disquirendae diligentem operam detis, aut saltatem, ne impedimento sitis, quibus minus veritatis studiosi in negotio pietatis progressantur. Scimus enim, et compertum habemus, nonnullus nimis esse inquietos, et turbidos, et prepostero zelo incitatos, ad remoran-
dum veritatis progressum. Scimus aliquos patres sui exemplum per-
niciose sequi, dum discordiarum semina passim spargunt, mendacia
fungunt. Scimus falsos et odiosos rumores circumferi. Scimus homi-
nes vanes maleditias agere, cum non possint veris promovere causam
suum. Ita irritabilis est maxa consuetudo contra veritatem.

Verum, ut finem faciam, si ullo veritatis amore affici minimi, sedatis
animis illam exquirite, ardentibus precibus a Deo Opt. Max. illam
postulate; amica et candida collatione illam erruere; ferveat in vos
Christiana charitas. "Infirnum in fide, assumite. Debet enim," inquit
Paulus, "firmiores imbecillitates infirorum sustinere, et non
sibi placere. Unequique proximo suo placeat in bonam redifica-
tionem." Cavisque Satanae technas, qui vos insidiatur, ne acquisiacatis
sermonibus Domini nostri Jesu Christi; ut "deliretis circa questiones
et pugnas verborum; ex quibus oriantur invidia, contentiones, blas-
phemias, suspicaciones male, &c." Possumus ex authoritate vosbi
imperare, et pervicacibus meritis supplicium comminari, malum
tamen pro dilectione nostra erga vos, rogare et exhortare. Quare
"si quas consolationem in Christo, si quod solatium dilectionis, si quas
societas spiri-
tus, si quas visceras miserationis, implet gaudium nostrum." Gaudium
nostrum est, quod videmus multos in hac academia in bonis litteris et
piaete insigniter adolescere. Gaudium nostrum est, quod videmus
ves adeo modestos et ad imperium paratos. Implete ergo gaudium
nostrum, hoc est, veritatem multis jam seculis, veluti in specu Tro-
phonii, dilitescentem, eruit. Veritatem aedem, sincera fide,
exsipe. Excepam autem probis moribus exornate. "Sic lucet
lux vestra coram hominibus, ut vides quam opera vestra bona et glorifi-
cent Patrem vestrum, qui est in coelis." Cui omnis gloria in secula.
Amen.—Dixi.

No. XLV.

Dr. Tresham's Epistle to his Relation of the disputation between himself
and Peter Martyr, at Oxford.*

Præclarissimis viris et eisdem heroibus longe honora tissimis regis
majestatis consiliariis, Galiliomus Treshamus, theologis doctor, sa-
tem et haustum rebus regendis succossum.

VERITAS ut cunctis rebus mira dignitatis eminencia praepollet,
(prudentissimi ac multo excellentissimi viri,) utpote quae suis cul-
tores vere liberos efficit, summaque ac nunquam intermoritura donat
ingenuitate: ita nos illam in omnibus et super omnia preferre, vene-

nari, sequi, integrum ac illasam omni tempore servare pro virili
opert. Quod cum ita sit, cumque perspexissem illam a temerario
quodam, et plane deplorasse salutis homine indignissime tractatam,
ac summis aequas injurias, non solum ejusdem defendendam cau-
sum liberent, (ut par erat,) suscepici; sed et machinas adversarii,
quas in ipsam expugnandam paraverat, evertere ac prorsus con-
fringere sedule molitus sum: et nisi vehementer fallor, quod in ea

* Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. cccxxii. 1—2].

Postea vero elapsis jam aliquot mensibus, ubi aberant praelectores, ne quisquam de disputationibus cognitaret, egregius iste pulgum prorupit subito, et ad certamen provocat. Questiones priores palam disputare vult, arbitratus tum neminem adesse, qui negotium contra eum susciperet. Quo tempore quis adversus illum stare volui, cum eteri, me multo validiores, haud idem eo saltem tempore faciendum putarent, in me praeteris excanescendis, in me durius invehitur, mordaxque caninos infigit dentes, ac, quantum potest, infamat, editoque libello proponit, quasi in multis ab eo inter disputandum superatur. Quae cum conspicarer, maxime autem, cum causam Dei erroribus et mendaciiis Petri scandalizari viderem; existimavi opere pretium, et perquam necessarium facturum me, si ab hujusmodi contumeliis et Christi causam et meipsum pro viribus defenderem, ac scriptis declararem, quam sit hic in scribendo falsarius, quam male intellectis abutatur scripturis, quam patres invitos ad suum institutum trahat, quam suis facile percutiatur et confodiatur telis, quam debilibus dum sua roborare vult, innitatur principiis, quam absurda nonnunquam fateri non vereatur, quamque passim pecet
omittendo quae dicta, et quae non erant dicta adjiciendo, quo vide
dicit lectores Christiani veritatem sine fucis percipientes ab hac peste
caveant, nec quicquam adhibeant fidei, cernentes illum errorum spiritu
impulsum, ut nos Deo permittente, velut triticum cribrare, utque qui
probati sint manifesti flant.

Quamobrem hic mea rum partium esse judicavi, primum ut rem
omnem quo ordine diebus illis, quibus cum eo agebam, gesta fuerit
plane et simpliciter legentibus ob oculos ponerem, nec quippam prorsus
meus insererem, nisi quod exemplaribus notariorum, vel ipsius
Petri libello expresse contineretur. Deinde, quoad illum partem dis-
putationum, quae inter illum et me ultra citroque habita est, annota-
tione quasdam elucubravi, quibus ea omnia quae in illum jam dixi,
vera esse contester. Quod aquis roget, quorum ista? aut quid opus
nova scribere? Cur non ista inter discelpandum potius deprompta sunt,
et in adversarium congesa? Dicam cum Augustino, "neque sum
angelus, neque propheta, ut qui omnia ex tempore proferre atque
regere poteram." Praeterea, in disputationibus ipsis non erant hu-
jusmodi inversiones, non adjectiones novae, non omissiones, non tot
ab illo insertae, ut nunc sunt, false sententiae. Sed nec ullos prorsus
tum erant calumniosae annotationes in margine scriptae. Quae omnia
detegere palamque facere pernecessarium duxi. Sed et ipsae Petrus
antagonistas suos, quos pro libidine vocat malevolos, ad scribendum
pro vocet, ac pollicetur hoc si fecerint, quernadmodum tunc susus fuit
viva voce congrued; ita et nunc se comparare ad ea quae scripserint,
ut respondet.

Has itaque lucubrationes vobis, (insignissimi heros), quos Christus
preciapsus sub potentissimo rege nostro Edovardo repub. judices
constituit, exhibendas esse censuit, nihil prorsus ambigens eam esse
vestram in omnibus veritatis studiosos benignitatem, eam æquitatem,
eam veri judicij certitudinem, ut sine omni personarum acceptione
justam causae conditionem velitis semper attendere, et neque ad dexteram
neque ad sinistram utta occasione ducti, quovismodo a veritate
declinare: non ignorantès in illum finem vobis concessam esse potes-
tatem, tum a summo judice Deo, tum ab ipsa regia majestate, apud
quam pro vestra in [omnes humanitate, imo pro vestra in] Christum char-
ritate agere dignemini, quo mii indigentæ, ac genuino regis nostri
subdito Christi causam, quod possam, curari tantum in evulgando
hoc disputationum ac annotationum volumine efficere liceat, quantum
Petro Martyri, extraneo, veritatis adversario, audere hactenus fuerit
impune permisserum. Rem sane justam, ni fallor, postulo. Neque pro-
fecto in scriptis his est, unde pius quispam offendatur. In impios
autem ut durius agamus exposcit veritatis ratio, quae nequaquam
charitatì refragatur. Durius enim contra erroneos obstinatos egerunt
patres, nec illis unquam pepercerunt, quin veluti Christi hostes verbis
factisque contemnerent, atque acerbissimis reprehensionibus perse-
querentur. Johannes Baptistæ Phariseos incredulos viperarum vo-
cavit progenies. Christus ipse malos illos Judeos mendaces appellavit,
et diaboli filios. Sed et Petrum ipsum a morte obeunda dehortamtem,
minusque in hoc sapientem quæ Dei sunt, Satanam taxando nuncu-
pavit. Unde certo edocemur nos posse, citra charitatis praedicium,
adversarios in causis religionis severis ac mordacibus verbis impetrare atque perstringere.

Denique, haud temere hoc quicquid est opusculi evulgo, sed summae vestrae prudentiae et eximio candore, qui ille, regum omnium pulcher-rimo florii jam esse auspicasissime diffundenti, a consilio estis, humilis supplexque ipsum offero, obaixe vos exoratos habens, ut cum privilegio ad Christi honorem ac multorum utilitatem divulgetur. Id quod vestra dominationes ab illa lacis aurora, uimirum aereissimo rege nostro Edouardo, jam a paterno amo orbeu illustri virtutum omnium lumine spargente, facile spero obtinebant, et cum gratia consequentur. Hanc auroram splendorissimam felicissime procedere atque in perfectum diem crescre, optimaque optimi patris vestigia imitari, faciat Deus Optimus Maximus, qui et illum unicum nostrum deus et presidium, voseque sub ipso moderatores reipublicae pri-maries, alicueque illius studiosos universos divurntissime incolumes servet.

No. XLVI.

The sententious sayinges of Master Martin Bucer upon the Lordes Supper.

1. So playnely, so faythfully, and also so warely, as can be possyble, we ought to speake of the mysteryes of the holy supper, even as we ought to do of all other Christes mysteryes; to thende, that the children of God may most clearely persewe what Christ doth meanes, and the adversaryes to have as small occasion as can be, eyther to pervert or els to darke and make dymmme the truth of Christ.

2. These things we cannot better attaine, then by the godly and right expounding of the wordes of the Holy Ghost, not allowing any false sygnifications of them, both certaynly affirmynge the things whiche be agreeable unto this mystery, and also denying the things whiche be contrarye ther unto.

3. We must certaynly acknowledge that the Holy Ghost most clearly, most faythfully and most warely, hath dyresybed all the sacra-ments of our salvation.

4. But the Holy Ghost by Christes owne mouth, by the mouth of the apostles, and by the Scripture, delivereth unto us the sacrament of the Lordes supper, even as he doth all other sacramentes, by the words and forme of delveryng, gevving and receyving.

5. And three things acknowledgeth bearein to be geven and taken, bread and wyne, beyng the signes of the body and bloud of the Lord, and assurance of the new testament and remyssion of our synnes.

6. For when He had taken bread and wyne, and geven thannekes, He gave them to His dyseoples to be eaten and drunken, and said moreover, that by these synnes He gave therin His body that was offered for us, and lykewyse His bloud, which was shed for us, saying also, that by this * Foxii MSS.
APPENDIX.

371

blonde the new testament of grace was assured, and the for gouene of synnes purchased.

7. And He defyneth or describeth the right use and receyving of this sacrament to be that partaking of the body and bloud of Christ, wheryb we bynyg many, are one bread and one body (as many of us as be partakers of one bread and one cup of the Lord.) This body doubtes is that body wherof Christ is the head, and into the which we are baptysed. For by the regeneration we are made members of His body, flesh of His flesh, bone of His bones, and so we be one flesh with him, 1 Cor. 12, Ephes. 5.

8. That fellowshipp which we have with the Father and the Sonne, and with all the sayntes, wherof S. John speaketh, 1 John, 1 chap. of his epistle, is geven and taken in the Lords supper rightly admynisterd and receyved. That unity also which we have with the Father, and the Sonne, and with all the saints, for the which the Lord prayed, John 17, by the which Christ is in us, as the Father is in him, and we in them, (It meane in the Father and the Sonne,) is geven and receyved in the same supper rightly administred, wherof the Lord also speaketh: “He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud dwelleth in me, and I in him.” John 6.

9. This is the partaking and the unity of an heavenlye regeneration, of a new creature, of the high mystery of God, which cannot be understand and known, but by fayth, even as fayth is perceyved and felt by his effectes, as by judgement, wyll, and by the new heavenlye and godly workes.

10. All sensyble and worldly imaginations, all fansying of joyned or contynual places, are to be put away from this partycipation and untye, which in the word of God is known to be mervelous, and with reverence to be pondered and dyscussed by the new mans lyvynge, as by his effectes.

11. The Holy Ghost thought it not inough to declare unto us, how that we be endued wyth the spirit of Christ by his merites, but he doth publish also that we do lyve by his intercession and working. He furthermore assureth us that we have him with us, that he dwelleth in our harts, and that we receyve him in the holy supper. These be the thinges which we ought to tell openly and to fortsey.

12. These are metaphors and borrowed speeches, lyke as other wherby we expounde the matters of regeneration. For unto such matters as the natural man perceyveth not, can no proper names by geven, but suche translation of wordes as the Holy Ghost doth use, and ther cannot be devysed more proper, more mete for the purpose, nor more famous wordes then they are.

13. It is not mete therfore that we should attempt to expounde these metaphors with our own proper wordes, wherof we be all together destytute in matters of regeneration, neyther is it conveinent that we should deface theyr perfection wyth more slender metaphors, and wyth such geare as be of kinred to our natural reason.

14. We must beware that with no superstitious, stately eloquence,
we do make darke the brightnes of the Lordes commandement, unto
such as have their eyes lightened on every ryde by fayth. We must in
lyke maner take heede we demynysh not the force and majesty of
Christes sacraments set furth by the Holy Ghost, rather of us to be
beloved, then by our naturall reason to be out-searched, as by the
exposition rather proceding of our owne imagynations, then of the very
word of God, and of the nature of his sacraments.

15. The Word is made flesh, that their myght be both God and man
in one substance, and such as was a very earthely man, which dyed,
rose againe from the dead, ascended into heaven, remayneth in the
heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, which governeth
and fullfyleth all things, and in the syght of all the world he shall come
agayne in the slowdes to judge the quycke and the dead. And they
all must nedes receyve their owne bodies againe. All these things truly
do so farre passe the reache of mans wyt, that of necessitye we must lay
hold of them by fayth.

16. Fayth, bycause she is practysed and fortyfyed in the dayly use
of these things, causeth them clearely and manyfestyly to appeare, even
as she doth make all the other misteries of Chrysst, to such as doth
perfectly believe. Which thinges should be made darke unto us, if we
would suffer our selves to make inquirye of them according to the trade
of our own reason, following her natural principles.

17. Christ our Lord is for ever both God and man, he is the head of
all the sayntes, and the first begotten among the children of God.
Wherfore we must so marke with our myndes, and expres in wordes
the propertyes of the natures, that by no maner of imagynations we
separate the unity of substance.

18. There is nothing better agréeth with it selfe, then doth the word
of God, so that what so ever the Scripture speakeith of Christes beyng
among us, of the receyving of Him, of His abyding, and dwelling in us,
and sating of Him, agréeth all together, and is consonant with these
evident Scriptures, openly declaring that He hath forsaken the world,
that He is in heaven, yea and that He hath a very body, and therfore
lymited and bounden in one place.

19. When we thercfere entreate of the mistery, eyther of the supper
of the Lord, or of Christes plaine presence with us, (for why should we
not say that He is present, which dwelleth in us, and is in the myd of
us,) it is to no purpose to lay agaynst the presence of Him such places
of Scripture, as declare Christ to have departed from this world, to be
in heaven, and to be very man, havyng a very body, and therfore such a
body as is bounded in a place, which may not be placed in all or many
places at one tyme.

20. For Christes presence, whether it be offered or declared, eyther
in the word onely or els in the sacramentes, is no presence of place,
neyther of sensies nor of reason, nor yet no earthely presence, but it
is a spiritual presence, a presence of faith, and an heavenly presence.
For as much as we are conveyde into heaven by faith, beyng placed in
Christ. So that we lay hold upon Him and embrace Him in His
heavenly majesty, all be it he be here offered and declared after a sorte unto us in the glasse, and darke speaking of sensyble wordes and sacramentes.

21. The antichristes make the simple people to belieue by these wordes, that we receyve and have Christ here present after some worldly fashion, that is to say, eyther inclosed with the bread and wine, or els that He is present under their sacrydences, so that ther He ought to be honoured and worshipped.

22. Let them therefor that be apt to learne, be taught that ther is no presence of Christ in the supper, but onely in the lawfull use thereof, and such as is obtayned and gotten by fayth onely. As for the other sort, byd them adew as the blynde guydes of the blynde, and that plantyng which our heavenly Father hath not planted. For such as heare not Gods word, are not borne of God.

23. We must tourne away from their discytes and craftes, from which we ought verely to withdraw our selves, howbeit they cannot be avoyded other wayes then by the true expounding of Gods word, yes and that but only of them, whom the Lord himself hath taught by the ministration He hath committed to us.

24. The good men moreover hearing, that Christ in the sacramente is presently geven, receyved and had, do imagyne a certayne presence of place, and many tymes they fantsyse also, that God himself is bounded in a place, havyng a body, even as he were a man.

25. They must therefor be contynually taught that these heavenly misteries do passe all mens capacities, and that they must be perceyved and knownen in the only word of God, so that all worldly fasiones must be far from our mindes, because the word of God declarest Christ to be a very man, havyng the bodye of a man, in the which body he departed this world, and was caried into heaven, he may not therefor by no worldly maner be sought for in this world, but after such sort as he offereth himselfe, beynge in heaven, to be received of us. Which things are not knownen by sense and reason, but by faith.

26. As for these heavens, because they be above all the heavens, I dare not by the predicamete of our reason discusse what they be, but by the wordes of the Scripture. But the Scripture discribeth them not by the distaunces of places, but by the majestye of God and his blessednes, openly declaring, that such heavenly blys hath not come into the hart of man.

27. I do not perceyve what further knowledge the holy fathers would give, writing of the proper place of Christes body in heaven, but that we should observe the propertye of both the natures in Christ. So that as it is the propertye of the godly nature to be in every place, and to fulfyll all things, even by his substance; so it is the propertye of the nature of man, to be lymited in place and state, not to be spread abroad in many or in all places at once. These things agree with the Scripture, albeit we place not Christes body in heaven after the maner of the fourth booke of Aristotles Naturalls. Yes, let us hardly kepe
our selves in such things that the Scripture do speake of the heavens, and of Christes sitting in heaven.

28. I have a conscience in so high mysterie, to allow such kynge of speaking as is not taught in the Scripture, though such be much used, yea and that by the authority of the holy fathers, for to what point, through such speakeynge, the devyll and antichrist hath brought us, we all lamentably complayne.

29. Wherfore with reverence, and in a true meaning, I wyll understand the sayinges of the holy fathers as touching the mutation of the sygne. I wyll never grante their sayings so to be taken, as to must strange from Gods wordes, and after such sort as men myght now a dais be overthrown with antichristes doctrine into the idolatry, which of all other is most detestable.

30. So likewise if any thing may be found, that the holy fathers have wrytten of Christ placed in heaven, more then the Scripture doth certaynely teach, I wyll not without reverence refuse it, nor yet yet any man contend therin, for I have nothing to say that such wrytynge is contrary to any place of Scripture. I do but only desyre that no necessary doctrine be made thereof, and that I may be suffered to abyde in the playnes of Gods written word.

31. But they will say, that a man well expert in faith, when he heareth that Christ is present in the holy supper, and is gaven, receyved, and had with the bread, cannot refraine but imagine such a presence of Christ in the bread as is there placed, or els like to such a thing as hath a place.

32. I cannot see how the wordes of the Holy Ghost ought to be reformed, because of the weakness of our understanding, either that we should allow such utterance of wordes, wherby it might appear that the Holy Ghost had not uttered the matter circumspectly and strongly enough, yea and that most aptly and effectually, as well to the edifying of faith, as to the putting away of all errors.

33. These now be the wordes of Christ: "Where two or three be gathered in my name, ther am I in the mydest of them." In the name of Christ we assemble together at the Lords supper rightly ministred. In the world we be, yea and somewhere placed, and wheresoeuer we be, Christ is among us, which notwithstanding is not in the world, and also dwellth in our hartes. But we cannot persayne nor attaine it, neyther by our sense nor by reason, but by faith. For how can the head be away from his body? Wherfore I defyne or determine Christes presence, howsoever we perceive it, either by the sacraments or by the word of the Gospell, to be onely the attaining and perceiving of the commodities we have by Christ both God and man, which is our head reigning in heaven, dwelling and lying in us. Which presence we have by no worldly meanes, but we have it by faith and take the fruit therof when it is offered us in the word, and in the sacraments. But the force therof we feel in all our parties and powers, what time by the spirit of Christ they be sanctified and renewed unto obedience and godly lyfe.
34. He is called present by some knowledge of perceyyng, Him even as one may be called present with an other, and so we do say, that they be here present, whom we know by hearing or by eyght to be present, but now the thing which we know by faith, is much more certaine then any thing we can know by sence or reason. Why may not we then say that Christ our head is present with his members, when we know by faith that he both liveth and dwelleth in us?

35. They say, that the holy fathers expound the Scriptures recording the Lords presence, that Christ by his Godhead, by his majesty, and by his providence, is present with us, yet living in this world. Truth it is, but the Lord saith: “I am with you unto the worldes end;” and Paul saith: “Christ lyveth and dwelleth in our hertes.” Yea and the holy fathers themselves declare, that we have Christ present in the sacrament of baptisme, and in the meats and drink of the aulter, which call that presence carnall that is known by our senses, and is set over against the presence which we have by faith.

36. Faith truly embraceth Christ both God and man, and keepeth him present: which by his Godhead is not onely present in the congregation of his santes and in his members, but is also present in every place. But some cannot be contented, unles we grant that we have his body and bloud really, carnally and substantially present in the supper.

37. Wyse and good men will eschew all uncertaine wordes in every talk and speaking, how much more are they to be avoyded in Christes sacramentes? Moreover, in the treatysse of Christes sacraments we may justly refuse such stragge wordes as be not used in the Scripture, unles they be perfectly applied for the declaration of Christes truth. For such uncertaine wordes doth more darken the true doctrine, and therefor we must not medle with them, except ther be some consideration of the using of them.

38. I would wysh these wordes realiter and substantialiter to be altogether refused, neither to be allowed in reasonyng to or fro, because we shall seme to grant their contraries, and to say that Christ is receyyed counterfeytlye and accidently, if we deny him to be received in the supper really and substantially.

39. If the matter so require that these words be brought into reasonyng, I would, for the maintenance of Christes truth against the adversaries, among the children of God, defyene these wordes realiter and substantialiter, as if one would understand by the presence of the Lord really and substantially, that he is received verely in deel by faith, and his substance is given in the sacrament; but if he would enterlace any worldly presence with these words, I will deny it, because the Lord is departed this world.

40. I can never admyt or allow these words carnally and naturally, because they bring in a meanyng that he is receyyed with our sences.

41. Hereby I thinke it eyvident, agreeable to the holy Scripture, and according to the reverence we owe to God and his Scripture, and toward the auncient church, that we should frame our selves to the
words of the Lord, of his apostles, and of the auncient church, and to say that ther is given and receyved the body and blooud of the Lord, that is to say, very Christ himselfe both God and man, but He is given with the word and the signes, but received with true faith, and that He is given and received to the end that we may move and lyve more perfectly in Him, and He in us.

42. And I think it an easy thing to make answer, when they say that the thing which is already, cannot be received, and that he which cometh to the Lords supper, and hath not Christ in himselfe, receiveth not Christ there, but he receiveth death. Truly Christ must be given and received of us, till nothing of ours be left in us, but He all thing in us, and we wholly in Him, and no part in our selfe. And we say that the partaking of Christ, which we have in baptisme, is strengthened and augmented in the Lorde supper. But ye will say the same is done, what time the Gospell being read, or heard, is received by faith. So it is indede, neither hath the Lords supper, or geveth, any other thing els, but that he hath left therein things visible, for the visible words of Christ be applied therin. And they are are not without force and effect to the saintes, because they be applied by the Lords ordinaunce, all whose words and ordinaunce, have lyfe and spirite.

43. Wherfore I trust, that hereby men may percive what I beleue as concerning the gevynge, ministring, receyving, and partaking of the Lords body and blooud in the supper, which doth agree right well with the Scripture and with the doctrine of the auncient Church. So that after this manner I acknowledge Christ, that is to say the partaking of his salvation to be given and taken in the holy supper.

44. If I be enquired, who geveth and ministreth the Lords body, I mean the lyvely participation of these things and of Christ wholly, I say, that Christ which is in the midst of His, whose words these be, Take and Eate, is the chiefe and principal gever of his own selfe, and the minister doth lyke service to Him herein when he geveth himselfe, even as he doth when he geveth Himselfe in the preaching of the Gospell, and in baptisme. And for this ministration sake, Paul e vely doth write, how he by the Gospell had begotten the Corinthes unto the Lord, and had written Christ in their harts, and that he had traveled in birth of the Galathians.

45. As touching the use of bread and wyne herein, if I be demaund, I will answer that they be signes exhibitive, that is to say, such signes as do gave the things signified, by the which sygnes the Lord doth geve himselfe, being the celestial bread of everlasting life, after the same maner as He gave his disciples the Holy Ghost by the signe of breathing of his mouthe, and likewise as by the lying on of his hands, he gave both bodelye health and ghostely health. Lyke as He gave syght by the clay made of his spittle, and as he did give circumcision of the flesh, and in such sort as He geveth regeneration by baptisme.

46. We have an everlasting lyfe through the faith we have in the love that God the Father hath toward us. This faith hereunto leaneth, is preserved and encreas. For as much as Christ, Gods sonne, giveth
himselве with all his merits unto us, lyveth in us, delyvering us from
our synnes, shall raise us from the dead, and bring us to a parfyt
heavenly and blessed lyfe. For this cause, that is to say, for the
nourishment of thy faith, it was the Lords pleasure to use herein the
signes of meate and drinke, and geve his flesh spiritually to be eaten
by the signe of bread, to be eaten bodely; and his bloud spiritually to
be dronne, by the signe of wine to be drunken bodely, and so (as it is
before said) He geveth in the supper the same partaking of himselfe by
the signes, and by his words, which in the sixt of John by words onley
He hath set out.

47. If I be demaunded, what maner of joynyng may be betwyxxt the
glorified body of Christ and ther determinately placed, and the cor-
ruptible bread here in earth, contained in a sensyble place; I answer,
even such as is betwyxxt the regeneration and the dipping in the water,
and as is betwyxxt the Holy Ghost, and the breath of Christes mouth,
which I do call the joyning in the covenant. For so mutch as they
that with a true and lyvely faith be partakers of these signes bodely,
spiritually receive in dede an assuredness, with an encrease of the par-
taking of the Lords body and bloud. So they be members of Christ,
flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, and therby they grow more and
more into the perfection of the same.

48. Whosoeuer therfore maketh these signes of Christes presence
beside the use that the Lord hath appointed them unto, (which is to be
eaten and dronken in this sacrament,) bringeth men into abominable
rage and madnes to set up idolatry. Neither receiveth he any thing at
all of that food which the Lord geveth to his, that taketh in hand to
eate and dronke these sacraments without a lyvely fayth in Christ, but
receiveth death and damnation to himselfe.

49. Such as be altogether ungodly, say I, that in the holy supper
they receive nothing of Christ: such as have faith, and yet make no
difference of this meate (as certain of the Corinthes, which were blamed
of the apostle, dyd,) as I cannot deny them to receive Christ in the
supper through the faith which they have, even so I will not say that
they have eaten Christ. If so be that they do not rightly practysse
their faith by the religious dyffercence-making of so high misteries,
which is the special eatynge of this meate. For such are lyke unto them
which taking meate in their mouthes, eyther chew it not, or els, let it
not downe, or when it is letten down, digest it not, so that in a litle-
while, or soone after, they vomit it up againe.

50. If I be enquired as concerning the Lords words ("This is my
body") what thing is demonstrate or shewed here, I say, that to the
sences it is bread, but to the mynde or understanding, it is the Lords
body, even as in all speeches wherin insensible things are exhibited or
given by sensible signes. So that the meanyng is, the thing which
by this signe I geve unto you, is my body which is delyvered for you.
As the Holy Ghost speaketh of the circumcision, saying, "This is my
covenaut,"* that is to say, the thing that by this signe I ordeine unto

* Gen. xvii.
you, is my covenant unto be observed betwixt me and you, &c. After such sort are we wont to speak of the signs which do signify or betoken a thing, albeit they do not exhibit the thing they betoken, as when we do say of the emperour's image, This is the emperour that subdued Francus, that is to say he is represented by this image.

51. I object or say against transubstantiation: "This cup is the new testament;" "This," that is to say, circumcision, "is my covenant," and, "the Word is made flesh," we may not conclude and determine either the cup or the circumcision to be changed into a covenant, and the word to be changed into flesh. We may not therefore determine and conclude by these wordes of the Lord, which in geuyng of bread did say, "Take, this is my body," that there is a change of the bread into the Lords body. For there is no manner of such speaking, no not in all the Scripture, that so do shewe such an alteration called a "transubstantiation," as the Papistes do imagine. For wythout sure autoritie of the Scripture, no article of the faith may be ordeyned.

52. And so I thinke it evident, that three things are given and received in the Lords supper of them that rightly communicatethe Lords table. First bread and wine, nothing in themselfe changed, but that they are, by the wordes and the ordinaunce of the Lord, made all one by the sygne. Secondly, the same body and bloud of the Lord, that by these we maye the more perfectly communicate in the participation of the regeneration, or rather, to have the more parfyt partaking of these, or else, that they may be of more perfection in us. Thirdly, the establishing of the new testament of the forgivenes of synnes, or of us by election to be made the sons of God.

53. I call the signs, after the mind of Ireneus, an earthly thing. The partaking of the Lord to be as the effect thereof, I call the establishing of the new testament the heavenly thing, and therefore to be layd hold upon only by faith, and not to be wrapped in with any worldly imaginations.

54. And forasmuch as in the supper, we be not all only admonished of one Christ, and of the partaking of Him, but also we do receive Him, I had leaver yet say, according to the Lords wordes: "Take and eate," &c. that in the bread and the wyne, the body and blood is given, and that they signify the Lord. So that the bread here, is as well a sign of the Lords body exhibitive, I mean, which geveth the thing signified, as to be but a bare signe. Wherfore certain of the fathers have well used herein the word of representing. For truly I thinke we must most chiefly expres the thing that is here most principal. For this word accipite, is all together a word of geuyng or delivering.

The Lord gave us grace that we may all speake one thing to the edifying of the faith among us. Amen.

Subscribed. MARTIN BUCHER. D. Professor Theologiæ Cantabrigiae.
No. XLVII.

Bishop Hooper to the Clergy of his Diocese of Gloucester.*

To the glory of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Forasmuch as of all charges and vocations, the charge of such as be appointed to the ministry and function of the Church is the greatest; it is to be provided and foreseen, that such as be called and appointed to such vocation and office, be such as can satisfy the said office. Which may be done as S. Paul saith, two manner of ways. The one if they be of sound doctrine, apt to teach, and to exhort after knowledge, and able to withstand, and confute the evil sayers. The other, if their life and manners be unculpable, and cannot justly be blamed: which consisteth in this; if the minister be sober, modest, keeping hospitality, honest, religious, chaste; not dissolute, angry, nor given to much wine, no fighter, no covetous man, such as governeth well his own house, and giveth an example of vertue and honesty unto others. For as the godly life and conversation of the parson, or doctor, doth no less savoyle in the reformation of others, then the doctrin it self; so likewise they, who have no respect nor regard what evil, miscievous and devilish example of life outwardly appeareth to be in them, cannot have in them any just authority to reform or correct the faults of others. For by what just means canst thou reprehend and blame any other in that fault, wherein thou thy self art to be blamed? Or by what occasion canst thou preach chastity, or desire to have the same in another man, when as thou thy self, despising both God and holy matrimony, dost other nourish or keep a whore, or concubine at home in thy house, or else must defile other mens beds? Nother is he any thing les to be ashamed, that will persuade others to live in sobriety, he himself being drunk. Wherfore what authority shal he obtain or get unto himself and his ministry, which is daily seen and marked of men, to be a common haunter of alehouses and tavernes, of whores, cards, dice and such like.

Hereby shal you perceive and know, how that the old priests and pastors of Christs church did by their truth and gravity, subjugate and bring under the hardnecked and stif, stubborn Ethnicks, and caused them to have the same in fear. In so much that the wicked Emperor Julian caused the priests of the pagans to order their lives according to the lives of the others. But look what authority and reverence the old severity and graveness of the pastors and priests did bring unto them at that time, even as much shame and contempt (or else a great deal more, as I fear) doth the lechery, covetousnes, ambition, simony, and such other corrupt maners, bring unto most priests, pastors and ministers, that be now in our dayes, of al men. Wherfore I being not forgetful of my office, and duty towards God, my prince, and you, do desire and beseech al you, for Christs sake, who commanded that your light should so shine before men, that they seing and perceiving the same, might glorify the Father, which is in heaven.

* E MSto privato.
Give your diligence, wellbeloved brethren, together with me, so that the dignity and majesty of the order of priests, being fallen in decay, may not only be restored again, but that first and principally the true and pure worshipping of God may be restored; and that so many souls being committed to my faith and yours, may, by our wholesome doctrin and cleannes of conversation, be moved unto the true study of perfect charity, and called back from al error and ignorance; and finally, to be reduced and brought unto the high bishop and pastor of souls, Jesus Christ, and to the intent yee may the more easily perform the same, I have, according to the talent and gift given me of the Lord, collected and gathered out of God's holy word, a few articles: which I trust shall much profit and do yee good. And if that any thing shall be now wanting or lacking, I trust by the help of your prayers and good counsel, they shall be shortly hereafter performed. Let every one of you therefore take good heed to approve your selves faithful and wise ministers of Christ. So that when I shall come to visit the parishioners committed to my cure, and come from God and the king's majesty, yee be able not only to make answer unto me in that behalf, but also unto our Lord Jesus Christ, judge both of the quick and the dead, and a very strict revenger of his church. Thus fare you wel unto the day of my coming unto you.

No. XLVIII.

Hooper, Bishop of Glocester, to Sr. William Cecyll, Secretary of State.*

The grace of God be with you, Amen. Syns my commyng down, I have byn at Worceste, gentle Mr. Secretoiri, and thought not to have departid themse, til I had set thinges in a good order, as nere as I could. But the negligence and ungodly behaviour of the ministers in Gloucestershire compellyd me to retourne, except I shuld leave them behynd as far out of order, as I should fynd the other, to whom I am going unto. I have spoken with the greatest part of the ministers, and I trust within these six dayes to end for this time with them al. For the love of God cause the articles, that the kinge majesty speake of, when we toke our othes, to be set forth by his autority. I dout not but they shal do mouch good. For I wil cause every minister to con-

fesse them openly before there parisheners. For subscribing privatly in the paper, I perceave, little avaylyeth. For notwithstanding that, they speak as iuel of godd faith, as ever they did before they subscribwyd. I left not the ministers of Gloucestershire so farre foreward, when I went to London, but I found the greatest part of them as farre backward at my commyng home. I have a great hope of the people. God send good justices, and faythfull ministers in the Church, and al wil be wel.

For lack of hede corne so passith from hens by water, that I fere mouch we shal have great scarsite this yere. Doubtles men that be put in trust, do not there dewtis.

The Statute of Regrators is so usad, that in many quarters of

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
these partes it wil do little good: and in some partes, where as licence by the justices wil not be grauntyd, the people are mouche offendid, that they shuld not, as wel as other, begge as they were wont to do.

God be praisid yet al things be quiet, and I trust so wil contynew. Thus desiring God to contynew you long in health to his pleasure, fare ye wel: and for Gods sake do one yere, as ye may be hable to do another. Your health is not the surest: favour it as ye may; and charge it not to farre. Ye be wyse and comfortable for others; be so for your self also. I pray you let God be the end, where unto ye mark in al your doynys. And if they for lack of knowledge then happen otherwyse then ye would, the thing ye soughte shal partly excuse your ignorance, that may happ to mysses men in weighty afferes. If ye se the meanes godd, and yet iuel follow of them, content your self with patience. For the second cause, when God wil, be it never so like to bring forth the effect, mysest her purpose: as ye know by wise mens counsels, that rulyd in commune wealthes before you. God gave his grace to loke alwayes upon hym, and then with mercy let hym do his holy wil. Glouc. 6 Julij, 1552.

Yours with my dayly prayer JOHN HOPK, Busehop of Worcester.

To the Rt. Honorable my singular frynd
Sr. William Cecill Kt. one of the Kings Majesties, chiefest Secretaries.

Another of the same Bishop to the same Person.*

THE grace of God be with you for ever, Amen. I have wroten herewith long letters to the Councele; yet not so long as the matter conteynyd in them doothe requyre. I trust it wil be your chaunce to read them, that the mater may be the better understand. Ye know I am but an iuel secretarie, do the best ye can they may be wel taken. It is truth that I write, and Goddes cause. Let God do as his blessed pleasure is with it. I have send the maters, that these two canons, Johnsonne, and Joylivse dalyke, in writing. Where by ye may understand what is said of both partes. The disputacion Mr. Harley can make trew relation of, and how unreverently and proudlye Joylivse usyd both hym and me.

For as much as my jurisdiction cessith until the letters patent be past for both churches, these shal be to praye you to optayne the kings majesties letters for my warrant in the mean tyme. For in case I do not at this tyme take accompt of the clergy in Worcestre and Gloucesteshire, how they have profytyd syns my last examining of them, it wil not be wel. Also souch as I have made superintendents in Gloucesteshire, if I commend not my self, presently, there wel doings, and se what is iuel donne, I shal not see the goodd I loke for. Ah! Mr. Secretarie, that there were goodd men in the cathedral churches! God then shuld have mouche more honour than he hath, the kings

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
APPENDIX.

majesty more obedience, and the poore people better knowledge. But
the realme wantith light in souche churches, where as of right it owght
most to be. I suppose ye had hard, that there should be a great
spoyle made of this church hyre. For what can be so wel donne, that
men of light conscience cannot make, by suggestion, to appare ivel!
Doutles the things done be no more then the express words of the
kings majesties injunctions, commandyd to be done. And I darre
saye, there is not for a church to preache Gods word in, and to
mynyster his holy sacraments, more godly within this realme. But,
Mr. Secretarie, I see monche myschefe in mens hartes by many tookes,
and souche as speake very fere meanith craufely, and nothing less then
they speakes. I have to good experience of it.

Thus God gave us wysdome and strength, wyselye and stronglye to
serve in oure vocations. There is none that eatis the bread in the
swet of thers face, but souche as serve in public vocation. Yours is
wounderful, but myne passyth. Now I perceave private labours be but
played, nor private trobles but ease and quietynys. God be our help,
Amen. I pray you send me my jurisdiction assone as may be.
Worceste, 25 Octobris, 1552.

Yours, and so wilt be whylles I live,
with my prayer JOHN HOPER,
bishop of Worcestere.

Postscript. When that I perceavyd my request for jurisdiction made
before unto you, upon further deliberation I thought it good to unreques-
t that agaynes ; praying you to make no mention of it : and ther-
upon wrote the letters to the Counsel anew. The cause is, I send for a
president, to he the jurisdiction, how it is gyven in the like state as
I am. Which pleasith me not. Therefore, goodd Mr. Secretaryse, let
it pass til I write unto you again.

No. XLIX.

A Popish Rhime fastned upon a Pulpit in K. Edwads reigne.*

This pulpit was not here set,
For knaves to prate in and rayl.
But if no man may them let,
Mischeif wil come of them, we fail.

If God do permit them for a tyme
To brabble and ly at their wyl,
Yet I trust or that be prime,
At their fal to laughe my fill.

Two of the knaves already we had,
The third is coming as I understand,
In al the yere the is none so bad,
I pray God soon ryd them out of this hand.

* Foxij M8S.
APPENDIX.

Prowder knaves was ther never none,
So false they are, that no man may them trust.
But if God do not send help sone,
They will lay al in the dust.

Al Christen men at us now laugh and scorne
To see how they be taking of his and lowe,
But the child that is yet unborn
Shal them curse al on a rowe.

Now God sped thee wel,
And I wil no more mell.

The Answer to the Enemy.

A rope is a fytt reward for such ryssh reapers,
As have strowed this church against the kings prechers.

The pulpits are now replenished with them that preach the truthe,
And popish traitors banished, which seemed to you great ruthe.
But yf you and the freers were clean owt of this land,
This realme to the last years, ful firme and sure should stand.

When such as with you trust shal al ly in the dust,
And ryse thereout agayne unto perpetual payne,
With them that laugh and scorne eyther at hye or lowe,
Had better not been borne such evil seeds to sowe.

Yee pray God sped them wel, and ye wil no more mell;
Foswete ye have said wel; but if ye may be knowen,
Ye are like for to be taken, and quartered like a baken,
And of your frends forsaken, for these sedis ye have sownen.

Like as the last yere traitors were knowen,
By standing in the felds with weapon and swordes,
So this year their treason is sownen,
In traiterous bills and railing words.

Some of their carcasses standith on the gates,
And their heads most fytteely on London bridge.
Therefore, ye traytours, beware your pates,
For yf ye be founde, the same way must ye tridge.

God save the kings majestie long for to reign,
To suppress al rebells, and truthe to maynteyne.

An old Song of John Nobody.*

I.

IN December, when the dayes draw to be short,
After November, when the nights wax noysome and long;
As I past by a place privily at a port,
I saw one sit by himselfe making a song.

* Privati MS.
His last talk of trifles, who told with his tongue,
That few were fast i’th faith, I feyned that freake,
Whether he wanted wit, or some had done him wrong.
He said, he was little John Nobody, that durst not speak.

II.
John Nobody, quoth I, what news? thou soon note and tell,
What manner men thou mean, that are so mad.
He said, These gay gallants, that wil construe the Gospel,
As Solomon the sage with semblance ful sad,
To discus divinity they nought aried.
More meet it were for them to milk kye at a fleyke.
Thou lyest, quoth I, thou losel, like a leud lad.
He said, he was little John Nobody, that durst not speak.

III.
It is meet for every man on this matter to talk,
And the glorious Gospel ghostly to have in mind,
It is sooth said that sect, but much unseemly scall,
As boyes babble in books, that in Scripture are blind:
Yet to their fancy soon a cause wil find.
As to live in lust, in lechery to leyke.
Such caitives count to be some of Cains kind,
But that I little John Nobody durst not speak.

IV.
For our reverend father hath set forth an order,
Our service to be said in our seignours tongue:
As Solomon the sage set forth the Scripture,
Our suffrages, and service with many a sweet song,
With homilies and godly books us among.
That no stiff, stubborn stomachs we should freyke.
But wretches were worse to do poor men wrong.
But that I little John Nobody dare not speak.

V.
For bribery was never so great, since born was our Lord,
And whoredom was never les hated, sith Christ harrowed he:
And poor men are so sore punished commonly through the world.
Thus would it grieve any one, that good is, to hear tel.
For al the homilies and good books, yet their hearts be so quel,
That if a man do amiss with mischeife they wil him wraek.
The fashion of these new fellows, it is so vile and fell,
But that I little John Nobody dare not speake.

VI.
Thus to live after their lust, that life would they have,
And in lechery to lyke al their long life;
For al the preaching of Paul, yet many a proud knave
Wil move mischiefe in their mind both to maid and wife;
To bring them in advoutry, or else they wil strife,
And in brawling about baudery, Gods commandments break.
But of these frantic il fellowes few of them do thrive,
Though I little John Nobody dare not speak.

VII.

If thou company with them they wil currishly carp, and not care,
According to their foolish fantasy, but fast wil they naught.
Prayer with them is but prating ; therefore they it forbear.
Both almes deeds, and holiness, they hate it in their thought.
Therefore pray we to that prince, that with his bloud us bought :
That he wil mend that is amiss. For many a man ful freyke
Is sorry for these sects, though they say little or nought,
And that I little John Nobody dare not once speake,

VIII.

Thus in no place this Nobody in no time I met,
Where no man then nought was, nor nothing did appear ;
Though the sound of a synagoge for sorrow I swett,
That Hercules through the eccho did cause me to hear,
Then I drew me down into a dale, wheras the dumb deer,
Did shiver for a shower, but I shunted from a freyke.
For I would no wight in this world wist who I were,
But little John Nobody, that dare not once speake.

No. L.

* Sir W. H. MSS. [Landsd. MS. ii. 39].

VOL. II.
illum curam nostri habere, et ita potestem esse, ut omnes omnium hostium phalanges, quiunque sunt tandem illi, usque oris sui verbo starnet momento uno: et rursum ita bonum, ut ne pilum quidem temere et nostro capite detrahii patiatur, etiam si nos totus mandus impetere conetur. Tamque nobis male velle non possit unquam, quam matrem infantia suo, quam denique oculi quique sui pupillae male velle non potest: imo vero, quam non potest non esse perpetuo Deus, laudandus in omnibus quescunque in nos permittit: cum nibil in nos aliqui nisi nostro ipsorum bono, inque nostram adeo salutem, permittat. Huic igitur nos totos commissimus, et cum omni tolerantia expectamus quicquid in nos permittere ille velit. Si nos hinc peli contingat, scis quinam sit animus meus. Quod si quid tu intimatus de mea istor vocatione intellexisti, quemadmodum ad te ex Jeremuth scripseram, aut siquid te adhibu intelligere posse putas, queso te, vir integerrime, ut mihi per amicum hunc et fratrem meum, Robertum Legatum, gentilem vestrum, oivem nostrum, significare velit. Germaniae fere tota, praeter Saxonicam (quae vocant) et remissionis civitates, ac principes aliquot, interiessit. Helvetij legatos Caesaris, qui ad repetendum ducentum Sambium venerant, finibus suis non audissent, ut diceretur, excessere jussissent. De me plura hic Robertus nostrar. Vale. Uxorem tuum, dominam Casolum nostrum, dominum Merosium diligentem salvere jubeo: meque vobis omnibus totum ex animo commendo. Raptim. Æmides, anno Aprilis, anno 1549.

Tui studiosissimus,

JOANNES A LASCO,

manu propria.

Cuperem scire num fructus aliquid attulerit, mea illa nonnulla absoluza ad herum tuum admonitio, quam tibi a domino Florentio nomine meo traditum esse non diffido: et num putes illam mihi porro absolvendam esse. Doctori Turner multam ex me salutem dicto, queso.

No. LII.

A Lasco’s request, that those of his church might have a Warrant from the Kings Council, that they might not be disturbed for not coming to their parish churches.*

Clarisissimo viro Domino Guilhelmo Cecilio, secretario regio dignissimo ad manus.

Rursum perturbantur quidam et nostra ecclesia tam in majore, quam in minore Sudwerk, vir clarissime, et carceres illis intentantur, nisi ad suas persone veniant. Faciunt autem id non pastores ipsi, sed sediles; qui praefecti ecclesiarum vocantur. Qua de re cum domino reverendissimo cancellario heri egit. Et ille iussit, ut cum tua humanitate agerem, ut ipso presente in senatu hodie a prando res per tuum humanitatem proponeretur: pollicitusque est, se nobis adjungere esse futurum in senata, ut mandatum in scripto ad omnes parceos et eccle-

* Sir W. H. MSS. [Landsd. MS. ii. 94].
siarum praefectos in Sudwerk et sancta Catharina obtineamus, ne nostri ab illis deinceps, haec in parte, molestentur. Sed ejusmodi mandatum obtinerti oporteret, quod per nos illis offerti, qui nostros molestant, et demum per nos eadem adversari possit: ne deinceps novis xurum mandatis impetrantis (si forte ita incidat) molesti semper et senatus ipsi regio, et tue humanitati esse cogamur. Venturus eram ipse ad tuam humanitatem, sed per gravissimum capitis dolorum profecto non licuit. Mitto tamen ad tuam humanitatem hunc fratrem nostrum, qui est unus e senioribus nostris ecclesiis. Orque ut illum benigno audiat et absolvat. Commodo me diligentissime humanitati tue.

Tuae præstantissime addicissimæ, 
JOANNES A LASCO,

[Novemb. 1552.]

—
[manu propria.]

No. LII.

Michael Angelo, Preacher to the Italian Congregation, his complaint against some of his flock, with a List of their Names.*

Clarissimo Domino Sicilii, sereniissimi regis Anglie, &c. a secretis;
Michael Angelus Florius Florentinus, Italorum concionator. S. D.


* Sir W. H[icke's MSS.].

2 o 2

Italorum Nomina,

D. Carolus Rinuccinus.  Florentini omnes.
D. Guido Cavalcanti.
D. Battista Cavalcanti.
D. Bartholomeus Fortini.  Januens.
D. Azalinus Selvagus.
D. Benedictus Spinola.
D. Antonius Bruschetto.
D. Christoforus Mediolanensis.
D. Battista Buronne, Mediolanensis.
D. Evangelista Fonte.
D. Petrus Campante, Lucensis.
D. Nicolaus de Nale.
D. Andreas de Resti.  Ragusenses.

No. LIII.

Michael Angelo endeavours to appease the Secretary, greatly offended with him for a gross miscarriage.*

Clarissimo viro, ordinis equestris, Domino Guglielmo Sycilio, serenissimi regis Anglie, &c. a secretis, Michael Angelus Florius, S. P. D.

SUBLORatus hisce diebus elapse miram illam tuam charitatem, quas me pie complecti solebas, magnitudine labis, quas nunc me commaculare contingit, victam fuisset; teque adversus me ita excunduisset, ut me sclerosis omnia indiginitate excellere judicaret. Quae cum animo mecum volutare cepisse, arbitrabas consultum fore, si ad te scriberem, remque omnem, ut se habet, non ut quorumque impudentium luctulentis ora evomere sua sunt, panderem. Sed pendebat animus, et in diversa trahebatur. Nam verebar ne vehementius in me sevires, audito meo nomine, quod tam pseminoem apud te factum est. Verum cum rem altius mecum perpenderim, prorsus mutavit sententiam, tum quia misantropos non es, tum etiam quia es opinio, quam de tua pietate, prudentia, doctrina et mansuetudine concepi hactenus, falsa non me lactavit spe. Iccirco his meis ad te litteris provolare audeo, faterique te non injuria me sclerosum vocitasse, quia exurgentibus quibusdam nebulis de limos concupiscientia carnis meae, et obsolenticibus cor meum, per aperuit cupiditatem cecidi, ac prcecepse cecidi in oenum, voraginem et gurgitum libidinis et immunditiae carnis, relictos Deo, cujos ira invaluit super me. Sed ut memineris, obscurum, amplissime domine, me ex oedem Adamo

* Sir W. H. MSS.
APPENDIX.

389

genitum, ex quo David, ac plerique electi Dei, qui ejusdem criminibus obnoxij fuere. Ex humo, non ex suamet substantia, ut quidam falsa opinati sunt, Deus hominem condidit, non ex durissimo lapide aut chalybe. Quod quidem si perspectabitis illum procliviorem aptioremque ad malum reddidit. Si enim naturam nostram humanam sic Deus condidisset (quod impossibile est) ut nunquam peccasset, melior ipso Deo fuisset, (quod absit:) quia natura quae potest peccare, sicut et non peccare, si semper vincernet, illi naturae preponenda esset, quae ideo non peccat, quia impassibilis est. Age dic, ex terrae limo conditus quis non peccat? Et si bonos omnes suos esse velit Deus, non tamen ills potestatem peccandi adimit. Et quiesquis naturam nostram quam diligenter inspexerit, cum Christo Filio Dei fatebitur "Neminem praeter unum Deum bonum." In me igitur in hujus criminis fecem prolapsus naturam, amplissime domine, attende, in te vero, et in alij ab hac peccati sorde mundis, gratiam Dei, non naturae virtutem, landato. Qui peccantes omnes odisse querit, neque profecto seipsum diliget. Et si quosunque reos mortis damnarit contendit, neminem vivere patietur. Quis unquam electorum Dei tam mundus ab omni labecula criminis fuit, cui non opus fuerit quotidie rogare Patrem, ut illi sua remittat debita? Nonne omnes habent, quod plangant, et reprehensione conscientiae, et mobilitate peccatricis naturae? Et sicut unicuique propter sua peccata Dei misericordia est necessaria, ita uniuscujusque proprium est errantium omnium misereri.

locum pergeret, quo missus non fuerat. David rex et propheta, vir
utique secundum cor Dei, plus seque Veneri indulgens, uxorem rapuit
alienam, et virum illius interfici curavit. Simon Petrus, cui Dominus
pollicitus erat claves regni cœlorum, cum juramento ipsum Dominum
sumum negavit. Nec tamen ille piissimus Deus terre obsamat aperi
jusit, ut vivi absorberantur hi qui legem suam violaverunt: ut suo
exemplo diceret omnes, rigorem judicij piétate et clementia franger.

Deferreoscat igitur minax tua illa indignatio et formidable igne adversus
me, demitst furearem. Vir integerrime, misericorditer me prolaps
sum corripe, et cum dilectione saluti mea consule, et prospice. Cu
jus auxilio, consilio, et favore nitar, si tu, qui omnium sacra anchora es, (et
numinis loco te habeat omnes,) me prorsus tuo destituis auxilio? Quo
fugiam extra regnum istud, ut vitare possum, quia aut carne mea et
sanguine meo satientur hostium evangelij dentes et ora, aut veritatem
illius ipse negare cogar! Non veluti primi parentis Adami est hoc pec
catum meum, ut non vetustate, prudentia et piétate sanctorum Dei
daleri posset. Cave, obsecro, ne Satanas, per imaginem quasi juste
severitatis, crudelem hanc tibi adversus me suadeat sevitiem. Clama
bis fortassia, me indignum esse hoc tuo favore et auxilio. Fateor,
sed recordes, rogo, Deum indigneust justificare et servare. Piasas
igitur conmoveat te, ut velis mihi famulo tuo percuti opitulari, cujus
quod in manibus est, X Kal. Februarij.

No. LIV.

That the Secretary would procure the Kings letters Patents for a French
Protestant, to set up a French printing press.*

Clarissimo viro Domino Guilhelmo Cecilio, regis majestatis secretario
dignissimo, domino et fatoeri observantissimo.

TAMETAM ejuemodi nunc sit valetudo mea in eo luctu meo, in quo
me Dominus, adempta mihi altera mei parte, uxore inquam mea, con
stituit, ut neque mihi liceat, neque etiam magnopere libeat multa ad
multos scribere, vir clarissime; tamen fratribus et amicis a me postu
lantibus negare non potui, ut in fratribus suis gratiam, qui has perfert,
pacis te, pro tua in me benevolentia, meaque in te observantia, inter
pellarun est vir pius et vere religionis studiosus totius Ecclesiæ nostre
Gallicæ testinamio; superque instituere typographiam Gallicam, in
usum eorum insularum, quæ subeunt majestati regis. Ut Angelis,
quæ ad religionem pertinent, omnia, Gallicæ verae, pro insulis illis exca
dat. Hac itaque in parte tuo patrocinio juvavi postulat; et a me petij,
Ut se tue humanitati commendarem, ut tuis usupicijo diploma regium
in sum usum obtinere possit. Te igitur oro, vir prestantissime, ut illi
hac in parte tua autoritate adesse velis: cum mea, tum vero multa
magis promovendas religionis causa. Plura non permittit valetudo.
Commendo me tue humanitati officiosissime. Londini, 24 Augusti,
1552.

Tue humanitati addicissimus,

JOANNES A LACCO.

* Sir W. H[ilke's] MSS.
APPENDIX.

No. LV.

Valerandus Pollanus Superintendens of the Strangers church at Glastonbury, concerning the state of the strangers Weavers, fixed there.**

Vero nobili viro ac D. D. Gulielmo Cecilio, equiti aurato, regii consilii secretario, D. ac patrono suo colendissimo.

S. P. Cum his Petrus Wolfus, vir honestus ad vicem prolocutorum, putavi non agere laturam D. T. si de rebus nostris paucis significaret. Alteras literas, quas ad Cornishium et reliquis procuratores pertinente, hodie propter absentiam Cornishij tradidi regio ministro M. Poais cum Ferrario Hijeto, prefecto huys oppidi, et aliis officiarijs, presente D. Clerc, generoso, qui est unus ex ijs, qui praesunt (ut dicunt) justices of paiz. Atque hic generosus, cum Latine et Gallico nosset, pro sua humanitate interpretam egit, tum mei libelli supplicis exhibiit DD. consiliarijs; tum nostri pacti cum D. duce Somerseti. Viderunt itaque consentire per omnia; et id DD. consiliarijs significant per literas; atque illud etiam, quantas commoditates ex his hominibus sperent. Has literas ipsae mecum faram, cum literis eorum qui praesunt ratiomibus huys oppidi, quos expectamus ad proximum diem Jovis. Interes id te seire volui, ut pro tua pietate memor sis horum hominum, qui brio non video qua ratione impressitarum possit prospici, quod pascua atinas, nisi Damario nobis concedatur utendum fruendum, cum hortorum parte alius, tantisper dum alia pascua tradantur. Atque ita decreverat D. dux, imo etiam fiesset jam nisi Cornishius ille nobis praeipuisset turpissima fraudem, cum seiret D. ducem aliter decreviase ante mortem D. Spelt.


T. D. observantissimus

VALERANDUS POLLANUS

Superintendens peregriorum Ecclesiae Glascon.

* Sir W. R. MSS. [Lauds. MS. ii. 54].
APPENDIX.

No. LVI.

The Superintendent earnestly desires, that one Cornish might not bee set over the Strangers there, who had already dealt so illy with them.*

Vere nobili viro ac Domino D. Gulielmo Cecillo, equiti aurato meritiissimo, supremi consilij regij secretario, domino, ac patrono colendissimo. In salu.

S. P. Erst mihi non dubium est. T. D. proba memorem esse sermonis nostri postremi de Cornishio, ac deinceps ejsudem per literas commonefecerim: de eadem re tamen iterum et terto appellare nec pudet, nec piget, quoniam ita res exigit. Obsecro, per Christum, nec id moleste feras, neque rem istam parve estimes.

Cum enim, qui praecesse debent alii, ipsoe integros ac justos imprimis esse oporteat; tum qui hominibus istis optimis, ac propter Christum tantum extorribus presfuturi sunt, eos ipsoe sane quam integrerrimos ac justissimos esse oportet: ni perire honestissimos viros velitis, atque alio avertere maxima commoda, quae ab ipsis ad rempurb. poveritura erant. In Cornishio porro, nunquam hi nostri homines, textores, inquam, illi peregrini, vel hilum integritatis et justitias, vel candoris deprehenderunt, aut experti sunt. Quaproprier illorum precibus solici tatus, T. D. supplex oro, velis ita causam ipsorum DD. consilarijs exponere ac commendare, ne Cornisius, quod jam ab ipsis contendit, assequatur, ut hominibus istis praeefciatur. Mirari satis non possimus, quamam fronte id jam audeat, posteaquam adeo nuper turpissimam suam perfidiam ac malevolentiam prodiderit: nec ignoren, quam egre illum feras omnes, qui etiam idem quod nunc petimus, a D. duce postulaturi eramus. Causas autem, et cetera, quae ad hanc rem pertinebunt, ne diutius T. D. meis literis obtundam, ex hoc tabellario, M. Stephano Le Prevoet, qui est diaconus meus in ministerio ecclesie, plenius cognosces. Obsecro per Christum ut id velis, atque illi fidem habetas.


T. D. observantissimus Clientulus,

VALERANDUS POLLANUS,
Superintendens Ecclesie peregr. Glascon.

No. LVII.

Some Account of the present Settlement of their Affairs.†

Ornatissimo viro, ac D. D. Gulielmo Cicello, equiti aurato, senatus regij secretioris secretario, domino et patrono colendissimo.

S. P. Quid in negotio bonorum virorum decoreverint rationum presides, etiam ab ipsis non dubito te intellecturum; nolui tamen commit-

* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lanad. MS. ii. 68].
† Sir W. H. MSS. [Lanad. MS. ii. 69].


De me etiam nihil est constitutum, qui 15 mensibus sumptus incre-

T. D. addicissimus Christi talus,
VETERANDUS POLLANUS.

Condonet mihi T. D. quod tam incondite scribam. Non vacat aliter, per tam multas occupationes; uti testis erit hic generosus Dom. mee diligentiae et sedulitiae, tum in ecclesiasticis, tum in economicis nostrorum rebus procurandis.

No. LVIII

Mr. Calvin's Advice for the Revising some Abuses in our Church, and University, relating to the Administration and Mises of their Revenues.*

A Monseigneur, Monseigneur le Duc de Sommerset.

MONSEIGNEUR, Je ne vous scuois assez remerci du roceueil tant humain, que mon homme a trouvé envers vous: non seulement a ce qu'il vous a pleu prendre la poine d'offrir mes livres au roy; mais de tout le reste, en quoy vous pouviez declairer une singuliere affection d'amitie, que de vostre grace vous aviez desia assez monstrée cy devant.
Quant a l'enfant que vous avez receu a vostre service, je n'eusse poynt pris la hardiesse de vous en escrire; si non que j'eusse pense, qu'il avoit adresse de plus grand bien comme aussi on s'y attendoit. Mais d'aulant plus en suis je obligé a vous, quant je voy que ma favere a valu quelque chose en cest endroit. Mais poure que tout ce, que je vous scuois escrire seroit bien maigre au pris de ce que est en mon oeure, et aussi que vos bienfaitz meritet j'ayme mieux me depperter de vous en faire plus long propos. Seulement je vous prie, monseigneur, de me tenir tellement du tout vostre, que si j'avois moien de vous faire de bons services, il ne tiendroit pas a m'y employer, que vous n'eussiez approbation d'un meilleur vouloir, que je ne le puis exprimer.

Je vous suisse fait ces excuses plus tost, ou bien remerciements, si vous plait les tenir pour tres; n'est esté le desire que ce gentilhomme avoit de vous presenter mes letteres. En quo aussi j'apperois l'amitie que vous plait monstrer enuers moy, quant ceux qui meriten bien d'avoir acces envers vous, esperant estre tres bien venus par le moien de mes letterez.

Cependant, monseigneur, je ne cesseray de vous recommander ce qui

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
vous est de soy assez cher et précieux : cest que vous procuriez tous jours, et mettiez poine, que Dieu soit droictement honore et servy. Sar tout qu'il se dresse meilleur ordre en l'eglise, qu'il ny est pas encore. Car a ce qu'on dit, il a grande faute de doctrine pour le simple people. Combien qu'il ne soit pas ayes de recouvrer gens propres et ideines pour faire caste office ; toutefois a ce que j'entans, il y a deux grandz empechemens, ausques il seroit necessaire de provevoir. L'un est, que les revenus des universitez, qui ont esté fonduez pour nourrir les eschobiers, sont mal distribuez en partie. Car plusieurs sont nourris de breuieres, qui font profession manifeste de resister a l'evangile. Tant s'en faut, quilz donnent esperance de maintenir ce qui aura esté la edifice a grande poine et travail.

Le second mal est, que le revenu des eures est distrait, et dissipe : en sorte qu'il n'y a point pour nourris gens de bien, qui seroient propres a faire l'office de vrayes pasteurs. Et par ce moyen on y mett prestres ignersans, qui emporte une grande confusion. Car la qualite des personnes engendre un grand mespris de la parole de Dieu. Et puis quant ils auroient toute l'autorite du monde, il ne leur chait guere de s'acquiter. Je vous prie doncque, monsieur, pour faire tousours avancer en mieulx la reformation, et luy donner fermite permanente a ce qu'elle tienne : qu'il vous plaise employer toutes vos forces a la correction de cest abus. Je croy bien, qu'il n'a pas tenu a vous, que les choses n'ayent esté mieux regles de prime face. Mais puis qu'il est bien difficile d'avoir du premier coup, un estat si bien dresse quil seroit a desirer, il reste de tousours insister pour parfaire avec le temps ce que est bien commene.

Il ne doit pas faire mai a ceux qui tirent aujourd'hui profit du bien des eglises, que les pasteurs ayent nourriture suffisante : veu que chacun se doit efforcer de les nourrir du sien propre, quant il n'auroient point de quoy du publiq. Meme ce sera leur profit de s'en acquiter. Car ils ne peuvent pas prosperer en fraudant le peuple de Dieu de la pasteure spirituelle, en ce qu'ils privent les eglises de bons pasteurs. Et de vostre part, monsieur, je ne doube pas, quant vous aures fidelement travaillé a reduire ces choses en ordre, que Dieu ne multiplie d'autant plus ses benedictions en vous. Mais pour ce que je me tiens assure, que vous estes si bien affectionne de vous meme, qu'il nest pas besoing en faire plus longue exhortation, je farey fin : apres avoir supplie nostre bon Dieu, qu'il y plaise vous conduire tousours par son esprit, vous augmenter en tout bien, et faire que son nom soit de plus en plus glorifie par vous.

Ainsi, monsieur, je me recommande bien humblement a vostre bonne grace. De Geneve, ce 25 de Juillet, 1651.

Vostre tres humble Serviteur,

JEHAN CALVIN.
Sir John Cheke to Dr. Parker, upon the Death of Martin Bucer.*

I have delivered the universities letters to the kings majesty, and spoken with the lords of the Council, and with my L. of Cant. for Mrs. Bucer. I doubt not but she shall be well and worthily considered. The university hath not done so great honor to Mr. Bucer, as credit and worship to themselves. The which if they would continue in, as they cease not to complain, they might be a great deal better provided for, then they think they be. But now complaining outright of all other men, and mending little in themselves, make their friends rather for duty towards learning, then for a desert of the students, show their good wills to the university. Howbeit they if would have sought either to recover, or to increase the good opinion of men, they could not have devised wherein by more duty they might worthily be commended, then in following so noble a man with such testimonie of honor, as the child ought to his father, and the lower to his superior. And altho I doubt not, but the kings majesty will provide some grave learned man to maintain Gods true learning in his university, yet I think not of all learned men, in all points, yee shall receive Mr. Bucers like; whether we consider his deepnes of knowledg, his earnestnes in religion, his fatherliness in life, his authority in knowledg. But what do I commend you to Mr. Bucer, who knew him better, and can praise, whom ye knew, truer?

I would wish, that that is wanting now by Mr. Bucers death, they would by diligence and wisdome fullfil in themselves: and that they herein praised in others labour to obtain themselves. Whereof I think ye be a good stay to some unbrided young men, who have more knowledg in the tongues, then experience what is comely, or fit for their life to come.

I pray you, let Mr. Bucers books and scroles unwritten be sent up and saved for the kings majesty: that he choosing such as shall like him best, may return the other without delay: except Mrs. Bucer think some other better thing to be done with them, or she should think she should have loss by them, if they should not be in her ordering.

I do not, Mr. Parker, forget your friendship shewed to me afore-time; and am sorry no occasion serveth me to shew my good wil. But assure your selue, that as it lyeth long and taketh deep root in me, so shall the time come, I trust, wherein ye shall understand the fruit thereof the better to endure and surelier to take place. Which may as wel shortly be, as be deferred. But good occasion is al. The Lord keep you, and grant the university so much encrease of godlines and learning, as these causes may compel unwilling men to be ashamed not to do for them. From Westminster 1551. Mar. 9.

Your assured, JOAN. CHEKE.

APPENDIX.

No. LX.

Peter Martyr to Bucer, concerning the Oxford Act, anno 1550.*

Quibus artibus instituuerint disputationem theologiam in comitiis Oxoniensibus.

S. D.

Ad tuas prolixas literas, mihiique eo nomine suavissimas, brevi hae mea epistola rescribo: partim, quod tabellarius cittàs reeditum aggestus est, quam ego speraveram; partim, quod res, de qua me vis cognitare, non est praecipienda, sed potius quam diligentissimo examine opus habet. Curabo itaque ut quam primum, si certus homo, cui recte possim literas dare, se offerret, quid ea de re sentio, rescribam. Gaudeo itaque vehementer disputationes istas hunc habuisse successum, quem sua providentia Deus illas habere voluit. Vix enim mihi polliceo, cum non adissent visitatores, aut ulli graves judices potuisset magnum fructum, ex illis, vel ad scholam, vel ad ecclesiam redire. Non quasi de viribus, donisque tibi divinitus collatis, quicquam dubitem, aut bonitati causa diffidem, sed quod istorum consilium videam. Satis est illis pugnasse. Qui postea mendacia spargunt. Nuncum desunt. Et diabolus omnia curat efferri, et per sua membra honorificentissime amplificari. Quaesere non miror, si Christus ab initio dispositiones apostolicas miraculis confirmavit. Utinam quoque dignet istos obfirmatos, suaque cordis duritie Gehennas addicatos, eadem potestia coercere, qua per Paulum Elymam magum repressit: quando non possunt alia ratione adduci, ut veritatem, instar magorum Pharao, non oppugnent, et suis praestigijis ususcare nitantur.

Quid mihi acciderit, in nostris comitiis, paucis accipe. Sunt creati baccalaurei theologiae, quos ego de more presentavi: cumque illis, ut fit, disputationem esset publice, respondentem papistam constituere. Opponentes item papistas, questionemque disputationam, maximo silentio suppresserunt: cum soli eam inter se communicassent. Totamque id fiebat, ne illum ego possim cognoscere. Cumque ad eam publicandam exstimmularentur, dicebant, ad me non pertinentie: satis esse, ut eam disputationi inter se nossent. Denique pridie ejus diei, quo disputationem erat post meridiem secunda hora, ut arbitrator, questionem publicarerunt, et ad valvas templi affixerunt. Volebant autem defendere suum beatam transsubstantiationem, atque corporis Christi impanationem. Utque me arbitrui recluderent, alium, ut loquentur, patrem sibi deligent doctorem Chedzeum. Ibi opposentes omnia mea producissent argumenta. Respondentes, ut visum esset, diluissent. Opponentes se dixissent esse contentos allata solutione. Pater loco meo suppositorum omnia vehementer approbasset. Mihi vero ea die aut nullus locus dicendi datus esset: (nam postrema omnium ad noctem istae disputationes habende erant, postquam jurisprudem suas partes egissent: nam illi doctorem ea die inaugurabant:) aut siquid mihi dicere licisset, in ipsa ferme nocte dicendum erat, omnibus jam auditoribus, et fessis et abeatibus. Comitia soluta fuisissent, et undique victoriam conclamassent, quasi suam causam Oxonii pulcherrime de-
fendissent. Fuitque tanta hominum turba in his comitij, ut vix credi
possit. Quotquot enim poterant, undique litteris acciverant. Aderant
inter alios capellanos, ut vocent, Wintoniensis, doctor Seton, et capel-
lanus episcopi Dunelmensis.

Iste sunt adversariorum techna. His fraudibus pugnavere volunt.
Sed necito quo modo, ex insensate noster vice cancellarius, sive quod
timuerit alicuam turbam sive aliquas alia de causa, quem me latet, inter-
dixit, ne illa die theologi disputarent. Ego aderam paratus in arqna
consilium capere, fretus Domini auxilio, quod in eo articulo maxime
necessitatis, et ca et linguaam esset daturus.

Hec ideo scripsi, ut nostrorum antegestaerum artes intelligas, et
acquid ab iis simplici animo fieri credas.

Fuit eo tempore hie mecum vester vice cancellarius* afflicta valetu-
dina: visus tamen est nonnihil recreari. De te multum locuti sumus:
et ille inter alia sibi pollicebatur, quod si per valetudinem ei licuisset
Cantabrigiae esse, cum illa inter te et Yangam acciderant, potuisset
illum hominem facile ad modestius agendam adducere. Capio illum
restituam, cum tibi, ut video, optime valit, et religionem candide am-
plectatur. Uxor mea, Deo gratias, convaluit, quod mihi et conmodum
est et jucundissimum; et quod etsi tibi sit gratum, ut scriba, ingentes
ago gratias. Agnetem tuam, Nicolaumesque salutes, et tuum illum
securum, qui nobiscum fuit, mee, uxorix, et Julij nomine, qui omnes,
mas cum domimo subdecum, et domino Carowo, te cumprimes magna
salute impertunt. 20 Septembr. 1650. Oxonij.

Tuus in Christo, PETER MARTYR.

---

No. LXI.

Peter Martyr to Bucer, concerning their review of the book of Common
Prayer.†

Censura libri Communium Precum.

S. D. Hoc tempore nil mihi potuit, aut optatus aut jucundius,
evenire, quam ut censurae tuam viderem librorum sacrorum. Quare,
quod eas ad me dignatur aia mittere, gratias inmortales ago. Jam
rogatus fueram, ut ipse quoque anotaret, quodnam mihi de eo vide-
retur. Et cum, propter ignotam mihi linguam, fuisse data versio D.
Cheeki legenda, ut potui de ea coligere, annotavi quod digna correc-
tione visa erant. Sed quia in versione mihi tradita, complura dearent,
ideo multa preterij, de quibus in meis annotationibus nihil dixi.
Hec deinde cum de tuo scripto reprehendidissem, in ejusmodi libro contineri,
mihi doliit: quod jam ante duos aut tres dies meam censuram rever-
rendissimo, qui me pro ea urgetbat, attulissem. Ceterum hoc demum
remedium adhibui: quae de tuo scripto cognovi defuisse in meo libro,
summatim collegi: et cum eadem, quae tu reprehendisti, mihi quoque
non ferenda videruntu, es in breves articulos redegli: exposuisse
reverendissimo, qui jam sciebat hae ad D. episcopum Eliensem te
scripisse, me in his omnibus capitibus, quae illi offerebam, in articulis
notata, consentire tecum, ut mutarentur.

* G. Haddon. † Ex Bibliothec. C.C.C.C. [No. cxix. fol. 106].
In prioribus antem adnotationibus omnia sermone, quae te offenderant, a me inueni adnotata. Exemplum quidem ad te nunc mittorem: sed non habeo ista descriptum, ut illud possis legere. Tantum sum miratus, quomodo prestereris de communiue segrotorum id reprehendere, quod statutum est, si eo die fiat, quo in Domino habetur oecum Domini, tum minister partem ciborum secum deferat. Atque ita communiam in domo segrotantis administrat. Qua in re id me offendit, quod ibi non repentat, quae praecipe ad oecam Domini pertinent: cunctae, ut tu quoque sentis, arbitror, verba oecae magis ad homines, quam aut ad panem, aut ad vinum pertinere. Monui omnino mihi videri, ut ooram segroto, et simul cum eo communicantis, omnia, quae ad oecam Domini necessario requiruntur, et dicantur, et agantur. Et sane nirandum est, quomodo ea, conspectu segroti, verba dicere graventur, cui maxime utilia sunt, cum inutiliter eadem repetere velit, quando inter communicandum in templo vinum in poculo deficere contigerit, cum homines qui adsunt, et sacramenta sumunt, illa jam audiverint. Hae sunt, quae putavi alicujus momenti, et 0orum omiseris, non satis intelligo. In omnibus autem, quae consuisti emendanda, sive sententiae scripsi. Et gratis Deo ago, qui occasionem suppediavit, ut de his omnibus episcopi per nos admonerentur. Conclusum jam est in hoc eorum colloquio, quasmodum mihi retulit reverendissimus, ut multa immutentur. Sed quanam illa sint, quae consenserint emendanda, neque ipse mihi exposuit, neque ego de illo quarefere susus sum. Verum hoc non me parum recreat, quod mihi, D. Choeus indicavit; si noluerint ipsi, ait, efficere, ut quae mutanda sint mutentur, rex per seipsum id faciet; et cum ad parliamentum ventum fuerit, ipse suum majestatis authoritatem interponet.

De Wintoniensi jam actio quarta in judicio habita est; neque dum respondet, alio spectat, quam ut se a contumacia purget. Verba ejus a papistis hominibus, ut docta et acuta predicantur: a veris autem et sanis judicibus, vafra, subdola, aliena a causa, et, ut uno verbo dicam, sophisticis. Quod mihi etiam fit verisimile, cum illum in rebus theologicos non aliter agere animadverterim. Verum quicquid sit, causa omnino existimatur casurus.

Quae de Hopporo ad me scribis, non potuerunt non videri mira. Certe illis auditibus obtupui. Sed bene habet, quod episcopi meas litteras viderunt, unde invidia ego quidem sum liberatus. Et illius causa hic jacet, ut mellioribus et piis nequaquam probetur. Dolet, dolet, inquam, mihi gravissime talia inter Evangelij professores contingere. Ille tota hoc tempore, cum illi sit interdicta concio, non videtur posse quiescere; suae fidei confessionem edidit qua rursus multorum animos excrabat. Deinde queritur de consiliariis, et fortasse, quod mihi non refertur, de nobis. Deus felicem catastrophon non letis actibus imponat.

Doctor Smithus, quondam Oxoniij professor, qui me de votis monasticis praterita jam estate lascissit, nunc librum, Anglice scriptum, contra dominum Cantuariensem edidi de re sacramentarig. De quo, cum lingua mihi sit ignota, nequeo judicare. Sed tamen sensum ejus, et ineptias, brevi cognoscem. Nam scribit se etiam sub prelo habere, quae contra me de eadem re composuit. Quanquam haec ego vel parum
vel nihil moror, cum a Satane atque pape mancipijs nihil nisi mendacia expectem. Pecusa nostra me terrent, atque pertenuis Evangelij fructus: necnon ex altera parte Caesaris successus, quem severissimam Dei virgam esse video. Et inter hae non male nostris peregrinorum ecclesiae vacat nugari.

Est enim inter illas de templo a rege concesso exorta magna contentio: adeoque sunt animi eorum implacables, et eo exsasurgent, ut eorum dissidium per concilium regium sit dirimendum. Precor Deum, ut res non male juxta merita cadat.


Tuus in Christo,

PETRUS MARTYR.

Clarissimo et eruditisissimo D. D. Martino
Bucero, theologæ professori regio, mihi plurimum observando, Cantabrigiae.

No. LXII.

The Archbishops Letter to procure Wolf, the Printer, a licence to publish his Book.

AFTER my veray hertie commendations. Thies be to signifie unto you, that Rayner Wolf, at my desire, hath fullfy fnyshed the printing of my book, for answer to the late bishop of Winchesters, written against myn of the Doctrine of the Sacrament. And forasmuche as both printing and selling of any matiers in thenglishe toung is prohibited by a proclamacion set furthe, onles the same matier be first allowed by the kings majestie, or vi. of his majesties privye counsal, as you shal more plainly perceyve by the proclamacion, which herewith I send unto you: therfor I hertily pray you to be auctor to the kings majestie, or to the privye counsal, that Mr. Rayner may have licence for the printing and selling of my said book accordingly. And the same so obtained to sende me with convenient spede. For in the beginning of the termes I think it wer veray necessary to be set furthe, for the contention of many, which have had long expectation of the same. Assome as I shal receyve advertisement, when the kings majestie wil be at Hampton Court, I wil come thither to see his grace, and do my duty towards the same. Thus fare ye hertily wel. From my mannour at Croydon, the xxix. of September, 1551.

Your lovyngse Frende,

T. CANT.

To my veray lovyngse freendes, Mr. Cecill,
one of the kings majesties two principal secretaries. Or to Mr. Cheeke.

* Sir W. H[icke]'s MSS.
APPENDIX.

No. LXIII.

Articles, wherunto Wylliam Phelps, Pastor and Curate of Chirencaster, upon good advisement and deliberation, after better knowledge given by God's grace and goodness unto him, hath subscribed, consented and agreed, willingly without force, compulsion, and all manner of imposition, and is willing and desireth to set forth the same to his parishioners, for the better edifying of them, and declaration of his new agreement to God's verite and holy word.*

First, that the holy word of God doth acknowledge, confess, maintain, avouch, hold and defend, that in the holy sacrament and communion of Christ's precious body and blood, the very substance, matter, nature and condition of bread and wine, do remain after the words, (as they be commonly called), of consecration, as verily and truly as they were in substance and matter bread and wine before: although that the use of the bread and wine in the sacrament be changed. For whereas before it was common bread and common wine, now by the virtue of God's word it is made the sacrament of the precious body and blood of Christ, and a seal, confirmation, and augmentation of God's mercy and gracious promise to all men, that receive it in the faith of Christ Jesu, with hatred of sin, and intent, purpose and mind, to live always a vertuous life. And that is the very transubstantiation and change, that God delighteth in, in the use of the sacraments, most, that we should earnestly and from the bottom of our hearts, be converted into Christ, and Christ's holy commandments, to live a Christen life, and to dy from sin, as he gave us example, both by His life and doctir; and meaneth not, that the bread and wine should in substance be turned or converted into the substance of His body and blood, or that the substance of the bread should be taken away, and in the place thereof to be the substance, matter, and corporal presence of Christ's corporal, holy humane and natural body.

Item, That the same holy word of God doth confess, hold, defend, acknowledge and maintain, that the very natural, substantial, real and corporal body of Christ, concerning His humanity, is only and solely in heaven, and not in the sacrament and communion of His precious body and blood. But whosoever worthily, with true repentance, and lively faith in the promise of God, receiveth that holy sacrament, receiveth sacramentally by faith all the mercies, riches, merits and deservings, that Christ hath deserved and paid for, in His holy blood and passion. And that is to eat Christ and to drink Christ in the holy sacrament, to confirm and seal sacramentally, in our souls, God's promises of eternal salvation: that Christ deserved for us, not in, nor by, His body eaten, but by, and for, His body slain and killed upon the cross for our sins: as S. Paul saith Col. i. Eph. i. 3. Heb. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10.

As for eating of His flesh, and drinking of His blood, really, corporally, materially and substantially, it is but a carnal and gross opinion of man, besides and contrary to the word of God, and the articles of our faith, and Christen religion: that affirmeth His corporal departure

* Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. cccxxv. 71.]
from the earth, placeth it in heaven above at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty, and keepest, retaineth, holdest and preservest the same corporal body of Christ there, til the general day of judgment, as the word declareth: "From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

And that heretofore I have been in the contrary opinion, and believed my self, and also have taught other to believe the same, that there remained no substance of bread and wine in the sacrament, but the very self same body and blood of Christ Jesu, that was born of the blessed Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, I am with all my heart sorry for mine error, and false opinion, detesting and forsaking the same from the bottom of my heart, and desire God most heartily in, and for, the merits of His dear Son's passion, to forgive me, and al them that have erred in the same false opinion by and through my means, praying them in the tender compassion and great mercies of God, now to follow me in truth, verite and singleness of Gods most true word, as they were contented to follow me in error, superstition and blindness, and be no more ashamed to return to the truth, then they were ready to be corrupted by falsehood. If the holy apostle S. Paul, and the great clerk, St. Augustine, with many more noble and vertuous members of Christ's church, were not ashamed to returne, acknowledge and confess, their error and evil opinions; what am I, miserable creature of the world, inferior unto them both in knowldg, holines and learning, that should be ashamed to do the same! Nay, I do in this part thank God, and rejoynce from the bottom of my heart, that God hath revealed unto me the truth of His word, and given me leave to live so long to acknowledge my fault, and error: and do here before you protest, that from henceforth I will, with al diligence and labor, study to set forth this mine amended knowldg, and reconciled truth, as long as I live, by the help of God in the Holy Ghost, through the merits of Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and Advocate. To whom be al honor for ever and ever, Amen.

Subscribed and confirmed 29 of April 1551, in the presence of John, bishop of Gloucester, and divers other there present.

No. LXIV.

The Archbishop to the Lords of the Council concerning the Book of Articles of Religion.*

After my veray humble recommendations unto your good lordships; I have sent unto the same the boke of Articles, which yesterday I received from your lordships. I have sent also a codale inclosed, declaringe briefly my minde upon the said boke: beseechynge your lordships to be means unto the kynges majestie, that all the bishipes may have authority from hym, to cause all their preachers, archdecons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with al their clergie, to

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
subscribe to the said articles. And thus I trust, that such a concorde
and quetness in religion shall shortly follow thereof, as ells is not to be
looked for many years. God shall therfore be glorified, his truth shall be
advanced, and your lordships shall be rewarded of hymn, as the setters
forward of his true word and Gospel. Unto whom is my dayly prayer,
without easynge, to preserve the kynges majestie, with al your honorable
lordships. From my house at Forde the 24 of this present month
of November. Your lordships ever to commande,

T. CANT.

To my verie good lordes of the kinges majestie
his most honorable Counsell.

No. LXXV.

The Archbishop nominate certain persons for an Irish Archbishopprick.*

To my verie loyninge friende Sir William CECIL Knight, one of the
kinges majesties principal secretaries.

Though in England there be many meste men for the archbushopricks
of Ireland, yet I knowe verye fewe, that wil gladlye be perswaded to
go thither. Nevertheless I have sent unto you the names of iiiij. Vis.
Mr. Whiteheade of Hadley, Mr. Tournor of Caunturbury, Sir Thomas
Boose, and Sir Robert Wisdome. Which being ordinarily called, I
thinke for conscience sake, wil not refuse to bestowe the talent com-
mitted unto them, wheresover it shal please the kinges majestie to
appointe them. Among whom I take Mr. Whiteheade for his good
knowledge, special honestie, fervent zeal, and politick wisdome, to be
most meste. And next him Mr. Tournor, who, besides that hee is
merry and witty withal, nihil appetit, nihil ordet, nihil committat, nisi
Jeann Christum; and in the lively preching of him and his wourde
declearith such diligence, faithfulness and wisdom, as for the same
deservithe much commendation. There is also one Mr. Whitacre a
man both wise and wel learned, chaplain to the bishopp of Win-
chester, veray meet for that office, if he might be perswaded to take it
upon him.

I pray you commend me unto Mr. Cheke, and declare unto him, that
myn ague, whither it were a quotidian, or a double tertian (wherof my
physitons doubted) hath left me these two dayes, and so I trust I am
quite thereof: notwithstanding my water keapethe stil an high colour.
Now the most daunger is, that if it come againe this night, it is like to
tourne to a quartane. However the matter chaunce, the most grief to
me is, that I cannot procede in such matters as I have in hande, ac-
cording to my wil and desire. This terrenum domiciuim is such an
obstacle to all good purposes. Feraumeche as I perceave that the
kinges majesties progress is altered, I pray you send me the gestes of
the latter end of his progress, from this time unto the end, that I may from
time to time know where his majestie shall bee; whom I beseeche
Almighty God to preserve and prosper in all his affairs, with his most

* Sir W. H[icke's] Mss.

2 D 2
honorable counsel, and at his court. From my manor of Croydon, 
the xxvth. of August 1552. Your own assured, T. CANT.

No. LXVI.

That Mr. Turner, intended for the Archbishopric of Armagh, was come up to court.*

To my loyngs frende Sir William Cecil Knight, one of the kyngs 
majestie his principal secretary.

AFTER my veray harty recommendations, Now at the last agaynst 
his wil, Turner is come up unto the court. He preched twice in the 
campe, that was by Canterbury: for the which the rebells wolde have 
hanged hym; and he seemed than more glad to go to hangynge, than 
he doth now to go to Armachane, he alleged so many excuses, but the 
chiefe is this, that he shal prech to the walls and stalls, for the peple 
understande no English. I beare him in hande Yes; and yet I dowte 
whether they speak English in the dioces of Armachane. But if they 
do not, then I say, that if he wil take the paine to lerne the Irish 
tonge (which with diligence he may do in a yeares or two) than both his 
persone and doctrine shal be more acceptable not only unto his dioces, 
but also thorowe out al Ireland. I commytt hym to your cure praying 
you to help hym to have as redy a dispatch as may be, for he hath but a 
little money.

I have sent the boke of Articles for religion unto Mr. Cheke, set in a 
better order, than it was, and the titles upon every matier, addyng 
thereto that which lacked. I pray you considere wel the articles with 
Mr. Cheke, and whether you thinke best to move the kyngs majestie 
therin before my commynge; I referre that unto your two wisdomes.

I pray you let me have your advise unto whom I myght best write 
concernynge Rayner Wolfe; for I wot not to whom I myght write, but 
to my lorde of Northumberlande. The everlvyngyne God ever preserve 
you in this life, and in the life to come. From Croydon the xixth. of 
September. [Anno 1552.] Your assured frende, T. CANT.

No. LXVII.

Wherein the Archbishop justifies himself and the rest of the Bishops 
against the charge of Covetousnes.†

To my loyng frende Sir William Cycil, one of the kyngs majesties 
principal secretaries.

AFTER my most harty commendations and thanks, as wel for your 
gentyl letters, as for the copy of the "Pacification," and for your good 
remembrance of the two matters, which I desiered you not to forget, 
the one concernynge the B. of Colens lettres, and the other, Mr. 
Mowe: for whom oftynnes I gyve you my most harty thanks.
As for your "Admonition," I take it most thankfully, as I have ever

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.  † Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
APPENDIX.
existent glad to bee admonished by my frendes, accomptynge no man so fond as he that wil not heare frendely admonishments. But as for the sayinge of S. Paul, "Qui volunt ditescre, incidunt in tentationem," I feare it not halfe so moche, as I do starke beggery. For I toke not halfe so moche care for my lyvyng, when I was a scholer of Cambrige, as I do at this present. For altho I have now moch more revenewe, yet I have moch more to do withal; and have more care to lyve now as an archbuschope, than I had at that time to lyve like a scholer. I have not so moch as I had within tenne yeares passed by CLI. of certen rent, beside casualties. I pay duble for every thynge that I bye. If a good auditor have this accoumpt, he shal fynde no grete surplusage to waxe riche upon.

And if I knew any B. that were covetous, I wolde surely admonyshe hym, but I knowe none, but al beggers, except it be one, and yet I dare wel say, hee is not veray rich. If you know any, I beseech you to advertise me, for peradventure I may advertise hym bettre than you. To be shorte, I am not so doted, to set my mynde upon thynge here, which neither I can cary away with me, nor tary longe with them. If tyme wolde have served, I wolde have written of other thynge unto you, but your servant makyng hast, compelleth me heare to cut of the threde; besechynge Almyghty God to preserve the kynges majestie with al his council and famelie, and send him wel to returne from his progress. From my manor of Croydon the xxj. of July.

Your own ever, T. CANT.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Test. vi°. die Junij.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX.

[No. LXVIII.]

An Instrument of the Council, swearing and subscribing to the Succession, as limited by the King.*

EDWARD.

Where whose names be underwritten, having heretofore manitimes heard the king's majesty, our most gracious sovereign lords earnest desire and express commandment, touching the limitation of the succession in the imperial crown of this realm, and others his majesties realms and dominions; and having seen his majesties own devise touching the said succession, first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after copied out in his majesties presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesties own hand: and by his highnes delivered to certain judges, and other learned men to be written in ful order: do, by his majesties special and absolute commandment, essoons given us, aggree, and by these presents signed with our bands, and sealed with our seals, promise by our oaths and honors to observe, fully perform and keep al and every article, branch and matter contained in the said writing, delivered to the judges and others, and subscribed with his majesties hand in six several places; and al such other matters, as his majesty by his last wil shall appoint, declare, or command, touching, or concerning the limitation of the succession of his said imperial crown. And wee do further promise, by his majesties said commandment, never to vary or swarve, during our lives, from his said limitation of his succession: but the same shal to the uttermost of our powers defend and mainaine. And if any of us, or any other, shal at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this aggrement or any part therof, we and every of us, do assent to take, use and repute him for a breaker of the common concord, peace and unity of this realm, and to do our utmost to se him or them, so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp punishment, according to their deserts.


These are the names, with which this instrument is signed: but there be no seals.

The Kings own Writing, directing the Succession.†

My devise for the succession.

For lack of issue for my body, to the L. Frauncasses heir masles, if she have any such issue before my death. To the Lady Jane, and her heir masles. To the Lady Katerine heir masles. To the Lady Maryes

* MSS. D. Wil. Petyt.  † MSS. D. Wil. Petyt.
heir males. To the heires males of the daughters, which she shal have hereafter. Then to the Lady Margarets heires males. For lack of such issue to the heire males of the Lady Janes daughters. To the heire males of the Lady Katerins daughters, and so forth til you come to the Lady Margarets daughters heires males.

If after my death, their male be entred into eighteen years old, then he to have the whole rule and governance thereof.

But if he be under 18, then his mother to be governess, til he enter 18 years old.

But to do nothing without the advice and aggreement of six, parcel of a council to be pointed by my last wil, to the number of twenty.

If their mother dy before their entry into eighteen, the realm to be governed by the Council. Provided, that after he be 14 years, all great matters of importance be opened to him.

——

No. LXIX.

A Letter of Q. Jane's Council to the Lord Rich, L. Lieutenant of the County of Essex.*

After our right hartie commendations to your Lp. Although the matter conteined in your letters of therle of Oxfords departing to the Ladi Mari, be grevous unto us for divers respects, yet we must needs give your Lp. our hartie thankes for your redi advertisement therof. Requiring your Lp. nevertheless like a noble man to remain in that promise and steadfastnes to our sovereign Lady Queen Jane's service, as ye shal find us redi and firm with all our force to the same. Which neither with honor, nor with saftie, nor yet with duty we may now forsake. From the Toure of London, the xithth. of Julie, 1558.

Your L. assured loving frends,

T. Cant.  T. Ely, Canc.  W. Petre S.
Pembroke.  J. Bedford.
William Paget. F. Shrewsbury.
Winchester. Rychard Cotton.
T. Cheyne.

——

No. LXX.

Queen Jane to Sir John Bridges, and Sir Nicolas Poynts, to raise forces against a rising in Bucks.†

JANE the Queen,

Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you wel. Because we doubt not, but this our most lawful possession of the crown, with the free consent

* Sir W. H[ickes] MSS.
† Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. cccccvi. fol. 30].
of the nobility of our realm, and other the states of the same, is both
plainly known and accepted of you, as our most loving subjects: there-
fore we do not reiterate the same, but now most earnestly will and
require, and by authority hereof warrant you, to assemble, muster and
levy al the power that you can possible make, either of your servants,
tenants, officers or freends, as wel horsemen as footmen, reserving to
our [right] trusty and right wel beloved cousins, the erles of Arundel
and Penbroke, their tenants, servants, and officers: and with the
same to repair with al possible speed towards Buckinghamshire, for
the repression and subduing of certain tumults and rebellions moved
there against us and our crown, by certain seditious men. For the
repression wherof we have given ordre to divers others our good sub-
jects, and gentlemen of such degree as you are, to repair in like maner
to the same parties. So as we nothing doubt but upon the access of
such our loving subjects as be appointed for that purpose, to the place
where this seditious people yet remaine, the same shall eyther lack
harts to abyde in their malicious purpose, or ells receive such punish-
ment and execution, as they deserve, seking the destruction of their
native country, and the subversion of al men in their degrees by rebel-
lion of the base multitude. Whose rage being stirred, as of late years
hath been seen, must needs be the confusion of thole common weale.
Wherfore our special trust is, in your courage, wisdome and fidelities
in this matter to advance your self both with power and speed to this
enterprise in such sort, as by our nobility and Counsell shalbe also pre-
scribed unto you. And for the sustentation of your charges in this
behalf, our said Counsell by our commandment do furthwith give order,
to your satisfaction: as by their letters also shall appear unto you. And
besides that, we do assure you of our special consideration of this
your service to us, our crowne, and expressly to the preservation of
this our realm and commonweale. Yeven under our signet at our Toure
of London, the xvij. day of July, the first year of our reigne.

No. LXXI.
The Counsellors of Q. Jane, their Letter to the Lady Mary, acknowledging
her Queen.*

Our bownden duties most humbly remembred to your most excellent
majesty. It may like the same to understand, that we, your most
humble, faithful and obedient subjects, having alwayes (God we take to
witness) remayned your highnes true and humble subjects in our harts,
evrythens the death of our late soveraign lord and master, your highnes
brother, whom God pardon; and seeing hitherto no possiblitie to utter
our determination herein, without great destruction and bludshed, both
of our selves and others, tyl this time; have this day proclaimed, in
your city of London, your majesty to be our true natural soveraign
liege lady, and queen, most humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon
and remit our former incontinencies, and most graciously taccept our
meanings; which have byn ever to serve your highnes truly: and so

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
shall remain in all our powers and forces to the effusion of our bludder: as thine bearers, our very good lords, therof of Arundel, and L. Paget can, and be redy more particularly to declare. To whom it may please your excellent majesty to give firme credence. And thus we do, and shall daily pray to Almighty God for the preservation of your most royal person long to reign over us. From your majesties city of London this day of July, the first year of your most prosperous reggne.

Thus endorsed by the hand of Sir William Cecil.

Copy of the letter to the queen from Baynards Castle, 20 July 1553.

No. LXXII.

*The Archbishop to Mrs. Wilkinson, persuading her to fly.*

The true comforter in all distress is only God, through His son Jesus Christ. And whosoever hath Him, hath company enough, although he were in a wilderness al alone: and He that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In Him is all comfort, and without Him is none. Wherefore I beseech you, seek your dwelling there, whereas you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in Him, and have Him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's religion? If you be loth to depart from your kin and friends, remember, that Christ calleth them His "mother, sisters and brothers,"* that do His fathers will. Where we find, therefore, God truly honored according to His will, there we can lack neither friend, nor kin.

If you be loth to depart for slandering [of] God's word, remember, that Christ, when His house was not yet come, departed out of His countrey into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the Scribes and Pharisees † and commanded His apostles, that if they were pursued in one place, they should fly to another.§ And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas ‡. And what wisdom and policy He used from time to time to escape the malice of His enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other apostles, albeit, when it came to such a point that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they shewed themselves, that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom, to do more good, and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity offer themselves to death; which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ: then they shewed, how little they passed of death; how much they feared God more then men; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come, above this short and miserable life.

---

† Mat. 12.  ‡ Job. 4.  § Mat. 10.  ‡ 2 Cor. 11.
APPENDIX.

Wherefore I exhort you, as well by Christ's commandment, as by the example of Him and His apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of yours and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving of yourself to God and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutor's hands. And the Lord send His Holy Spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go; and al that be godly wil say, Amen.

No. LXXIII.

The Words and Sayings of John Duke of Northumberland, spoken by hym unto the People at the Towerhill of London, on Tewysday in the forenoon, being the 22d day of Auguste vnmediatlye before his death; as hereafter followethe.*

Good people, I am come hether for to dye this daye; for the which all yow are come hether to se. And that although this is most horrible and detestable, yet justly have I deserved the same; for that I have been most grievous synner unto Almyghty God, and to al the hole world, and to the quenes grace: in asmoche as I dyd presume, as of my self, in the plain field to beare armour agaynshe her grace. Wherfore I doe acknowledge that I have offended hyr lawes; and that justlye she myght have put me to death, withowt anye lawe, had she so pleasyd. But of hyr most clemencye hath wayed my death by a law, which justely hath condempned me. But the more, I trust, for my salvacyon, and the more better for me; to considyr the greatness of my sins. And therfore the better for my salvacyon.

And forasmoche as I am permitted to speake my conscience, this I do protest before God, the world, and al yow, that this my death hath not been altogether of mine own procuryng, but hath been incensyd by others; whom I praye God to pardon, for I wil not name, nor accuse anye man here.

And now I shal shew you how I have been of a long time led by false teachers and preachers somewhat before the death of K. Henry and ever since: which is a great part of this my death. Wherfore, good people, beware, and take heed, that yow be not ledde and deceavyd by these seditious and lowde preachers, that have opened the boke, and knowe not how to shutt it. But retorn home agayne to your true religion, and Catholyke faith, which hath been taught you of old. For since the time, that this new teachynge hath come amongst us, God hath given us over unto our selves, and hath plagued us sundry and many wayes, with warres, commociones, tumults, rebellyon, pestelence and famyne: beasydes many more great and grevous plagues; to the greates decaye of our common wealth. Wherfor, good people, be obedient unto the quene, her lawes, and be content to receive againe the true Catholic faith; from the which of long time yow have been led from. Examples we have of Jermay: which in like

* [Cotton Lib.] Titus B. 2, fol. 162.
manner being led and seduced, how ar they now brouught to ruyn, as
wel yt ye known to thole world. And also we are taught by our
Creed, in the latter part of the same: where it is said, "We believe
in the Holy Ghost, the holy Cathlick saythe, the communion of saints."
Thus yow may see the articles of our belief dothe teach us the true
sayth Catholyke. This is my verye saythe and belefe. And thes
were in my harte, as my lord bishop [Hethe of Worcester] can testeyfe.
Neyther was I comandid thus to speake, but even of myne owne
free wyll.

And then he went to his prayers, &c. and dyed.

_No. LXXIV._

_Archbishop Crammers Letter to the Queen, suying for his pardon in the
Lady Jane's business._*

Most lamentably mourning and moaning himself unto your highnes,
Thomas Crammer, although unworthy either to write or speake unto
your highnes, yet having no person that I know, to be mediator for me,
and knowing your pitiful ears ready to hear al pitiful complaints, and
seeing so many [before] to have felt your abundant clemency in like
case, am now constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and
sorrowful heart, to ask mercy and pardon for my heinous folly and
offence, in consenting and following the testament and last will of our
late soveraign lord King Edward VI. your grace's brother; which
[will, God knoweth,] God He knoweth, I never liked; nor any thing
grieved me so much that your grace's brother did; and if by any means
it had been in me to have s-letted the making of that wil, I would have
done it; and what I said therin, as wel to the council as to himself,
divers of your majesties council can report, but none so wel as the mar-
quess of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy, then lord chamberlain to
the kings majesty, which two were present at the communication
between the kings majesty and me. I desired to talk with the kings
majesty alone, but I could not be suffered, and so I failed of my pur-
pose: for if I might have communed with the king alone, and at good
leisure, my trust was, that I should have prevented him from that pur-
pose; but they being present, my labor was in vain.

Then, when I could not dissuade him from the said will, and both he
and his privy council also informed me that the judges, and his learned
counsel said, that the act of entayling the crown, made by his father,
could not be prejudicial to him, but that he, being in possession of the
crown, might make his wil thereof; this seemed very strange unto me:
but being the sentence of the judges, and other his learned counsel in
the lawes of this realm, (as both he and his counsel informed me), me-
thought it became not me, being unlearned in the law to stand against
my prince therin. And so at length I was required by the kings
majesty himself, to set to my hand to his wil, saying, that he trusted
that I alone would not be more repugnant to his wil then the rest of

* [Coverdale's] Letters of the Martyrs, [pp. 1—3].
the council were; which words surely grieved my heart very sore: and so I granted him to subscribe his will, and to follow the same; which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfainedly and without dissimulation.

For the which I submit my self most humbly unto your majesty, acknowledging mine offence with most grievous and sorrowful heart, and beseeching your mercy and pardon; which my heart giveth me shall not be denied unto me, being granted before to so many, which travailed not so much to dissuade both the king and his counsel as I did.

And whereas it is contained in two acts of Parliament, as I understand, that I, with the duke of Northumberland, should devise and compass the deprivation of your majesty from your royal crown, surely it is untrue: for the duke never opened his mouth to me, to move me any such matter, [nor I him;] nor his heart was not such towards me, seeking long time my destruction, that he would either trust me in such a matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him. It was other of the counsel that moved me, and the king himself, the duke of Northumberland not being present. Neither before, nor after, had I ever any privy communication with the duke of that matter, saving that, openly at the council table, the duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the king, as I did, when I went about to dissuade him from his said will.

Now, as concerning the estate of religion, as it is used in this realm of England at this present, if it please your highnes to allow me, I would gladly write my mind unto your majesty. I wil never, God willing, be author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers, which is an offence most detestable. If I have uttered my mind to your majesty, being a Christian queen and governor of this realm, (of whom I am most assuredly persuaded, that your gracious intent is, above all other things, to prefer God's true word, His honor and glory;) if I have uttered, I say, my mind unto your majesty, then I shall think my self discharged; for it lyeth not in me, but in your grace only, to see the reformation of things, that be amiss.

To private subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer that they cannot amend; yet, nevertheless, to shew your majesty my mind in things appertaining unto God, methink it my duty, knowing that I do, and considering the place which in time past I have occupied. Yet wil I not presume therunto without your grace's pleasure first known, and your permission obtained; wherof I most humbly prostrate to the ground, do beseech your majesty: and I shall not cease daily to pray to Almighty God for the good preservation of your majesty from all enemies bodily and ghostly, and for the encrease of all goodnes, heavenly and earthly, during my life—as I do and wil do, whatsoever come of me.
APPENDIX.

No. LXXV.
Cardinal Pole's Instructions for his Messenger to the Queen.*

Instructions for Mr. Thomas Goldwell.

Mr. Goldwell. After ye have made my most humble salutation, wyth al due reverence to the queenes highnes on my behalf, and presented my lettres to the same, then pleasing her grace to hear your commission given by me, and to understand the cause why I do send you to her, ye may expound the same in that foureme that foloweth.

Furst of all, seeung that the hole cause of my sendyng you to her highnes at this time is grounded upon the request, that her grace maketh unto me in her lettres sent me this dayes past from the emperours coorte, dated in London the xxvij. of October, in the Latten tonge: wherunto her grace doyth demand answer of me in twoo poynts: one is, touching the difficultye she feareth, by sygnes she seeyth alreadie, touching the renouncing of the tytle of the supremacie of the church in her realme, when it shall be put furth in the Parliament: which signes be, that wheras her majestie already hath caused to be put furth to the Parliament the abolyssheng off those lawes, which concerned the annulacion of the legitime matrimony of the gracious ladye, the queene mother to her grace the same passing the upper house, and put furth to the lower, albeit in the effect they wold not refuse to agree to al that might make to the stablisheing of the right of her grace to the crown, yet they did not gladly heare of the abolyssheng specially of that law, that gave the title of the supremacie of the Church in the realm, to the crown: suspecting that to be an introduction of the Popes authorytity into the realm: whiche they cannot gladly heare off. And for this cauæ cannot gladly heare of my legation in the Popes name: wherupon her grace in the same lettres doth exhorte me to staye my voyage untill a more opportune tyme; and asketh my counsell, in case the lower house make resistance in renouncynge of the tytle of supremacye, whath her grace were best to do, and what waye she had best to take.

One other poynt is, that her grace desyereth in the same letter to be certyfied by me, how it came to pass, that a commission given by her to Mr. Francesco Commendone in secret, was publishd in the consistory; as her graces ambassador, resident in Vennyce, doth certyfye her:

These be the twoo poynts, wherin her grace requireth my answeres: and for to obey her demand, which to me is a commandemente, I do send you, not onely to present my lettres, but also my mouth, and wyth these present instructions, for more satysfaction of her grace in all poynts.

As towchynge the first poynt, which is of most weyght, and so greate towchynge the honor and wealth of her grace both spirituall and temporall, as none can be more; ye maye shew her grace that my first advise and counsyl shall be, to obtain of God by prayer, that which I

* Cotton Library, Titus B. 2, fol. 170.
praye Him to gyve me wryteng this; which is, to have "spiritum consilij et fortitudinis." And this her grace must nowe praye for; that as in the attaining the crown, his high providence shewed by manyfests tokens to have given her these twoo graces; so in the mayntaineng thereof, he wil confirm these twoo gyftes in her mind. Her highnes knoweth, yf she had relented at that time for any peril, when that both names counsell and force were against her, she had loste. So yf she for any feare do relent, and do not renounce that title of supreymytie, which took the name of princes and right heir from her; she can not maintayne that she hath gotten already by the spirit of counsell and fortitude. So that my first counsell is this, that obtaining by prayer these twoo gyftes, which her grace had att that time, to shew her self no less ardent in the leaveng of the title of supreymytie, for to maintain her right, then the king her father was in the acqysition thereof, to the pryvation of her ryght. Which so much more she ought to do, and be more fervent in this, then her father was in that: bycause that was done against all lawe both of God and man; and this that her majeesty doth now, shewing her self most fervent herein, doth fulfil both Gods law and mans: and that is her very duty, if she should lose both state and life withal. As she hath known she ought to do, by the example of the best men of her realm. Which for this cause, resisting the kings unlawfull lawes, lost both.

And now the goodnes of God putting no such hard conditions to her grace nor laying afore her eyes only promitia futura wyth losse of temporal, as he did to those men, but promitia caelesta with terrena joyned togyther: that serving to the honor of God, which is in this poyn to render the title of supremacye of the Church in earth, to whom God hath given it, she doyth stablish her own crown withal: if now she should relet herein for any fear of men, being brought to that state, that other men should rather fear her, then she them, specially in so good a cause; this afore God and men were most perpetually to be blamed. Wherfore what my counsell is herein, on this maner now rehearsed, ye may inform her highnes.

Nowe to come to the execution of the thing. After her grace is determined to have it done, casteng awaye all feare, the same stondeth to have hytte put forth, and causeng it to passe by the Parliament; this is another counsell necessarily to be pondered; consisteng the whole after my opinion in the proponement of the parson, that hath to put furthe the same, that wyth less difficulty, and more favour ytt may passe.

Here ye maye saye, that I moche pondereng the same, and considereng, that it must be a persone of authority, that shuld propose the same, yf it shuld take effect; when I looke in my mynde apon al them I know off the lordes both spirituall and temporall, and persons of the lower housse, that myght have authority to do the same; I do see none, butt other he hath defended the contrary cause by his sentence and wryting, as the spirituall men have done; which taketh awaye a great part of authority to persuade other, when men heareth them accepteng that matther, that aforesynth thel have oppugned: or else to speak off the temporall lorde, or other, beyng al entangled with pryvate profit, enjoyeng goods of the Church by rejecting the authority
of the same, they cannot speak with that freeness of spirit, as such a matter requireth. Wherfore yee may conclude with her grace mine opinion herein; that after long consideration hereof, I see no person but one, that is able, with authority and all favour, to propose this matter: and that person is her grace her self: God having brought it to her hand alone: she being in this matter, and all other immaculate, and without blot, ordered of God to defend his cause, and her own withal.

And this, ye may saye, the counsell that ytt pleased God to putt in my mynde is, that her grace do in this case, as I remember, the emperor did in his own cause, passing by Rome, wher as his mind was to justify his quarrel touching the war betwixt him and the Frenche kyng afore the pope and the cardynalls. When doubteng yf onye other person shold propose the same, it myght have contradiction off that party that dyd favour France, he determined without any conference either with his counsel or other, to put forth the matter himselfe. And so when nether the pope, nor no other loked for any such thing, his holynesse and the cardinals being now congregate, he entered in amongst them in the consistorys, and made a long oration, in justifying his cause, and obtayned that he wold without any resystence.

Underneath this maner my poor advayse shulde be, that her majesty should personaly come into the Parlament, and putt furthe the same her selfe, and I dare be bold to saye, what for her auctoritie, and the justenes and the equitie of the cause hytt selfe, she shal have no contradiction: and if need were also to shewe her selfe to the lower howse, the thing hytt self so neer toucheth her wealth, both godly and temporallye, that ytt shald be taken rather cum applaudus, then otherwise.

Further, and joynctly wyth this, hytt shall be necessayre her highnes make mencyon of the Popes legate, in my parson, to be admtyted and sent for. Wherein her grace hath this furst to entreate, that the lawe of my bannysment may be abolished, and I restored to name and bloud. And herein her grace doith know what extremayre injustice hath bene done to me, and all our howse: and touching my parson, what was ever done that could be layde agaynst me, why I should be bannysed, which never thought nor dyd in that cause I was bannysed for: butt that whereby I deserved rather greate rewarde then enye payne, beyng so even wyth hart and mynd to the kyngs honour, and wealth both off hym and the realme, that wyth no reward, which was offered me greate, the kyng himselfe could not persuade me to do, or sentence ony thing agaynst his honour and the wealth off the realme, and to his damnation, Here is all the cause why I suffered bannysment, with so great losse off those kynnesfolk, that were derer to me then my lyfe. And this beyng done by the consent off the Parlament, though, I doubt nott, agaynst their mynde, the Parlament ys bound afore God and man, to revoke me again, and specially now comyng with that comyssion, that bryngeth the stablesment off your graces crowne, to the comforth off the hole realme, both temporally and spiritually.

And this her grace may boldely saye off al the tyme of my exile, wherein God hath gyven me honor more then I dyd requyre, or would have had, if it had layne in my owne choyse, and gooddes suffycyent to
APPENDIX.

mayntayn my state, yff ever ytt be founde, that for any respect of person, for ambytion, pleasure or lucre, I swarved from that I judged the honor of God, and, in matters off my cuntree, from the wealth theroff; I am content not only not to be accepted at this tyme, butt perpetuallie to be bannished. But yff they prove all the contrary, and that with the king your father, nott onlye as a faithfull subject, butt wyth that love also, that no servant could shewe to his master more, nor sonne to his father, I shewed ever to exteame more his honor and wealth, then myne owne gooddes or contreye, and never procured other then the wealth of the same; then lett them beleave now, that I never wold come unto them after so manye yeares absence, your grace bearing the crowne, wyth other commyssion than that I know surely should be to the honor, comfort, and wealth of your grace and the whole country.

And so touching this poynct of my counsell, that her grace re- quyreth of me, here ye have explicated, how the hole matter, wherein my counsell is requyred, may be concluded. For otherways at this tyme I see not what myght be taken, nor can imagyne no other so good, as this wyse: whiche me seamythe God hath ordered should be taken and preferred above all other.

After this, ye shal shewe her grace yf this wyse be nott followed, or dysferred, what I most feare. And this yf furst, that the Popes holynes beyng alredye perswaded to graunte to the staye of my jorneye, contrary to his furst comysyon, when her grace showed more fervencye to receyve the obedience off the Churche, that the next comysyon I shall have shall be to retouer back into Italye agayn. And the cause whye I feare this yf, that the Pope shall thinke by offreng to her grace and the realme, all those graces, that do purteyne to the reconcyliaiton off both to the Church, when he seeyth it yf nott accepted wyth thatt promptnes it is offred, he shall thinke, that bothe afore God and man he hathes satysfied all that could be reelwyed of him, touchyng the demonstration of his paternall affection to her grace and the realme. In the whiche the College off Cardinals peradventure wyll judge, that his sanctytie hath bene over moche bountefull, specyallye when they heare off this my stayeng beyng made wythout their consent: which thei wyll ever take for a greate indignytie, hearyng no gretter, nor more urgent cause theroff, then hythero hath bene shewed; and knowyng how her grace cannot mayntayne her ryght, nother afore God nor man, wythout haveing recourse to his holynes, and to the see apostolyk, off whose authoritye and dispesstion the hole ryght of her causse doyth depende: as som of them then wold have had his holines at the beginning not to have sent his legate, untill he had bene reelwyed, so moche more now, after he hath sentt, and he not accepted, thei wyll all be off opinion, that he shall be revokd. And then what peryll both her grace and the hole realme stondeth in, by the reason of the schiame yet remayneng, it is manyfest of ytt seyf.

And yet this is not all my feare of my revocation, but that which may follow, that I feare more. Which is this: that where as now yff I had been accepted with that promptnes and syncre affect, as I was sent of the Papes holynes, and that I brought wyth me, my parson I

VOL. II.
trust should have brought more comfort to her highness, and the rest of the contrary, then any stranger; as the Popes hologyes thought, when he made me legate; so nowe on the contrary, for the selfe same circum-
stances and cause, that parteyme to my persone, nott beyng accepted, it shal more aggravate the cause, att all times, that the realm hereafter should require to be absolved of the schisme, and al other that wold 
sake to prevail against her graces tytle, by the reason off the schisme, for the selfe cause, that I was nott accepted, returnyng again to Rome, wyl take this for a great profite of the obstinat endureng in the same, which all dyvine lawes depth most condemn. So that my 
parson, I desiring nothing more then to beyng comfort to her and the 
realm, nott accepted, shal be cause of more discomfort, which as I say, 
God of his mercye forbe. Expounded under this maner my feare, 
which stondeth in my revocation, nott for my selfe, but for the domage 
that may oom to her majestye and the realm thereby; the selfe beyng verye lykelye, if my stay be deferred any longer space; knoweng 
that his hologyes and the college wil nott suffer such indignite: then 
yow may declare withall the remediyes, that I thought best to be use 
at this tyme to avoyde this inconvenience.

And herein yow may shwo, how the first remediye is, that the Pope 
and the Colledge of Cardinale be wel persuased, that my staye here is 
but for a smale tyme, and for to beyng a more suer conclusion, and 
mak the waye more plaun, as I have cause the Popes hologyes to be 
informet by a sérvant of mine sent by post to Rome, shewing the tenor 
of the bil her grase wrote by Harrye my servant. Wherein was con-
teyned that her highnes shortely trusted that the matters of the Parla-
ment shuld have that conclusion, that I most desyer. And open 
this hope that messenger had to shew his hologyes, that I had sent my 
stuf afore, towards Flaunders: and now also for confirmation of that 
hope I have sent a part of my companye afore to tarrye me there. So 
that this yow may saye ye the first remediye I can fynd to kepe the 
Pope and the college in hope of a brave and good resolution.

One other chyfe remediye is, because I perceive the emperours 
majestyes counsel hath ever bene, that her grace in matters of religion, 
and in the revocation the title of the supremacye, shuld procede with 
grate moderation, and nott to be hastye therin, untily other matters 
temporall were better settled; for this cause, beyde that what I could 
do by lettres, if it were possible, as moche as was in me, to remove his 
majestye from the opinion, that dilation in this matter shuld be profitable 
to her highness, or the realm; as she may perceve by the copy of 
my letters, written to the emperor, sent by Harrye Fyninge: I have 
likewise persuased hye majestyes confesseour, whom I founde here a 
man of great sanctiye and learning, that for the love he bearith 
towards his majestye touchinge his sowles wealth, and honor off the 
world beside, and affection to her grace, that he wolde personalye 
repair himself to his majestye, and by al means possible attempt to 
remove this worldyse feare. And heres I have gyven him instruc-
tions, wheroff yow have the copie with yowe, that yowe may shwo 
the same to her highness.

The thirde remediye is, that which I attempt now, by sendinge yow to
APPENDIX.

her majestie, that she maye be well enformed of the peryll; which in
myyn opinion is now more great, then when the duke of Northumber-
londe dyd sett agaynset her. And the same must be overcom wyth that
means that her grace then had the victory. Which was by putting her
hope and trust holycly in God, and in the justyce of her cause, casteng a wyse
all fearse worldelye. Whiche doyng, her highnes may be suer her cause
peretyng to the honor off God, and wealth of his Church, for the
whiche His Sonne dyed for, that ys Lord off all, she shall fynde leste
difficultye, and moche redery help, then she can now imagine.
And this now shall be suffycyent yow enflourne her grace touching the
mattier, wherein it hath pleased her to ask my advysse and
counsell.

Touching the other matter, wherein her highnessemynth to be offended
for the relation made openlye in the Consistory by Master Francesco
Comendone, of those things, which her majesty had told hym in secret.
-Off this yow may say, her grace beyng enfloured of the treuthe hath
more cawse to accept that which was done mooste gratefully, then in
onye part to be offended therwycly. And the truthe is this, he dyd nott
-open onye thing that was tolde him in secret, nor dyd nott make his
relation as I thought my self he had done at the begynnynge, as off
-things harde of her graces mouthes, but that he had harde of other
-Catholyk and devout persone, that knew her grace mynde. Which
was in generall off the devout mind that her mate bore to God and
-the Church; and of that particular poynet, that she wolde have had
showed only the Popes holynes, nothing was spoken. And al this was
done to confirm the cardinals minds touching the approbation of that
-the Pope had done, in making so soddenlye his legate, afore any
information was given what mind her grace bore to the obedience of
-the Church: which some did nott approve at the firste. And after
this relation made by Mr. Francesco, that had bene in England,
all were well satisfied. So that all turned to the honor of her majestie,
and to corroborate al that was done to her servyce. And that she
-may the surelyer be advertysed how all things passed in this matter, I
have caused to be copied one part off a letter, which the Popes holy-
ness wrote unto me upon this acte; and the same yow maye shew unto
her grace.

And becaus I do know what greate servyce it myght be to her
-grace to be treuly informed in all partes that partyneth to the returne
-of trewe obedience to the Church, both touching the tyme and maner,
-and the consequence thereof; and to discern the craftes and wyles, that
-the enemy of mankind ever useth to make it seeme trewe obedience,
-when it is not: whereupon dependeth the hole grounde off the main-
tenance of the state, that God hath gyven her grace: and hew few ther
-be in the realme, (al beyng masculated therein), that can or wyll endevour
-of themselves, to explicate the peryll, and showe the remedye: therefore
-considereng that I in person can nott come so sone to gyve her high-
nesses informacion, as I know the necessytie of the matters to be con-
cluded dooth reqwyze; you may show her maclus that among those
gentlemen of my company, whom I have sent afoore to Flanders, there
to remayne, there be twoo, of whom if it wyll please the same to take

2 E 2
information off, and as her grace syndeth it, to th honour of God and
wealth off the realme, in this first settelleng of the obedience of the
Church, so to execute the same; I wold think that her grace shuld be
well satisfied, and satysfye all good men wythall: thise being men of
that qwahtytees, that ye know; which have godlye prudence, and
humaine, joynd bothe togyther. Of the which one I knowe by long
experience, that hath bene manye yeares so conversaunt with me, as
no man more famyliar. Of whom I have ever judged my self to have
that treasour, that fewe grete pryncys hath the lyke. And off the
other to have as grete pleasure for the tyme he is content to serve me.
But whether her hyghnes wyll serve her selfe to be enfoutred off them
in this first settelleng off her state, this ys in her graces pleasur.
This only I wold desyer her M. wylleng the same, if they shold com,
that they myght com to be knoen to come from me, for the cawse
that I have showed yowe.

Further, your commission shalbe to expounde to her highnes my hole
mynde and sentence, towching the demande hitt pleased her grace to
make in her gratiouuse letters dated the xxvij. of Januareye concerninge
those personnes, whom for the good opinion her grace had of their
wertue, lerning, and catholyke good mynde, she intende to make
bishops, how that they may be provided fore, withowte derogation to
the authority of the see apostolique, her grace not intending further
to extend the powere of the crowne regall, then hit was custumable in
use afore the sciame enteryd. In this poyncte, wherein her grace
demandeth myne answere, yow shall make the same conformable to
that whiche, by long and often conference with me, ye knowe to be
myn utter sentence. Wherein ye nede not to have any further expli-
cation by wyrtinge.

Beside this, touching the two actes of Parlament; one of the legi-
timation of the maritonye betwene the most gracious quene her
mother, and the king her father; the other of the sacramentes to be used
under the maner, that they were used the last yeare of K. Henry
the VIII. her grace father: whiche both it pleased her mai"r of her
goodnes to send unto me, for my satisfacon of mynde, to knowe how
they were passed by consent of the Parlament; you may shewe her grace
that these too, perfectly inacted and concluded, be those in treuthe,
that of al actes that could be made to my comforte, none could bring
me more satisfaction. Whereas the onyly cause is, that I know no-
thing can pass by the Parlament more to the establishment of her
higheynes state, both afores God and man, then the sure stablishinge
of these too. And for this cause whatsoever lacketh to the stabi-
lishing therof, me seemeth, I am bounde to utter plainly to her
grace and trewlye to say whatt doth nott satysfye me in those
actes; my whole satisfaction dependinge of the fruite, that may re-
dound to her grace and the realm, when they shal be perfectelye
concluded.

And threfore herein yow shall nott lett passe to enform her grace
pleasing the same to give yow benign audience, as wel wherein they
were nott to my utter satisfaction, as also wherein they satisfied me,
and brought me some comfort.
And first of all, how the former acte of the ratifying of the matrimony seemed unto me myche defectuous; in that the Parliament, taking for cheffe grounde, the wisdome and goodnes of the parentes of both parties in making the matrimonye, doth nott folowe that wisdome in the conclusion and stablishing of the same. Theyre wisdome in making hitt was, that they thought nott sufficient to conclude the matrimonye, notwithstanding the consent of the partyes, onlesse by the Popes dispensation and authorite of the see apostolique, the impediments of conjuction, named in the lawes of the Churche, were taken away, and hitt so made legitimate. And herewith the act of the Parliament, that would justifie the same, with derogation of another acte, made to the condempanacion of that matrimonye, maketh no mention. Which me seameth as great a defecte, as yf oon shulde take a cause to defende, whiche hath diverse causes al concurrent to oon effecte, whereof the oon dependeth apon the other, and oon beyng principall above all the other, and wolde in the defence thereof name the other causes, and leave owte the principall. For so yf ys in the cause of the matrimonye: the consent of the partyes and parentes depended upon the dispensation of the Churche, and the see of Rome: withowte the whiche the wisdome of the parentes dyd nott thincke hitt could be well justifieyd, as the effecte dyd shewe, in demaunng the same: and this ys that whiche nowe ys lefte owte in the justification, that the Parliament hath made, alleging onylye the wisdome of the two parentes, the kings of Ingland and of Spayne.

And if it be here sayd, as I understonde some do say, that the dispensation was asked of those princes, not because it was so necessary, that the mariage coulde nott be justifieyd withowte that, butt as they say ad majorem cautelam: how this answere cannott stande to that effecte, I have so sufficienlye informed yow, that yow of your selfe I dowlte nott, withowte further declaration by wrytinge can expounde the same. Therfore leaving that to your memorye and capacite, to fyse multiplication of wrytinge, this only I wyll putt yow in remembrance of, that yf the dispensation of the Pope in that matter was asked of those two princes ad majorem cautelam, which was to stoppe all menes mouthes, making pretense of justice, that might have bin brought fourthe, or objected, against that matrimonye, onlesse thy dispensation had bin obtayned; at the least for this cause in this act shulde also have bin made mention of the dispensation, following the wisdome of those princes ad majorem cautelam; beyng now more feare of pretensed justice against that matrimonye, as the effecte hath, and doth shew, then ever coulde be imagined by the wytte of those princes, when they obtayned fyrste the dispensation.

As touchinge the other acte of the confirmation of the sacramentes, ye shall shewe also wherein hit seameth to me defectyve. Whiche ys, that whereas the grounde of the makinge thefowr, as the acte doyth expresse, ys taken for to redresse the temertye of them, whiche, being affected to the nueltye of opinions, dyd other take them awaye, or abuse the administration of them, against the auncient and laudable custome of the Catholique churche; this beinge a verye necessarye and piousse cause to make that acte in the prosecuting and concluding of the same
I fynde this greate defeete, that never being approbate by the Churche, that those persones which remayne in sciense, shulde have the right use of the sacramentes; but rather to suche ys interdicte the use of them: this acte maketh the gate open to them, that be not yet entered into the unite of the Churche; to the use of the sacramentes, declaring hytt selfe how they shulde be ministered, with relation to the tyme and yeare of that king; and namynge him, that ys known to be cheffe author of the sciense. Whatt defect this is it seemeth manifest of yt selfe.

This shewed, wherein both these actes were defectuose, and thereby not bringing me full conforte, ye shall then expounde wherein, at the reading of them, I toke some conforte. Which was that the conclusion of both was passed, graunted, and inacted by the Parlament. So that touching the effecte, there coulde be no difficuytye hereafter in the Parlament, the same being now bounde to the approvynge and observancie of thyr owne acte. And wherein they were defectuose, this ought to be supplied by the princes authority, that ys to saye, by her graces authotyte, as right quene. To whom it apperteyneth, as cheffe head of the Parlament, and of the hole realme withall, in all actes, that the Parlament dothe determe, both to interprerte that that ys obscure, and to supplye and make perfecte that which ys defectuose, as well in the tyme of the parlament, as when yt ys dissolved. So that now these two actes, being passed by the Parlament, they are brought to her graces hand to interprerte and supplye, as yt shal be judged by her graces wisdom, howe they may beste take effecte. And to do the same other owte of the tyme of Parlament, or in another Parlament, byndinge them, by thyr owne decre, rateyng the mariage, and the use of the sacramentes, accordinge to the forme of the Catholike churche, to admitt the authoritye of the see of Rome. Which not admitted, nother thone acte nor thether can take effect: and admittinge and stablishing of the same both these actes, by this oon, (wherin ys comprised the reduction of the realme to the unite of the Churche) shulbe stablished and made perfecte.

For conclusion of al this, ye shall informe her grace, that as I consider dayly the wonderfull goodness of God to her highnes with all paternall cure of her sole, parson and state, and bys all so manifest protection every waye, and by so many wayes calling her grace to stablish this unite of the Churche in the realme, whereof the breakinge hath bin cause of so great miserable, in the realme, both spirituall and temporall, with traveyle temporall of her majestie and utter jeopardye of losyng her state: so also I do consider whatt wayes the enyme of mankynde Satan, "Qui expetivit cribrare Ecclesiam tanquam triticum," hath used, and continuallie useth to lett, that her grace can nott put in execution that wherunto God continually doth call her. I dare be bold to say in this particular cause, that that the apostle sayth generallie, speakinges of Satans malice, "Non ignoramus cogitationes ejus."

And so herein I do se how by all means he dothe tempte to make her grace fall from that simplicitie, "Que est in Christo Ihesu," the whiche God hath ever hytherto maintened in her. And this I havinge
noted of the especiall goodness of God toward her, how all the rest fallinge from the unities of the Church at the tyme of her fathers regnue, when she was in most troublous and trayse, yet her higheesse never committed any thing that was prejudice to the same, being protected of God in that simplicitie, and bringing that mynde with her to the crowne: Sathan knowing that by opentemptinge her to do against that, by the way of commission, he should not prevayle, he doth attempte to make her to fall: by this other way of omission: whereby his malice trusteth, that commissio shall folowe. Against the whiche, albeit my veray truste vs, the prayer of the Churche at this tyme for her grace shall defend her; yet untill I se by her grace's goodnesse so necessarie and godlyse acte of the reduction of the realme to the perfecte obedience of the Churches concluded, I cannot be without some fear: and therefore be more solicitous in advertising her majeste of the greate peryll, wherof fewe or none do, or will, speake unto her: and not onlye to advertise her grace, but will shewe the reamedye; wherof you being sufficiently informed, this shall be the end of my commissio by wrightinge: prayeng Almightye God to inspire her higheesse to accepte your sayings on my behalfe, as he hath inspired me with all sincerer affectation by suche meanes to utter the same.

No. LXXV. a

[Supplement to Cardinal Pole's Instructions for his Messenger to the Queen.

For the conclusion of all that ye compryzed in your instruction, as that the whiche enteyneth the hole somme of my poore advise and counsell it pleaseth her grace to aske of me, yow shall saye that my moste humble desyer is that in all deliberatone her grace shall make touching the mayntermainse of her state, the same wyll ever well pendre and causseyde what the providence of God hath shewed therein, above that which hath bene shewed in her predecessours kynges of the realme in this one poynct, which is to have the crowne not onely as a kyngs dowghter and beyr, but hath ordered that this paynyte off ryght inheretances shall despend, as it deth, of the authoritie he hath geven to his Churche, and off the see of Rome, whiche is the see apostolyk approvang her mother to be legittimte wyffe off Kyng Henry the Euyght, whereby she is bounde both afore God and man as she wyll shewe her selfe the very doughter off the sayde Kyng Henrye the Euyght ryght beyn off the crowne, so also to shewe her selfe ryght doughter off the Churche and of them that he resyde... in the see apostolyke, who be the ryght heire of Peter, to whom and bys successours Christes chiefes heede of the Church in heven and in earth hath geven in earth to bere bys place, toucheung the rule off the same Churche, and to have the crowne themself. Which well coneydered and pondered her grace shall sone see how in her person the providence of God hath icious the ryght she hath by her father in the realme, wyth the ryght of the Churche, that she can not prevayle by the one, excepte she icyne the other wythall, and they shall wyll separate thys twoe, take away not onlye.
half her ryght, but her hole ryght, beyng not so moch heyr because she ys Kyng Henryes onylye doughtier wythout yssue male, as she ys his lawfull doughtier, which she hath by the authoritie off the Churche.

Which thing prudentlye and godlyye consideryed she can nott but see what faithfull counsell this is, that above all acts that in this Parlament shal be made, doth aduertyse her grace, to establishe that the wych parteyneth to the establisheg off the authoritie off the Church and the see of the same, wyth rendreng to hym that is ryght successour to Peter therein his ryght tylte off hedde in the Church in yearthe, wythout the which she can not be ryght hedde in the realme, and this establishe, all controuersye is taken awaye, and who wyll repyne vnto this, he doth repine to her ryght off the crowne.

Wherefore this is my first aduyse, that this poyncte above all other shal be entreated and enacted in the Parliament, and so I knowe her graces full mynd was and is that it shalbe, but she feareth difficultyes, and hereapon dependeth that her grace asketh my poore aduyse how this difficultyes may be taken away.

Vnto this yow may saye, that they must be taken away by the healpe off him that by his highe provydence above mannes expectation hath gyven her all redye the crowne, which wyll have as well this second act knowen of the mayntenaunce thereof to depend off hym, as the first in atteyneng therto. And to have his healpe the meane is, by humble prayer, wherein I wold advertise her highnes not onlye to gyve her selfe to prayer, but also by almes to the nede excitate the myndes off other to prayer, these be the means off moste effycayce, and wyth this to take that ardent mynde to stableshe the authoritie off the Church casteng away all feare off man, that she toke to have her crowne, and not so moche for her owne sake as for the honour off God, which gave her the crowne, and yf ony difficultye shal be feared in the Parliament herein, leave the honor to take away the difficulte thereof to none other, but assume that person to her selfe, as most bound therunto, and to propone yt her selfe, which I wold trust to be off that effycayce that yff inwardlye ony man wyll repugne, outwardlye the reasons be so evydent for this part that ioyned wyth the authoritie off her person beyng proponent, none wyll be so hardye, temerarious, nor impious, that wyll reayste. And if in this deliberation it shalbe seyme straunge to put forth these matters in the Parliament, as I have sayd in the instructions wythout comunicateng the same wyth ony off her ownsell, I wold thinke ytt well her grace myght conferre it wyth twayne off the chefest that be counted off the people moste nere her fauour, one spirituall and an nother temporall, wyth declareng to them, furst how touching her consayence afoe God, and her ryght afoe the world she can neuer be quyett vn tyll this matter be stableshe toucning the authoritie off the Churche, requyreng their vtermost healpe in that as if she shal fyght for the crowne, her majestye may be suer the putteng the same furth wyth that erneste maner, they wyll not lacke to serve her, and thei may serve greatyse in the Parliament after her grace hath spoken, to prosecute and justyfye the same wyth effycayce off wordes to gyve all other example to follow, her grace leaveng this part vnto them,
that if the name off obedience to the Pope shuld seme to bryng as it were a yoke to the realme or ony other kynde of servytyte, besyde that it shuld be profytable to the realme both afore God and man, that her grace that bryngeth it in again wyll neuer suffir it, nor the Pope hymselfe reqwyreth no such thing, and herein also yf they saye that my person beyng the meane to bryng it in wold neuer agree to be an instrument thereof, if I thought ony thraldome shuld com therbye, thei shall neuer be decyued off me. And yff thei wold say besyde I wold neuer have taken this enterpryse upon me except I thought by the same to bryng greate comfort to the countreye, wherein the Popes authoryte beyng accepted I wold trust shuld be so used that it myght be an example off comfort not onlye to that countreye butt to all other that hath rejected it afore and for that cawse hath bene euuer syneth in great myserie. This is the summe off all my poore aduyse at this tyme, in this case, whereoff I beseech Almyghtie God so moche may take effect as shall be to his honour, and welth to her grace, and the hole realme besyde. Amen.]

No. LXXV. b

The Form of the Restitution of a married Priest.∗


Wheras I Robert Vevian, clerk, late parson of Hever in the county of Kent, being of the peculiar jurisdiction of the church of Canterbury, being ordered a prest about xxvij. yerea past, having ministred as a prest in al kind of presteyle function and ministration of sacraments and sacramentalls, as to the office of a prest appertaineth; have sithins that time, contrary to the state of myne orders, decrees of the Church, and laudable customes of the same, married one Agnes Stanton, being a single or solute woman, and with her in one house, as man and wief, have cohabited and dwellyd, to the offence of my Christen brethren, and brech of the unity of Christe said Church: I the said Robert do now lament and bewail my lief past, and thoffence by me committed:

intending firmly by Gods grace hereafter to lead a pure, chast and

continent lief, according to such grace as Almighty God of his mercy; upon my humble petition and prayer, shalt grant me: and do here before you, my competent judge and ordinary, most humbly require abjuration of and from all such censures and pains of the laws, as by my said offence, and ungodly behaviour I have incurred and deserved; promising firmly, and solemnly promising before you in this present writing never to return to the said Agnes Stanton, as to my wief or consubynge: but from henceforth to absteyne from her, and to keep myself sole, pure and chaste from all carnal affections and coxulations; especially from her, and also all other women, according to the laws and constitutions of our mother, the Catholick church, and as my order also requireth. In witness of this myne advised and deliberate minde, promise and profession, I have to the same in this writing subscribed my name with myne own hand. Yven the 18th day of October in the year of our Lord God 1554, &c.

Per me ROBERTUM VEVLAN.

Qua quidam professione per praenominatum Robertum Vevian publice lecta, et manu sua propria subscripta, ac prestito juramento, &c. de parendo juri, et stando mandatis Ecclesiae, dominus ad humilem ejus petitionem, absolvit eum a sententia excommunicationis et alias censuras et poenis juris per ipsum, ex causis superius expressatis, incurris, et eum sacramentis Ecclesiae, ac officio suo presbyterali, et integre functioni ejusdem restituit et redintegravit; et decrevit sibi literas testimoniales, &c.

Restitutio Joannis Browne, rectoris de Wymbaldowne in decanatu de Croyden.
Restitutio Henrici William, presbyteri.
Restitutio Petri Williamson, presbyteri.

These are all in the same form with the above written, only mutatis mutandis. And no more are registered but these.

No. LXXXVI.

John Fox his Letter to the Parliament, against reviving the Act of the Six Articles."

Frequenter hic per omnium omnem aures jacetur non suspicio modo, sed constans certissimaque praeclaroso, id vos summi sanctissimique patres, moliri, ut sanguinarie leges illae "Sex Articulorum" titulam inscriptae, quondam bene sapitis, non demum, velut ex Gree revocentur ad superos. Quod si verum sit, quam voce pleasurable, ac quiuis amans sit gratum, ignore, corte quae reip. sanestam ac ominosum sit futurum, saepe jam prudem declarat publicus moeror, tristissima rerum fere humanarum, ac luctuosa facies, optimi cujusque gravitas; nec tacite sciam suspicio, sed ubi stant ex doleris acerbitate prorumpentes locutiones, quotidiana bonorum fuga, totius demique reip. (si tamen

* Foxij MSS.

Digitized by Google
resp. ad qua sit) equalor: ut interim taceam conscientiarum occultae judicia ac vulnera, in omnibus fore horror, in nonnullis etiam funera ac mortes ex rerum perturbatione contractae. Quae si calamitates, tot tanteque quidem ille, quantae vix in ulla unquam rep. conspeximus, ex concepta rerum imagine atque recordatione duxerat ipsa, eves adeo perstringent vestras, quid vos futurum tandem existimatis, suspiciendi Domini, exhibitis jam rebus ipsis, ipsis in exhibendis tanta sit trepidatio; ubi intolerabils ipsis legum rigor, et acutissima aoeis cervicibus jam incumbit civium: ubi tot millia hominum non vixis libertatem, quam jam amsisurunt, sed vitam ipsum cogerunt deservere! Nec jam vita, sed et conscientia etiam ereterna hominibus: nec Deo quidem supplecere fiesit pro arbitrata suo, sed ad libidinem paucorum.

Quae quum ita sint, vel deteriora etiam, quam a me referri queant, considerabit prudentia vestra, quae documentis nostris non eget, sed pro communi salute rerum, consilia vestra potissimum flectenda sunt. Hae etenim jam ipsa aguntur temporis, quibus vobis jam in manu situm est, felices nos velitis, an perditos. Si tam vilem habebitis civium vestrorum sanguinem, si nihil vos moveant tot hominum gemitus, querelles, lacrymes, bonorum miseriae, si parum sit vobis una ab iisdem legibus accepta clades; age denuo, revocetur Trojanus equus in urbem, quo soli, vel cum paucis, regnum hoc possidentis. Sin vero ulla subit animos vestros rep. charitas, si quod patriae studium maneant, siquid preces nostrae, siquid bonorum supplices manus, siquid denique reip., siquid ecclesiae Christianae (quam advolentam genubus vestris existimetis) flebilis querela valeat; efficite modo, pi iucundum, pro summa pietate, ut pluris sit apud vos salutis publicae conservatio, quam privata quorumam sollicitatio; nec quid possit pro imperio autoritas, sed quid sequitas potius civibus debeat vestra, velitis considerare.

Nihil enim in omni officiorum genere fieri aequius arbitrator, quam ut quorum vos patria patres conscripsit ipsa, eos in fillorum loco ascitos tueamini: quique suam ad vos omnem reverentiam, ac dignitatem au toritatem transferunt, iudem a vobis salutis ac tranquillitatis vicisim accipiant sua incoluitatem. Quod si communis patriae respectus vos minus attingat, ut quod vobis ipsis dignum, quod generosa ac heroica sanguinis vestrarum nobilitas, tacito quodam sensu vobis suggerat, attendite. Nam quum inter humanos omnes aequum, nil sit tam hominis proprium, quam clementia, qua divinae naturae imaginem maxime referre vel infimi etiam videntur homines; quid tum a vobis expectari convenit, illustrissimi heroes, qui quo sublimiorem honoris in his terris gradum sortitii estis, hoc expressius suprema huic imaginis divinae archetypo respondere omnibus modis decet?

Porro, habetis ad hoc reginam, ut nobilissimam, ita ad sanam et salubriu queaque obsequarem principem. Habetis et cancellarium, ut doctrina praebatibem, ita natura non improbum si quorum abeunt consilia. Verum ut inter animantium genera, quedam noxia, alia ad hominum usum, creata existunt: rursus sunt, quae in hoc tantum dicas nata, ut reliquis molestiam ac perniciem moliantur: sic in humanis rebus, nulla resp. nec vitae genus est, quod suas non habet vomicas, et κακοβουλοι. Atque hi sunt potissimum, qui religione prepositori, natura sivii, alteri ecclesiae, alteri reip. extitales existunt.
APPENDIX.

Quibus cum bene esse non possit, nisi perturbatis rebus, turbam, quantum queant, intundent ad saeviam. Mitissimos principum animos, hoc est, reip. fontes, vitiant, consilia instillant, non quse honesto, sed quse ventri suo, au questuii serviant: simile quidam exercentes in humanis rebus, quale Ate tribuit Homericus narratio. Deinde quum tutius ledunt sub umbra nobilitatis, ac se occultant, quo siquid adventiat adversi, illos postremo feriat: siquid boni sit, ipsi primi sint ad carpendum messem. Et quoniam juxta imperitum legem, nihil his recte fieri videtur, nisi quod ipsi faciunt, ad arbitratum suum universam religionem, cum ipsa scriptura, corrigendum putant, quicquid ipsis non placet haereticum est. Nil sibi placere potest, quod non illico alba amussis sit quantum libet a sco allo even.

No. LXXVII.

An instrument of the University of Cambridge, appointing certain of their members to repair to Oxford, to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer there.*

Procuratorum Academia Cantabrigi.

UNIVERSIS Christi fidelibus presentes literas visuris, lecturis et audituris, et quos infrascripta tangunt, seu quovis modo tangere poterunt: nos vicecancellarii suenatusque tam regentium quam non regentium aliae academiae Cantabrigiens, salutem, et dilectionem in Christo Ihesu. Cum jampridem ex parte sacra synodi, sive convocationis prelatorum et cleri Caunt. provinciae, auctoritate et mandato sereniss. et religiosa. domiae nostrae regiae Marie convocatae, nobis in senatu nostro ad effectum infrascriptum in simul congregatis exhibiti fuerint quidam articuli tenoris infrascripti, viz.

“In sacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati presentes est realiter, sub speciebus panis et vini, naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Maria: item, naturalis ejusdem sanguis.

“Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis.

“In missa est vivificum ecclesiae sacrificium, pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile:”

Simulque requisitius fuerimus, eodem articulis matura deliberatione legere, expendere et considerare: et si sanam, veram et Catholicam doctrinam continent, eodem approbare velimus: nos in senatu nostro, sic ut presfertur, convenientes, perlectosque nobis articulos, et contenta in ijsdem, qua debeat in re tam gravi maturitate et deliberatione, perpendentes et librantes, quandoquidem ipsos, et contenta in ijsdem, cum Catholica virtute et fide orthodoxa per omnia convenire animadverturnus, eodem unanimi consensu nostro atque assensu, ut vero, Catholicos, orthodoxos, ac veritati et doctrine Catholicae, ac aperto Dei verbo, consentientibus veterum orthodoxorum patrum testimoniijs, generali-umque conciliorum autoritatis, per omnia ininitentes et congruentes, tam consentientibus animis comprobavimus, ut nostra plurimum in-

* Foxij MSS.
teresse arbitrati sumus doctrinam articulorum hujusmodi contra omnes illius oppugnatores defendere et tueri.

Intelligentes itaque tam facti notorietate, quam famæ publicæ relatione, esse nonnullus perditionis et iniquitatis filios, seditiones errorum innovatores, et ecclesie Christi hostes, qui hujusmodi sacram, Catholicam et orthodoxyam doctrinam, ac ecclesie unitatem modis omnibus perturbare, dilacerare, infestare, affligere et evertere satagunt, et convendant, quorum precipui auctores et antisignani nominant sunt, D. Thomas Cranmerus, nuper Cantuar. archiepiscopus, Nicolaus Ridelius, nuper Roffensis, et Hugo Latimerus, jam olim Wigorn. episcopi, academie nostre Cantabrige, quondam alumnus, modo apud inclytam universitatem Oxoniensem existentes, nostrarum partium esse duximus, non modo veritatem Catholicam predictam verbo et scriptis comprobare, ac mundo palam facere, verum etiam eandem nedum contra eosdem principales adversarios, sed et contra omnes alios ecclesie hostes et veritatis Christi oppugnatores, pro virili nostra, manifesto Dei verbo, sanctorumque patrum testimonijis, defendere, tueri et propugnare. Ac proinde quo vetitas magis elucescat, quodam pios et eruditos viros ex eadem nostra universitate ad hoc veneris publice omnium nostrum nomine obendum, viz. D. Johannis Yong, viccancellarium nostrum, Gulielmum Glyn, Richardum Atkynson, Cuthbertum Scot, Thomam Watson, Albanum Langdale, et Thomam Sedgwyke, theologie professores, conjunctim et divisim selegimus, nominavimus, et deputavimus: dantes et concedentes eisdem, prout, et tenore presentium sic damus et concedimus, conjunctim, ut presfertur, et divisim, pleniam potestatem, auctoritatem et facultatem, vice et nominibus omnium nostrum, aliam academiam Oxon. quibus cunque diebus eis visum fuerit, petendi et proficiscendi. Ac si quidem liberae eis, pro more, auctoritate universitatis Oxon. in hac parte dabitur venia et facultas, cum dictis dominis, Cranmero, Ridelio, et Latimero, ceterisque eisdem farnix monstris palam et publice, sive privatim, congrediendi, hijaque de rebus disserendi, disputandi et argumentandi, sanamque doctrinam predictam contra eos patrocinandi, et propugnandi, adversariisque predictos, et eorum perversas opiniones, et sententias, atque hereticae dogmata refellendi, refutandi, et convincendi, eosque ad respicientiam modis omnibus quibus poterint, horrendi, reducendi et persuadandi: ceteraque omnia et singula faciendi, exercendi et expediendi; quo hujusmodi negotii qualitas et natura de se exigit et requirit, promittentes nos ratum, gratum, et firmum perpetuo habituros totum id, et quocum ab eisdem eruditis viris nomine et vice nominis in praemissis, aut eorum aliquo actum aut gestum fuerit. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium praemissorum, has nostras commissionis, et deputationis litteras nostro communi sigillo communiri fecimus. Datum e senatu nostro Cant. x die mensis Aprilis, anno verbi incarnati supra millesimum quingentesimum quinquagesimo quarto.
APPENDIX.

No. LXXVIII.

The University of Cambridge to that of Oxford, relating to the former matter.*

Reverendis in Christo viris D. Vicecancellario Oxoniensi, et universis Doctoribus illius Academie, atque Magistris Regentibus et non Regentibus.

Gravi nuper et turbulenta tempestate, siuit vos actis et experti estis, reverendi in Christo fratres, ecclesiae nostre horribiliter jactate sunt. Tetra etiam seditionis erroris, et proterve atque obstinate heresios pestis ac lusus omnes Anglie oras pergressa, ipseas etiam academias corripuit, atque gravissime et periculoissime infestavit. Christi pura et orthodoxa religio, mendacibus sedectorum commensis et prodistis subinde pullulantium fallarum doctrinarum monstris misere deformata et dilacerata, jacuit. Jam tamen singulari Numinis beneficio, et D. nostri Jesu Christi atque illius Sacri Spiritus auxilio, serenior aures et placida atque amors amabilis conditioe tranquillitas atque amiss. Gratias proinde indecemer agere debemus coelesti Patri, qui propter suam misericordiam ecclesiae nostris, magna persecutionis violentiae afflictatias, optabilem et serenam statum restituerit. Qui per optimam et religiosissimam reginam religionis Catholicae integritatem, quae corruptorum maliciose improbitate mente extinta fuerat, restau-ravit, atque academias nostri antiquam suam libertatem, quae nescendorum tyrannide opprimebatur, reddidit. Nostrum vero partium esse ducimus tantum et tam illustrem Dei erga nos beneficientia agnosco et confiteri; atque etiam eundem Deum et propitium nostrum Dominum, assidue precibus interpellare, ut hoc quum jam restaurata est religiosis orthodoaxa et pura integritate, in diis magis ac magis augestur; etque ea quae jam ceclillata est pax et concordia firmius et solidius coalescat. Hoc etenim est quod vus electionis, et Christi apostolus Paulus, hortatur, et admonet, diceens, "Cum patientia supportate vos invicem, solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis. Unum corpus, unus spiritus; siust et vocali estis in una ape vocacionis vestrae. Unus dominus, unus fides, unus baptismum, unus Deus et Pater omnium; qui est per omnia, et super omnia, et in omnibus vobis."

Nos proinde eadem spiritus unitatem, cum Catholicae Christi Ecclesiae, retineremus articulis, de quibus postrema synodo Londonensi inter ecclesiarum nostrarum procures conveniuit, unanimi consensus comprobantes, atque veram, sanam, et Catholicae doctrinam ijsdem exprimi et explicari agnoscam, optamus lupos omnes, qui Christi ovile disipare, et simplices ovarula seducere comitant, ab ecclesie nostris procul abarceri. Dilectis itaque nobis, et eruditos viros D. Jo. Yong, vicecancellarium nostrum, D. Gulielmum Glyn, Richardum Atkynson, Cathbertum Soot, Thomam Watson, Albamum Langdale, et Thomam Segiswyck, theologus professores, atque Catholicae fidei et academie nostras alumnos, ad vos legare destinavimus: non quod doctrinam articulorum, in questionem et disputationem vocent, quam nos

* Foxij MSS.
omni ambiguitate superata, veram et orthodoxam esse agnoscimus; utpote quae et aperto Dei verbo et consentientibus patrum testimonijis, et generalium conciliorum auctoritate, fulciatur et confirmitur; sed ut nostro omnium nomine sanae doctrinae una vobiscum patremiumentur, atque orthodoxam fidem propugnent, et eos qui eidem adversantur, convincant, et hereticis atque perverse sententiae auctores refellant et refutant. Quales apud vos esse credimus Thomam Cranmerum, N. Ridley, et Hug. Latimerum, usurp episcopos, et academias nostrae, atque Christi ecclesiae filios obedientes: nunc vero, siuid quidam referunt, quid nos delentes scribimus, falsae et corruptae doctrinæ contumacies patronos. Quorum nos miserrandum statum multum deplorama, mentem illius meliorum precantes, quod mutata sententia per resipscentiam in matris ecclesiae sinum simul esse recipiat. Quan quisquis non habuerit suam matrem, is Deum Patrem habere non poterit. Ut ergo vos intelligeretis, quae nostra esset his de causis sententia, pias et erudites hos viros ad vos publica auctoritate nostra mittimus, atque has litteras communi nostro agililo sigillari fecimus. Christus Jesus vos vestramque illumam academiam pietate et bonis litteris florentem, ad verum religionis augmentum, et corruptae errorum proliagationem perpetuo conservet, e senatu nostro 10 Aprilis 1564.

Concordat cum originalibus litteris missvis et procuratorijas.

Vestrum omnium in Christo amantisissimi, vicecancellarius et regent. et non regent. senatus Cantabr.

---

No. LXXIX.

Cranmer's Letter to the Queen's Council after his Disputation at Oxon.*

In right humble wise sheweth unto your honorable lordships, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord King Edward VI. and what I spake against the same; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honors and worshipes. Furthermore, this is to signify to your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford, against me, Master Ridley, and Master Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: first, of the real presence; secondly, of transubstantiation; and thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday against me; upon Tuesday against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday against Master Latimer. How the other two were ordered I know not; for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself I can report. Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputatio was so confused, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what him liked, without order: and such hast was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument.

And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scantly be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me therto; whereas I my self have more to say, then can be wel discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth, had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say; and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such hast, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post-hast, before the matter could be throughly heard—for in hast we were al three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdome. And I beseech your lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's majesty; and I shall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preservation of your good lordships in al godlines and felicitie. April 23, [1554].

No. LXXX.

The Lord Legates Commission to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, deputing them to absolve and dispense with the Clergy, in his stead; and absolve the Laity.*

Commissio Domini Reginaldi Poli Legati de Latere.

REGINALDUS miseratione divina Sanctae Mariae in Cosmedin sanctae Romanae ecclesiae diaconus cardinalis Polus nuncupatus sanctissimi D. N. papae et sedis apostolorum, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Anglie reges, et universum Anglie regnum, de Latere legatus, venerabilibus ac nobis in Christo dilectis decano et capitulo ecclesiae metropolitice Christi Cant. ad quos omnis et omnimoda jurisdicctio spiritualis et ecclesiastica, quae ad archiepiscopum Cant. sede plena pertinuit, ipsa sede jam vacante, notorie disocietur pertinere, seu eorum in spiritualibus vicario generali, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum sanctissimis in Christo pater dominus noster dominus Julius Divina Providentia papa tertius, inter alios facultates, pro hujus regni omniumque personarum in eo existentium sancte ecclesiae reconciliatioc facienda, necessaria nobis in hae nostra legatione concessas, hanc specialiter indulserit, ut quoscumque in heresium et schismatis errores lapsos, ab eis et a quibusque censuris et pennis propter ea incursis, absolvere, et cum eis super irregularitate praeissorum occasione contracta dispensare, et alia multa ad hae necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna facere: et hoc idem munus Catholicis locorum ordinarij et alijis personis Deum timentibus, fide insignibus, et literarum scientia preditis demandare possemus, prout in ejus literis tam sub plumbo, quam in forma brevis, expeditis plenius continetur:

Cumque Dei benignitate, et serenissimorum regum pietate, regnum hoc universaliiter, et omnes domini spirituales et temporales, aliaeque personae communitatum in eo, quod proxime celebratum est, parliamento congregante, singulariter primum, et deinde universum corpus clerici provinciae Cantuariensis, et omnes fere persones singulares dicturn corpus representantes, coram nobis existentes, aliaeque plerique fuerint sanctae Ecclesiae Catholicae per nos ipsois reconciliatae; speremusque fore, ut omnes aliae, quae reconciliatae adhuc non sunt, reconciliari debeat: difficileque et potius impossible sit, ut tam numerosa multitudo per manns nostras reconcilietur: ideoque vices nostras in hoc, locorum ordinaris et aliai personae, ut supra qualificatis delegandas duximus:

Circumspetionem igitur vestrae, de cujus probitate et charitate zelo plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, authoritate apostolica nobis per litteras ejudem sanctissimi D. N. pape, et per nos vobis nunc impensa, omnes et singulas uiutriusque sexus, tam laicas quam ecclesiasticas singulares, et quorumvis ordinum regularum vestre civitatis, et diocesee, personae, in quibusvis etiam sacrif ordinibus constituta, cujuscumque status et qualitate existant, etiamsi capitalium, collegium, universitatis, seu communitas fuerit, quarumvis heresiam aut novarum sectarum professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores et fautores ipsorum, suos errores agnoscentes, ac de illis dolentes, et ad orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter postulantae, cognitae in ipsis vera et non ficta aut non simulata penitentia, ab omnibus et singulis heresiam schismaticae, et ab orthodoxa fide apostasierum et blasphemiarum et aliorum quorumcunque similibus errorum, etiam sub generali sermo non venientium, peccatis, criminiibus, excessibus et delictis, (de quibus tenes jam inquisiti vel accusati seu condemnati non fuerint) et quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdictorum, et alius ecclesiasticis et temporalibus sententiis, censuris et poenis in eas praemissorum et infra scriptorium occasione ac jure, vel ab homine latius, vel promulgatis, etiam si pluribus annis insorduerint, et earum absolutio dictae sedi, etiam per literas in die coeae Domini legi consuetas, reservata existat; in utroque conscientiae scil. et contentiose foro, eos vero qui jam inquisiti vel accusati aut condemnati fuerint, vel ut prefertur ad cor revertentes, in foro conscientiae tantum, plenaria absolventes et liberantes:

Necon cum eis super irregularitate per eos occasione praemissorum contracta, etiam quia sic legata missae et alia divina officia, etiam contra ritus et ceremonias hactenus probatas et usitatas, celebraverint, aut illis alias se immiscuerint, contracta: quodque irregularitate et alii praemissis non obstantis in suis ordiniibus, etiam ab hereticis et schismaticis episcopis, etiam minus rite, dummodo in eorum collatione ecclesiae forma et intentio sit servata, per eos susceptis, et in eorum suspensione etiam juramentum contra papatum Romanum presterint, etiam in altaria ministerio ministrente, ac quaecunque quotcunque ac qualiscunque etiam curatas, invicem tamen se convenientia beneficia secularia vel regularia (dignitatis in collegiatis ecclesiis principalibus et in cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanae post pontificalem majoribus exceptis) etiam schismaticis episcopis, seu aliiis collatoribus, etiam laicalibus potestatis pretextu habita, authoritate apostolica reti-
nere, dummodo alteri jus quassatum non sit. Et non promoti ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordinis a suis ordinariis, si digni et idonei reparti fuerint; rite et legitime promoveri, ac beneficia ecclesiasticis, etiam curatissi, si eis alias canonicis conferantur, recipere et retinere valeant, qualitate tempore, ministeriorum defect, et ecclesiae necessitatis utiliibusque uta possessibus, dispensandi et indulgendis, ac omnia inhabilitatis et infamiae masculae sive notam ex praemissis quomodolibet insurgetem, penitens et omnino aboliendi, necnon in pristinum, et aequum, in quo ante praeemiss quomodolibet erat, statum; ita ut omnibus et singulis gestis, privilegiis, favoribus et induitis, quibus ceteri Christi fideles gaudeant, et gaudere quomodolibet possent, uti et gaudere valeant; in omnibus, et per omniam, perinde ac si a fide Catholica surnquam in aliquo defecissent, restituenti, reponeundi, et redintegrandi, ac eis (dummodo corde contracti) sua errata et excessus circumpeacti vestrae, seu alieni alteri per eos eligendo Catholico confessori sacramentaliter conficentur, et penitentiam salutaris eis pro praemissis injunxenda omnino adimpleant, omnem publicam confessionem, abjurationem, renunciationem et potenissim jure debitas arbitrio vestro medendi, vel in totum remittendi; nee non quoscunque regulares et religiosos, extra eorum regulares loca, absque sedis Apostolice licentia, vagantes, ab apostasia rectu, sicutius censori, et popinis ecclesiasticis pro eis proptereras, etiam juxta eorum ordinum institut, ius usus, inuocat eis pro modo culpae penitentiae salutari, pariter absolvendi et super quoscunque irregulare proptereras pro eis contracta, aut eis, ut aliqui curato beneficio de illius obtinentis consensu, etiam in habitu clericali secularis, habitum suum regularum sub honesta tega presbyterat secularis deferendo, deservire, et extra eadem loca regalaria remanere, ad benedictionem nostrum, liber et limite possunt, eadem autentatie apostolica, ob defectum ministerorum, et eis praedictas causas, dispensandi.

Ac quoscunque qui in sacraria ordinibus constituti, matrimonii, etiam cum viduis et corruptis mulieribus de facto contrauerint, postquam mulieres sic copulatas rejecerint, illisque abjoraverint, ab huysmodi excessibus et excommunicationibus sententia imposita, eis pro modo culpae penitentia salutari in forma ecclesiastica absolvendi, ac eun eis, postquam penitentiam peregerint, et continenter ac honestabili vitae cogniti fuerint, super bigamia proptereras pro eis contracta, ita ut ea non obstante, in quibusvis susceptis etussipendis ordinibus, etiam in altaris ministerio ministret, ac eis beneficio ecclesiastico, de illius obtinetis consensu, deservire, extra eadem diecinam, in quae fuerint copulatis, iudem de causa dispensando. Necnon parochialium ecclesiariarum tuae diocesis rectores sive curatos, de quorum fide, probitate, circumpeactione, et obiuratis eto plena fiducia consipci possit, ad quamcumque utrique sexus ruse parochii, personarum laicorum tantum, absolutionem, et ecclesiae Catholicae reconciliationem (ut praefurturn) autoritate apostolica faciendum: et siquy ex curatis pradiciatad id idonei non fuerint, in eorum defectum alias idoneas et sufficientes personas, qui eam vicem suppleant, nominandi et debitandisi: quos sic per vos nominatos et deslutitos in locum nostrum, in praemissis absolutionibus et reconciliationibus, substituamus alios vicem nostras.
subdelegamus planam et liberam auctoritate apostolica nobis (ut praemissititur) concessa, tenore presentium concedimus facultatem vosque in praemissis nostrum locum substituimus: praemisses, ac regulas de insoroscentibus edita, et quibusvis aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicos, et omnibus illis, que in literis predictis sanctitas sua voluit non obstare, contrarijs non obstantibus quibus-cunque praesentibus in prateritis casibus locum habentibus, et ad beneficium nostrum duraturis. Datum Lambethi prope Londinum, Wintoniensis dioecesis, anno a nativitate Domini MDLV. idibus Februarij, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Julij Divina Providentia pape tertii anno 5to.

REG. CAR. POLUS LEG.

No. LXXXI.

The Lord Legates Instructions to the Bishops, in the performing of his orders about absolvine their Clergy and Laity.*

SINGULI domini episcopi, necon officiales ecclesiarum, que nunc vacant, pro executione eorum, que a reverendissimo domino legato sunt eis demandata, ordinem qui infra scriptus est, poterunt observare.

Primum, vocatum, ad se totum singularum civitatum, quibus singuli presunt, clerum, de his quae sequuntur, instruere procurabant.

De paterno amore et charitate, quam sanctissimus D. N. Julius pape tertius erga nationem Anglicanam declaravit, qui ut primum cognovit serenissimam Mariam suas reginarum declaratam, reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum cardinalen Polum de suo latere, ad has partes legatum misit, ut regnum hoc, tot annos ab Ecclesia Catholica separatum, ad ejus unionem reducere, et in errores lapsos consolari, atque in Dei gratiam restituere studeret.

De ejusdem domini legati adventu; quanta laetitia et honore is acceptus fuit, tunc a sereniss. regibus, tum ab aliis omnibus.

De his que in proximo parlamento acta et conclusa sunt. Scil. de omnibus dominis de parlamento, et universo regno a schismate et censuris incurritis absolutis, et Ecclesie Catholicae reconciliatis. De omnibus legibus, que contra authoritatem Sedis Apostolicae et Romani pontificis fuerunt per Henricum VIII. et Edwardum VI. latre et promulgatis, revocatis et abolitis. De restituta sanctiss. N. D. pape et Ecclesie Romanae cadem obedientia, que ante hoc perniciosissimum schisma prestabatur.

De authoritate episcopis restituta; et maxime ut possint contra hereticos et schismaticos procedere, et eos juxta canonicas sanctiones coercere et punire.

Hijis ejus expositis, veniant ad facultates sibi ab eodem reverendis. D. legato concessae, que recitentur: et hoc omnes, qui in schisma et alios errores lapsi sunt, invitantur ad absolutionem et conciliationem humiliter ex toto corde petendam, necon dispensationes, tam super ordinibus, quam super beneficia necessaria et opportunas postulandas deinde prefigatur dies, intra quem dicti de clero humiles et penitentes

compareant ad petendum suppliciter absolutionem, reconciliationem et dispensationem predictas.

Idem vero domini episcopi, postquam illi omnibus erroribus suis renunciaverint, et promiserint sacramentaliter ipsis, aut alteri sacerdoti Catholico, confessuros esse errores suos et posentiam sibi injurigam ad impleturos, eos absolverent, et ecclesiae reconciliabunt, et cum ipsis juxta formam facultatem, pro petentium necessitatis, prout sibi visum fuerit, dispensabunt: adhibendo semper convenientem distinctionem inter eos, qui solum in schisma et heressem inciderunt, et eos, qui eos etiam publice docuerunt, et alios ad peccandum adduxerunt.

Eodem die constituerunt dies festus et solennis, in quo, adstante in ecclesiae populi multitudo, domini episcopi, et omnes curati in ecclesijs suis omnia sadeb, quae clero jam exposita fuerunt, populo quoque insinuabunt, et omnes invitabunt, paterne et cum omni affectu, ut agnitis erroribus suis ad Ecclesiae Catholicæ gremium revertantur, promittendo fore, ut omnibus preterita criminia omnia condonentur, et remittantur, modo eos ex animo illorum possetat, et illis renunciet.

Prefigatur autem terminus, ut puta tota Paschas octava, intra quem terminum omnes ecclesiae reconcileintur. Alii qui elo lapso contra ipsos, et eos etiam, qui post reconciliationem ad vomitum reversi fuerint, severissime procedetur. Dicatur de facultate concessa a reverendissimo domino legato episcopis et alijs, ut absolvere possint omnes quiconque ad cor reversi fuerint.

Idem domini episcopi et officiales nominabant et deputabant ecclesiaram parochialium rectores, seu alias personas idoneas, quae laicos ab horesi et schismate, et quibuscumque censuris absolvant juxta facultatem formam et tenorem, data per episcopos formula, qua in absolvitione et reconciliatione uti debeant.

Eadem poterunt cum clero totius diocesios observari prout commodius visum fuerit.

Domini episcopi et officiales præfati, neconon omnes curati seu alij ad id deputati, habeant librum, in quo nomen et cognomen, et parochia omnium reconciliatorum inscribantur, ut postea sciatur, qui fuerint reconciliati, et qui non.

Idem domini episcopi et officiales octava Paschas elapserat, poterint facere visitationem civitatis primo, dein dioceses; et siquim non fuerint reconciliati, poterint ad se eos vocare, et cognoscere causas, propter quas ab erroribus suis nolunt recedere. Et si in eis obstatne perseveraverint, tum contra eis procedent.

In hac facienda visitatione attendant diligentem, que in hoc brevi compendio sunt notata, et maxime faciant, ut omnes ecclesiasticæ personæ ostendant titulos suorum ordinum et beneficiorum; ut si in iis aliquis alius defectus notetur, illis provideant, et omni studio procurant, ut errores, quibus dioceses eorum sit infecte, extirpentur, et veritas fidei tum in concionibus, tum in confessionibus doceat, deputando personas idoneas ad conciones faciendas, et confessiones audiendas id etiam curent, ut sacrorum canonum instituta in omnibus observentur, et nomen divi Thomæ Martyris, neconon sanctis, domini nostri pape ex libris dispunctum, in illis restituaturs, et pro eo secundum morem ecclesie, ut ante schisma fiebat, oretur.
APPENDIX.

In publicationibus hujusmodi erit ante omnia facienda commemorationi miseriarum, et infelicitatise praeceptorum temporum et magnae gratiae, quam nunc Deus pro sua misericordia populo huic exhibuit: hortando omnes ad hanc grato animo cognoscenda, et infinitas gratias divine ipsius bonitati assidue agenda.

Hortandi sunt etiam omnes, ut devote orent Deum pro salute et felici statu horum serenissimorum et de hoc regno optime meritorum, ac merentium, et specialiter pro felici partu sereniss. et piissimae regimen.

Formula Absolutionis.

Dominus noster Ihesus Christus, summus Pontifex per suam piissimam misericordiam, et clementiam vos crure suo preciosissimo redemptos, de ineffabilis sua pietate, ab omnibus peccatis per vos commissis, misericordiord abisolvat. Et ego authoritate apostolorum divi Petri et Pauli, ac Sedis Apostolicae mihi commissa, vos et vestrum quemlibet ab omnibus peccatis, criminibus, excessibus, et delictis, atque ab omni heresi, schismate, apostasia, irregularitate, et quocunque errore vestris; neconon a juramento contra papatum Romanum per vos praestito; et a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdictorum et alia sententiis, censuris et poenis ecclesiasticis a jure vel ab horum latis, per vos ratione praemissorum incursis et contractis, absolv, ac communioni fidelium, et S. sanctae Dei ecclesiae sacramentis restituo, reduco et redintegro. In nomine Patris et Filij et Sp. Sancti. Amen.

——

No. LXXXII.

An Italian to his friend, concerning Car. Pole.*


* Ex Balei Centurijs. [Catal. illustr. vir. p. 739.]
Angliae docebatur, et summa cum laetitia audiebatur, justificatio sola
fide in Christum, satisfactio peccatorum per Christum, certitudo salutis
nostre per Christum, vera penitentia, vera absolutio, verus ac legiti-
mus usus sacramentorum, atque alia huymodi doctrinae, omnino con-
formes propheticis, evangelicis, apostolicaeque oraculis, atque usui veteris
Catholicae Ecclesiae, ita ut essent inde sublati, extirpatique illi fedis-
stimi abusus, abominabilesque superstitiones atque idolomaniae, quae
scantat, regnantque in papatu. Cum vero aegeretur ut his facibus
rursus in illud regnum invehendis, divinis vero doctrinis abolendis, Po-
lus tuus obtulit hic suam operam, quia operavit se autoritate et gratia
plurimum illic valituros. Ac statim regnum ingens esse, prescedente
sciendum idolo crucis et cum omni illa pompa atque abominatione, qua
legati antichristi uti solaest. Populo vero imperavit in palatium con-
venire, genna fiectere ante se. (Quin et rex et regina usum procubuere
in genua, nec puduit illum antichristi vicarium id sustinere.) Ubi
autem populum admoenit hactenus a vera fide deviassa, atque hereti-
cum fuisse, addidit se absolutamentem papalam valle imparti, emque
sanctae Rom. Ecclesiae reconciliare: et confestim erecta mans, cru-cis
ille illata, populum ipsum absolvet, id est, arripuit atque avulsit, (qua-
sum in se quidem fuit,) a studio vere pietae, ac ipsiusam veritatem
Arripuit, inquam, atque avulsit et in suo atque custodia ipsius veri par-
toris Dom. nostrir Jesu Christi, projectque recte in sentiam pristinorum
absumum atque errorum, et sub meram tyrannidem antichristi insigni
proditione posuit. Quid potest sceleratas, quid horribilias excogitari!
Presevem de homine, qui favere nostrae causa aliquando visus est.
Annon agnosces nunc, quem virum tandi et tantopore, colueris, et
penes ut divinum aliquid numen adoraveris? Annon desines tandem?
Quam tuus ille amicus nuper sub nomine Athanasij edidisset scholos
in orationem ipsius Polli, in qua Evangelium vocaret semen Turcicum,
principes vero Germaniae Turcarum, tuire tergiversationibus cardinalem
defendebas; indignissimum putas, qui ita varietur: quin jurabas,
cum longe aliter nunc sentire, quicquid aliquando sensisse visus fuerit.
At quo pacto poteris excusare, quod nunc in Anglia gessit? Addo
multorum literis nuntiari, restitutam illo fuisse statuam divo (ut ipsi
inquinant) Thomas Cantuarien, proditori olim sui regis pessimo. Preh
Deum immortalem! hocene etiam tuus Polus potest petiri? Sed Dei
beneficio factum esse audior, et nunc caput illi imaginis amputatum si;
et corpus in partes discentum.

Quin adde, agi nunc in misera illa Anglia de lupis aribus etiam
resituendis. Sed quidnisi? Quemadmodum enim umbra corpus, sic
prostitula ac reliquae sedidates ac vitae, in prima vero idola, papatum
consequuntur. Sed audi reliqua, audi quae Filii Dei non potest
legere, quin adhuc magis perhorrescat, ac infimus mediullis contrei-
miscat. Thomas archiepiscopus Cantuarien, una cum tribus quatuorve
albis episcopis vere pias ac sanctas, qui justificationem vera fide in
Christum, gratuitamque pecosorum remissionem docearet, eratius
archiepiscopatu, et determimo carceri conpectus, vitam degens in
tenebris, in squallore, in egestate, singulis horis gladium carnificis ex-
pectans, tum daemon ignis aboluptus est, tyrannide certe inaudita.
Joannes Hopperus Vuigorniensis episcopus, et D. Joannes Rogers, et
Doctor Rolandus Taylerus, veri martyres Christi, passi sunt ignes constantissime.


In summa, tuus cardinalium regnat et triumphat, fruitorque honoribus fere papalibus, fruitor actione gratiarum, gratulatione ac gloria ex tota Rom. curia, atque ex omni regno hypocritarum: denique fruitor spe petiundi pontificatus. Verum ego illi viciissim nuntio, omnem eos qui spiritum Dei sentiunt, atque haec nostra easte plures, quam ille forte putet, et quotidianum crescit numerus: cogi peus de illo sentire, ac loqui, quam aut de ipso Julio III. aut de quovis alio dissolutiore et accelleratore cardinale. Quandoquidem tum antichristus ille, tum reliqui ex cardinalium grege, aut potius armento, palam atque aperte nobiscum pugnarunt: et nunc imprimit pugnaat: quia victoria Boli eos reddit insolentiores. Polus vero insidii, ac sub pretexta Pietatis: quamobrem aut hoc aeste, ac in reliqua posteritate, nisi at uncti, atque id genus hypocritarum encomijs ac laudibus illum onerabunt, celebrabuntque, omnes piorum ecclesiae non poterunt non queri, et tam indigne fuissse delussa ab eo. Quamquam esset id Polo utque forendum, si nullam aliam penam expertur esset, praster dedecoris atque infamis sempiterna. Alia enim eum: manet multo gravior. O! iterum illum missum, infelicemque: nam non multo post justissimi Dei nostri ira et vindicta aget, aget illum praeipitatem in profundum abyssi; ubi cum diabolo atque angelis ejus, sempiterno igne cruciabitur.

Illud vero hic addere opus est. Nam sedes illa Rom. stabt sibi persuasit fore, ut nunc tota Germaniae redact ad ejs obedientiam; scilicet, quia videt Angliam utque ne relijase: partim circumventam multis fallacia delisque, partim aperte vi coactam. Quare cum audierit comitii Augustae celebrari, ex tute cardinalium grege selegit Moronum, quem mittet eo legitum, heminem, qui in agnoscentia et persequenda veritate persimilis est Carol. Polo. Ab eo itaque expectanda sunt similis fallacia: similis hypocrisy, atque impieitas: ut non lac tactis magis similis sit: qui vixam videt, alterum videt.
To my dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, Dr. Latimer, prisoners in Oxford, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, and His holy Gospel.

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father more and more kindle your hearts and affections with His love; that our greatest cross may be to be absent from Him, and strangers from our home, and that we may godly contend more and more to please Him. Amen.

[As always I have had great cause to praise our dear Father through Christ, so methinks I have more and more, in seeing more likely the end of my life (which is due for my sin,) to be through the exceeding grace of Christ a testimony of God's truth. Thus the Lord dealeth not with every body; not that every body hath not more deserved at God's hands than I, which have deserved more vengeance than any other, I know, of my time and state; but that by me I hope the Lord will make the riches of his grace, to his glory, to be seen more excellent. With me therefore I humbly beseech you all, my most dear fathers in God, to give thanks for me; and, as you do, still to pray for me that the Lord, as for his love's sake in Christ he hath begun his good work in me, even so, of and for the same his love's sake in Christ, he would make it perfect, and make me continue to the end—as I hope he will, for his mercy and truth endureth for ever.]

As for your parts, in that it is commonly thought your staff standeth next the door, yee have the more cause to rejoicce, and be glad, as they which shall come to your fellowes under the altar: to the which society God, with you, bring me also, in His mercy, when it shall be His good pleasure.

I have received many good things from you, my good lord, master and dear father, N. Ridley; fruits I mean, of your godly labours. Al which I send unto you again by this bringer [Augustin Bernher]: one thing except, which he can tell, I do keep upon your further pleasure to be known therein. And herewithal I send unto you a little treatise, which I have made, that you might peruse the same; and not only you, but also ye, my other most dear and reverend fathers in the Lord for ever, to give your approbation as ye may think good. Al the prisoners herewithal, in maner, have seen it, and read it: and as therin they agree with me, nay rather with the truth, so they are ready, and will be, to signify it, as they shall so you give them example. The matter may be thought not so necessary, as I seem to make it. But yet if ye knew the great evil, that is like hereafter to come to the posterity by these men, as partly this bringer can signify unto you, surely then could ye not but be most willing to put hereto your helping hands. The which thing that I might the more occasion you to perceive, I have sent you here a writing of Harry Harts own hand; wherby ye may see, how Christ's glory and grace is like to loose much

light, if [that] your sheep *quondam* be not something holpen by them that love God, and are able to prove that al good is to be attributed only and wholly to God’s grace and mercy in Christ, without other respect of worthines then Christ’s merits. The effects of salvation they so mingle and confound with the cause, that if it be not seen to, more hurt will come by them than ever came by the papists; inasmuch as their life commendeth them to the world more then the papists. God is my witenes, that I write not this, but because I would God’s glory, and the good of His people. In free wil they are plain papists, yea, Pelagians: and ye know that “modicum fermenti totam massam corrumpit.” They utterly contemn al learning,* But hereof shal this bringer show you more. As to the chief captains therefore of Christ’s church here, I complain of it unto you: as truly I must do of you even unto God in the last day, if ye wil not, as ye can, help something, “ut veritas doctrinae maestat apud posteros” in this behalf; as ye have done on the behalf of matters expugned by the papists. God for His mercy in Christ guide you, [my] most dearly beloved fathers, with His Holy Spirit here and in all other things, as most may make to His glory, and the commodity of His Church. Amen.

Al here, God therefore be praised, prepare themselves willingly to pledg our captain Christ, even when He wil, and how He wil. By your good prayers we shal al fare the better; and therefore we al pray you to cry to God for us, as we, God willing, do and wil remember you. My brethren, here with me, have thought it their duty to signify this need to be no less, than I make it, to prevent the plantations which may take root by these men.

Yours in the Lord,

ROBERT FERRAR. JOHAN BRADFORD.
ROWLAND TAYLOR. JOHN PHILPOT.

No. LXXXIV.

*The Prisoners for the Gospel, their Declaration concerning K. Edward’s Reformation.*<sup>†</sup>

To the King and Queens most excellent Majesties, with their most honorable high Court of Parlament.

We poor prisoners for Christ’s religion, require your honours, in our dear Saviour Christ’s name, earnestly now to repent, for that you have consented of late to the unplacing of so many godly lawes, set furth touching the true religion of Christ before, by two most noble kings, being father and brother to the queens highnes, and aggreed upon by al your consents; not without your great and many deliberations, free and open disputations, costs and paines taking in that behalf, neither without great consultations, and conclusions, had by the greatest

* [This is well known to all those who have had to do with them, in disputations or otherwise: for the writings and authority of the learned they have utterly rejected and despised.]
† Foxii MSS.
learned men in the realm, at Windsor, Cambridge and Oxford; neither without the most willing consent, and allowing of the same by the whole realm thoroughly: so that there was not one parish in all England, that ever desired again to have the Romish superstitions and vaine service, which is now by the popish, proud, covetous clergy placed again, in contempt not only of God, al heavens, and of the Holy Ghostes lessons in the blessed Bible: but also against the honors of the said two most noble kings, against your own country, fore aggregments, and against al the godly consciences within this realm of England, and elsewhere. By reason whereof Gods great plagues must needs follow, and great unquiesness of consciences; besides al other persecutions and vexations of bodies and goods, must needs ensue. Moreover we certify your honours, that since your said unplacing of Christs true religion, and true service, and placing in the room thereof antichristes Romish superstition, heresy and idolatry, al the true preachers have been removed, and punished, and that with such open robbery, and cruelty, as in Turkey was never used, either to their own countrines, or to their mortal enemies.

This therefore our humble suit is now to your honourable estates, to desire the same, for al the mercies sake of our dear and only Savior Jesus Christ, and for the duty you owe to your native country, and to your own souls, earnestly to consider from what light to what darkness this realm is now brought, and that in the weightiest, chief and principal matter of salvation, of al our souls and bodies everlasting; and for ever more. And even so we desire you at this your assembly, to seek some effectual reformation for the afores written most horrible deformations in this church of England. And touching your selves we desire you in like manner, that we may be called before your honors; and if we be not able both to prove and approve by the Catholic and canonical rules of Christs true religion, the church homilies and service set forth in the most innocent K. Edwards days; and also to disallow and reprove, by the same authorities, the service now set forth, since his departing; then we offer our bodies, either to be immediately burned, or else to suffer whatsoever other painful and shameful death, that it shall please the king and queens majesties to appoint. And we think this trial and probation may be now best, either in the plain English tongue by writing, or otherwise by disputation in the same tongue. Our Lord for His great mercy sake grant unto you at the continual assistance of His good and Holy Spirit. Amen.

---

No. LXXXV.

John Fox to the Lordes Spiritual and Temporal in Queen Marias time:
relating to the persecution.*

Ur singularis vigilantia vestra cum pari conjuncta prudentia, neuntiquam agat consiliji aut documentia meis, procedat et patres inspiciendi, ita nihil vicissim a pudore se verecundia mea alienius esse possit, quam summates viros ulla in re interpellare litteris. At utinam

* Foxii MSS.
hunc nature affectum, ut haecemus, perpetuo tueri liceret. Nunc vero ubi in eas difficulitates, eum inter Symplegades, incidimus, ut neque obticere sine impietate, nec locui sine periculo licet, considerabit, opinor, prudentia vestra non tam quid me decent, quam quid officij exigat ratio. Quoque gravior sit ad scribendum causa, hoc faciliorum spero impetrabit veniam audacia. Equidem nihil addubito, quum eximia authoritas vestra divinae cujusdam potentiae vicariam nobis imaginem representat in terris, semper et egit sedulo, et actura est, ut cum dignitate vestra, simul publica totius ditionis vestrae tranquillitas salutque contineatur. Quid enim alium vel ab amplissimo hoc loco expectare, vel de singulari vigilantia vestra suspiciari convenit, quam a vobis, qui patres sitis reip. paratissima foro omnia, sicubi vel auxiliij fidem, vel juvandi voluntatem res communis desiderabit, ut neque facultati vestre quicquam adiici, nec in voluntate quicquam desiderari poterit. Atque enimvero si in iis duntaxat sita esset reip. administrazione, quae per se satis possent humane prudentes præsidia modere, nimirum insaniire videretur, qui vos monendo instituere, hoc est, solem meridianum luce ascititia illustrare speraret. Quanquam ne id quidem sapientia, opinor, vestra postulabit sibi, hujusmodi censeri vos, qui non communi conditione nati cum ceteris, pariter cum religiis mortalius, etiam minus forasse, at nonnunquam tamen, labi atque exorbitare positis: etiam humanae foret maxime, atque intra proprii ingenii vives clusa, quae ageretis.

Nunc vero cum omnis reip. gubernatio divini sit, magnaque ejus pars in religionis veretur tractatione, longe supra humannum captum ardua, ut alteram partem vobis lubenter tribuimus, ita in altera societatem aliquam consiliis haud omnino estis, opinor, aspermaturi: præsertim cum id non tam fiducia arrogantiae aliqua facimus, quam temporis atque officij necessitate impulsu. Quis enim, vos obtestor, gravissimi patres, ferat; quies non deplorat; quem non ad gemitus, ad lacrymas pertrat, tametsi Angliam nuncquam viderit, tantum in Anglia fundi Christiani sanguinis; tot cives ingenueus, tot liberales et innocentes promiscue cum feminis viros, capite ac fortunis quotidie percipienti, caedi, exuri, laniari; prope sine modo et numero! Quod si barbari ex ultima Turcia barbarosa, aut externe nationis feros hostis aliunde irrumpens in Angliam, tantum hanc gentis nostrae stragem designasset, haud minor forasse calamitas, aut minor profecto esset querrimonia. Sevittiam etiam omnino per se gravem, nationis tamen minuert distinctio. Nunc quorum saluti apud vos potissimum esse perfugium conveniebat, eodem vos ipsi capi, exagitari, disceperi, dilacerari, Angli Anglos, magistratus subditos, Christiani Christianos, cernitias et toleratis. Quique nuper sub Edwardi suspicatissimi principis divino imperio florentissima tranquillitate, cum domum vitae non securitate modo, sed voluptate etiam utebantur, nunc ijdem inventente se rerum humanorum scena, miseris cruciatibus vitam, quam tueri nequesent, deserere coguntur: non quia vita aut mores mutati ipsorum, sed quia duntaxat tempora mentata sunt.

Et ubi interim tristitia illa Paulina, ubi clementia vestra, mitissimi proceres, ubi inventata illa semperqua laudata etiam erga hostes, Anglorum pietas, si in vestros tam efferii tamque exitiales esse velitis!
APPENDIX.

Scio ingeniorum immensam ac infinitam prope varietatem esse in mundo; apud homines haud secus quam apud bellus. Quidam natura mitiore. Contra sunt, quos natos sevitie dixeris, ac truculentie. Alii consuetudine prava hoc vitio delectantur. Nonnulli rursus ab aliis, seu contagium, accipiunt. Verum utunque aliis aliu natura insevit, certe nihil viris generosis tam prouerum ac genuinum, nihil nature ipserum (si natura tueri valent) quadrans magis, quam generosa quaedam indoles ac morum ingenuitas: quae prosit omnibus, officiat nemini, nisi laesitas forat. Ac ne tum quidem, nisi coacta magis, quam sua sponte: idque magis reip. ratione, quam sua sevitas: ac ne tum quidem sui oblivisci potest generous pietas, semper ad salutem miseriorum, quam perniciem intention; excusans, patrocinans, sublevans, relinquens, quo misericordiae cognoscetis esse locus possit.

Eoque hae nunc tantae hominum, ne dicam, an temporum degeneratio, in viros, non improbus modo, sed innocentii ac inulpata vita, a quibus nemo unquam leges vestrum, aut lacessitus sit, publice simul ac privatim bonos, sic inardescere sevitiam quorumdam, ut nulla sit hostium tium tam barbara, ubi non tutius conquiescent, quam apud suos! Quoniam apud priscos Romanos plusquam sontium censebatur, quod cive in discriminem adduceret capitis; ubi et octo erant suppliciarum genera, quorum mors, ut ultima, uta nisi clarissima, non indicebatur: quid quod ne tum quidem dearent etiam vita defensores, ac libera apud populum actio. Ex quo effectum est, ut eloquentissimum studium tanto in honore ac usu apud omnes esse, ut urbem prope universam ad sui contentionem excitaret. Tantus in gentilitio populo patries amor, ac salute cura, apud patricios vigebat viros, quorum omnis fere laus in conservandis quamplurimis cernetur. Atque istos nondum ulla religionis imbuerat gratia, tantum natura ipsa, ac literarum humanitas ad tantam excolere potuit civilitatem. Et o brutorum jadudum in Anglia extinctum genus, quod apud ethnicius natura, quod literae valuerunt civiles, non idem valebit pietas, non Evangelij vigtor, non a Christo inculcata toties impetravit charitas; quin ob quamlibet lemov causam, aut nullam potius, ad poenas rapiuntur, adeo frigescente ubique charitate, ut haud sciam, an hoc ipsum capitale futurum sit, quod pro afflictis fratribus mutire audeam; idemque in hac re eveniet mihi, quod Justino olim, pro Christianis ἀπολογῶν qui dum pro martyribus deprecatur, fit et ipsae martyr.

No. LXXXVI.

Dr. Ridley late Bishop of London to West, formerly his steward, who had complied with the Romish religion. *

I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth. Without the which truly established in mans heart by the mighty hand of Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ's cause, in the time of tribulation, then it is for wax to abide the heat of the fire.

Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded that this

* Foxii MSS. [C.C.C.C. MS. No. cv. fol. 323 et seq.]
world is but transitory, as S. John saith, "Mundus transit et concupiscencia ejus."* I am persuaded Christ's words to be true, "Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, I will confes him before my Father, which is in heaven."† And I believe that no earthly creature shall be saved, whom the Redeemer and Savior of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present, or to come, high or low, life or death, be able to remove.

It is a godly wish that ye wish me deeply to consider things pertaining to Gods honor and glory. But if ye had wished also, that neither fear of death, or hope of worldly prosperity shuld let me to maintein Gods word, and His truth, which is His glory and true honour, it wold have liked me very wel.

You desire me for Gods sake to remembre my self. Indeed, sir, now it is time for me so to do. For so far as I can perceyve, it standeth me of no les daunger, then of the los both of body and soule: and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing wil awake him. He that wil not fear Him, that threatneth to cast body and soule into everlasting fire, whom wil he fear? Oh Lord, fasten thou together our frayl flesh, that we never swarve from thy lawes.

You say, you have made much sute for me. Sir, God grantt, that you have not, in sune for my worldly deliverance, empaird or hindered the furtherance of Gods word and his truth.

You have known me long indede, in the which time it hath chaunced me to mislyke some things. It is true, I graunte. For so deine chauneces without substantial and necessary causes, and the heade setting furth of extremities, I did never love. Confession to the minister, which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and enforme the weak and ignorant consciences, I have ever thought might do much good in Christs congregation. And so I assure you I do think, even at this day.

My doctrin and my preaching, you say, you have heard oft: and after your judgment, have thought it godly, saving of the sacrament. Which thing, although it was of me reverendly handled, and a great deal better than of the rest, as you say, yet in the margent you write (warily, and in this world wysely) thus: "And yet methought, not al soundly." Wel, sir, but I see so many chauneces in the world, and so much alteration, or els at this your saying, I wold not a little mervay! I have taken you for my trustie freynd, and a man, whom I fantasied for plainness and faithfulness, as much, I assure you, as for your learning. And have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I considere mo things than one; and wil not say al that I think. But what need you to care what I thinke, for any thing that I shal be able to do unto you either good or harm?

You gave me good lessons, to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain glory. Truly, sir, herein I like your counsel very wel; and by Gods grace I intend to follow it unto my lyves end.

To write to them whom you name, I cannot se what it wil avayle me.

* 1 Joan. 2. † Matt. 10.
For this I would now have you know it, I esteme nothing avaylable for me, which also will not set furth the glory of God.

And now because I perceive you have an entyre zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivitie, and worldly misery; if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methysk I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure hence out of this world is at hand I cannot tel. The Lords will be fulfilled. How soon soever it shall come, I know the Lords words must be verified on me, that I shall appear before the uncorrupt Judge, and be countable to Him of all my former lyfe. Although the hope of his mercy is my shot anchor of eternal salvation: yet am I persuaded, that whosoever unwittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience moveth me, considering you were one of my family and of my household, (of whom then I thinke I had a special cure, and of all them which were in my house, which indeed ought to have been an example of godlines to all the rest of my cure, not only in godly life, but also in promoting of Gods word, to uttermost of their power: but now alas! when the trial doth separate the corn from the chaff, how small a day it is God knoweth, which the wynde doth not blow away :) this conscience, I say, doth move me to have fear, lest the lightnes of my family shall be layd unto me, for lack of more earnest and diligent instructions, which should have been done. But blessed be God, which hath given me grace to see my default, and to lamento it from the bottome of my heart, before my departure hence. This conscience also doth move me now to require both you, and my freynd Dr. Harvy, to remembre your promises made to me in time past, of the pure setting furth and preaching of Gods word and his truth. These promises, although you shal not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world; yet look for none other, I exhort you as my freyns, but to be charged with them at Gods hand.

This conscience, and the love that I bear unto you, byddeth me now say to you both in Gods name: Fear God, and love not the world; for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell fire. "Cum exarserint in brevi ira ejus, beati omnes," saith the Psalme, "qui confidunt in eo." And the saying of S. John is true, "Quiquid est in mundo, veluti concupiscencia carnis, et concupiscencia oculorum, et fastus vitae, non ex Patre, sed ex mundo est. Et mundus transit, et concupiscencia ejus. Qui autem facit voluntatem Dei manet in aeternum."† If these gifts of grace, which undoubtedly are necessarily required unto eternal salvation, were truly and unseignedly grafted, and firmly stablished in mens hearts, they wold not be so light, so sodayuly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as it is now, alas! seen so manifestly, of so many in these dayes.

But here peradventure ye wold know of me, what is the truth. Sir, Gods word is the truth, as S. John saith, and it is even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change, as the moon,

* Psalm 2.  † 1 John 2.
yet God’s word is stable and abideth for evermore. And of Christ it is truly said, “Christus heri et hocdie, idem etiam in secula.”*

When I was in office, as that were esteemed for learned men in God’s word, agreed this to be a truth in God’s word written: that the common prayers of the Church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you, I never found man, so far as I do remembre, neyther old nor new Gospeller or papist, of what judgment soeuer he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of Gods word, think you, that the alteration of the world can make it now an untruth? If it cannot, why do men, so many, shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth, once received of us all? For what is it I pray you, else to confesse or deny Christ in this world, but to confesse and maintain the truth taught in Gods word, nor for any worldly respect to shrynke from the same? This one have I brought but for an example. Other things be in like case, which now particularly I nede not to rehearse. For he that will forsake wittingly, eyther for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of God’s word, if he be strayned, he will assuredly forsake God and al his truth, rather then he wil endanger hymself eyther to loose, or to leave that he loveth indee better, then he doth God and the truth of his word.

I lyke therin very wel, your plain speaking, wherin you say, I must eyther aggree or dy: and I thynk you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must dy, whether I aggree, or no. But what folly were it then to make such an aggreement, by the which I could never escape this death, which is so common to all: and also I might incur the guilt of eternal death and damnation?

Lord graunt, that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable aggreement so long as I lyve.

And because I dare say, you wrot of friendship to me this short ermess advertisement, and I think verily washing me to lyve, and not to dy: therefore bearing you in my heart no less love in God, then you do me in the world; I say to you in verbo Domini, that except you, (and this I say to you I say to al my friends and lovers in God) except ye confesse and mainteyn, to your power and knowledg, thyngs which be grounded upon God’s word, wil eyther for fear, or gyna of the world, shrynke and play the apostate, indee you shal dy the death. You understand what I mean. And I beseech you, and al my true freynds and lovers in God, remembre what I say. For this peradventure may be the last time, that ever I shal write to you. From Bocardo in Oxenford, the eight day of April, anno 1554.

Yours in Christ,
NICOLAS REDHESY.

* Heb. 13.
APPENDIX.

No. LXXXVII.

John Hopton Bishop of Norwich, to the Earl of Sussex, giving account of
the joy conceived, and Te Deum sung, for the newes of the Queens being
brought to bed of a noble Prince.

RIGHT honorable, and my singular good lord. After mine humble
commendations, with lyke thanks for your honorable and gentle letters
sent to me, towrhyng the behaviour of the curate of Olde Bokenham,
and the reformaion of other enormityes there; it may please you to
understand, that I did send immediately for the sayde curate, the
church-wardeyns and the quest-men there. And upon their appear-
sance with twelve or fourteen of the most substanciall men of the
parish, and upon due examynacyon, I coude perceyve none other thyng,
but all thyngs to be well, and decentlye ordered, and provydyd for at
thys hooely tyme of Eastre, contrary to the information gyven to your
good lordshypp. And yf there had been any thing amys, they shoul
dhave been punyshed according to their demerytes. Beseeching your
good lordshippe, if any further knowledge coome to you, sympathy for that
town, or any other, concerning the reformacion of my jurisdiction, or
the negligence of myne ofceyrs, that I may be advertryzed thereof, and
have your favorable ayd and assistaunce. And I shall doe the best I
can for my dyscharge.

And where it pleased youre honorable lordshipes to wyll me to take a
dyner, or a supper with you in the tyme of my versusation, I humble
thank you therfor most hartelye. Beseeching your lordshipes, whan
occasion shall serve you to vsyte thyx cytye, that ye wyl vouche safe to
take thyx my poore house at your commandment; wherunto your
lordshipes shalbe as welcoome as to your owne.

Further, I undrestond that Mr. Mayre here hathe certyfied your
lordshipes of the sodein good newes brought to us by one of the cytte,
of the quenes highnes most joyfull deliverance of a nooble prince.
Wherupon to laud God Te Deum was solemnly songen in the cathe-
draulchurche, and other places of the cytte, with woonderfull joy and
much gladnes of all people throughwe out all theol cytye, and the
countrye therabowtes. And yf ye have any further knowledge
thereof, I beseeche your honorable lordshipes, that I maye be partaker of
the same by thyx bringer, my servant, whom I send purposely there-
for, as knoweth thHoley Goost; who preserve your lordshipes in con-
tynuall helthe and honor. At Norwich, the thred of Maye 1555.

Your lordships assuredlye,

JOHN NORWICH.

Post scritpa. I receyved even nowe knowledge from a friend of
mine of two wyttenes more of the goode and joyful newes above wryt-
ten, as this said brynger can declare to your goode lordeshypp.

JOHN NORWICH.

* Cotton Library, Titus B. 2, fol. 160.
APPENDIX.

No. LXXXVIII.

A Proposition in the Convocation against Residence. With Reasons for the said Proposition: and Remedies against Non-residence.*

Decretum perpetuum Residentiae justa Canonum Sanctiones optant piij, sed multa sunt, quae hodie impediunt, quo minus suum effectum justa bonorum virorum vota consequatur.

The Reasons.

I. The statutes of the kingdom, not disallowed, as we hear, by the pope, do permit to the barons, and other great men of the kingdom, a certain number of priests, having care of souls.

II. Not only the statutes of the kingdom, but the canons do permit bishops a certain number of fellow workers, to assist them.

III. Bishops and prelates, who by reason of their great learning, prudence, integrity of life, and high faith, are chosen to be the kings counsellors, and whose counsels are very necessary for the restoring of religion, ought not, as it seems, to be compelled to perpetual residence.

IV. When the barons and other great men may be retained in the orthodox faith, by the doctrin, honesty, age and frequent exhortations of reverend men, it seems not convenient, that such men should be driven from them; provided they do reside a good part of the year upon their churches.

V. Since the dispensation of two or three benefices hath been granted by former princes to some priests, for the merit of their life and manners, they cannot without injury be deprived of them; nor yet can they in all respects reside personally and perpetually.

VI. When many have designed their sons for the universities, and have been at no small charges to give them learning, because they have entertained good hope, that they might hereafter be assistant to their friends and relations: this hope being gone, their care about this matter will also grow cold, otherwise of it self cold enough. For as he said, "Where there is no honor, there is no art."

VII. The houses of the rectories in many places are either ruined, or none at al, or let out by indentures.

- Going to the Court of Rome.
- Going to a general Counclal.
- Going to a Synod, or Parliament.
- Violent retaining.

Remedies.

That there be a les number of those that follow the court, who heap up benefices upon benefices.

That they who have many benefices, reside a certain time upon each.

* C.C.C. Libr. Synodalia [No. cxxi. fol. 5, i. and k].

VOL. II. 2 G
That a way be found, wherby such as live in towns and cities may be forced to pay personal tiths. Which being now almost quite taken away, the benefices in such places are in a great part lessened.

When some of the bishops, by reason of the slenderness of their possessions, cannot afford stipends to the priests, their fellow laborers, that they who serve them reside for a certain time of the year in their own parishes.

That rectors, who heretofore have payd pensions to monasteries in ready mony, be not now compelled to pay the same in bread-corn to lay-proprietors.

That in woody places, where the custome hath alwayes obtained, tith may be payd of silva serius [that is, wood that is cut to grow again] especially when there is a great scarcity of corn in such places.

Parishes are not divided jure divino. Whence followeth, that as many benefices may be layd into one, so one, by reason of the greatnes of it, may be divided into two.

No. LXXXIX.

Pole Cardinal Legate, to Archbishop Cranmer, in answer to the Letter he had sent to the Queen. Six

ALMIGHTY God the Father, by the grace of his only Son, God and man, that dyed for our sins, may geve yow trew and perfect repentance. This I daylie pray for my self being a synner: but I thank God never obstinate synner. And the same grace I do pray for to be geven to them that be obstinate, the more neede they have thereof, being otherwise past al mannes cure, and admonition to save them. As your open sayings, in open audience, doyth show of yow. Which hath caused, that those judges, that hath syt apon the examination of your grevions faults, seing no lykedol of any repentance in yow, hath utterlie cast awaye al hope of your recoverie: whereof doith follow the most horrible sentence of condempnation, both of your body and soule, both your temporal death and eternal. Which is to me so great an horror to here, that if there were ony way, or mean, or fashion, that I might fynd to remove you from error, brynging yow to the knowledge of the truth, for your salvation: this I testifie to you afores God, apon the salvation of myne owne sowle, that I would rather chuse to be that meane, that yow might receive this benefyt by me, then to receive the greatest benefyt for my self, that can be geven under heaven in this world: I easteme so much the salvation of one sowle.

And becausse it happened to me to see your private lettres directed to the qwenes highnes, sent by the same unto me, wherein you utter and express such appearant reasons, that cause yow to swarve from the rest of the Church, in these articles of the authoritie of the Pope, and of the sacrament of the aliter, concluding with these words, "That

* Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. cccxvii. fol. 69].
APPENDIX.

if any man can show yow by reason, that the authority of the Pope be not prejudicial to the wealth of the realm, or that your doctrine in the sacrament be erroneous, then you wold never be so perverse to stond wylfullie in your own opinion: but shal with al humilitie submytt your self to the truthe in al things, and gladly embrace the same;" thise your words, written in that lettre, geveth me some occasion, desyring your wealth, not utterly to dispyar thereof; but to attempt to recover yow by the same way, that yow open unto me: which is, by reason to show yow the error of your opinion, and withal the light of the truthe in both causes. But whither this may healp yow in deede, or bring you to revoke the same, with treu repentance, this I know not; and I fear moche the contrarie. For that I see the ground and beginning, how you fell into error in both thise articles, not to be of that sort, that maketh men commonly to fall into error and heresies. Which sort and way is by medling with your wyt and discourse natural, to examen the articles of the faith: makeing your reason judge thereof; which ought to bee judged and ruled by the rule of the faith. Which abuse causeth men dayly to fall into error and heresies. And the same also is in yow, and is joynd with that yow have done. But here standeth not the grownde of your error, nor yet in this other common maner of fauling from the truthe, which S. Paul noteth in the Gentiles, and is in al men commonlie that followeth their sensel appetites, "Qui veritatem Dei in injustitia detinent:" which thing also hath been occasion of your error. But yet not this is the very grownde thereof, but a further fawte: that you geveng your othe to the truthe, yow mocked with the same, as the Jewes mocked with Christ, when thei saluted him saing, "Ave Rex Judæorum," and afterwards did crucifie hym. For so did yow to the vicar of Christ, knowledge the Pope of Rome by the words of your othe, to be so, and in mynde entendeng to crucifie the same authoritie. Whereof came the plague of deape ignorance and blyndnes unto yow. Which is now that bringeth you to this grievous peryl, to perish both bodie and sould. From which perill no reason can deliver yow.

But yow discovereng your self, touching the entrie, when yow shuld make the customeable othe of al legitimate bussheps in Christendom, which is the dore for you to entre to the service of God, in the highest spiritual office withyn this realme, and seeing you made the same but for a countenansse, nothing meauneng to observe that yow promised by the othe; this is a dore, that every thieve may entre bye. This is not the dore that thei entre by, that mean earnestlie the service of God. Wherein the prophets sentence is playne, askeing this question, "Quis ascendet in montem Domini? aut quis stabit in loco sancto ejus?" And then answering to the same sayeng, "Innocens manibus, et mundo oorde, qui non accipit in vano animam suam, nec juravit in dolo præximo suo. Hæc est generatio quærantium Dominum, quærantium faciem Dei Jacob." So that yow now enteryng to the mowntyne of God, which was to that high archbushopprick, and to the primacie in the realme, by a cleane contrary way, which is, as yow confesse your self by a fayned othe, by fraud, and dissimulation, what more playne sentence can be against yow, if yow have a thousand reformation in.
your mynde, then that al this doith not make, that this shuld be the way to the trew service of God, nor that yow, useng a false othe, shuld be of that generation, which with their hart sought God, but utterlye conclude against yow, that if those that abesteine from al deceit with their neighbour, speciallie in othe, be blessed of God, he that confesseth to have used such dissimulation in his othe, not with one neighbour or twayne, but with the hole realme, with the hole church, what can he receive, but the malediction of God? What can more evidentiue show that man to be none of that generation that seken God? As if there were none other proffe, that followed in your acts, such a deceitful and shamefull entrice, doith manifestely declare; and most of al, one of the first acts yow did after this. Which was to pluck the rest of the realme (of whom yow had chief cure) out of the house of God, bryngeng them furthwyth into the schisme.

And that we see now, that the hole realme by the high mercy of God, beyng brought into the house of God agayn, there to receive his grace and benediction: and this to be done by those princes, and those ministers, "Qui non acciperunt in vano animam suam, nec juraverunt in dolo proximo suo:" your person yet remayneng without, deprived of the grace granteed to them, what doith this showe, but that it is the just sentence of God against yow, for your deceitful entrice into his service; and the mercy of God toward them, that not wylleeng went furth; but by your traitorous means were thrust out!

So that here now I have told yow, whether yow heare me, or no, the very cause of your blyndnes and ignoraunce: which is the vengeance of God against yow, for your dissimulation and perjurie, to him and to the hole Church, at your entreng to the high service thereof. Wherby yow have deserved to be cast out of the howse of God, which is the Church, "in tenebras exterioreas, ubi est fletus, et stridor dentium." Which is the place and state, wherein I see yow now lye; and the same I saw so evidently in your letters, from the beginnyng to the end, as nothing can be more playne: yow showeng your self in the same to be so ignorant, that you know not those things, which be evident to every man: which everie man, that hath any exteriour light, by experience and knowledge of things past, doith know—

_Here much is wanting._

that be once of the Church as dead bodies, when the spirit is out. But to al that be within the body of the Church, this gaveth comfort and life, as the spirit doith to the bodie. And this shal be sufficient to say for everie mans information of the truthe in this matter, that wil beleave, other than old or late experience, or the contynual doctrine of the hole Church, hath taught in everye Christen realm. Whereof none ever found this fawte, that the Popes lawes spiritual were not to be exercised, because the same could not agree with their politick lawes: but rather found fawte, when the Pope himself, or his minis ters, did let the course of those lawes, which aggred with everie politick body, as the sowle of man with al complexions, and forme of body. And when they were stopped, then semed to be stopped the breath and life
of justice, as no realme can gyve, as I sayd afore, greater or surer testi-
mony then ours. For when the authoritie and lawes of the Pope did
flourish in the realme, al justice flourished wythal; and that stopped and
cast out, as it was thys latter yeares, al good justice and civil maner of
lyvynge was stopped and cast furth withal.
So that when you came furst to mervayle of a thing never seen, nor
harde of afore in this realme, that a bushepy, made by the Popes au-
thority, shold not be deposed, without his authoritie, what doith this
show, but a deep blynynes and ignorance of the use of the law in
this realme, ever continual, and never broken of ony just prynce, untily
yow your self were made bushepy: which healped them to break al
good lawes and customs of the realme; and then afterward to make
this for a great reason, that the Popes lawes shold not be now agayn
admytted, for then yow say, al the hole realme that cast out his au-
thoritie, must nedes knowldg themselfe accursed: which God, yow say,
forefend. And this yow show yow cannot abyde, for nothing by ony maner
that the realme shold knowldg themselfe accursed: which they cannot,
yow say, avoide, if thei admytt the Popes law, as good. This word yow
shuld have sayd afore the realme had cast furth the Pope's authoritie,
for to have letted them from their fault into the curse; and this had
bene the very part of a good bushepy. But after that thei were faullen
from the lawes, which thei had admytted afore, and therby ronne into
the curse, (which you say cannot be avoyed of them that hath ones
admytted them) then I with al good and Catholick men, do say, God
forefend, they after this shuld not knowldg their state to be accursed.
Which if thei dyd not, thei could never be absolved from the curse.
And he that forbiddeth now the knowledge of the same, doith in effect
procure, that being accursed inede, thei remayne ever accursed.
This is your monstrous and blynde love yow pretend to bear to the
realme, being accursed your self, and blynded in the knowldg of your
state, to have the hole realme remayne styl accursed. But the true
affection thise two Catholick princes beare to the realme, with the
bloode of those that resisted the swarveng from the Popes authoritie,
hath obteyned of the high mercy of God, that the hole realme
hath with repentance knowldged their evil state thei stode in,
syneth the leaveng of the authoritie of the Pope in the realme, and
with repealing of those lawes, made contrary, have asked absolution,
and receivd it, and be deliverd of al curse, receivd into the grace of
God, and brought into the Churches lapp again: thei onelie left out,
that doith refuse this grace, and hath not so moche grace to accept it.
Whereof if any should be deprived, none hath deserved it more by the
just wrath of God to be deprived, then he that was chief doer, to make
the realm lesse it, as yow; by showeng your self in this to be the verie
member of Satan, both then, but most of al now. Which deprivd of
grace of repentance hymself, wold draw al other to his damnation,
and disuadeth al returne to grace.
This your charitie you now show to your contrie, which, as I said
hitherto, is very vengeanse of God toward yow. Of the which this
great blyndnes gyveth a great testimonie, that yow show in your lettre,
writyng of thysse thynges, as though yow had never knowldg what-
had been done in the realm afore your tyme, nor what was the state
of your time, nor yet what is the state of the realm at this present,
bryngeng for a great inconvenient, that if the Parliament shuld accept
the lawes of the Pope, thei shuld be constrayned to repeale those that
were done against his lawes and authoritie : as though this were not se
done already. And showeng so great ignorance, both touching the
document of the Church, and in this poyncte touching the Popes author-
itie, and the experience of the custome of the realm, yet yow conclude,
that ignorance might excuse other men, how prejudical the canon
lawes bee to the wealth of the realm, if thei wold accept the same.
But you cannot be excused by ignorance. And seeing in this the
very truthe, that ignorance cannot excuse yow, as in truthe it cannot,
being of that kynde it is. But if that do not excuse you, then
malice doith condeemne yow : which is the very cause to bring you to
ignorance inexcussable, both in this poyncte of the authoritie of the
Pope, as in the doctrine of the sacrement: wherein it is no lesse mon-
strous. And this yow shew mote, where yow think to speak with lesse
obstinate. As where yow saie, that "if thei that follow the Popes
doctrine herein, could bryng in but one old sancient doctor of the
Church of their opinion, you have offered afore, as yow offer yet, to
give place unto them, and to consent to the same." What a profile is
this to show your profound blinnes? If there be no let but this,
because yow see not of the old doctors, at the least one, that were
against yowr opinion, in the defence of the Popes doctrine, other
men seeing so many, and not one sancient approved doctor that ever
dissent, what a wonderful blinnes is this, not to see one against
yow? For this is playne, when the Pope showeth his sence and
doctrine in this article, he doith not speak thereof, as of an article, that
he himself hath newly found, nor yet ony of his predecessours, but
that al hath uniformly received one of another of their fathers, unto
the apostles tyme, and they of Christ. Which argument is so strong,
so evident to the condempnation of your opinion, and confirmatyon of
the Popes, that manie sage and learned men writing against the opinion
yow follow, being diverse sorts of arguments to confound the same,
set apart al form of reasoneng, and onelie stick upon the testimony and
unforme consent of al the old doctors of the Church to this day. Which
testimonies be so meny, that they fyll up great books; as amongst other,
your lord of Durham at this present, in his book written of this matter,
taketh this way, to ground hymself mostapon, the perpetual consent of
the old doctors, continuing unto this age: and al against your opinion.
Which book is abrode, and hath been seen of yow.

Then if yee wil think him of so smal judgment or knowledge, that in
such a nombre as he bringeth, there is not one, that maketh to his pur-
pose, but al for your purpose, whom he entendeth to oppugne, other
this must prove a wonderful blinnes in hym, and not in hym alone,
but in so menie learned men, that taketh the same way; or elles in
yow, that amongst so menye testimonies, som more elere then som,
not to see so moche as one alone: this is an eydente prouff, that yee be
stark blin. For if yee were not, if it were but one brought furth unto
yow, as is mentioned in that book, the condempnation of Berengarius,
that was of your opinion; and that done by a general council of all
the nations in Chrysetomond; grouwndeng it self upon the uniform doc-
trine of their forefathers; were not this enough, yf yow had yies to
see, to show that more then one old doctor were of the Popes doctrin
And if this be not sufficient proff unto yow, the same being enough
to Berengarius hymself, which was converted therby, and persuaded to
recont his opinion; what doth this show, but that he was not utterly
blended, but that he saw some testimonie against hym, yow utterly to
have lost al syght, that is not so much as one.

But of this your monstrous blyndnes I meruell the less, the more I
see the same to procede of the very justice and wrath of God against
yow: with whom yow mocking on that maner as yow showed in
comyng in such a high place, in service of the Church, as was to be
archbishop and primate of the realm, as to aware in dolo, not onlye
procrune, but universae ecclesiae: wyleng afterward to pervert the old
order of the Churche, which yow called a Reformation, me semeth to
here the very words and curse of St. Paul, that lighted upon the false
prophet Bariesu, letting the course of the doctrine evangelical preach
ed by hym, when he then curseng hym, said "O! plene omni male, et
omni fallacia, fili diaboli, inimice omnis justitiae, non desinis pervertere
vias Domini rectas! Et ecece nunc manus Domini super te, et eris
caece, non videns solem, usque ad tempus." The effect of this I do
see hath lighted upon yow; for ent regime by deceit to be a chief doctour
in the Church, perverteng vias Domini rectas, to be blynded, I pray
God it be but ad tempus. But hitherto I have not known a more
deeper blyndnes. And if that was ponnysheint of that false prophet,
to lose his corporal syght for a tyme, that being an infidelle, for
very ignorance did put obstacle to the very trew doctrine of the faith
never hard of afore, to be blynded corporallie for a tyme, yow that first
knew the doctrine, and preached the same, which afterward yow do
pervert, if yow were stricken with a gretter, and more notable blynd-
nes, the which yow show now, this is evident to come of the vere
hond of God, which mans hond cannot heale, but only the hond of
God, that justle ponnysheyd yow therewithal. And the sorer and more
desperate cure is of this your blyndnes, the more yow acquysett your
self therein: as though yow had a great gift of light above al other.
For so yow show in your lettres, persuadeng your self to have found a
way in teacheng the doctrine of the sacrament of the sulter, that other
bath not seen: which is to take away the absurdity both to the sence
and reason of man, that is in the Catholick doctrine, toucheng the
sacrament of the sulter, as yow say, in that forme of bread and wyne,
to be the verie trew real presence of the body of Christ, and that it is
his body and bloode that is showed in the forme of bread and wyne,
what reason wil admytt this? What sence? And how moche probable
were the less, if this doctrine were taught, as yow teach it, to say, that
yow see in the forme of bread and wyne, is a figure only of the body of
Christ that is in heaven; whom in spirit in that figure yow do honour.
This maner no doubt were more probable sayyeng to the ears of men
that judge things, other by reason or by sence. But the more probable
it is, the more false it is, the great sophister and father of al lyes ever
decaying us by probabilitie of reason, proponyng ever that which is more aggreable to the sence, but the trew doctrine of Christ is taught by another way.

Here is another deficieny.

being faullen therein not so moche for fawte or abuse of reason, as by malice against reason. And such, I say, no hand can cure, no reason, no discourse; but onlie that it please the high mercy of God, that doth chastise your malicious handleng of the truth, with such igno- rance and darkness, to withdraw his hond of vengeancse apox yow: for otherwise you heareng reason, and seeing some light thereof, yet yow have not so moche grace, as to receive it, nor follow it.

This is the thing I greatlie fear in yow, haveng knowledge of your proceadyng synmeth your furst notable errour in rejecteng the doctrine of the Popes supremeitie, and afterward of the sacrement; which as I said afore, was not after the common maner of faulleng, as other did, by curiositie, or by frailtie, but by delibe-rate malice, to forsaake the truthe in both pointes, to satisfie your carnal appetites, to the which your dissembleng furst, and mockeng with the truthe, and afterward openlie forsaakeng the same, did serve you. Which as yet yow do not knowledg: and this must be the first things, that you shuld knowledg, makeng open confession with repentance thereof, if yow shal ever come to receive any frute of the mercy of God.

So that if I now, that desire your recover, shuld go about by way of discourse, or argument, to bryng yow from your errour to the truth, this must be the furst poynote, to shew how you fell into the same darkness, to the entent that God so moche remytteng his hond of jus-tice, that yow may se your abhomination in abuseng the truth, you might knowledge by fears the justice of God, in letteng yow faul into so great darkness; and by the hope of his infinite mercy caull to hym for grace to be restored to some lyght of his infallible veritie. And this I with al my heart prayeng for yow, in the mean season, untill God give yow the grace to do the same for your self, shal withal open unto yow the maner of your faulfe.

Touching your furst article of the Popes authoritie, which I neede not open ony further then you have opened your self, nor cannot better express it, then you have set it furth, I haveng no knowledge thereof, but by your own sayng and wryting, for defence of perjurie objected to yow. And now mark yow wel, if yow have any sence of knowledge left unto yow to see your self and your own dedes, if ever there were hard such kynd of a defence, in ony perjurie of onie man, that had left hym on ye light of reason, or knowledge of justice. Which for to know, furst yow must be put in remembrance of the kynd of your othe, and the maner of makeng thereof. The kynd was such, that it was no new othe, but the very same, that al archbussheps of Canterburie, which be primates of this realme, al archbussheps, and bussheps, in ever Christen realme, doith accustomed make to the Popes holines, as to the vicar of Christ in earth, swearing to hym obedience; such was your othe. And as touching the maner of makeng of it, none could be more solempe; being made in the hond of a busshop, with the testimonye and assistance of other busshops, openly in the church,
in the presence of as moche people as the church could hold; at such tyme as yow arraid with the sacred vesture of a busshop, cam afore the sultre to be consecrated archbusshop. Al this yow cannot, nor do not deny; nor yet that after al this solempne and open othe, yow did directlie and openlie against the same. Which must necessarilie condemnpe yow of perjurie.

But this necessarie consequence yow deny; granteng notwithstanding to have done contrary to the oth. But yow say for your defence, that "where yow went to make the othe, even then yow never thought to observe it." And least this shuld be an inconvenient, and a thing moche dammagious unto your fame and estimation, if it were not wel known, that you swore one thing in the most solempne fashion yow could, and meet another, here yow bring such a testimonie by writing, yow bryng furth a previe protestation, made with previe witnesses, haveng the bond and signe of the notarie, to prove that when yow went to make that solempne othe yow were nothing mynded to observe it. Which former protestation, whereto doith it serve, but to testify a doble perjurie, which is to be forsworne afore yow did swere. Other perjurers be wont to break their oth after they have sworne, yow brake it afore. "Quis sapiens et intelliget hec, et intelliget malitiam Satane?" And a wonderful aggravation of the wrath of God towards yow.

But let the malice of Satan be furst considered, in deludeng yow, when yow thought to delude other. This delusion was this: that because it had bene hard some protestations to be made, also of some good men, in a case, when thei not beyng at their own choise and libertie, when "per vim et metum, qui aliquando cadit in constantem virum," they be made to swere to that, which afterward they have done contrarie to their former oth: in which case a protestation, excuseng the wil, and alledgeng the feare, hath some colour of defence: this, I say, yow hearyng, and Satan puttyng yow in remembrance hereof, with the similitude of this deluded yow; makeng yow believe, that such a kynd of protestation might serve for a premeditate perjurie. Wherunto yow were not driven, nether vi, nor metu, as yow were not in this your case: except yow cauld that a just fear, that yow dyd see, if yow did not swear, you could not satisfie your ambition and covetousnes, in haveng the busshoprick. For so it was, leave yow thise two affections, care yee not for to be made busshop, and who dyd constrayne yow to swear? Were yee not by that refuse quite delivered of al necessitie to swear? This also ye cannot denye. Whereunto therefore serveth your protestation made by the hand of a notarie, but to make your previe perjurie more notoriouslie known, but to make it known to the world, that yow entreng to the rule of a part of the flock of Christ, yow entred not in by the dore; and not entreng by the dore, but aliunde, what comfort could your flock looke for to have by yow? But that which Christ saith to follow of those, "Qui non intrant per ostium, sed aliunde," to be stealers and thieves, "Qui non intrant nisi ut mactent, et perdant;" as the effect hath shewed by yow.

But here yow deceive your self again, and wold deceive other, makeng your defence of your simulate oth, that "yow dyd the same so,
for the more service of God, haveng in your mynd then to reform the Church,” to the which being no way, but to make that oth for a countenance; this yow thought for such a purpose might be acceptable afore God: and also entreynge by the authoritie of the Pope, called by hym, that had authoritie to same yow: then yow think it cannot be justic of onie man objected unto yow, that yow did not entre by the dore. And this truelie if you could have kept your own counsel, toucheng me, I durst not object the same unto yow, seeyng nothing outwardlie, but as that yow were lawfullie called and institute baschop. And of your inward I wold not make my self judge.

More wanting here.

and see, as is the first poynote in your lettres; where yow make a great mervayle, saying “it to be a thing, that was never seen in the realme, that to condemne any subject thereof, justice shuld be sought of a forreyn power, as is the Popes.” How this is to be called a forreyn power, I wil declare afterward. For this I do not mervel, if yow do not wel know, not being so open to them that lacketh spiritual doctrine, nor of that ignorance I do not speake now, but of that outward light and knowledge, which is open to every man by experience. The which yow not knoweng, it may be wel said, yow be cast in teneturas exteriae, and that yow have lost both interiour and exteriour knowledge of things. For so yow show in this case, where yow say, “It was never seen in the realme, that to condemne ony subject thereof to death, shuld be required ony other sentence, then that comyth from the imperial crowne of the realm, and their temporal lawes.” Wherein that which I note first is this, that in that place yow seeme to lament, that being condemnpmed alredie, as yow say, by the lawes of the realme, of high treason, this dilation is geven to your death, not to suffre, aforesaid such things as be layd to your charge, were first known at Rome, this being natural unto al that be in jeapordie of liffe, if they cannot hope by ony just defence to extus the same, at the least to have tymel desire: followeng that proverb, “In space comyth grace.” The which natural affect being extinct in yow, this followeth withal, natural knowledge to be extinct, as in the proheme of your lettre is more declared.

And now to come neerer to that yow say was never seen, that “ony subject to be condemnpmed, had neede of ony outward justice,” calling outward justice, the canon lawes, that come from the Pope. To this I say, the experience and use of the lawes, and justice in this realme, dooth show cleene contrarie to your mervel, that it was never seen in the realme, afore the tym of your malicious oth, that there was ever ony man condemnpmed for the crime of heresie, by the mere justice that comyth from the temporal lawes, but al were first declared to be such by the spiritual lawes of the canons, which yow call “forreyn lawes.” And this beside I say, afore that same tym of al other crimes, as treason and other, there was never spiritual man put to execution, according to the ordre of the lawes of the realme, but he were first by the canon lawes condemnpmed, disgraded, and then gyven to the temporal bondes. Wherof there be as menye examples, afore
the tyme of breakeing the old orde of the realm thise last yeres, as hath bene delinquentes. Let at he records be sene; and especiallie this is notable of the busshap of ——— which being emprisoned here for high treason, the king wold not procede to his condempanon and ponnishment, afore he had the Popes bull geveyn hym.

And this is the trade of justice, which the king and queene use with yow at this tyme, byeng condemped of treason, being consecrate busshap, to have the Popes sentence from Rome afore yow suffre: which maner of proceding, you say, was never afore in the realm: and the practice and experience in like cases doth shew never to have bene otherwise, afore the tyme of your notable perjury. And so Catholicke kings, as it pertayneth to the privilege of the see of Rome, when they be crowned, doth swere.

And now look what ignorance is this, to think that the like was never sene in the realtime, when it was never seen otherwise, amongst those princes, that were counted to be in the obedience of the lawes of Christ, and of the Church.

But now to come to that yow speake of, the Popes law and power: which after a seditious maner of speakeng, you call a forreyne power, this stondeth under such a fashion, if God leave yow so much sence to understond what I say, that the Popes power can no more be called forreyne power, comyng not of man alone, but of Hym that is God and man, that was "secundus homo, de caelo celestis," then may be called a forreyne power, that the soyle of man comyng from heaven, hath in the body generate in earth. And so it is in the politick body of this realtime, ruled with politick lawes, founded by mans reason, that be called temporal lawes: to them comyng the Popes lawes spiritual doith no other, but that the soyle in the body, to gyve life to the same; to conforme and strenthen the same. And this it is the aungel speakeing in Christes conception, and declareng what his authoritie shuld be, signified, saing, he shuld sytt "super domum Davyd," which was a temporal reigne, "ut confirmet illud st corroboret." And so doith the spiritual lawes, procedyng of his spirit: as be the lawes of the Church, and canon lawes. Which wheresoeuer thei be wel observed, doith this effect, ever to conforme and stablish the temporal lawes of the realm, as no realm hath had more experience then this, ever syneth the tyme they receaved the faith, and obedience of the Pope; from whom came theyr doctrine of the faith. There was never notable trouble in the realtime of ony kynd, if it dured ony space, but it was ever lightly eased, and the realm established by some legate sent from the Pope and the see of Rome, following the prescript of the canons, and the spiritual law: without the which no realme can wel be governed, but al be like to the thornbush: whereof it is written, in libro Judicium, when the Sichimites had chosen a tyrannie over them, against the law of God, then it was prophesied unto them, what shuld come thereof, which was, that fire shuld come furth of that thorne, which was their king, that shuld devour the people, and from the people, to burne hym, as it was, and ever shal be, where more temporal lawes, without spiritual, doith x rule. Which state may be compared to be like such a thorne, whereof fire doith come furth, to the destruction both of the governour and the
people. And how the lawes of the realme might be well likened to such a thorne, after that the spiritual autoritie was cast furth, the destruction of such a sort of men, of all degrees, both great and small, the great spoyles that were taken, may geve sufficient proff to al them, that hath any sence, or remembrance of things so lately done.

And now coming again to the spiritual autoritie and law, to join it self with the temporal, this is like to the fyer that Moyes saw in ebo: which gave light, and dyd not burne, nor never doith, when it is wel used. And if be not wel used, the faulte is in the persons, and not in the thing; as the faulte is not in the temporal lawes, when the prynce doth abuse them; howbeit of their nature they be temporane apace, as was also Moyes law, sharp to which was mitigate; and so albe in every when they be joyned with the spiritual ought not to be called forreynge lawes

More here wanting.

"Non in probabilibus humanae sapientis verbis, ne evacuetur crux Christi:" as it shoulde be in this case. For if this probabilite were followed, the skulander of the cross shold be voyd. For this were no skulander to the Jewes to heare Christ honoured in a figure, thel being ever used to the same. Nor it wold seem so moch folyshye to the gentiles and infidelles, after we had accepted Christ for God, to honour him in a figurative maner. But this being the counsel of Christ to utter his great misterie in forme that he shoulde have it skulander to both the Jews, that seke signes, and were used to be taught by figures; and also the Gentiles, that styck upon the judgment of reason; the more probable you make it, the further you swarve from the trew doctrin of Christ, and verie trew maner to teach it. And here may no new maner be taught. What a haynous pride is this, this doctrine passeng a thousand yeare, and as menye hundred beside, as hath bene syneth this sacrament was instituted, by the myddlest of the Jewes and Gentiles, with this skulander and appearaunce of folyshnes, never being found fawtie in any one of the busshops and preachers of the word of God, that they confessed the real presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament of the aulpt: but al found fawtie and condemned of hersie, which denied the same. And ever the doctrine of the presence prevayling and triumpheng above mans reason, or sence, may be capace of the same. Which both God wil have mortifed and dye utterlie, when this mistery and meate of liffe is spoken and taken. For as that was the beginneng of the destruction of man, when followeng the probabilite of reason, he wold feade hymself with meate prohibite unto hym; so the counsell of God hath ordeyned, this to be the beginneng of the liffe of man, to take a sensible meat, wherein nother reason nor sense can find ony probabilite, or make any judgment thereof.

But because I have entreated this part more largely in another epistle, that I send unto you, wherein I show that stondeng, as you do, without repentance of the maner of your entrie to the service of the Church, yow could never be nother good scholar of this doctrine, and
moche less a master, I wil now procede no further to reason with you herein, knoweng al to be in vaine, and no healp nor meane to recover yow, but only prayer. Which with al my hart, as I wold for mine own soule, I wyl not fayle to use for yow, to hym, whom yow have so greatlie offended, as I never redd of ony bushep, that ever was in the Church. But the founteyne of his mercie is never closed to them that wyl cal for it; as myne own entier prayer is to the infinite mercy of God, that yow may have the grace so to do: sendeng yow for obteynyng of that, his holy spirit, "Qui condemnat mundum de pecato, de judicio, et de justitia:" that seeing first your sore condemnation, yow maye therewith be sturred, with al humiliat and contrite hart, to demand some comfort: which cannot be hoped of without your former condemnation of your self. Wherunto to bryng yow, it hath causd me by wryting to set furth so earnestly some part of your grievous offences afore yow: wylleng yow no less comfort, then I wold to myne owne soule.

And the same I say, concludeng and candeng, as I began: it may please the paternal love, that God beareth unto al synners, for his sake, that being his only Son, God and man, dyed to pay their ransome, for to forgive yow, and to deliver yow ex ore leonis, which hath so devowred yow, that if you be not plucked out as the prophet Amos saith of Israel, "Quomodo si erat pastor duo crura, aut extremum auriculae:" I say if you be not plucked out by the eare, yow be utterlie undone both body and soule. Which yet again, and ever, the infinite mercy of God may desende you from. Wrytten in the coorte at St. James, the vj. of November, 1555.

Your very trew consolatoure in God,
yow not refuseng hyse grace,

R. POLE. CAR. LEG.

No. XC.

Archbishop Parker to the Secretary, desiring the Counsell letters, in order to his discovering of certain Writings of Archbishop Cranmer.*

Sr, being here, and wold be loth to be idle; and thereupon havyng consideration as wel of these quarters, for the common quyet among the people, as respecting the common service of the better sort toward the Q. highnes, and her affairs; I fynd them al in so good order, that I do rejoyce therin. As for my ecclesiastical persons, I deal with them indifferentely, that I fynd also obedience in them.

Now, sir, with spying and serching, I have found out bi very credible enformacion, among other things, in whose hondes the grete notable wryten bokes of my predecessour, Dr. Cranmer, shuld remayne: the partyes yet denying the same; and therupon despayre to discover them, except I maye be ayded bi the counsell letters, to

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
optayynge them. I pray your honor to procure ther letters, to authorize me to enquire and searches for such monuments by al wayes, as bi mi pore discretion shall be thought good: whether it be bi deferring an othe to the parties, or vyeweng ther studies, &c. This opportunitye of enformation being suche, I wold wysha, I coude recover these bokes to be afterward at the Q. commandment. I wold as moche rejoyce, whyle I am in the countreyse, to wynne them, as I wold to restore an old chancel to reparatyon. Because I am not acquainted with the stile of the Counouls letters in this case, I send you no minute: trusting that your goodnes wil think the lauber wel bestowed, to cause the clark of the Counel to devise the forme. And thus hearyng of the liklywood of the plage to be in begynnyng in some placys hereabout; and yet myn own house, thanks be to God, in good quyte, I wysha the Q. famylye to be defended by Gods honde. At my house from Bekesborne this 22. of August.*

Your honors assured, MATTHWA Cant.

To the Right Honorable Sir William Cecyl,
Knight, Principal Secretary to the Q.
Majestie. At the Court.

No. XCI.

Dr. William Mouce, Master of Trinity Halle in Cambridg, his letter of thanks to Secretary Cecyl.†

Ornatissimo Equiti Gulielmo Cecilio, regio secretario.

QUOD nullam aedue grati animi significationem ob acceptum beneficium fecerim, vereor nequid de me mali suspicioris. Nam cum tanta tua in me fuit benevolentia, quantum in nemine aedue sensi, valide dubito, ne magrito tuorum in me meritorum, id quod negligentiae crimen vix effugere possit, in majoris scolaris periculum volet. Nam ut in omnibus rebus naturaliter evenire videmus, ut quaecumque sit affects, ilia plerumque se statim ostendat, sio a gratis animis, beneficiis accepti aliqua significatio haud multo post subequet debet. Praesertim si hujusmodi sit, in quo singularis benevolentiae insigne argumentum extinct. Nam cujus animus in recenti beneficio languescit, illum diuturnam beneficij memoriae retinere non est verisimile. Hec me valde perturbat, et eo magis, quod ab hoc vitio quam longissime abesse desidero, cujus suspicione mea culpa non omnino caro. Ut enim alie mere res sese habeant, optimorum virorum gratia multum adjutus sum: ut omittam singularem Cantuaries munificentiam, quam in me multis annis sine ullo meo merito exercuit, Checi vero tam egregius animus et constans voluntas in me fuit, cum id nec ulla officiorum necessitudine, nec familiaritatis conjunctione effectum sit, an eius virtutis et singulari humanitatis id tribuere debeam, aut deor mus voluntati, et meae fortuna, non facile dicere possim. Sed de tua benevolentia quid dicam, qua omnes mea fortunas et amicorum studia compleane

* An. 1563. † Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
APPENDIX.

es! Nam quod illi mihi cupiebant, id tu solus, reluctantibus inimicis, confecesti. Quare sicut in beneficio conferendo prineps fuisti, ita et ego illud totum tibi praepipe acceptum referre deberem. Et licet id proprio quoque tempore pro beneficij magnitudine significatum non sit, iucundam tamem tui recordationem semper habui. Nec minus labroravi qua potissimum ratione meipsum saltem voluntate ipsa, gratum ostenderem. Nam liberum amoris et officij mei iter conditionis humiliatas et exiguae facultates interrumpunt. Tum ipse scholasticorum officia, quae in crebris litteris consistere solent, nec isti meae statui, nec huic studiorum ratione satis conveniunt, cum illae gratiores esse soleant, quae a pueris atque ijs eloquentibus, perveniunt. Ut ne addam tuas gravissimas occupationes, quas meis nugis perturbare plusquam scelestum ducerem. Quare quod tua integritas pro tot beneficij a me exigebat, id sedulo pre stabo, ut sedulo muneribus tua opera prasum, in his me probe exercendo tue de me opinioni satisfaciam. Vale, 20 Februarij. Cantabrigiae.

Tuae humanitati devintissimus,

GULIELMUS MOWBRYS.

No. XCI.

Justus Jonas to Secretary Cecil concerning the Miseries of Germany, occasioned by the Interim; and that hee might receive the kings intended munificence.*

Clarisissimo viro Domino Sycilii, &c. domino meo observando ad manus proprias dentur.

S. D. P. Quanta sit tua erga miseris, in omni genere officij, pietas, equidem ante hoc tempus non ignorabam: sed certe, ut quaedammodum sentio, loquar, nunquam tantam esse putavi, quantam hodie expertus sum. Me enim miseris annumerare non vereor si quidem variis fortunis casus graviter me affixerint. Hoc intelligere si voles, audias queso paucis quaedam verba ex parentis ad me epistolae bona fide recitata.


* Sir W. H[ockey's] MSS.
Si forte eam spem avidius prosequi videor, non cupiditati, sed necessitati id ascribes meae. Festino enim ut ante hyemem in Galliam revertar, carumque rerum cognitione me instruam, quorum mihi olim in Anglia usus esse posset. Hanc enim patriam non minus diligam, quam si in ea natus essum. Cunque de studiorum meorum fine cogito, non minus Angliam, quam Germaniam, mihi propono. Quidquid igitur regia majestas hoc tempore in me contulerit, id mihi loco arctissimi vinculi erit, quo me in totam reliquam vitam huic regno obligatum arbitrabor. Bene et feliciter vale.

Tuae dominationis deditissimus,

Justus Jonas Junior.

No. XCIII.

Miles Wilson to Secretary Cecyl, lamenting the Spoiles of the Revenues of Schools, Benefices, and Hospitals. To which are added his arguments against this Sacrilege.

Ornatissimo, clarissimoque viro, Gulielmo Cecilio, regio consiliario prudentissimo, et literarum patrono maximis.

Cum in aula nuper essum, vir ornatisseme, et sermones cum tua dominatione sererem de multis variisque rebus, partim ad Christi religionem propagandum, partim ad reip. conservandum ac augendam, imprimis pertinentibus; tradidi (ut scis) tibi lectitandum orationem quandam "De rebus Ecclesiis non diripienda," a me superioribus hisce diebus consecutam et in publicis academias scholis recitatum, in presentem causam defensem, quae jam tum tractabatur in publica discretione. Sed cum animadvertorem te hominem in gravissimis reip. negotiis semper occupatissimum, nec tum satia quietum fuisse ad munem perlegendum opus, paulo longius quam pro tantillo spatio temporis cumque te percupidum esse intelligebam audiendo et vidiendo quid de tam innutito argumento ex sacris Scripturis proferri potuisse; existimabam me et te tuo pullusse posse levare onere; et etiam ea tecum communicare, quorum particeps fieri vehementem cupidissi mihi videbare, si ea in angustias, et conversas argumentandi formas conjectarer, quae ibi fusius ad libériore orationis cursu jam tum prosequebar. Itaque ex eo tempore ratiocinias nonnulla et syllogismos contentus, qui et ad urgendum aptiores, et ad recordandum facientes, et ad pertinentia commodiores existunt, quam laram quoddam et solutum illud orationis genus: ut si illa superiores, propter eorum longitudinem, et infinitas suas occupationes legere non licet, saltam hee brevis dialecticorum consequitoria, quae sequuntur, cum vacet, inspectares. Cujus mei laboris me fructum satis magnum concepisse arbitrator, si tantum apud T. D. effecerint, ut quae scholas percelles ant nuper dirute, in academia ruinam maximam, hae tuæ laboris extru mandentur: ut quæ sacerdotia sunt misere despoliata per avos patronos, ad acerbissimum ecclesiæ vulnus, ea restituantur in integrum ad incredibilem reip. decus; ut quæ hospitias delubatas fuerint

* Sir W. H. MSS. [Laned. MS. ii. 77.]
perdite, ac extirpata funditus, per importunitatem non ferendam cupi-
dorum hominum, ea, quantum fieri potest, per te adjuventur apud
concilium regium, quo ad pristinum redeant statum, nempe in sub-
sidium vere pauperum.

Valeant enim, valeant academie, per exiguae nunc certe, sed brevi
future nulla, si earum nutrices, scholae, negligentur, seminarium et
seges florentis academie. Ut enim mare cito exarescit non influen-
tibus undiqueque rivulis ac fluminibus; sic absorbebuntur statam
academie, et in nihilum recident, si ex scholis aditus illius praesudantur,
sic ut illinc ad academias nullus, aut quam paucissimi content.
Doctrina omnis generis conticescit, papismi regnum, et plus quam Go-
thiscus barbarismus omnia pervadet loca; si non eruditis melius, quam
jam est, consulatur, si premia eruditionis, rectoriae, præbendaæ, et
omnia auferantur. An dimicabit miles, stipendium si negotur? An
tellurem proscindet aut bos, aut arator, si pabulum illis non satis
abunde praebatur? An trajiciet mare mercator spe questus omni
sublata? An terra profundet herbas, imbribus non depluta? An mo-
 lendinium molare possit, si alveum interturbes, et aliorsum cursum ejus
vertas? Nequaquam certe. Sic neque quisquam acroribus studiis
doctrinæ operam navabit, nisi ager suus aliquo quasi ore ameno
irrigetur, et premiis ac muneribus condignis feriatur.

Si exempla queras scholarum eversarum, rectoriarum delumbatarum,
hospitaliorum excisorum, petas exempla licet afflictum horum nefandorum
sacrilegiorum, vel a summo Anglie cancellario; cui, te absente, con-
sarcinata multa obtuli; vel ab episcopo Eboracensi, apud quem etiam
ista omnia diligentissime explorata deposui. T. D. novit oppi-
dum, haud procul a nobis dissipum, nomine Childerlay; hic una
generosa domus, sed hic multum degener, (quæ est magistri Cuttes)
exedit universum oppidum, ne una quidem domuncula relicta,
excepta sua domo; hic quia desunt homines, quos templum capiat,
recipiantur equi, quos pro hominibus templum pro stabulo con-
tineat: et quia triticum Domini non est quod in tectum reci-
piatur, i. homines Christiani, recipitur hordeum et avena, et stra-
mentum omnis generis. Sic oves Christi minuuntur, sic pecudes
augentur, sic perit bonus pastor, et pastoris virtus: sic templum par-
tim fit horreum pro fragibus condendis, partim vero stabulum pro
custodiendis equis.

Argumenta hic subjungo, quæ prius polllicitus fueram. Longior sum
quam vellem; sed magnitudo causarum, et zelus hic me vel invitum
produxit. Quare ignoscet, spero, T. D. cui omnia prosperrima in
Domino precor. 3 Feburarij 1552.

Tuae dignitatis studiosissimus,

Milo Wilsonus.
ARGUMENTA, QUIBUS OSTENDITUR; IMPVUM EAC BONA ECCLESIAE AB ECCLESIAE DIVLLI.

I. Quicquid Domino consecratum est in usum sacratiissimi sui ministerij, sive homo, sive animal, sive ager fuerit, nec vandi potest, nec redimi a quoquam. * 27 Levitici.

Bona ecclesiastica, ut aurum, argentum, sedes, praedia, Domino consecratur in usum sacri ministerij.

Ergo bona ecclesiastica nec vandi, nec oemae possunt. Et per consequens, nec afferri, nec mutari debent.


II. Quod nostrum non est, abritere nefas est, et contra justitiam omnes, quae est virtus sua cuique tribuens.

Bona ecclesia, nostra non sunt: nullius sunt, quia Christi, cui dicitur et donata sunt.

Ergo iniquum est bona ecclesiae diripere quovis modo.

Probatur minor tum lege divina, tum imperatoria. "Quicquid erat fuerit consecratum sanctum sanctorum erit Domino. Domino dicabitur, et non redimetur." † Et jure civili, "Qua domini juris sunt, ea in nullius bonis computanda sunt."

III. Quod cum lege nature pugnat, legitimum non est.

Divellere terras sacerdotum cum lege nature pugnat.

Ergo eas divellere legitimum non est. Minoris probatio.

Pharao, sub lege naturali vivens, non patibatur terras et possessiones suis adimis sacerdotibus, aut allevari pretio ullo; sed sentiens, secundum naturam, id maxime esse, ut inde viverent unde laborarent. Preterea, ex horreis publicis gratuito aluit sacerdotes, cum suae res parum sufficerent ab. Et cum omnem terram Aegypti quintas pendere coegit Joseph, unicas sacerdotum terras exemit, quas liberandas consuevit omni dura conditione.

IV. Nemo civis bonus est, qui ex communibus privata facit, qui non magis communitati studet, quam proprijs adagendum commodis.

Qui opes ecclesiasticas, et praedia sacra distrabunt, ex communibus privata faciunt, suas commoda querunt, publicum neglijunt bonum.

Ergo qui ecclesia bona abstrahunt civium bonorum numero pomendi non sunt, sed civilis eversores, et rep. putandii sunt.

V. In omni bene administratae rep. semper summa cura fuit religionis conservandae, et bonarum artium.

Direptio bonorum ecclesiae, et religionem quasefacit, imo demolitur, et artes bonas vigere impediet.

Ergo direptio opum ecclesiasticarum in bene temperata rep. consisteret nequit.

Minor ostenditur. Quod nullus in vinea Domini opus faciet, portans pondus et aestum diei, nec in praemijus hujusmodi etatem suam con-

* Levit. 27. † Levit. 27. ‡ Gen. 47.
teret, nisi premio ad laborem aliquo concitetur: nullus artes consequa-
bitur ingenuas, sublatis illis presedijis unde sustentarentur: bonos anim
abit artes. Nec trisurabit bos, si obligetur os; nec pastor pascet oves, si
de lacte non bibt; nec militabit miles, si stipendium subtraxeris; nec in
vinea faciet opus, qui de denario non conductur.

VI. Si conferatur nostra resp. cum Judæorum, quae per Dominum
nostrum instituta est, minus reperietur nostri ministris dari, quam V.
Testamenti Levitum fuerat deputatum. Nam Numerorum 3 Levitarum
viginti duo millia tantum reconsentur, qui tabernaculo Domini tum
temporis inserviebant. Et hic exiguum numerus universas per omnem
Judeam decimas, primitias, oblationes recept in viaticum et victum
sumum, cum 48 urbis, atque suis suburbanis locis ad tria circumieta
milliaria.

At nostrorum ministeriorum numerus quadruplo major est, ut apparat
ex parochiarum limitatione et numero. * So enim cum duobus templo
vulgariter connumerantur hic in Anglia, et duo ad minimum in singulis
sacerdotes sunt, omnibus simul collatis.

Ergo cum solum decimas recipiant sacerdotes Anglicani, idque
imminutas, et delumbatas valde, non detractio, sed additio potius, faci-
enda esset, si per ratio utroque retineretur.

VII. Nulla pauperum bona eripienda sunt. Pauperibus enim Paulus
ubiique collectiones facit.

Bona ecclesiae sunt bona pauperum.

Ergo bona ecclesiae eripienda non sunt.

VIII. Si diripere aliqua merita privato sit impium, si commune civitatis
serarium expilare sit nefarium, under robur et præsidium urbis pendet;
quanto magis ecclesiem et iniquum erit capitis nostri Christi bona
divellere, et ministris ecclesiae opes despoliare, que sunt servi reli-
gionis, et spiritualis regni Christi.

At privato detrahere, impium est, et gazas urbis exinanire ecclesiæum,
mortue plectendum in omni bene temperata republica.

Ergo eccleæ carere non potest, publica ecclesiæ et Christi capitis
bona ad istum modum misere dilacerare.

IX. Qui vendentes in templo et ementes eject, ipsum templum, et
omnia in templo ad vendendum proponentes, impunitos, opinor, nu-
quam permissit.

At cum flagello in templo vendentes et ementes eject Christus,
magno percitus furone.

Ergo non commivebit ad eos, qui omnia diruunt, et ex domo orationis
speluncam latronum faciunt.

X. Quacunque ad Sabbatum rite sanctificandum et celebrandum
spectant, conservanda et retinenda sunt. Est anima para Decalogi
Sabbati sanctificatio.

Bona ecclesiae ad Sabbatum rite sanctificandum pertinent.

Ergo bona ecclesiae integra conservanda sunt. Minor sic probatur.

Sabbatum rite celebratur Evangelii prædicatione, sacramentorum

* Quid per hanc notam, quere.

2 H 2
administratione, precum profusione, et pro pauperibus diligentior
provisione.
Sed ecleesiasica bona et verbi praedicationem fovent, et sacra-
mentorum administrationem alunt, et pauperes in ecclesia sublevant:
dum eos sustentent ministros, qui et hæc peragunt officia, et indi-
genibus necessaria subministrent.
Ergo bona ecclesiae pernecessaria sunt ad festum rite sanctifi-
candum.

XI. Unicuique ad perfectionem contendendum est. "Estote" enim
"perfecti, sicut Patre vester coelestis perfectus est."
At Christianæ perfectionis est vendere quæ hæc memoris omnia, et pau-
peribus dispersis. Nam, "si vis perfectus esse, vade et vende omnia,
quæ habes, et pauperibus dato."
Ergo de Christo et ecclesia nihil detrabendum, sed pauperibus potius
indies adiciendum erit.

XII. Bonum quo communius, eo melius. Quo multiplicatius eo
laudatius.
Sed pastores ecclesiae et episcopi, bonum est.
Ergo augendus eorum numerus, non minueandus existit. Ergo, quo
plures episcopi eo rectius est; et per consequens plures constitueendi,
potius quam deponendi, et abiciendi, qui nunc constituti sunt.
Major liquet, minor sole clarior est. Nam "siquis episcopatum
appetit, bonum opus desiderat." Certe episcopus esse non potest non
esse bonum.

XIII. Balthazar graviter punitus est ob vasorum Deo consecratorum
directionem et profanum eorum usum.*
Achan insigniter plectebatur ob sacrilegiam distractionem.†
Antiochus horribili mortis genere perit, ob impiam sacrarum diri-
pendi voluntatem, et conatum.‡
Lysimachus lapidibus obruitur propter consimile facinus.§
Heliodorus gravissime vulneribus conficitur a Deo, quod sacra
templo vasa abducere comaretur.|| Et sic de universo numero sacri-
legorum dici potest.
Ergo omnes, qui sacra Deo divellunt, gravissimas poenas expectent
oparet.

XIV. Sic divus Paulus ratlocinatur. "Sub spe debet is, qui arat,
arae; et qui triturat sub spe, epi suæ particeps esse debebit."‡‡
Ergo qui in agro evangelico arat, et qui in area Domini sedulo
triturat, sub spe perciundorum fructuum, et arare et triturare
debent.
At quæ relinquitur spes, cum aspértur res?

XV. Qui non seminantis spiritualia, carnalia ne metant.
Laici spiritualia non seminant. Quippe quia nec verbum anuniciant,
nec sacramenta administrant.
Ergo laici non debent metere carnalia. Iniquum est, ut inde quis

* Dan. 5.  † Josue 7.  ‡ 2 Macch. 5.
§ 3 Macch. 9.  || 3 Macch. 4.  *† 1 Cor. 9.
APPENDIX.

vivat, unde non laboret. Et Paulus dicit, "Qui non laborat, non
manducet."

XVI. "Dignus est operarius mercede sua."* Ergo qui non ope-
ratur, dignus non est. Et per consequens, neganda esset merces non
omnia operanti. Sic pellantur omnes inutiles fuci, sive laici sive
clerici extiterint, qui alienis insidiantur laboribus: quique mel exu-
gunt omne, parum aut nihil meillos rellinquentes his, qui vero apes sunt,
valdeque laboriosae.

XVII. "Dominus ordinavit, ut qui Evangelium annuntiant, ex
Evangelio vivant."
Ergo e contrario, de Evangelio ne victitent, qui Evangelium aut
nolunt, aut non possunt denunciare.

XVIII. Paulus inter ecclesiasticos ita se gerebat, ut gratis panem:
a nemine acciperet: sed cum labore et sudore nocte dieque faciebat:
opus, ne cuquam eorum oneri forte. Praecepit item illis, "Ut siquis
nollet operari, is nec ederet."
Ergo qua conscientia de ecclesiasticis bonis vivere illi possunt, de
prebendarum fructibus, de rectoriis, de hospitiis, de episcoporum
patrimonii, et reliquis ecclesiis proventibus, qui nullo ministerio eccle-
siastico inservient, nec predicando Evangelium, nec sacramenta exhi-
bendo, nec ecclesiasticam disciplinam, ut par est, exercendo?

XIX. "Qui præsunt presbyteri, duplci honore digni sunt: maxime
qui laborant in verbo et doctrina." Qui duplex honos duplicatum
designat subsidium; et ut putavit Theophilactus, abundans, præter
stipendium commune.
Ergo tributatur his duplex honos sedulis ministriis; nec ita minuantur
quotidie victus eorum, ut sibi et suis parum sufficient in propria voca-
tione, et munijb obeundia.

XX. Quæ sunt militibus stipendia, ea sunt bona ecclesiæ et eorum
ministri.
Sed militibus stipendia detrahere iniquum est. Ergo iniquum bona
ecclesiæ.

XXI. Vinitori fructum et vinum, opilioni iaci, agricola fruges, eripere
non licet. Sed quod vinitori vinum, opilioni iaci, agricola fruges, id
ecclesiis opes sue.
Eas ergo subducere, et his vitae adjumentis fraudare verbi ministros,
nullam profecto habet equitatem.

XXII. Ministriis ecclesiis omnia ad vivendum necessaria suppedi-
tanda sunt.†
Necessaria autem definio, que sibi, uxori, liberis, familiae satis
sunt; quaque hospitalitati servandæ et exhibenda sufficient pere-
grinis, egentibus, mancis, claudiis, cæcis, decrepitis, orphanis et
viduis.
Ergo bona ecclesiis aliquando deputata, adimenda non sunt: ne
forte his singulis satis relinquatur, et ita necessarijs vita præsidiijs

* Mat. 10. † Deut. 25; 1 Cor. 7; 1 Tim. 3.
despeliensur hi, quos Spiritus Sanctus prescopit, ut de ecclesia viverent.

XXIII. Qui ecclesia bona spoliavit, hij ministros verbi et Dei spoliavit. Qui ministros Dei spoliavit, hij Christum ipsum despoliavit. Nam "quod unius hortorum feceritis et milii feceritis."

Ergo ecclesia bona diripere est Christum ipsum, et ejus ministros victu suo defraudare; et Christi tunicam ac patrimonium in partes dissecare. Quod quam horrible sit sacrilegium genus, omnes piissimorunt.

XXIV. Irritum esse non debet, quod testator pie, et sequendum scripturas testamento suo condidit. At multi piissimorentes testamentis legaverunt sua bona ecclesia, in earum necessarios usus.

Ergo impium est, hoc spernere testamentum, vel frustrari quovis modo, sic ut surripiatur avara, quod munifico, quod sancte probatum fascat.

XXV. In nascenti ecclesia Christi, apostolorum in temporibus, pij terrarum et possessiones et omnia vendiderunt, ut pauperibus, et publicitibus evangelium abundo prospiceret.†

Ergo jamdiu donata, et ad longum tempus confirmata ecclesia, in hoc ipso usus, nec vi nec dolo rapienda sunt; ut conferantur in eae, qui nec paupertate ullae prementur, nec ullo ministerio sacro ecclesiis deserviunt.

XXVI. Quod vel promittitur, vel destinatur in usum ecclesiae, subtrahendum non est, nec callide submovendum. Id quod probatur ex Ananio et Sapfrino.† Duo horrenda exempla.

At bona ecclesiariae destinantur in maxime necessarios usus, in sustentationem pauperum, et in subsidium ministrorum.

Ergo, non astu, non vi avelendas sunt dicta ecclesiae bona: ne forte id avelentibus societ, quod Ananio et Sapfrino supra eveniebat.

XXVII. Qui templum Ierosolymitanum spoliavat, poenas sacrilegiis gravissimis luebant;§ certe qui Christianorum templum diruunt, ac despoliavant, et ex illis, ut scopis, omnia eversunt, impune nuncum, opinor, ferent.


XXIX. Homicide putantur, qui violentas manus injiciunt in alienum corpus, et illi vitam corporis eripiunt.

Ergo erunt multo magis, qui pabulo coelestis doctrine animas piorum orbant, atque destituent, sic ut aeterna persent. Quod laici faciunt, qui victus ministrorum sibi rapiunt, qui soli illos regre coelestis verbi pascerent. Et ita impedient, ne possint hoc facere.

XXX. Sacerdotes Judæorum impij, qui in nece Domini concen- serant, pretium sanguinis recipere nolabant, in eos per Judam reiectum; sed eo mercandum decernunt agrum in sepulturam peregrinorum.

* Gal. 4. † Act. 2. ‡ Act. 5. § 2 Macc. 1, 3, 9.
APPENDIX.

Ergo nostri Scribis et Phariseis deteriores sunt, qui patrimonium crucifixi, i. Christi tunicam, etiam non oblatam, sibi auferunt, et quoque jure quaque injuria sibi attrahant.

XXXI. Nullum sacrilegium impunitum sitet Deus.
Bona ecclesiis divellere sacrilegium est.
Ergo haec ecclesiae bona diripere, ulationem Dei gravem commeretur.
Diripere bona ecclesiae est rem sacram de sacro auferre.
Ergo bona ecclesiae divellere sacrilegium est.

No. XCIV.

Peter Martyr to procure a license from the Court for one of his Auditors, who desired to preach.*

Were fidelissimo Christi Ministro Domino Joaco Haddone, has tradas, Londini.

S. D. In collegio Magdalenæ, Haddone in Christo charissime, cui frater tuus presidet, est pius et probus vir, qui Hugo Kirke appellatur, magister artium, inter suas bонаm fama, atque studio Evangelij Christi (quantum judicare licet) vehementer incensus. Proinde incitatur (ut mihi persuadeo) spiritu Dei, ad predicandum; quod sanam doctrinam, cujus est sectator non ignavus, ovisbus ecclesiis comminuet; quod in nostris his regionibus, rarum, et paucis in locis, quemadmodum oporteret, passuatur. De universo autem isto negotio, punctum illum egisse tecum, quantum ex ejus verbis colligo. Cum itaque me rogaverit, ut ad te scriberem, id libenti animo facio. Et si, quod possim, fero testimonium; quod mores bene audit, sacrarum litterarum est admodum studiosus, mihi docenti semper adeat, et sacram profitetur doctrinam. Quæ de eo bona fide possum dicere, haec habeo. De quo etiam potes, si visum fuerit, fraterem interrogare, qui jam hinc discessit, et ad negotia suis collegij procuranda est profectus. Quod mihi (ut verum fatear) parum est gratum. Nam illius conversatione pia, juicanda et erudita, plurimum delector. Sperabam foris, ut te hic quandoque, vel saltem ad aliquot dies, haberemus; at nunc quod sperandum sit non video. Equidem licet adversa valetudine aliquandiu laboraveris, nunc tamen Dei gratia sum restitutus. Piam vero, et mihi nunc maxime necessarium conjugem (ut audieris te non dubito,) ad Dominum præmisi. Quod ideo scribo, ut Deum roges, quod mihi nunc, dum vivo solus, ac tali adjutorio destitutus, sumum conduplicet auxilium. Vale et Christo felix vivito. 18 Aprilis.† Oxonij.

Tuus in Domino,

P. MARTYR.

* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lond. MS. iii. 37].
† An. 1553.
No. XCV.

That one who officiated in Dr. Weston's place, might receive the Stipend detained from him.*

Clarissimo viro Domino Guglielmo Sicello, majestatis regis secretario, ac equiti honestissimo. In aula.

S. D. Quoniam, vir clarissime, cum tuam pietatem, tum eruditum habebo comperissimam, ideo ad te de hoc pio et erudito Christi ministro, quo familiariissimam utor, scribendum esse censui. Ita sane res ejus habet: sacras litteras a duobus propemodum annis, Oxonii, pomeridiano tempore publice proficitur, eo plane loco, quo doctor Westonus olim docere, magnis religionis dispendio, consueverat. Cumque is religiosus atque accurata commissio sibi fungatur munere, stipendium, quod sibi pro universo tempore, quo laboravit in vinea Domini debetur, non quam adipsi potuit: siquidem id Westonus conatur sibi vendicare. Quod ut sit justum vel sequum, tu queso apud quem justitia et sequitas plurimum valent, apud temetipsam expendito. Ille hic non est, officio suo non fungitur; neque si adesset, et doceret, posset auditoribus nisi quam pessime consulere, cum religioni priori tantopere adversetur. Iste vero loco ejus est legitime surrogatus, adest, susceptum munus obit sedulo; atque cum mens discipulis et adhuo sit, et fuerit, versare religionis studiissimum, quoadiam piam doctrinam mecum omnino consentit. Hac, scio, si apud me cogitaveris, facile adducent, ut quem tibi commendo, et favere et auxilio non indignum putes. Cui exstimationi justissime, ipse meas addo preces, quibus etiam atque etiam rogo, ut in ejus negotio ipsum juves. Quod si feceris, non modo erit acceptum Deo, sed ecclesiae quoque non parum conduct. Etenim illi vehementer expedit, ut et laborantibus in verbo Evangelii stipendia non negemtur; et juvenes aliqui tandem excitantur, qui loco seniorum juventutem sana doctrina imbuant.

De meis autem rebus non scribam multis, cum te audivisse non dubitem, piam dulcisissimamque conjugem in Domino quievisse, quae sanctissime atque incredibili pietate migrando ad Dominum, ut me in luctu reliquit, quam doctrina celesti et mitigo, et indies magis leniam, ita oppressam gravissimo corporis morbo deseruit. Quare tum corpus, tum animus eodem tempore veratus est aorbiissime: cumque adhuc non convaluerimus, sed tamen aliquanto melius habeamus; non tamen quantum satis esse posset ad meum obesundum munus, te rogo, vir optime, ut precibus tuis consieris impetrare mihi a Deo, vel absolutionem ab hujus vitæ molestiis, vel saltem vitam, qua scholæ et ecclesiae profese valeam; quandoquidem ita vivere, ut sim utilis nemini, propemodum intolerabile judico. Idemque ero, ut tua lectissima conjux, quamplurimum abs te salutari mihi cupio, suis castissimis votis a Christo mihi concedi postulet. Vale atque Deo vivas felix, meque in Christo, ut facias, amica. Oxonii, Martii 7. 1552.

Tuus ex animo quantus est, Pet. Martyr.

* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. iii. 41].
APPENDIX.

No. XCVI.

John Sleidan to Cecil. Advise of the state of affaires in Germany.*

Magnifico vivo, Domino Cecilio, equiti, et serenissimi regis Anglie secretario.


Hae sunt, de quibus ad vestram magnif. in hoc tempore scribendum duxi, tum meo, tum soceri nomine. Queso, ut tandem de meo negotio aliquid cognoscam; quod ut commendatum habeas, et rever.

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
domino primati commendes, plurimum oro. Vale, Argent. 18 Maij, 1552.

Tum Magn. de titissimae.

Jo. SLEID.


No. XCVII.

More Advice from Germany. Desires a Patent for his stipend granted him by K. Edward VI.*

Domino Giulielmo Cecilio, regio secretario, &c.


JO. SLEID.


Hec uesti scripsi, literae mihi adferuntur a socero. Commendat se vobis omnibus plurimum. Jubet ut ego vobis subinde scribam, eo quod

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
APPENDIX.

ipsi non sit integrum ex iis locis. Est autem in amissus Lotharingiae. Exercitus Gallicus tripartitus, Walderfingi, oppidi Lotharingiae, ad Saram flumen, convenit omnis 23 die Maii; et quattuor post ingressus iter petijt recta Lucemburgicam regionem, tracto flumine Moella. Quacunque sunt iis locis, omnia devastatur incendia et directionibus. Is fuit ibi rerum status 28 die Maii, quo die socer mihi scripsit.

No. XCVIII.

Intelligences concerning the motions of the Emperor, and the state of the Protestant Princes. *


* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 93].
quid unquam in tui gratia potero faciem. Jamdiu Saxum hoc volvo.

JO. SLEIDANUS.

Johannes Marchio Brandeburgicus adducit Cesar
sari ad duo millia equitum, religioni est
addictissimus. Nec aliter etiam militat,
quam ut hoc ei sit liberum.

No. XCIX.

Advise of the State of the Empire.*

Magnifico et spectabilvi viro D. Guilelmo Cecilio, equiti, sereniss. regis
Anglie secretario, Domino suo multum colendo.

SAL. xx die Septemb. ad te scripsi, vir ornatissime. Quod Albertus
egerit apud Treviro, jampridem audistis. Octobris die xxii reconsti-
culiatus est Cesar per ducem Albanum. Impune fecerit omnia, et
militabit Cesar, quoquumque loco jussisset. Facta, cum Bambergico
et Wurcibergensi episcopo facta, erunt rata. Cesar in gratiam
reipil Aetingenses omites, et Mansfeldios, patrem atque filium.
Novembria die quarta cepit Anomalium Albertus, Guisai fratre, cese
fillius atque fugato equitatu. Curatum ipsum ex vulnere nuper misit
in suam quandam arcem, ad Bohemice fines. Cesar in castra venit
xx Novemb. Interes muri pars magna dejecta, sed oppositum est
vallum, et præsidia et crebras facti sunt eruptiones. Cesarem ait
nolle obidionem solvere, neque discedere priusquam urbem receperit.
Guisius fuit hastatus in urbe cum Nemorensi princepe, cum Rosch-
surio, et Petro Strossa; num adhuc sint ignoramus. Nam superioribus
diebus eruptione facta in Alberti castra, qui tum forte quosdam ad
prandium invitaverat, xviii equites dicuntur ex urbe esse sine Gal-
lam. Tormentorum et oppugnationis fragor non solum hic exauditur,
quod tridui via distat, verum quatuor etiam trans Rhenum milliari-
bus et eo amplius. Cuniculis opinor jam tentari urbem. Mauritius ex
Hungaria domum reedit, dimissis copiis; Turcae dominus et ipsi revere-
unt: si non impetentur indicias, magnus inde motus expectatur.
Castaldus dictur bonam operam ijs locis navare Ferdinando regi.
Nosstrates episcopi sollicitant nova fœdera, quandoquidem vident, et
experientur, quid sit periculi. E Saxonia mittuntur aliquot verbi
doctores Augustam. Mansfeldicus bellum fecerat Henrico Brunsvicensi:
num sit composita res ignoramus. Is nunc est rerum status, nec alid
habeo quod scribam.

A vobis nihil responderi mihi miror, neque scio quid expectare
debam. Oro te, magnifice domine, age causam cum reverendissimo
Cantuariensi. Equidem totus pergo in opere illo, et diligenter omnia
conquiro. Dedi vobis occasiones et ansas, quibus apprehensis nego-
tium nostrum confeceris apud sereniss. regem. Hec autem mora

* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 99].
APPENDIX.


Magnificentiae tue deditiss.

Commendes me velim D. Rever.
Cant. et D. Checco.

Cuperem habere seriem actionis, que regi Henrico fuit cum Clemente Septimo, priusquam ab eo se suumque regnum in libertatem asseruit. Nam et hsec erunt inserenda suo loco.

No. C.

Concerning his Commentaries, which he had sent to K. Edward. Desires Sr. William Celye to send him an exact information of the business between K. Henry and Pope Clement. His resolution of continuing his Commentaries, and of writing the History of the Council of Trent.*


SAL. Autumno superiori misi sereniss. regi belli Germanici Commentarios, ad illud usque tempus conscriptos; et perjudicium mihi fuit, ex tuis literis, D. Caecili, cognoscere, non ei dispucriere genus hoc scribendi: vobis etiam illud probari, gaudeo, viris doctissimis, et acri judicio preditis. Itaque recte me facturum putavi, si Concilij Tridentini totam actionem, cujus etiam ego pars aliqua fui, regis causa potissimum conscriberemus: ut cujusmodi sit conciliorum forma perspicaciat; deinde, ut de reliqua historia restauratae religionis, quam scripsi, judicium faciat. Nam inde ab anno salutis M.D.XVII. quo quidem anno fecit doctrinæ suæ Lutherus initium, rem omnem ordine deduxi ad annum usque M.D.XXXVI. et quod superest, eodem filo contextam, Dei beneficio. Sum autem in eo jam totus, et huic me rei soli trado, neque desistam, adjuvante Deo, priusquam perfecerero. Quale sit autem futurum opus, et quam utile non huic estati modo, sed etiam toti posteritati, malo vos judicare, vestrique similis, quam me prolixius de eo loqui.

Mense Decembris petebam abs te, D. Caecili, per litteras, ut actionem omnem, quæ fuit Henrico regi pie memoriae cum Clemente VII. quando se suumque regnum in libertatem asseruit, mihi curares. Habeo quidem ejus rei quaedam, sed non tam exacte, neque certo, quam velim. Cupio enim proprie et quam verissime omnia describere. Quod quidem in ijs Commentarijs, quos jam mitto, quique sunt futuri pars operis, animadvertere vos posse putto. Magni ergo beneficij loco mihi erit, si in eo mihi gratificaberis. Est enim locus illustris atque memorabils, et omnino dignus de quo posteri cognoscant. Sicquid preterea sit apud vos hujus generis, una velim transmitti. Quod superest, notum est vobis, magnifici et clarissimi viri, tibi cuvprimis, D. Checco, quemadmodum sereniss. rex, antebiennium, nemente anno M.D.LI. sub finem Martij, stipendium mihi constituenter annum absenti,

* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lands. MS. iii. 29].
APPENDIX.

esseur, aureos ducentos: uti reverendissimus D. Cantuariensis, tunc temporis abituro sociro meo, domumque redituro, doctori Brunoni, nomine regis confirmanit. Et quoniam ejus pecuniae nihil adhuc accepit, plurimum vos oro, quod antehac quoque feci non semel, detis operam, ut tandem solvatur. Possem equidem alia facere negotia magni meo sum emolumento, sicut alii plerique, sed ad hunc laborem divinitus me vocatum esse judico, nee animo possum esse quieto, donec ad hoc meaque tempus perduxero. Quo magis etiam spero, vos, qui pro vestra humanitate atque prudentia recte omnia intelligitis, in hoc esse elaboravisse, ut de beneiu jam exacto, mihi nunc satisfiat, et in posterum caveatur, quo videlicet tanto commodius atque liberius huic rei vacare possim. Quant enim hic labor mihi constet, vobis sevitätum re-linquo. Pertinet autem ad reges, ut ejusmodi labores, qui sunt et litteris ornamento et religione, et utilis reip. foveant. Siquid est omnium rerum, in quo vicissim ego vobis inserire queam, et gratificari, paratum me semper habebitis.

Veruntamen, ut hoc meum scriptum de concilio, diligenter asservetur in bibliotheca regis, neo in aliorum manus perveniet, nec uti detur ejus exemplum, vehementer vos oro. Nam mea plurimum refert, ne spargatur: et est solum, ut ante quoque dixi, particula quaedam operis futuri.


Oro vos plurimum, ut habes in litteras atque scriptum sereniss. regi exhibeatis cum nostris commendatione. Habetis opportunissimam negotij mei conficiundi occasionem. Obscuro, perficite, ne mihi sit opus in posterum cadem de re scribere.

Vestri observantissimls,

JOAN. SILIDANUS. LI.

Ricardo Hila, mercatori Londinensi, qui nobiscum aliquando habitavit, liest ibi dare quiequid mihi debetur. Cupio autem, atque etiam oro, ut per eum, qui habet reedit, socier mi famulum, mihi respondat. Conjunctim vobis scribo, quia sumnum inter vos esse animorum conjuctionem accipio, ut judicii similitudinem.
Concerning the affairs of Germany; and particularly of the Council of Treat.*

Ornatissimo viro D. Gulielmo Cæcilio, serenisimis regis Anglise secretario.


* Sir W. H[ickes's] MSS.

Quid Caesar agat, ant ubi sit, nescimus. Ego cum esse Æniponti, nihil quiaquam vidi apparatum; magnumque tum erat ubi silentium in aula, magnaque solitudo, nisi quod eo ipso die nonnullus fuit datum negotium conscribendi copias. Dubium tamen non est, quin Italum et Hispanum militem Caesar evocaret. Electores Rhensis suos habent apud principes legatos de pace: sed plerique, putant difficilium esse futurum tractionem. Æniponte mihi diceratur, Caesarum in hoc esset totum, ut Mauricii placaret. Et hic quidem paroxysmus nobis imminet ab oriente sole: jam vero ab occidente multo fere terribilior instat. Nam Metium urbem Gallus tenet, et per vicinum nobis agrum iter faciens, volet etiam hanc nostram urbem fortasse videre, multumque hoc ad suam gloriam pertinere putabit, eaque signa promovisse. Quod si alter exercitus, occupata Ulma, ceterisque domitia, ad nos etiam propriis accedet, vide in quantis simus augustij. O! quis erat hujus tragediae tandem exitus? Gorzia oppidum et Abbatiam praedivitem Galli, ante diem octavum, vi ceperunt, diripuerunt, incendierunt, opinor, prefecto Hispano, cum 38 mithibus, suspense. Theonis villa, Lucemburgiae ditionis oppidum munitum, quatuor a Meti milliariibus, ad Mosellam suffit, habet equitum peditumque præsidia, et nuper emissis feminis atque pueris, obdicionem tolerabit. Et non capto oppido, nihil fere est ijs locis, quod vix ullam majorem diu sustinerem posset.

Hae est rerum apud nos facies. Vos multo feliciiores, qui festinam pacem coilitis in pulcherrima regione. Socer meus, quem nosti, data ad me litteris (nam est in agro Metensibus vicino) multam tibi salutem nunciat, sequae diligenter vobis omnibus commendat, et jussit ut hae,
APPENDIX. 481


JOAN. SLEIDANUS, Licent.

Has literas oro communes reverendissimo D. Cantuar. Nam sic scribo ad ipsum. Per Richardum Hillis mercatorem vestremit recte poteritis ad nos, nisi alia sit ratio commodior. Clarissimo viro D. Chesco plurimum et officiose me commendo.

No. CIII.

Martin Bucer to the Secretary, for the speeding of Sleidan's business.*

Summa dignitate viro, et pietate, præcellenti D. Sicilii, regis mæstatis a secretis, domino ac patrono suo summopere oloendo.


Clarissimæ Dominationis tue deditissimus in Domino,

M. BUCERUS.

No. CIII.

Ralph Morice, the Archbishops Secretary, his Supplication to Queen Elizabeth, for Prior Wilbore's Pension, lately deceased.+ To the quenys most excellent majestie.

In his most humble wise, sheweth and declarith unto your most

* Sir W. H. MSS. [Landa. MS. ii. 51].
+ Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

VOL. II. 2 I
excellent majestie your highness humble subject and orator Raphe Morice, sometime servant unto that worthie prelate of godly memorie, Tho. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury. That whereas your highness said orator for the space of 20 yeres and above, being retayned in service with the said most reverend father, in the rowme of a secretary, bestowed and spent both his time, youthe and prosperitye of his life, not so much in writing of the private busines of the said most reverend father, as in travelling with his pen abouts the serious affairs of the prince and the realme, commytted unto him by those most noble and wurtie princes. K. Henry the Eighth, and K. Edward the Sixth, your majesties dere father and brother, concernyng aswel the writing of those great and weightie matrimonial causes of your highness said dere father, (the good effects, successse and benefit wherof to Godde glory, this hole realme with the subjects therof, in your highness most noble and royal personage, do now most happilie enjoye,) as also aboute the exerting of the bishop of Rome his usurped power and authoritie, the reformation of corrupte religion, and ecclesiastical laws, the lamentation of divine service, and of divers and sundry conferences of keraid men, for theestablishing and advancement of sincere religion, with such like. Wherin your highness said orator most painfullie was occupied in writing of no small volumes, from tyme to tyme. As in that behalfe divers keraid men now lyving can testife; namely Dr. Hethe, Dr. Thirley, the bishops of Ely, Chichester and Hariford. And for that the said most reverend father was myndeful and desirous some deal to recompense the paynefull service of your said orator, he of his own mere motion and good disposition procurd for your highness said orator, a lease of the personage of Osringle within the count of Kent, ymproprioned unto the collidge of S. Johns in Cambridge: which towards the mayntenance of your said orators lyving was better than 40 marques by the yere de claro, when wheat was but a noble the quarter. Which lease of the said personage being so grunted, and redie to be sealid by the master and felowes of the same collidge, one Hawkyns of the garde, by his ymproprionate sake, made unto your highness said dere father the kings majestie, so wan his highnes favour therin, that his majestie obtayned the said lease to be sealid to the use of the said Hawkyns. His majestie nevertheless promising unto D. Day, then master of the said collidge, and some after unto the said most reverend, that his highnes wold otherwise recompense your said orator for the same with like valewe or better: as the said Hawkyns now lyving can testife the same. This notwithstanding, most dere soveraigne lady, Almighty God preventing the time of any such recompence by calling your highnes said father unto his mercy, your highnes said orator remayneth as yet unremaynced to his great hinderaunce, and ympoveryments. For now being declyned unto age, and having 4 daughters left by thair mother mariageable, your said orator is neither of habilitie to bestow them according to his vocation, as he might have done, yt that small lyving so prepared for him might have remayned to his use; nor hymselfe to lyve withouten danger, onles your majestie, of your benigne great goodness, do extende your highnes liberalitie, aide and succour unto hym. And for that your highnes said
orator doeth understand, that one Mr. Wilbore, sometyme prior of the
monasterie of S. Austens, departed this transitorie life before Mighil-
mas last past, who hath a yerelie pension of your majestie of
now by reason of his death in your gracious disposition, it may please
your highness in consideration of the premises, and for that it is
reported, that your said most noble, and dere father provided and
willed in his last testamente, that such of his subjects, as by his high-
ness did susteyne any maner of damage or hinderance, sholde be satis-
fied for the same; to be so good and gracious soveraigne lady unto
your said orator, in the furtherance of his said poor daughters
mariges, as to graunte unto hym the said pension during his life, with
tharrerages of this last half yere deu at the said feast of S. Michiel
tharchangel last past. In accomplishing wherof your highness shal not on
ly do a right charitelie and a meritorious deed, but also therbie throughlie
satisfe and recompence your said orator for the said lease so surrendred
at the request of your highness said dere father. Although the said
orator hath lost in forbearing of the same above M. mark for the space
of these eighteen yeres and above, corn being at such a price as it hath
bryn: and finallie bynde both hym and al his, during their lyves, dailie
to pray unto Almighty God for the most prosperous estate of your
majestie in moche honour and felicitie to induce.

No. CIV.

A Prologue or Preface, made by THOMAS CRANMER, late Archbishop
of Canterbury, to the holy Bible.*

CONCERNING two sundry sorts of people, it seemeth much necessary
that something bee said in the entrie of this book, by way of a preface
or prologue; wherby hereafter it may bee both the better accepted of
them which hitherto could not wel bear it, and also the better used of
them, which heretofore have misused it. For truly some there are
that be too slow, and need the spurr; some other seem too quick, and
need more of the bridle: some loose their game by short shooting, some
by overshooting: some walk too much on the left hand, some too much
on the right. In the former sort be al they that refuse to read, or to
hear read the scripture in the vulgar tongues; much worse they that
also let or discourage the other from the reading or hearing thereof. In
the latter sort bee they, which by their inordinate reading, undisciteit
speaking, contentious disputing, or otherwise, by their licentious living,
shander and hinder the word of God most of al other, wherof they would
seem to bee greatest furthersers. These two sorts, albeit they bee most
far unlike the one to the other, yet they both deserve in effect like
reproch. Neither can I well tell, whether of them I may judge the
more offender, him that doth obstinately refuse so godly and goodly
knowledge, or him, that so ungodly, and so ungodly doth abuse the
same.

* [This Prologue is corrected from the Parker Society edition of
And as touching the former, I would mervail much that any man should bee so mad, as to refuse in darkness light; in hunger, food; in cold, fire; for the word of God is light: "lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum;"* food: "non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omní verbo Dei;"† fire: "ignem veni, mittere in terram, et quid volo, nisi ut ardeat!"‡ I would mervail, I say, at this, save that I consider, how much custome and usage may do. So that if there were a people as some write de Gissamerijis, which never saw the sun, by reason that they be situated far toward the north-pole, and be enclosed and overshadowed with high mountaines; it is credible and like enough, that if, by the power and will of God, the mountains should sink down and give place, that the light of the sun might have entrance to them, at the first some of them would bee offended therewith. And the old proverb affirmeth, that after tillage of corn was first found, many delighted more to feed of mast and acorns, wherewith they had been accustomed, then to eat bread made of good corn. Such is the nature of custome, that it causeth us to bear all things well and easily, wherewith we have been accustomed, and to bee offended with all things thereunto contrary. And therefore I can well think them worthy pardon, which at the coming abroad of scripture doubted and drew back. But such as will persist still in their wilfulness, I must needs judg not only foolish, froward and obstinate, but also peevish, perverse and indurate.

And yet if the matter should bee tryed by custome, wee might also allege custome for the reading of the scripture in the vulgar tongues, and prescribe the more auntient custome. For it is not much above one hundred years agoe, since scripture hath not been accustomed to bee read in the vulgar tongues within this realm; and many hundred years before that it was translated and read in the Saxon's tongue, which at that time was our mother's tongue; whereof there remaineth yet divers copies found lately in old abbes, of such antique maners of writing, and speaking, that few men now onlbe able to read and understand them. And when this language waxed old, and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated in the newer language. Whereof yet also many copies remain and bee daily found.

But now to let pass custome, and to weigh, as wise men ever should, the thing in his own nature: let us here discuss, what it availeth scripture to bee had and read of the lay and vulgar people. And to this question I intend here to say nothing but that was spoken and written by the noble doctor, and most moral divine, St. John Chrysostome, in his third Sermon De Lazaro; albeit I wil be something shorter, and gather the matter into fewer words, and less room than he doth there, because I would not bee tedious. Hee exhorteth there his audience, "that every man should read by himself at home in the mean dayes and time, between sermon and sermon, to the intent they might both more profoundly fix in their minds and memories that bee had said before upon such texts, whereupon he had already preached; and also that they might have their minds the more ready and better prepared

* Psal. 119. † Mat. 4. ‡ Luke 12.
APPENDIX.

to receive and perceive that which he should say from thenceforth in
his sermons, upon such texts as hee had not yet declared and preached
upon: therefore, saith he there: ‘My common usage is to give you
warning before, what matter I intend after to entreat upon, that you
yourselfes, in the mean dayes, may take the book in hand, read, weigh
and perceive the sum and effect of the matter, and mark what hath
been declared, and what remaineth yet to bee declared: so that
thereby your mind may be the more furnisht to hear the rest that shal
bee said. And that I exhort you,’ saith hee, ‘and ever have and wil
exhort you, that ye (not only here in the church) give ear to that that
is said by the preacher, but that also, when yee bee at home in your
houses, ye apply yourselves, from time to time to the reading of holy
scriptures: which thing also I never linn* to beat into the ears of them
that been my familiars, and with whom I have private acquaintance
and conversation. Let no man make excuse and say,’ saith hee, ‘I am
busied about matters of the commonwealth;’ ‘I bear this office or
that;’ ‘I am a craftsman, I must apply mine occupation;’ ‘I have a
wife, my children must be fed, my household must I provide for;’
briefly, ‘I am a man of the world, it is not for mee to read the scrip-
tures, that belongeth to them that have bidden the world farewell,
which live in solitaries and contemplation, that have been brought up
and continually nosyllcd in learning and religion.’

‘To this answering, ‘What sayest thou, man,’ saith hee: ‘Is it
not for thee to study and to read the scripture, because thou art en-
cumbred and distract with cares and business? So much the more is
it behoveful for thee to have defence of scriptures, how much thou art
the more distressed in worldly dangers. They that bee free and far
from trouble and intermedling of worldly things, live in safeguard, and
tranquillity, and in the calm, or within a sure haven. Thou art in the
midst of the sea of worldly wickednes, and therefore thou needest the
more of ghostly succour and comfort: they sit far from the strokes of
battaile, and far out of gun shot, and therefore they bee but seldom
wounded: thou that standest in the forefront of the host, and highest
to thine enemies, must needs take now and then many strokes, and
bee grievously wounded. And therefore thou hast most need to have
thy remedies and medicines at hand. Thy wife provoketh thee to
anger, thy child giveth thee occasion to take sorrow and pensiveness,
thine enemies lyeth in wait for thee, thy friend (as thou takest him)
sometime envieth thee, thy neighbour misreporteth thee, or prickets
quarrels against thee, thy mate or partner undermineth thee: thy
lord, judge or justice, threatneth thee, poverty is painful unto thee, the
loss of thy dear and welbeloved causeth thee to mourn; prosperity
exalteth thee, adversity bringeth thee low. Briefly, so divers and so
manifold occasions of cares, tribulations and temptations besetteth thee
and besiegeth thee round about. Where canst thou have armour, or
fortress, against thine assaults? Where canst thou have salve for thy
sores, but of holy scripture? Thy flesh must needs be prone and subject
to fleshly lusts, which daily walkest and art conversant amongst women,

* [Linn, i.e. cease.]
seest their beauties set forth to the eye, hearest their nice and wanton words, smellest their balm, civet and musk, with other like provocations and stirrings, except thou hast in a readiness, wherewith to suppress and avoyd them, which cannot elsewhere bee had, but onely out of the holy scriptures. Let us read and seek all remedies that wee can, and al shall bee little enough. How shall wee then do, if wee suffer and take daily wounds, and when wee have done, wil sit still and search for no medicines! Dost thou not mark and consider how the smith, mason or carpenter, or any other handy-craftsman, what need soever bee bee in, what other shift bee make, bee will not sell nor lay to pledg the tools of his occupation; for then how should bee work his feat, or get his living thereby? Of like mind and affection ought wee to bee towards holy scripture. For as mallets, hammers, sawes, chesells, axes and hatchets bee the tools of their occupation, so bee the books of the prophets and apostles, and all holy writ inspired by the Holy Ghost, the instruments of our salvation. Wherefore, let us not stick to buy and provide us the Bible, that is to say, the books of holy scripture. And let us think that to bee a better jewel in our house than either gold or silver. For like as thieves been loth to assault an house where they know to bee good armour and artillery; so wheresoeuer these holy and ghostly books been occupied, there neither the devil, nor none of his angels dare come neer. And they that occupy them been in much safeguarde, and having great consolation, and been the reader unto all goodness, the slower to all evil; and if they have done any thing amiss, anon, even by the sight of the books, their consciences been admonished, and they waken sorry and ashamed of the fact. Peradventure they wil say unto mee, how and if wee understand not that wee read, that is contained in the books? What then! Suppose thou understand not the deep and profound mysteries of scripture; yet can it not bee, but that much fruit and holines must come and grow unto thee by the reading; for it cannot bee, that thou shouldest bee ignorant in all things alike. For the Holy Ghost hath so ordered and attempered the scriptures, that in them as wel publicans, fishers, and shepherds may find their edification, as great doctors their erudition: for these books were not made to vaine glory, like as were the writings of the Gentile philosophers, and rhetoricians, to the intent the makers should bee had in admiration for their high stiles, and obscure manner of writing, wherof nothing can bee understand without a master, or an exposter. But the apostles and prophets wrote their books so that their special intent and purpose might bee understood and perceived of every reader, which was nothing but the edification or amendment of the life of them that readeth or heareth it. Who is that reading, or hearing read in the Gospel, 'Blessed are they, that been meek, blessed are they, that been mercifull, blessed are they, that bee of clean heart,' and such other like places, can perceive nothing, except bee have a master to teach him what it meaneth? Likewise the signs and miracles with all other histories of the doings of Christ, or his apostles, who is there of so simple wit and capacity, but bee may bee able to perceive and understand them? These bee but excuses and clokes for the rain, and coverings of their own idle sloth-
fulness. ‘I cannot understand it.’ What mervail? How shouldst thou understand, if thou wilt not read nor look upon it? Take the books into thine hands, read the whole story, and that thou understandest, keep it well in memory; that thou understandest not, read it again and again: if thou can neither so come by it, counsel with some other that is better learned. Go to thy curate and preacher; shew thyself to bee desirous to know and learn: and I doubt not but God, seeing thy diligence and readiness (if no man else teach thee), wilt Himself vouchsafe with His Holy Spirit to illuminate thee, and to open unto thee that which was looked from thee. Remember the eunuch of Candace queen of Ethiopia, which, albeit he was a man of a wild and barbarous country, and one occupied with worldly cares and businesses, yet riding in his chariot, he was reading the scripture. Now consider, if this man, passing in his journey, was so diligent as to read the scripture, what thinkest thou of like was hee wont to do sitting at home? Again, hee letted not to read, albeit he did not understand, what did hee then, troust thou, after that, when hee had learned and gotten understanding? For that thou may weal know that he understood not what hee read, harken what Philip there saith unto him: ‘Understandest thou what thou readest?’ And hee, nothing ashamed to confess his ignorance, answereth, ‘How should I understand, having nobody to show mee the way?’ Lo! when hee lacked one to show him the way and to expound to him the scriptures, yet did hee read: and therefore God the rather provided for him a guide of the way, that taught him to understand it. God perceived his willing and toward mind; and therfore hee sent him a teacher by and bye. Therefore let no man be negligent about his own health and salvation: though thou have not Philip alwayes when thou wouldest, the Holy Ghost, which then moved and stirred up Philip, will bee ready and not [to] fail thee, if thou do thy diligence accordingly. All these things been written for us to our edification and amendment, which be born towards the latter end of the world. The reading of scriptures is a great and strong bulwark or fortress against sin; the ignorance of the same is the greater ruine and destruction of them that wil not know it. That is the thing that bringeth in heresies, that is it that causeth all corrupt and perverse living, that is it, that bringeth all things out of good order.”

Hitherto, al that I have said, I have taken and gathered out of the foresaid sermon of this holy doctor St. John Chrysostom. Now if I should in like manner bring forth what the self same doctor speaketh in other places, and what other doctors and writers say concerning the same purpose, I might seem to you to write another Bible rather then to make a preface to the Bible. Wherfore, in few words to comprehend the largeness and utility of the scripture, how it containeth fruitful instruction and erudition for every man; if any things be necessary to be learned, of the holy scripture we may learn it. If falsheed shall be reproved, thereof wee may gather wherewithal. If

* [Chrysost. de Lazaro, Concio iii. tom. i. pp. 737—740, ed. Paris, 1718—38.]
APPENDIX.

any thing bee to bee corrected and amended, if there need any exhorta-
tion or consolation, of the scripture wee may wel learn. In the script-
tures bee the fat pastures of the soul; therein is no venomous meat, no
unwholsome thing; they bee the very dainty and pure feeding. Hee
that is ignorant, shal find there what hee should learn. Hee that is a
perverse sinner, shal there find his damnation to make him to tremble
for fear. Hee that laboureth to serve God, shal find there his glory,
and the promissions of eternal life, exhorting him more diligently to
labour. Herein may princes learn how to govern their subjects; sub-
jects obedience, love, and dread to their princes: husbands, how they
should behave them unto their wives; how to educate their children
and servants: and contrary, the wives, children and servants may
know their dutie to their husbands, parents, and masters. Here may
al maner of persons, men, women, young, old, learned, unlearned,
rich, poor, priests, laymen, lords, ladies, officers, tenants, and mean
men, virgins, wives, widdowes, lawyres, merchants, artificers, husband-
men, and al manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they
bee, may in this book learn all things what they ought to believe,
what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as wel concern-
ing Almighty God, as also concerning themselves and al other. Briefly,
to the reading of the scripture none can bee enemy, but that either bee so
sick, that they love not to hear of any medicine, or else that bee so
ignorant, that they know not scripture to bee the most healthful
medicine.

Therefore as touching this former part, I wil hear conclude and take
it as a conclusion sufficiently determined and approved, that it is con-
venient and good the scripture to bee read of al sorts and kinds of
people, and in the vulgar tongue, without further allegations and
probations for the same; which shal not need, since that this one
place of John Chrysostom is enough and sufficient to persuade al them
that bee not frowardly and perversely set in their own wilful opinion;
specially now that the king’s highnes, being supreme head next under
Christ of this Church of England, hath approved with his royal assent
the setting forth hereof, which onely to al true and obedient subjects
ought to bee a sufficient reason for the allowance of the same, without
further delay, reclamation, or resistance, although there were no pre-
face, nor other reason herein expressed.

Therefore now to come to the second, and latter part of my purpose.
There is nothing so good in this world, but it may bee abused, and
turned from fruitful and wholesome to hurtful and noisome. What
is there above better then the sun, the moon, the stars? Yet was
there, that took occasion by the great beauty and vertue of them, to
dishonour God, and to defile themselves with idolatry, giving the
honour of the living God, and Creator of al things, to such things as
Hee had created. What is there here beneath better then fire, water,
meats, drinks, mettals of gold, silver, iron and steel? Yet wee see
daily great harm and much mischief done by every one of these, as
wel for lack of wisdome and providence of them that suffer evil, as by
the malice of them that worketh the evil. Thus to them that bee evil
of themselves every thing setteth forward, and encreaseth their evil,
bee it of his own nature a thing never so good; like as contrarily, to them that studieth and endeavoureth themselves to goodness, every thing prevailseth them, and profiteth unto good, bee it of his own nature a thing never so bad. As St. Paul saith: "His, qui diligunt Deum, omnia cooperantur in bonum." Even as out of most venimous worms is made triacle, the most sovereign medicine for the preservation of man's health in time of danger. Wherefore I would advise you all, that cometh to the reading or hearing of this book, which is the word of God, the most precious jewel, and most holy relique that remaineth upon earth, that yee bring with you the fear of God, and that yee do it with al [due] reverence, and use your knowledge thereof, not to vanity-glory of frivolous disputation, but to the honour of God, encrease of vertue, and edification both of your selves and other.

And to the intent that my words may bee the more regarded, I will use in this part the authority of St. Gregory Nazianzenes, like as in the other I did of St. John Chrysostom. It appeareth that in his time there were some (as I fear mee, there been also now at these dayes a great number), which were idle babblers and talkers of the scripture out of season and all good order, and without any encrease of virtue, or example of good living. To them hee writeth al his first book "De Theologia:" whereof I shall briefly gather the whole effect, and recite it here unto you. "There been some," saith hee, "whose not onely ears and tongues, but also their fists, been whetted, and ready bent al to contention and unprofitable disputation: whom I would wish, as they been vehement and earnest to reason the matter with tongue, so they were also ready and practive to do good deeds. But forasmuch as they, subverting the order of al godliness, have respect onely to this thing, how they may bind and loose subtill questions, so that now every marketplace, every alehouse and tavern, every feasthouse, briefly, every company of men, every assembly of women, is filled with such talk; since the matter is so," saith hee, "and that our faith and holy religion of Christ beginneth to wax nothing else, but as it were a sophistrie, or a talking craft, I can no less do but say something thereunto. It is not fit," saith hee, "for every man to dispute the high questions of divinity, neither is it to bee done at al times, neither in every audience must wee discuss every doubt: but wee must know when, to whom, and how far wee ought to enter into such matters."

"First, it is not for every man, but it is for such as bee of exact, and exquisite judgments, and such as have spent their time before in study and contemplation; and such as before have cleansed themselves as well in soul as body, or at the least, endeavoured themselves to bee made clean. For it is dangerous," saith hee, "for the unclean to touch that [thing that] is most clean; like as the sore ey taketh harm by looking upon the sun.

"Secondarily, not at al times, but when wee bee repos'd and at rest from al outward dreggs and trouble, and when that our heads bee not encumbred with other worldly and wandring imaginations: as if a man should mingle balm and dirt together. For hee that shall judg and determine such matters and doubts of scriptures, must take his time
when bee may apply his wits therunto, that bee may thereby the better see and discern what is truth.

"Thirdly, where and in what audience! There, and among those, that been studious to learn, and not among such as have pleasure to trifle with such matters as with other things of pastime, which repute for their chief delights the disputations of high questions, to show their wits, learning, and eloquence in reasoning of high matters.

"Fourthly, it is to bee considered how far to wade in such matters of difficulty. No further," saith bee, "but as every man's own capacity will serve him; and again no further than the weaknesses or intelligen- to; that, the one audience may bear. For like as too great noise burthen the ear, too much meat burthen a man's body, [too] heavy burtheneth burthen the bearers of them, too much rain doth more hurt then good to the ground; briefly, in all things, too much is noyous; even so weak wits and weak consciences may soon be oppressed with over hard questions. I say not this to disrude men from the knowledge of God, and reading, or studying of the scripture. For I say, that it is as necessary for the life of man's soul, as for the body to breathe. And if it were possible so to live, I would think it good for a man to spend all his life in that, and to do no other thing. I commend the law which bidtheth to meditate and study the scriptures always, both night and day, and sermons and preachings to bee made, both morning, noon and eventide; and God to bee landed and blessed in all times, to bedward, from bed, in our journeys, and all our other works. I forbid not to read, but I forbid to reason. Neither forbid I to reason so far as is good and godly. But I allow not that is done out of season, and out of measure and good order. A man may eat too much of honey, bee it never so sweet, and there is time for every thing; and that thing that is good, is not good, if it bee ungodly done: even as a flower in winter is out of season, and as a woman's apparel becometh not a man, neither contrarily, the man's the woman; neither is weeping convenient at a bridall, neither laughing at a burial. Now if we can observe and keep that is comely and timely in all other things, shall not wee then the rather do the same in the Holy Scriptures? Let us not run forth, as it were wild horses, that can suffer neither bridle in their mouths, nor sitter on their backs. Let us keep us in our bounds, and neither let us go too far on the one side, lest we return into Egypt, neither too far over the other, lest wee bee carried away to Babylon. Let us not sing the song of our Lord in a strange land; that is to say, let us not dispute the word of God at al adventures, as wel where it is not to bee reasoned as where it is, and as well in the ears of them that bee not fit therefore as of them that bee. If wee can in no wise forbear but that we must needs dispute, let us forbear thus much at the least, to do it out of time and place convenient. And let us entreat of those things which bee holy, holily; and upon those things that been mystical, mystically; and not to utter the divine mysteries in the ears unworthy to bear them: but let us know what is comely, as well in our silence and talking, as in our garment's wearing, in our feeding, in our gesture, in our goinge, in all our other behaving. This contention and debate about scriptures and doubts thereof, (specially
APPENDIX.

when such as pretend to bee the favourers and students thereof, cannot agree within themselves,) doth most hurt to ourselves, and to the furthering of the cause and quarrels, that wee would have furthered above al other things. And wee in this,” saith hee, “bee not unlike to them that, being mad, set their own houses on fire, and that slay their own children, or beat their own parents. I marvel much,” saith hee, “to recount whereof cometh all this desire of vain glory, whereof cometh all this tongue-itch, that wee have so much delight to talk and clatter! And wherein is our communication! Not in the commendation of vertuous and good deeds of hospitality, of love between Christian brother and brother, of love between man and wife, of virginity and chastity, and of almes towards the poor; not in psalms and godly songs, not in lamenting for our sins, not in the repressing the affections of the body, not in prayers to God. We talk of scripture, but in the mean time we subdue not our flesh by fasting, waking and weeping; we make not this life a meditation of death; wee do not strive to bee lords of our appetites and affections; wee go not about to pull down our proud and high minds, to abate our furnish and rancorous stomachs, to restrain our lusts and bodily delectations, our undiscrete sorrows, our lascivious mirth, our inordinate looking, our insatiable hearing of vanities, our speaking without mesure, our inconvenient thoughts, and briefly, to reform our life and manners. But al our holines consisteth in talking. And wee pardon each other from al good living, so that wee may stick fast together in argumentation; as though there were no mo wayes to heaven, but this alone, the way of speculation and knowledg (as they take it); but in very deed it is rather the way of superficinious contention and sophistication.”*

Hitherto have I recited the mind of Gregory Nazianzene in that book, which I spake of before. The same author saith also in another place, “that the learning of a Christian man ought to begin of the fear of God, to end in matters of high speculation; and not contrarily to begin with speculation, and to end in fear. For speculation,” saith hee, “either high cunning and knowledge, if it be not stayd with the bridle of fear to offend God, is daungerous, and enough to tumble a man headlong down the hill. Therefore,” saith hee, “the fear of God must be the first beginning, and as it were an A. B. C., or an introduction to all them, that shal enter to the very true and most fruitful knowledge of holy scriptures. Where as is the fear of God, there is,” saith hee, “the keeping of the commandments, there is the cleansing of the flesh, which flesh is a cloud before the soul’s eye, and suffereth it not purely to see the beam of [the] heavenly light. Where as is the cleansing of the flesh, there is the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the end of al our desires, and the very light whereby the verity of scriptures is seen and perceived.”† This is the mind and almost the words of Gregory Nazianzene, doctor of the Greek Church, of whom St. Jerome saith, that unto his time the Latin Church had

no writer able to bee compared, and to make an even match with him.*

Therefore to conclude this latter part, every man, that cometh to the reading of this holy book, ought to bring with him first and foremost this fear of Almighty God, and then next a firm and stable purpose to reform his own self according thereunto; and so to continue, proceed, and prosper from time to time, shewing himself to bee a sober and fruitful hearer and learner. Which if hee do, hee shall prove at [the] length well able to teach, though not with his mouth, yet with his living and good example, which is sure the most lively and [most] effectuoues form and manner of teaching. Hee that otherwise intermedleth with this book, let him be assured, that once hee shall make account therefore, when hee shall have said to him, as it is written in the prophet David, "Peccatori dicit Deus," &c. : "Unto the ungodly said God, why dost thou preach my lawes, and takest my testament in thy mouth? Whereas thou hastest to bee reformed, and hast been partakers with advoutrer. Thou hast let thy mouth speak wickedness, and with thy tongue thou hast set forth deceit. Thou sattest and spakest against thy brother; and hast slandered thine own mother's son. These things hast thou done, and I held my tongue, and thou thoughtest (wickedly) that I am even such a one as thee self. But I will reprove thee, and set before thee the things that thou hast done. O consider this, yee that forget God; lest I pluck you away, and there be none to deliver you. Whose offerseth mee thanks and praise, hee honoureth mee; and to him that ordereth his conversation right, wil I shew the salvation of God."

God save the King.†


† The volume containing "A list of some of the early printed books in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth," Lond. 1843, contains some interesting notices of fragments occupying the place of fly leaves and end papers in volumes with which they had no connexion. Among them is the following. The Rev. S. R. Maitland, the librarian, says: "Two leaves each containing the PROLOGUE TO CRANMER'S BIBLE on one side, and the usual matter on the other side. One of these is the prologue to the edition of December 1541, and requires no description; but the other is, as far as I can find, unique. Mr. Lea Wilson, whose magnificent collection of bibles contains (as a very small part of its treasures) twelve copies exhibiting every variety of Cranmer's Bible, and who has spared neither pains nor expense in making himself fully acquainted with the details of the subject, informs me that he had never before seen it. I am indebted to the same gentleman for the suggestion, that these two leaves so differing from each other, and both found together in the binding of one volume, that volume being a Salisbury Breviary, printed by Francis Regnault, at Paris, in 1535, agrees with the notion, supported by other evidence, that this bible was printed in France. Certainly the large black letter of this prologue, and of the Breviary, are as like as can be imagined. Under
APPENDIX.

No. CV.

Bucer and others learned strangers from Lambeth to Cecyl, to prefer the Petition of some poor French Protestants to the Protector.*

Clarissimo viro, Domino Sicilio, illustrissimi principis Protectoris Anglie, a secretis, domino et amico summopere oolendo, et clarissimo.

GRATIAM et benedictionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, angieri tibi precamur, vir ornatissime et religiosissime. Cum summa fide et studio ministrare oporteat Christo Domino nostro affligto in membris suis, et nostris, non debimus officium nostrum negare ijs captivis Domini, quorum causam exponent hi ecclesiæ Gallicæ ministri, collegæ nostri, et his ipsis fratibus et collegis nostriis, ut utroque tuæ charitati commendaremus, id T. D. a nobis boni consulet. Veniunt vero ad te hi collegæ nostri, juseu reverendissimi domini, ac patroni nostri, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis rogatum, ut captivorum illorum supplicationem velis offere illustrissimo principi, D. Protectori,

these circumstances, it seems worth while to reprint this prologue in something like the form in which it stands, premising that it is all in black letter, and that the initial F. is not, as in some copies of the prologue, a Roman letter, but the same flourishing capital as appears in the edition of December, 1541. It should I presume be headed, "A prologue expressyng what is meant by certayne sygnes and tokens that we have set in the Byble;" but what was probably the first line has been cut off, and only what is here in italics remains. The Prologue itself is as follows:"—

First where as often tymes ye shall fynde a small letter in the text, it sygnifieth that so moch as in (sic) the small letter doth abounde & is more in the common translaciō in Latyne then is founde ether in the Hebrue or in ye Greke. Moreover where as ye finde this sygne o + it betokeneth a dyuersite & difference of reayng betwene the Hebrues and the Chaldees in the same place, whych diuersytes of reaynges we were purposed to haue set forth particularly vnto you. But for so moch as they are very large and tedyous, & thys volume is very great and houge alreadye, we haue therfore left the out. We haue also (as ye maye se) added many handes both in the mergent of this volume and also in the text vpon the whyche we purposed to haue made in the ende of the Byble (in a table by themselues) certen annotaciō: but for so moch as yet there hath not bene suffycyent tyme mynistred to the kynges mooste honorable councell, for the ouersight and correcion of the sayde annotations, we do therfore omyt them, tylly thyr more conuenyent leysoure. Doyng nowe no more but beseake the, moost gentle reader, that when thou commest at such a place where a hande doth stande (or any other where, in the Byble) and thou canst not attayne to the meanynge & true knowledge of that sentence, then do not rashly presume to make any pryuate interpretacyon thereof: but submytte thy self to the judgement of those that are learned.

God saue the kyngye.

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
APPENDIX.


Tui in Domino

MARTINUS BUCKRUS. PETRUS ALEXANDER.
PET. MARTYR. PAULUS FAGIUS.

These Letters following, though they have no particular reference, yet being made use of in the former Memorials, I have thought fit to publish them with the rest.

No. CVI.

The Archbishop to the Secretary, concerning a French man, that desired a patent to translate the Common prayer into French, and print it. *

To my very loving freunde Sir William Cecil, knight, one of the kinge majesties principal secretaries.

After my very hartie commendations, I thancke youe for your newes, but speciallie for that ye advertise me, that the kinge majesty is in good health, wherin I beseeche God long to continue his highnes, as he hath twice (as I trust) restored me to the same.

It seemeth by your letters, that a peace should be concluded betwixt then emperor and Duke Morrise, which whither it bee accordinge to that articles, that afor ye sent unto me, or otherwise, I woulde gladlie understande. The commodite that might arisse by printinge the boke of Common Praier, and administration of sacraments in the French tongue (if any bee), I reckon it were meete that it shoulde come to theim, which have already taken pains in translatinge the same. Which was first done by Sir Hugh Paullets commandement and overseen by my L. chauncellor, and other at his appointment: and now altered accordinge to that which must bee put in execution at the feast of All Saints next, at the appointment of my L. chauncellor, by a learned Frenche man, a doctor in divinitie. And therfore needless of any other to bee travailed in. Aug. 26. 1552.

No. CVII.

Mention of Letters sent by him to the Duke of Northumberland, excusing his not proceeding in a Commission. His reflexion upon the Newes. †

To my lovenge frende Sir William Cecil, knight, and secretary to the kynges majestie.

After my very hartie commendations, and no lesse thanks for

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. † Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.
your frendly letters, and advertisments. Be you assured that I take
the same in such parte, and to proceede of such a frendly mynde, as I
have ever looked for at your hands. Whereof I shall not be unmyndful,
if occasion hereafter, shall serve to requite the same. I have written
lettres unto my lorde of Northumberlande, declarynge unto hym the
cause of my stayes in the commision; which is because, that al the
gentyllmen and justices of the peace of Kent, which be in commision
with me, be now at London. Bfore whose comynge home, if I sholde
proceed without them, I myght perchance travele in vayne, and take
more payne, than I sholde do good. I have written also unto hym in
the favour of Michael Angelo; whose cause I pray you to helpe so moche
as lieth in you.

The Sophy and the Turke, the emperour and the French kyng (not
moch better in religion than they) rollynge the stone, or turnynge the
whole of fortune up and downe, I pray God send us peace, and quyetnes
with al realmes, as well as among our selfes; and to preserve the kyngs
majestie with al his counsell. Thus fare you wel. From my howse of
Forde the xx day of November, anno 1552.

Your assured. T. CANT.

No. CVIII.

Signifying his desire to have the good will of the Lord Warden, his
neighbour.*

To my lovyng frende Sir William Cecill knyght, secretary to the
kings majestie. Yeve thys,

AFTER my harty commendations and thanks for your letters; ther
is no man more loth to be in contention with any man, than I am,
specially with my lorde warden, my nere neighbour, dwellynge both in
one contray, and whose famillier and entier frendshippe I most desier,
for the quyetnes of the hole contray. For the example of the rulers
and heades wil the people and membres followe. And as towchyng
learned men, I shal sende you my mynde with as moch expedition as I
can, which by this poste I can not do, evyn in the coldre snowe sitynyng
opon coles untill he be gone. But hartyly fare you wel in the Lorde
Jesus. From Forde, the last day of November.

Your lovyng frende T. CANT.

No. CIX.

Desiring Cecyl to enform him of the cause of Chekes indictmment.†

To my very lovyng frende Sir William Cecyl knyght.

AFTER my very harty commendations; yester nyght I harde re-
ported, that Mr. Cheke is indicted: I pray you hartyly, if you know
any thyng thereof, to sende me knowledge, and wherupon he is
indicted. I had grete trust, that he sholde be one of them, that sholde

* Sir W. Hickes MSS.  † Sir W. Hickes MSS.
fele the queenes grete mercie and pardon, as one who hath been none of the grete doers in this matier agaynst her: and my trust is not yet done, excepte it be for his ernestnes in religion. For the which if he suffre, blessed is he of God, that suffreth for his sake, howsoever the worlde juge of hym. For what ought we to care for the jugement of the worlde, when God absolveth us? But alas, if any means cowde be made for hym, or for my Lorde Russel, it were not to be omitted, nor in any wise neglected. But I am utterly destitute both of counsell in this matter, and of power, being in the same condemnation that they be. But that onely thynge which I can do, I shal not ceasse to do, and that is only to pray for theym, and for my selve, with al other, that be now in adversity. When I saw you at the courte, I wolde fayne have talked with you, but I durst not: nevertheless if you cowde fynde a tym to come over to me, I wolde gladly commen with you. Thus fare you hartely well, with my lady your wife. From Lambith this 14 day of this month of August.

Your own assured T. Cant.
APPENDIX No. II.

No. I.

Processus contra Thomam Cranmer.*

REVERENDISSIMO in Christo patri et domino, domino Jacobo misericordia divina tituli sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesiae presbytero cardinali de Pueteo nuncupato, causeque et causis ac partibus infrascriptis judicis in comissario a sanctissimo domino nostro Papa specialiter deputato, seu alii vestro in ac parte surrogato sive surro-gando cuicunque, vester humilis Jacobus, permissione divina Glicensensis episcopus ac vestre reverendissime paternitatis, immo verius sanctissimi domini nostri Pape vigore literarum commissionalium presentibus annex’ comissariis sive subdelegatus sufficieret et legitime deputatus, omnimos obedientias et reverencias tanto reverendissimo patri ac sedi apostolice debitas omni subjectonis honore. Ad noticiam vestram deducimus et deduci volumus, vestreque reverendissime paternitatis significamus et certificamus per presentes, quod die lune, nono in mensis Septembris, anno Domini millesego quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione decima tercia pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Pauli divina providentia Pape quarti anno primo, in ecclesia parochialia dive Virginis Marie in Oxonius, in provido et circumspecti viri magistri Johannis Clerk, sedis apostolice auctoritate notarii publici, et testium in actis hujus diei (ut inferius statim apparebit) presencis coram nobis ad effectum infrascriptum judicialiter et pro tribunal ac sedentibus, comparens et personaliter constitutus preclarus et venerabilis vir magister Johannes Story legum doctor quasdam literas vestras commissionales vestre paternitatis reverendissime, immo verius apostolicas presentibus annex’ sigillo vestro cera rubea impressa in quadam alba linea capsula inclusa cum filis sive cordulis rubei coloris pendentiis sigillatae, ac signo, nomine, et subscriplicio provisi viri Claudii Badii clerici Bismitine diocesis publici auctoritate apostolica et imperiali notarii et scribe vestri (ut apparuit) in hac parte specialiter assumptae munitae et subscriptae, non vacatas, non rasae, non abolitas, nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas, sed sanas et integras ac omni vicio et sinistra suspicione carentes, nobis directas et per partem illustrissimorum serenissimorumque Philippi et Marie Anglie regis et regine in ipsis literis commissionalibus nominat’ ex parte dicti sanctissimi.

[* MSS. Lambeth Library, No. 1136.]
domini nostri Pape et vestra realiter presentavit. Post quoram litterarum commissionium presentacionem nobis et receptionem per nos humiliter factas, ipsasque per dominum Christoferum Smythe apostolice sedis auctoritate notarium publicum usque ad subscriptionem notarium in eisdem exclusae tunc ibidem publice perlocet, per prefatum venerabilem virum magistrum Johanneim Story suimus debite requisiti, quatenus eis execucionis earundem in nos assumere et acceptare ipsasque ex eo dignaremur. Post cujus requisitionem sic ut premittitur nobis factam, ob honorem et reverendiam sancte sedis apostolice et paternitatis vestre reverendissime, eis execucionis earundem in nos assumpsumus, atque iuxta vim, formam, tenorem et effectum earundem procedendum fore decretumus; praeminentumque magistrum Johanneim Clerk notarium publicum in nostrum et actorem nostrum agendorumque et expediendum per nos et eorum nobis in causa et causis inferioribus descripsit ac inter partes infranominatas scribam assumpsimus, deputavimus, et constitutimus. Quo facto, egregius vir magister Thomas Martyn legum doctor exhibuit procuratorium suum a serenissimis Philippo et Maria Anglie rege et regina sibi et dicto venerabilii viri magistro Johanni Story ac Davido Lewis conjunctum et divisum in hac parte concessae ac sigillo magni eorumdem serenissimorum et illustrissimorum regis et regine in cca creci coloris sigillatis; lectoque procuratorio hujusmodi de mandato nostro, praeminentibus venerabilibus vir magister Thomas Martin exhibens ut preteritur procuratorium suum pro dicitis illustrissimis rege et regina se partem pro eisdem et dedit articulos ex parte ipserum serenisimorum dominorum regis et regine contra prefatum dominum Thomam Crammerum propositos et conceptos una cum sedula eisdem articulis annexis: etiam libros dedit in ipsis articulis mentionatos et in margine eorumdem specificatos; petitiqve procurator hujusmodi quatenus dignaremur deernere dictum dominum Thomam Crammerum, se archiepiscopum Cantuarie pretendentem, citandum fore ad comparendum eorum nobis die Jovii proxime tunc sequente, duodecimo viz. die dicti mensis Septembries in ecclesia predicta hora octava ante meridiem ad respondendum, et procedi videndum contra eum iuxta tenorem dictae commissionis sive subdelegacionis, et ad objiciendum contra articulos et cetera predicta contra sum in hac parte modo premisse exhibita si voluerit. Ad cujus quidem procuratoris peticionem, quia justa nobis videbatur ac juri et ratione consensa, decretumus ipsum Thomam Crammerum citandum juxta petitionem procuratoris predicti. Quo facto, prefatum Christoferum Smythe publicum apostolice auctoritate notarium in nostrum mandatarium in hac parte omnium potestate citandi, certificandi, et exsequi dictam subscriptionem et quemcumque alium processum et ad alia facienda ad mandatarii officium spectantia deputatum et admissumus; ipsumque Christoferum notarium publicum et mandatarium nostrum hujusmodi de fideltate exsequendo, referendo, et certificando, et de ejus officio in ea parte justa exercendo juramento ad sancta Dei evangelia oneravimus et juravimus. Deinde vero articulos predictos et contenta in eisdem per dictum Christoferum Smythe notarium publicum publice in judicio perlegi fecimus, neconon praeminentum dominum Johanneim Clerk notarium publicum ac scribam nos-
APPENDIX.

trum predictum ad consciendum instrumentum seu instrumenta publica unum vel plura de et super premisis omnibus et singulis per nos et coram nobis istis die et loco quatercumque habitis et factis mandavimus, et eundem ad sie consciendum ac testes infranominatos inde testimonium perhibere praefatus magister Thomas Martyr inostanter requievit; presentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris Richardo Marshall, commissario universitatis predictae, Waltero Wright legum doctore, archidiacono Oxon', Arthurco Cole sacre theologie baccalario, preside collegii dive Magna-

dene in cadam universitate, Richardo Cawdewell in medicinis doctore, Henrico Jolyff sacre theologie baccalario, Thoma Pygott et Edmundo Powell armigeris, cum multis alis ad numerum ducentarum personarum et ultra. Tenor vero procuratorii illustrissimorum Philippi et Marie regis et regine predictorum, de quo superius sit mentio, per praefatum venerabilem virum magistrum Thomam Martyn procuratorem in eodem nominatun ut pretur faceretque et exhibere sequitur, et est talis: "Universeis patet per presentes, quod nos Philippus et Maria Dei gracia Anglie Francie Neapoli Jerusalem et Hibernie rex et regina, fidei defensores, principes Hispaniarum et Sicilie, archiduces Austrie, duces Mediolani Burgundie et Brabantie, comites Hasspurgi Flandrie et Tirolis, dilectos nobis in Christo Thomam Martyn, Johannem Story et Davidum Lewis legum doctores absentem tantum pra-

tentes omnium melioribus et efficacioribus modo via et forma coniung-

tim, et eorum quiemlibet per se divinum et in solidum, ita quod nos sit melior conditio occupantis nec deterior subsequentis, sed quod unus eorum insuper et id ipsum quilibet per se libere prosequi valeat, mediare pariter et finire, nostros veros legimentos et indubitatos procuratores, actores, factores, negocierumque nostrorum gestores et nuncios speciales nominamus, ordinamus, facimus, et constituimus presentes, damasque et concedimus isdem procuratoriis nostri conjunctum ut pretur et eorum quilibet per se divinum et in solido potestatem gene-

dalem et mandatum speciale, ita quod specialitas generalitati non de-

roget nec e contra, pro et nominibus nostri coram reverendoris in Christo patribus Wigornien' et Glocestren' episcopis ac decano Londonien' et archidiacono Castruar', seu eorum eorum tribus, duobus, sive uno, reverendissimi in Christo patriis et domini, domini Jacobi, miseratione divina tituli sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbi-

teri cardinalis de Puteo nuncupat sanctissimi in Christo patriis et domini nostri domini Pauli divina providentia illius nominis Pape quarti, in causa et causis heresim aliquae enormiae crimina, in quibus Thomas Cranmerus super metropolitane ecclesie Cant' archiepiscopus assertus sit propeaus, sapientibus, per nos nostrique vice et nominibus contra ipsum Thomam archiepiscopum pretiosum motis et motis indecisis adhuc pendente, commissarii sive judicis delegati, subdelegatis sive com-

missariorum sufficenter et legitime deputatis, comparandi abscensiamque nostram quoad personalem comparationem in omnibus excusandi ac causam et causas absentie nostre (si opus fuerit) allegandi, proponendi, et probandi, ac fidem faciendi super eisdem, literisque commissionales remissael sive subdelegatorum praefati reverendissimi Jacobi card-

inalis ac judicis delegat' sive commissarii autediti realiter pro-

2 x 2
ducend' ostendendi et exhibendi. Necnon articulos, capita, positiones sive interrogatorias, ac alias materias, objectiones, allegaciones seu petitiones quasunque verba vel in scriptis dandi, faciendi, ministrandi, proponendi et exhibendi, positionibus et articularis exceptionibusque ex adversis fiendis respondendi et suis responderi petendi, videndique juramentum quodcumque licitum et honestum ac de jure in hac parte requisitum in animis nostras prestand' subeund' et jurand'. Testes, litteras et instrumenta, ac alia quacunque probacionum generae producend' ostendendi' et exhibendi', productaque et exhibita ex adverso repromband' et impugnandi, crimina et defectus obiiciendi et objectis respondendi, decreta quacunque fieri decernique petendi et obtinendi, allum insuper procuratorem sive procuratores loco eorum seu eorum aliquus substituendi, ac substitutum sive substitutum hujusmodi revocaendi, procuratorisque officium in se reassumendi, quotiens et quando id eis seu eorum aliusi melius videbitur expedire. Ceteraque omnia et singula faciendi, exercendi et expediendi, que in premisiss aut circa eae necessaria fuerint seu quomodolibet opportuna, etiam si mandatum de se magis exigat speciale quam superius est expressum. Et promittimus nos ratos, gratos, et firmos perpetuo habitus et tum et quicquid dicti procuratores nostri seu eorum aliusis fecerit in premisiss aut aliquo premisissorum sub ypotheca et obligatione omnium bonorum nostrorum, et in ea parte caucionem exponimus per presentes. Dat' sub magnio sigillo nostro apud honorium nostrum de Hamtoncorte Londoinian' dioces' xxiii' die mensis Augusti anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinto ac annis regnorum nostrorum secundo et tercio'. Adveniente vero dicto die Jovis, xii' vix. die predicti mensis Septembris, annoque Domini indicatione et pontificatu, predictis, eor um nobis prefato Jacobo Glcestren episco po ac judice subdelegato sive commissario supra nominato in ecclesia parochiali dive Virginis Marie superius specificat' loco in hac parte assignat' et deputat' judicialiter et pro tribunali sedem' in prenominati magistri Johannis Clerk notarii publici et scribe nostri predicti presentia, prefatus venerabilis vir magister Thomas Martyn ex superabundantibus exhibuit procuratorium suum predictum pro illustrissimis rege et regina predictis, et se partem fecit pro eisdem ac eorum nomine procuratorio mandatum nostrum citatorium contra dictum dominum Thomam Cranmerum modo superius specificat' per nos decretum et sub sigillo nostro emanatum una cum certificatio in dorso ejusdem sub instrumento publico de et super executione ejusdem per prenominatum Christoferum Smythe notarium publicum et mandatarii nostrum predictum die et loco ac sub modo et forma in eodem certificatorio specificatis et contentis concepto, ac signis et subscrioptionibus tam pretati domini Johannis Clerk auctoritate apostolica notarii publici et scribe nostri predicti, quam etiam dicti Christoferi Smythe eadem etiam auctoritate apostolica notarii publici nostrique in hac parte mandatarii specialiter ut prefertur deputati, admissi et jurati, consignat' et subscripit' ac nostro sigillo etiam sigillat' realiter exhibuit, et contra prefatum dominum Thomam Cranmerum tunc in judicio personaliter presentem ex parte dictorum serenisissimorum dominorum Philippi et Marie, regis et regin predict', ac procuratorio nomine pro eisdem denuo dedit.
articulos prius ut prefectur per eum coram nobis datos et correctos, atque in partem et subsidium probacionis articulorum hujusmodi et conceptorum in eisdem exhibuit libros mencionatos in dictis articulis vestre reverendissime paternitati originaliter una cum presentibus transmissos. Qui quidem libri atque articuli ac subdelegatio et mandatum nostrum citatorium predict' in eorum formis originalibus tempore execucionis nostri hujusmodi mandati citatorii eisdem Thome publice ostensi, ac ipsi seu saltum vere copiae collacionate sorundem ac signo et nomine prefati domini Johannis Clerk, notarii publici nostri, quibus actuarum scripsit antedicti, signat' eisdem domino Thome Cranmero de facto realiter tradite fuerunt et penes eum dimisse, prout ex tenore certificatorii dicti nostri mandati citatorii plenius ac mani“este liquet et apparat, in presentia ejusdem domini Thome Cranmer personaliter ut prefectur presentis et comparentis, ac primo et ante omnia protestantis quod per suam comparicionem aut per aliqua per eum dicta seu dicta seu descendat, gesta vel gerenda, seu aliquo modo per eum facta seu fienda, non intidend consentire in nos subdelegatum sive commissarium antedictum aut in aliquem alium auctoritate domini Pape seu Romani pontificis fulgentem, tanquam in iudicem sibi in hoc parte (ut asservut) competentem, seu aliquo pacto admittere aliquam auctoritatem dicti Romani pontificis, asserendo et constantem affirmando eundem Romanum pontificem nullum in hoc regno habere seu habere debuisse aut debere auctoritatem seu potestatem, quodque ex eo etiam ipsius Romani pontificis auctoritatem ut prefectur admittere non intendant pro eo quod alias prestitit juramentum contrarium (ut asservut) Henrico tunc Anglie illius nominis regi octavo, viz. de renunciando Romano pontifici et de admittendo et acceptando eundem regem Henricum octavum pro supremo capite ecclesiae Anglicane, et protestabant ulterior se partum esse ad respondendum coram quocumque judice potestatem, auctoritatem, seu commissionem dictorum illustrissimorum regis et regine habente. Idem dominus Thomas Cranmerus tunc incontinenti ibidem multat varisque modis ac verbis suis nepharis, famosis et protervis publice in judicio dixit, opposuit, et object contra auctoritatem potestatemque dicti domini nostri Pape et Romani pontificis, et inter cetera audacter et sine pudore aut verecundia asservando ipsum Romanum pontificem per leges et canones suas non saltem pervertisse e pervertere leges hujus regni Anglie, sed etiam sacras scripturas et leges divinas, etiam asservando et constanter affirmando inter cetera Christum in eucharistia spiritualiter tantum et non corporali esse, sed in corpore in celo tantum esse et non alibi. Asseruitque quod casu quo Papam sive Romanum pontificem modernum imitari contigerit vestigia predecessorum suorum Romanorum pontificum, aut si ejus auctoritate potestate et legibus in regnis et dominis aliorum principium uti contigerit, quod per hoc perverteret et destrueret tam leges divinas quam etiam leges regum, et in hoc utitur (ut asservut) vice antechristi et pro antechristo et Christi adversario censeri deberit. Ac etiam addendo asservit et publice affirmavit, quod quisquis reperit seu admiserit auctoritatem domini Pape seu Romani pontificis in hoc Anglie regno, adversaretur et Deo et corone Anglie, atque eo facto excommunicatus est. Ulteriorisque asservit et publice dixit
prefatus Thomas Cranmerus nos subdelegatum ac commissarium predictm nullo modo fuisset aut esse judicem sit in hac parte competenter, sed incompetenter et perjurum eo quod admisimus auctoritatem Romani pontificis et eo quod juramentum alias prestitimus contrarium, viz. de renunciando auctoritati ejusdem Romani pontificis ac de acceptando et admitendo pronominatum regem Henrico octavo pro supremo capite ecclesie Anglicane. Et quia dictus dominus Cranmerus negavit Romana pontificem esse supremum caput ecclesie Christi,ideo interrogatus per prefatum procuratorum dominorum regis et regina "quisam tunc" (ejus judicis et opinionis) "caput esset ecclesie" huymodis respondebat, "Regem quemcumque in regno suo." Et cum dictus procurator replicavit dicens, "Ergo Nerio qui interfecit Petram caput fuit ecclesie Christi," ipse dominus Cranmerus affirmavit eundem Neronom sic fuuisse caput ecclesie Christi, et etiam Turcam sue ecclesie caput esse. Deinde pronominatam venerabilis vir magister Thomas Martyn procurator antedictus in subsidium probationis contentorunm in dictis articulis exhibuit quoddam instrumentum publicum manu propria magistri Richardi Watkyne notarii publici (ut apparet) subscriptum, et ejus signo (ut apparet) signatum, continens in se inter cetera teorem juramentum fideltatis obedientie per ipsum Thomam Cranmerum tempore ejus prefectionis sine consecrationis in archiepiscopum Cantuar beato Petro et sedi apostolice ac domino nostro Pape Clementi ejusque successoribus Romanis pontificibus prestiti, petitque procurator predictus memoratum dominum Thomam Cranmerum per nos juramento onerari de fideliter respondendo tam dictis articulis et scedule annex quam etiam ceteris per eum superioris respective exhibitis in presencia ejusdem domini Thome Cranmeri recusantis subire juramentum huymodis pro eo (ut asseruit) quod nos procedimus in hac parte auctoritate Romani pontificis. Ceterorum salvis protestacionibus suis previis et etiam sub protestacione quod non intendebeat respondere nobis subdelegato predicto, sed prefato magistro Thome Martyn procuratoris antedicto, tunc incontinenti idem Thomas Cranmerus dictis articulis omnibus et singulis superius ut prefertur contra eum datis et objectis ad peticionem prefatis magistro Thome Martyn procuratorius predicto et de mandato nostro tam Latine quam Anglice plene et articulatim ac publice perlectis et declaratis sceduleque dictis articulis annexe et ceteris exhibitis antedictis, abaque tamen aliquo juramento, deliberate et constanter coram nobis in publico judicio pro tribunal sedem respondebat ut sequitur. Ad primum articulm respondet se recepisse bullas a curia Romana et a Romano pontificia pro receptione archiepiscopatus Cantuar, quas bullas (ut asseruit) obtulit dicto tunc regi Henrico octavo et ad solum regem et ejus auctoritate (ut etiam asseruit) eundem archiepiscopatum recept: et aliter negat hunc articulum esse verum. Ad secundum fatetur contesta in eodem esse vera. Ad tercium fatetur se acceptasse et duisses mulierem in uxorem, postquam recepist sacram ordinem sacerdotalem et circa viginti annos post mortem prime uxoris suae: et aliter hunc articulum negat esse verum. Ad quartum fatetur contenta in eodem esse vera. Ad quintum fatetur se secrete tenisse dictam mulierem secundo per eum acceptam quoque per statutas et leges
APPENDIX.

hujus regni Anglie (ut asseruit) et licitum fuit habere uxorem, et quod tenebam publice teniet et ab eadem plures proles habuit: et aliter negat articulum hujusmodi. Ad vj fatetur eundem esse verum, tamen sine pudore aut verea mentia ut dicit. Ad septimum fatetur se edidisse librum in hae parte exhibitum et in articulo mentionatum vocat, "A defense of the true and Catholike feast," etc. et negat se edidisse librum in eodem articulo etiam mentionatum vocat, "A discourse of Peter Martin," etc. et quod tertium librum vocat, "A discourse of the Lords supper," etc. negat se illum edidisse, tamen credit quod hujusmodi liber est bonus et Catholicae, et quod catechismum et articulos in eodem fatetur se abhibuisse ejus consilium circa editionem eundem: et quod librum vocat, "An answer of the most reverende father in God," etc. fatetur se edidisse illum partem eundem libri qui continet ejus responses ad librum editum per reverendum patrem Winton super episcopum. Ad octavum respondet se auctorem coegisse aliquos hujusmodi articulis subscribere, tamen dicit quod plures clericorum provinciae Cant eisdem articulis voluntarie subscripserrunt, quorum subscrip- siones receptae ut dicit: et aliter negat articulum hujusmodi. Ad nonum fatetur quod a turri London ad academiam Oxoni duosius fuit: et aliter negat contenta est in eodem. Ad decimum fatetur se pro viribus defendisse libros et articulos mentionatos in hoc articulo (et in loco articulato) et contenta est in eisdem: et aliter negat. Ad undecimum fatetur sententiam de facto suisse contra eum latam eo quod defendebat libros et articulos predictos, et tamen dicit quod in illis libris et articulis non sunt heres alioque contenta: et aliter respondet negativa. Ad duodecimum respondet quod recessit ab auctoritate Romana pontificis, et alius (quantum potuit) persuasit ut sic reecedent, propter enormitates illic (ut dixit) regnantae; tamen per hoc dicit eum non esse schismaticum nec per hoc recessisse ab eclesiae Catholicae: et aliter credit hunc articulum non esse verum in aliquo. Ad decimum tertium et secundum fatetur se praeitiisse juramentum oediocie prout continetur in secla hauc articulo annexe; tamen hoc fecit (ut asseruit) sub protestacione in publico ut pretur (in hae parte exhibito contenta; et non aliter. Ad xiiij respondet et fatetur se recessisse (ut pretur) ab auctoritate Romana pontificis et alius sic recedere persuasis; hoc tamen (ut dicit) non fecit ante legem unde factam auctoritate parlementi Anglie: et etiam dicit quod post leges hujusmodi et earum auctoritate consecravit episopos et easter fecit que ante legem hujusmodi factam ad Romanum pontificem pertinebat et que per ipsum Romanum pontificem ante fieri solet: et aliter negat. Ad xv respondet quod ante receptionem Romani pontificis auctoritatem et ante reconciliacionem nuperrime in hoc Anglie regno factam hoc regnum in bone statu remanerit, atque maxime optat quod modo in eodem statu remaneret; et fatetur (ut prius) se recessisse ab auctoritate Romani pontificis, et quod non intendit ad illam auctoritatem redire vel eandem aliquo modo admittere, ut dicit. Ad ultimum negatur contenta in eodem aliter esse vera quam superius respondebat, ut dicit. Ac incontinenti (responsionibus predicti domini Thome Cranmeri modo premisso publice et judicialiter factis, receptis, et conscriptis) dictus generalissi vir magister Thomas Martyn procurator
predictit ac nomine procuratorio quo supra acceptavit responsa superius facta et contenta in eisdem quatenus faciunt pro parte et intencione dictorum illustrissimorum dominorum suorum atque super articulis et exhibitis predictis produxit venerabiles viros magistros Will'm Tresham, Richardum Marshall, Richardum Smythe, et Richardum Croke, sacre theologiae doctores, Jacobum Curtopp, Robertum Warde, Georgium London, et Robertum Serres, in testes, quos nos ad actionem procuratoris hujusmodi in testes admissimus, et in forma jurandorum testium tactis per eos sacrosanctis scripturis de fideliter deponendo et de dicendo omnem et meram veritatem, cum fuerint examinati in hac parte de et super premiosis super quibus modo premissors produci fuerunt, omni amicitia, favore, affectione, odio, timore et displiantia postpositis et semotis, juxta formam, modum et morem in simili testium admissione et juramenti prestacione solit' et consuet' et in hac parte de jure requisit', jurari fecimus in presentia dicti domini Thome Cranmeri sub ejus protestacionibus previis allegantis quod dicti testes nullo modo in hac parte sunt testes idonei, nec eisdem fides aliqua in hac parte fuit aut est (ut asseruit) adhibenda pre eo (ut etiam asseruit) sunt perjur i in eo quod subierunt juramentum domino regi Anglie tanquam supremo capiti, ac modo contra hujusmodi juramentum (ut prefertur) per eos prestitum admissurunt auctoritetatem Romani pontificis. Et tunc idem dominus Thomas interrogatus, an velit aliquibus aliis excepcionibus uti contra testes predictos seu aliqua interrogatoria contra eos ministrare, respondebat quod noluit nec ulterius aliquid in hac parte dicoere, proponere, vel obiiciere. Super quibus omnibus et singularis modo premioso dicto duodecimo die Septembri ac anno Domini indictione postisammatique et loco antedictis habitis factaque et expeditis, prefatam dominum Johannem Clerk notarium publicum ac nostrum in hac parte auctorum scribam predictum mandavimus, eundemque dictus magister Thomas Martyn procurator antedictus et procuratorio nomine predicto ad conficiendum instrumentum sive instrumenta publicum seu publica ac testes infranominatos tunc presentes inde testimonium prohibitur instanter rogavit et requisivit, presentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris Waltero Wright legum doctore archidiacono Oxon', Will'm Tresham, Richardo Marshall, Richardo Smythe publico prelectore sacre theologiae in eadem academia, et Richardo Croke sacre theologiae professoribus, Arthuro Cole sacre theologiae baccalario ac preside collegii dive Magdalenie in Oxonia, Richardo Cawdewell in medicinis doctoris, Roberto Morwent sacre theologiae baccalario, preside collegii vulgo Anglice dict 'Oriel Colledge,' Mauritio Bullock artium magistro, vice-gardiano Novi Collegii Winton' in Oxon', Richardo Busshop artium magistro, Griffino Willyams in legibus baccalario, Philippo Randall principali Aule Cervine Oxon', Will'm Hawarden sacre theologiae baccalario principali Collegii Enei Nazi vocat' 'Brase nose,' et Georgio Edrigio artium magistro ac publico Grecarum literarum prelectore, ac Johanne Pollard, Thoma Pygott, et Edmundo Powell armigeris, cum multitudine copiosa tam clericoor et scholarius dicto universitatis quam etiam laborum ad numerum quingentorum personarum et ulter existen'. Postremo vero decimo tercio die mensis Septembri anno Domini indictioneque ac anno pontificatus superpredictis, in quadam
superiori camera sive pergula gardiani Collegii Novi dicte universitatis, in presentia prefati domini Johannis Clerk notarii publici ac scribe nostri predicti, etiam presentibus Thoma Owen in legibus baccallario et Christophero Smythe notariis publicis London’ commoran’, testes infranominatos (ut prefertur) productos et juratos examinavimus, eorumque testium dicta et depositiones seriatim sequuntur et sunt tales.

RICHARDUS CROKE sacre theologie doctor in universitate Cantabrigie, sexaginta sex vel quinque annorum, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, de noticia partium examinatus dicit, quod novit prefatum Thomam Cranerum circiter triginta sex annos, regiam Mariam a bimatu, regem Philippum ex quo venit in Angliam, viz. circiter annum. Ad primum secundum tercium quartum quintum sextum septimum octavum et nonum respondet, quod credit articulos veros esse et omnia in eis contenta, quoque de siedem fama laborat per universum regnum Anglie et in multis etiam partibus transmarinis; et aliter nescit deponere. Ad decimum dicit articulum esse verum, quia ipse personaliter disputacioni predicte in publica scola theologica Oxoni’ facte interfuit. Ad unde decimum dicit articulum esse verum, ipse enim presens erat in ecclesia parochiali dive Virginis Marie Oxon in ecclesiis specificatum adversus eundem Thomam pronunciatum fuit. Ad dua decimum respondet articulum esse verum, excepto eo quod iste deponens certo affirmare non potest quod prefatus Thomas Cranmer aliquos per vim coegerit et compulerit ad renunciandum auctoritati sedis apostolice, quamquam et illud publice a fide dignis audiret. Dicit insuper quod prefatus Cranmer multos seduxerit non tantum ab auctoritate ecclesiae Romane, sed etiam a veritate in multis alis fidei Catholice articulis; et aliter nescit deponere ad articulum predictum. Ad decimumtercium dicit quod audidit ipsum Cranmerum publice confitentem se in consecracione sua prestitisse sacram obedientiæ summo pontifici: et aliter nescit deponere in articulo predicto. Ad decimumquartum dicit et deponit ut supra: dicit insuper quod prefatus Cranmer pro archiepiscopo Cant’ se gerens consecravit et transtulit complures in Anglie episcopos, viz. consecravit quemdam doctorem Poynett in Win- ton, ebp’m et quendam Coverdale in ep’m Exon’ et quendam Johannem Hoper in ep’m Glocestr’ et quod transtulit quendam doctorem Ryd- ley a Roffen’ in Londonien’ episcopatum. Ad xv dicit articulum esse verum, quia heri audivit eum publice detestantem auctoritatem Pape et apostolice sedis: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xvi dicit famam de premissis divulgatam esse per universum regnum Anglie.

ROBERTUS WARDE artium magister et publicus philosophie in Academia Oxon’ prelector, quadraginta vel circiter annorum, testis (ut prefertur) productus et juratus, libere bondionicis, interrogatus de noticia personarum dicit, quod novit regem Philippum ab eo tempore quo primum appuilit in Anglia, hoc est per integrum annum et ultra, Mariam reginam ab incipio regni Edwardi sexti, viz. circiter novem annos, Thomam Cranerum per duodecim annos vel circiter novit. Ad primum secundum tercium quartum quintum et sextum dicit, quod credit articulos veros esse et omnia in eis contenta, quia sepius publice audivit contenta in eisdem vera esse tam Oxonie quam alibi in multis Anglie partibus. Ad septimum dicit, quod credit prefatum Thomam
vix adeo eruditis ut possit ipse ejus proprio ingenio hujusmodi libros componere. Certa tamen scit ejus nomine et auctoritate eos circum-
svidi, ipsumque Thomam dixisse libros predictos seu saltem plurimos
in illis fuisse proprium ingenio confecit, et ut suos agnosvisse, et quod
novit ipsum Thomam sepium defendisse plurimas hereses in libris pre-
dictis contentas in publicis disputacionibus Oxoniae habitis, in quibus
iste deponens publico certamine contra dictum Thomam congressus
esse: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad octavum credit esse verum, quia
publico a fide dignis audivit: et aliter nescit. Ad nonum dicit esse
verum, quia vidit quum prefatus Thomas Oxonium primam a Londino
dactus esset, et in alis rebus credit articulum esse verum. Ad decimum
dicit articulum esse verum, quia interfuit disputacionibus predictis, et
in eisdem disputacionibus eadem Thome publico respondebat dum pre-
dictis, hereses pro viribus confirmare statgerat. Ad undecimum dicit
articulum verum esse; ipse enim interfuit in eadem studiis Marie Oxon
quum decretum in articulo speculatam contra prefatum Thomam
Cranmerum et duos alios publice legeretur per doctorem Weston. Ad
xij dicit quod credit esse verum, quia publico et sepium a fide dignis
audivit. Ad xii dicit verum esse, quia vidit publicum instrumentum
super juramento predicto contumaciam publice contra eundem Thomam
exhibitum: et aliter nescit. Ad xiii dicit quod prefatus Thomas Cran-
merus consecravit in episcopos Johannem Hooper in Glocestren' Mi-
ionem Couerdaile in Exoniae' Hugone Holbeche et postea quodam
docetem Taylor in episcopos Lincoln' et unsusper quod consecravit do-
ctorem Rydley in Roffen' episcopum, quem postea transulit ad episco-
patam Londoniensem; et in alis credit articulum esse verum. Ad xv
dicit verum esse, quia heri xij September audivit eam animo obtinato
contemptum primum Romane ecclesie, et unsusper protestantem se
nolle aliquo pacto in eundem consecutire. Ad xvij dicit famam de pre-
misise publice divulstatam esse tam Oxonia quam alibi in Anglia.

ROBERTUS SERLEVS sacre theologiae baccalaurius in universitate Oxon'
commerans ix. annum vel circiter, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, teetis
(ut prefertur) productus et juratus de noticing partium examinatius dicit,
quod novit regem Philippum a temporis adventus sui in Angliam, vix
per annum aut circiter, ac reginam Mariam per triginta annos vel cir-
citer, Thomam Cranmerum circiter viginti annos. Ad primum secun-
dum tertium quartum quintum sextum septimum octavum et nonum
dicit, quod credit articulos vero esse et omnia contenta in eisdem, quia
eadem publico audivit tam Oxonie quam in alius hujus regni Anglie par-
tibus: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad decimum dicit quod ipse presens
personaliter non interfuit publice disputacioni habite Oxon' cum pre-
Latato Thoma Cranmer; credit tamen articulam per omnia verum esse,
quia publica (ut asseruit) per universum Anglie regnum fama erat et
esse, ipseque a nonnullis fide dignis qui disputacioni predicte intererant
personaliter audivtit prefatum Cranmerum in academia predicta publica
disputacione libros et articulos suos predictos pro viribus defendisse,
temdemque convitatum et exhibittam a multis fuisse: et aliter nescit
deponere. Ad undecimum dicit similiter, quod credit et ex frequenti
fide dignorum relacione audivit, omnia et singula in articulo contenta
vero esse: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xij dicit quod credit dictum
APPENDIX.

Thomae fuisse et esse notorium sradaticum et hereticum, quas sepius addivit eundem tam privatim quam publice multas impias et execrandas heresces docentem, efferentem et pertinaciter defendentem, et quod idem deponente circa id temporis, quo Ecclesia Anglicana primum cepit desistere ab auctoritate Papae et sedis apostolicae, fuit vicarius de Licham dioeces et provinciae Cantuari et idem tum subjectus (seu saltam publice habitus pro subjecto) jurisdictioe praefati Thome Cranmeri, qui tum publico pro episcopo Cant se spectavit, et quod ad ipsum Thoma Cranmero seu saltam suo ejus cancellario (mandatum et auctoritatem regiam in ea parte habere pretendentem) idem deponente inductus et compulsi sit ad remanendum auctoritate domini Papae et ad prestantum juramentum contra eundem et contra sedem apostolicam. Dicit insuper quod ipsa circiter xv hinc annos unus erat ex publicis conceptioibus domini regis in dioeces Cant, quandoque ex predicto officio ignominioso expulsus fuit per praestum Thomam Cranmerum archiepiscopum Cant praenomen pro eoo vis. quod idem Robertus Serle publice in eonciionibus affirmavit realem preseniam corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia, et quod recusavit subscriptio certis articulis per praestum Thomam Cranmerum editis et divulgatis qui sibi a fide Christiana in multis dissentire et pejus heretic sterile videbatur, quodque eo nomine per praestum Thomaam (seu saltam ejusjussu et mandato) idem deponente bis in carceres coniectus fuit et ibidem dui detestatus, hoque fuit et esse notorium per universam Cant diec: et aliter nescit deponere de articulo predicto. Ad xiij dicit quod credit et quod publice audivit esse verum; et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xiiij dicit quod postquam in Anglia publice renunciatum est auctoritate sedis apostolicae, maxime queque noscias ad jurisdictionem spiritalem pertinencia, ut consecraciones episcoporum et similis, sub umbra et auctoritate regii nominis per ipsum Thomam Cranmerum se (ut praestatur) tum pro archiepiscopo Cant gerantem agebantur et fiebant: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xv dicit articulum esse verum, quia superrime viz. hesterna die audivit ipsum impia et execranda contra sedem apostolicam predictum publice in judicio dicientem, et protestantem quod nullo modo intendit in eandem conseptam neque se idem reconciliare: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xvij dicit famam de premisiss laborare.

WILLIELMUS TRESHAM sacris theologiae professor et ecclesie Christi Oxoni canonice, sexaginta annorum etatis aut circiter, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, testis productus annorum et examinatis super articulis et exhibitis ex parte illustissimorum principium Philippi et Marie regis et regine Anglie contra dominum Thomam Cranmerum pretension archiepiscopum Cant propostis dicit et deposit in vim juramenti sui pretisi ut sequitur. Primo quod notiam partium dicit, quod dictum regem Philippum per annum integrum ac dominam Mariam reginam per viginti annos jam ult ac dictum Thomam Cranmerum per idem tempus bene novit, ut dicit. Ad primum secundum terciunm quartum quintum et sextum articulos dicit et deposit coactura in eisdem fuisse et esse vera ac tanquam vera publica, notoria, manifesta pariter et famosa in hoc Anglie regno habita de auditu istius deponentia, et quod sic sepius audivit dicit, ut dicit: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad septimum dicit et deposit, quod pronominas dominus Cranmerus libros sequentes.
edidit et orbi publicavit, viz. "A defense of the true and Catholique feitie," etc. Item librum vocat; "An answe of the most reuerende father in God," etc. atque etiam quod idem Thomas Cranmerus ejus consilium adhibuit ciro edicionem libri vocat' "Catachismum," in hoc articulo respective mentionat; quae quidem respective libros iste deponens dicit se audivisse prenominatum dominum Thomam Cranmerum in publico judicio fateri et confiteri se modo et forma quibus supra edidisse, et ejus consilium adhibuisse: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad octavum nescit deponere. Ad numem dicit et deponit contenta in hoc articulo esse vera de certa scienzia et noticia hujus deponentis, ut dicit. Ad x et xj dicit et deponit, quod quia dictus dominus Thomas Cranmerus in academia Oxon' publica disputacione secum ex more scolarum habita contenta in dictis librj et articulis publice pro viribus defendebat, et sic quatenus potuit defendens convictus fuit, et circiter duos aut tres dies prox' sequen' intra ecclesiam parochialiem dibe Marie Virginis Oxon', ex eo quod ab iisdem recedere pertinaciter recusavit, scolasticis et academico Oxon' decreto pro hereticis et impio pronunciatus fuit et declaratis, liberique et articulis predictis pro hereticis et implo pronunciatis et declaratis, de certa scienzia visu et audits istius jurati, ut dicit; addendo se causam scienzia sue in hac parte reddendo dicit se fuisse presentem tempore defensionis et convictionis predict', et dicit se contra eundem Thomam et ejus libros predictos in publica scola disputasse, et quod audivit ipsum Thomam ejus libros et heresess predict' modo et forma quibus supra defendentam, et in ea parte (ut pretentur) convictum, ut dicit: presentibus tunc ibidem Richardo Smythe, Richardo Marshall, et Richardo Crook, sacre theologie professoribus, contestibus suis cum multis alios, ut dicit, premisa videntibus et audientibus. Ad duodecimum dicit et deponit contenta hujusmodi articulo fuisse et esse vera, ac in Anglie regno publica, notoria, manifesta pariter et famosa de auditu, scientia, et noticia istius jurati, exceptum tantum quod ignorat de aliqua compulsione per eundem Thomam Cranmerum cuiquam facta, ut dicit. Ad xjij dicit contenta in hujusmodi articulo fuisse et esse vera ut credit, eo quod tunc Romanus pontificem suam auctoritatem exercerat in hoc regno Anglie de certa scienzia et noticia istius deponentis, ut dicit. Et ulterius dicit et deponit se audivisse dictum Thomam Cranmerum in publico judicio coram reverendo domino subdelegato pro tribunali in hac parte sedem' fateri se tale prestitisse juramentum obediencie, prout continetur in secula huic articulo annexa; hoc tamen fecit sub protestacione in instrumento publico in ea parte contra eum exhibito contenta, ut idem Thomas asserruit: et aliter nescit. Ad xijij et xv dicit et deponit contenta in eisdem articulis (excepto' hoc tantum quod aliquem coegit ad consensionum contentis in eisdem articulis) fuisse et esse vera, publica, et notoria de certa scienzia et noticia hujus deponentis, ut dicit. Ad ultimum dicit et deponit predesposita per eum fuisse et esse vera, publica, et notoria, ac xjij sedem famam presentim in hoc Anglie regno laborasse et laborare xjijtaxa depositionem suam predictam.

JACOBUS CUNTOFF artium magister decansaques 'eccliesie Cath' Petriburgen', triginta octo annorum etatis aut circiter, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, testis productus juratus et examinatus super articulis et
exhibitis in hac parte contra Thomam Cranmerum pretensum archiepiscopum Cant' ex parte illustrissimorum dominorum nostrorum regis et regine propositis et datis. Primo quoad noticiam partium litigantium dicit, quod dictum dominum nostrum regem per tres quarterios anni ult' ac dominam reginam per xxv annos jam ult' elapsos respective bene novit, ut dicit. Ad primum et secundum dicit et deponit, quod sic dixit audivit prout continentur in istis articulis: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad tercium dicit et deponit, quod audivit dixit quod idem Thomas Cranmerus quando mulierem secundo in uxorem duxit, sed an idem mulieri fuit nuptus necne, nescit (ut dicit) nisi per auditum aliorum, sed pro certo dicit et deponit se vidisse eandem mulierem quam idem Thomas Cranmerus tanquam uxorem suam (ut asserruit) tenuit cum ipso Thoma in ejus mensa sedentem, comedentem et bibentem: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad iij et quintum dicit et deponit, quod dixit audivit quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus ejus secundum uxorem predictam tempore regis Henrici octavi cianulum et secrete tenuit, atque tempore Edwardi sexti etiam hujus regni nuper regis idem Thomas eandem suam uxorem aperte et publice tenuit de visu et noticia istius deponentis: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad sextum dicit et deponit, quod dixit audivit quod idem Thomas dixitam uxorem suam secundo (ut prefertur) per eum acceptam, antequam prefectus fuit Cant' archiep', duxit et tenuit Osianro benedictene nupcias: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad septimum dicit et deponit, quod ex certa sua scientia dixit Thomas Cranmerus sequentes libros suo nomine edidit et orbi publicavit, viz. “A defense of the true and Catholique doctrine,” etc. item “Cathachismum brevem Christiane discipline,” etc. atque “articuloe” in eodem Cathachismo mentionat'; necnon, “An answser of the most reverend father,” etc. Et aliter nescit deponere. Ad octavum nescit deponere. Ad ix x et xj dicit et deponit quod sic dixit audivit quod idem Thomas Cranmerus dictos suos libros et articulos ac contenta in eisdem publice et in publica scola pro viribus defendebat, atque ab heresibus in hujusmodi libris et articulis contentis recedere pertinaciter reussavit, et propter eam publico Oxon' decreto tam ipse quam ejus libri et articuli predicti pro hereticis et impis pronunciati et declarati: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xij (hoc excepto, quod non novit eundem Thomam aliquem coegisse ad contenta in hoc articulo facienda) dicit et deponit eundem articulum et contenta in eodem fuisses et esse vera, publica, notoria et manifesta in hoc Anglie regno: et aliter nescit. Ad xiiij dicit et deponit contenta in eodem fuisses et esse vera, et etiam dicit quod audivit eundem Thomam coram reverendo domino subdelegato in hac parte procedente in publico judicio pro tribunali seden' confiteri se tale prestitisse juramentum obediencie prout continentur in scedula huic articulo annexa: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xiiiij et xiv dicit et deponit contenta in eisdem articulis fuisses et esse vera, except' quod non novit de aliqua coactione per eundem Thomam Cranmerum facta. Ad ultimum dicit predisposita per eum fuisses et esse vera, ac juxta eadem famam laborasse et laborare.

GEORGIIUS LONDON sacre theologie baccalarius, collegii Gloucestren' in academia Oxon', quinquaginta duorum annorum etatis aut circiter,
libere (ut dicit) conditionem, testis in hac parte productus et juvatus, quando partes dicit quod dominus regem medorum nea novit, ac dictam dominam reginam ciriter xxvij annos jam ult. elapsos ac Thomam Cranmerum per quindecim annos bene novit, ut dicit. Ad primam secundum tertia quarum quintum et sextum dicit et deposit, contenta in eisdem articulis fuisse et esse vera et in hoc Anglie regno publica, notoria et manifesta, etiam per dictum Thomam Cranmerum coram domino subdelegato in hac parte procedente publice in judicio saltam in effecto confesse, ut dicit: et aliter nescit deponeare. Ad septimum dicit et deposit dictum Thomam Cranmerum libros sequentes adhibisse saltam suo nomine, vis. "A defense of the true and Catholique doctrine," etc. "An answer of the most reverend father in God," etc. necesse ejus consilium adhibuisse circa editionem Catholichismi brevi Christiane discipline etc. in hoc articulo mencionatur, prout dicit Thomas Cranmerus publice fatabatur coram domino subdelegato in hac parte pro tribunali sedens et aliter nescit deponeare. Ad octavum nescit deponeare. Ad ix et xj dicit et deposit, quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus in publica etola theologica academica Oxon' dictos libros et articulos ac contenta in eisdem aliasque nonnullas heresem publice defendebat et inter cetera negavit presenciam corporis Christi in sacrosanctia eucharistia, ut dicit; et sic defendendo et negando scholastico et academico Oxon', decreto pro hereticco et impio in ecclesia parochiali dive Marie Virginis civitatis Oxon' pronunciatus et declaratus, ut iste deponens dicit audiret, tamen eodem decreto non interfuit, ut dicit: et aliter nescit deponeare. Ad duodecimum dicit et deposit eundem Thomam Cranmerum fuisse et esse (premissorum obtentum) obsequii, et quod idem Thomas Cranmerus publice fatabatur se adhibuisse ejus consilium regi Henrico et quam plurimis aliis personis hujus regis ut recoderant ab auctoritate Romani pontificis: et aliter dicit quod nescit deponeare. Ad xiiij dicit se audiresse dictum Thomam Cranmerum coram prefato domino subdelegato publice in judicio faustum esse et confittere se tale prestitisse juramentum, prout continuaret im ascendula huius articulo annexa: tamen hoc fecit (ut asseruit) sub protestatione in instrumento publico in hac parte exhibito contenta: et aliter nescit deponeare. Ad xiiiij et xv dicit et deposit contenta in eisdem articulis fuisse et esse vera, publica, et notoria etiam de certa scientiae auditu et noticia istorum deponeantibus, ut dicit. Ad ultimum dicit praedeposita per eum esse vera, atque juxta eadem fessam laborasse et laborare.

Magister Richardus Smyth de sacre theologice professor, ecclesie Christii in academie Oxon' prebendarius ac publicus prelector sacre theologie in eadem academia, quinquaginta trium aut circiter annorum etatis, libera (ut dicit) conditionem, testis super articulis capitulis sive interrogatoris ex parte illustrissimorum dominorum regis et reginae contra Thomam Cranmerum pro archiepiscopo Cantuar' se gerentem datie et propositis productus, juratus et examinatus dicit, quod citra adventum ejusdem regis ad hoc Anglie regnum cum tam temporis nuptiarum inter eum et serenissimam dominam Mariam Anglie reginam Winton' celebrans quam etiam plures citra illud tempus vidit, quodque serenissimam dominam Mariam reginam per xiiiij aut xv annos, neones
prefatum dominum Thomam Cranmerum per xviiij annos, aut circiter novit. Ad primum secundum tertium quartum quinimum et sextum articulos predictos dicit et deposit iste deponens, quod a pluribus sepius audivit dicit prout in eisdem articulis continetur quodque sic in quam plurimis hujus regni civilibus et oppressis ac in utraque universitate sive academia Oxon' viz. et Cantabrigien' et in nonnullis alii locis publicis hujus regni contenta in eisdem articulis fuerunt et sunt communiter dicta, et publica, notoria, et famosa etiam de auditu et scientia hujus deponentis. Dicitque iste deponens quod firmiter credit contenta in articulis hujusmodi fuisse et esse vera; et aliter dicit quod nescit deponere. Ad septimum dicit et deponit iste juratus, quod liber vulgo nominatus "The defence of the true and Catholick doctrine of the sacrament of the bodie and blood of over Lord," etc. editus fuit ac publicatus et orbi traditus per dictum Thomam Cranmerum ac ejs nomine, sucoritatis at mandato, non sequum prout iste juratus sepius hee verum esse audivit a pluribus aliiis, verum etiam ex eo quod sub nomine ipsius Thome editus et impressus fuit. Cui quidem libro et contentis in eisdem iste juratus respondens confessationi ejusdem alium libros edidit et scripse nominatum vulgariter et Anglice "A confession of the true and Catholick doctrine," etc. Et quod attinet ad Catachismum et articulos annexos et ad librum continentem responsam ejusdem Thome Cranmeri contra librum reverendi patriae domini Stephani Winton' episcopi vulgariter dictum, "An answer of the most reverend father in God Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury;" etc. dicit quod tam per titulum et inscriptionem eorum et per publicam famam, quam per confessionem dicit Thome, apparebat eosdem libros per eundem Thome editos fuisse et publicatos; et aliter dicit quod super contentis in hoc articulo nescit deponere. Ad octavum et nonum dicit quod nescit deponere. Ad decimum et undecimum dicit iste deponens, quod intra festa Pasche et Pentecostes ad annum elapsum, viz. anno Domini millésimo quingentesimo quinquagésimo quarto, presens fuit in acia theologica Oxoniensi quando dictus Thomas Cranmerus publice et pertinaciter pro viribus defendeat hæreres contentas in libris et articulis predictis, viz. non esse corpus Christi realiter in eucharistia, et non esse transubstanciacionem paës et vini, tercio missam non esse sacrificium propiciatorio pro vivis et defunctis: quodque pròpter eam post disputacionem aliqut dierum in ea parte publice et solemniiter factam tandem sentendia duodecim doctorum virorum, viz. sex de universitate Oxon' et sex de universitate Cantabrigien', et aliquam multorum virorum doctorum specialiter in ea parte a convocatione cleri tunc Londini celebrat missam, convitios fuit, et poetas in ecclesia parochiali dice Marie Oxon' pro heretico judicatu, ejusque opiniones predicte tantaque heretico damnum fuerunt: presentibus eisim tunc ibidem ac premisse audientibus venerabilibus viris Richardo Marshall sacre theologie professore ac dicte universitate Oxoniensi tunc et in presenti vicarscandariis, Will'm Tresham et Richardo Croke theologoe doctoribus, ac Georgio London theologoe bacalario, Roberto Warde artium magistro, Johanne Smythe artium magistro, Richardo Bruera sacre theologoe bacalario et prelatoere Hebraice lingue in dicta universitate, una cum alius pluribus ad
numerus millenarium et ultra, ut credit et ut modo recolit: et aliter dicit quod super contentis in istis articulis nescit deponere. Ad xij xijij xv et xjij dicit aliter super contentis in eisdem articulis deponere nescit quam ex auditu famaque publica et ex propria confessione predicti Thome Cranmeri hesterna luce, viz. duodecimo die instantis mensis Septembri, coram domino subdelegato pro tribunali sedente publice facta, dicitque iste juratus in vim juramenti sui quod non est doctus neque instructus praeceve aut precio aliquo in hac parte corruptus.

Magister Richardus Marshall sacre theologice professor ac decanus ecclesie cathedralis collegii Christi in alma academia Oxon et ejusdem academie commissarius, xxxvij annorum etatis aut circiter, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, testis super articulis ex parte serenissimorum dominorum Philippi et Marie Anglie regis et reginae contra dominum Thomam Cranmerum assertum episcopum Cantuari datis et propositis productus, juratus et examinatus, primo de partium noticia dicit, quod illustrissimum dominum Philippum Anglie regem primo Winton tempore rupturar inter eum et serenissimam dominam Marian Anglie reginam celebrat' vidit, quodque altera plurias eum vidit; et dicit quod presfata serenissimam dominam Marian Anglie reginam per octo aut novem annos aut circiter ac Thomam Cranmerum per xvi annos aut circiter novit. Ad primum secundum tertiaum quartum quintum et sextum articulos predictos dicit, quod super contentis in eisdem aliter deponere nescit quam ex ipsius Thome confessione tam hesterna luce, viz. xij die hujus mensis Septembri, coram reverendo patre domino Jacobo Glocestren' episcopo subdelegato in ac causa judicialiter et publice facta, quam etiam ante isti jurato per eundem dominum Thomam Cranmerum declarata, atque ex publica et communis voce et fama super contentis in eisdem tam in utraque universitate, viz. Oxonien' et Cantabrigiens' ac in pluribus aliis locis publicis hujus regni Anglie laborante; tamen dicit quod firmiter credit contenta in eisdem suisse et esse vera: et aliter dicit quod super contentis in hujusmodi articulis nescit deponere. Ad septimum articulum dicit et deponit iste juratus, quod tam liber vocatus "A discourse of the true and Katholike faieth," etc. "Cathahismus brevis," etc. cum articulis annexis, quam etiam liber vocatus "An answere of the most reuerende father in God Thomas archebishop of Canterbury," etc. editi, publicati, et in publico producti et destinati fuerunt sub nomine dicti domini Thome Cranmeri, atque pro editis per eum publice et communiter dicti, nominati et reputati tam per ipsum Thomam quam per alios quamplurimum, et etiam judicialiter coram domino judice subdelegato predicto xij die hujus mensis Septembri suprirus mencionat' sic recognit' et confessat'. Et ideo iste juratus etiam firmiter credit libros et articulos hujusmodi per ipsum Thomam Cranmerum saltem ejus nomine sic editos publicatosque et omnibus destinatos suisse: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad octavum et nonum dicit iste juratus, quod firmiter credit contenta in eisdem vero esse ex eo quod sic communiter dicitur etiam ab aliquibus eorum qui articulis hinc mencionatis subscriperunt, et quod sic communius fama laboravit de hujus deponentia auditu proprio: et aliter dicit quod nescit deponere. Ad decimum et undecimum dicit iste juratus, quod intra
festa Pasche et Pentecostes ad annum elapsum, viz. in anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto jam ult' preterit', presens fuit iste juratus in locis theologicis dictae universitatis Oxonien', ubi dictus Thomas Cranmerus publice pro viribus defendebat heresin in libris et articulis predictis contentas, viz. denegando presentiam corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia ac transubstantacionem panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi, etiam missae sacrificium denegando, propter quod post longam et proxiam disputacionem per quinque aut sex dies idem Thomas in ea parte convictus fuit: atque sentencia sex virorum doctorum universitatis Oxon' et sex virorum doctorum universitatis Cantabrigien', necon sex etiam doctorum virorum ex convocatione sive sinodo cleri tunc Londini celebrat' et Oxonie pro dicta disputacione specialister transmissorum, in choro ecclesiis beate Marie Virginis Oxon' predict' condemnatur fuit pro heretico, et similiter ejus opiniones predicte pro hereticis damnatis ac condemnatis et pronuntiatae fuerunt: presentibus tunc ibidem et premissa etiam audientibus venerabilibus viris Willmo Tresham, Richardo Smythe, et Richardo Croke sacre theologiae professoribus, Roberto Warde artium magistro, Georgio London sacre theologiae baccalario, necon Hugone Weston sacre theologiae professore ac convocationis predicte prolocutore, Will'mo Chedsey sacre theologiae professore, ac Will'mo Cole legum doctor, et Morgano Philipps sacre theologiae baccalario, cum aliis quam plurimos ad numerum (ut credit) quadrangentorium: et aliter dicit quod de contentis in istis articulis deponere nescit. Ad reliquos articulos, viz. ad xiiij xiiij xiiiij xv et xvij articulos dicit et deponent, quod tam racione confessionis prefati Thome Cranmeri hesterna die coram reverendo patre domino Jacobo Brokes judice in hac parte subdelegato judicialiter et publice facte, quam etiam racione fame publice et communi in ea parte tam in hac academia Oxonien' quam etiam in aliis plurimitis hujus regni oppidis et locis publicis laborantis, etiam de istius deponentis certe auditu credit contenta in articulis predictis fuisset et esset vera. Et aliter dicit quod de et super contentis in articulis predictis nescit deponere, dictique iste juratus quod non est doctus neque instructus preceve aut preceve in hac parte corruptus.

TENORES autem mandati nostri citatorii predicti una cum certificatorio in dorso ejusdem, necon articulorum et scedule annexe, ac instrumenti publici de quibus superius fuit mencio, seriatim sequuntur et sunt tales. JACOBUS BROKES permissione divina Glocestren' episcopus reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Jacobi miserramie divinae tituli Sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbyteri cardinalis de Puteo nuncupati, cause et causis ac partibus infra nominatis judiciis et commissarios a sanctissimo domino nostro Papa specialiter deputati, una cum reverendo in Christo patre Wigorn' episcopo ac venerabilibus viris decano Londonien' et archidiacono Cantuarien' cum illa clausula et vestrum culibet insolit' etc. sub modo et forma infra script'. Judeo subdelegatus sive commissarius sufficienter et legitime deputatus universis et singulis prepositis decanis archidiaconis prebendarianis rectoribusque vicariis capellaniis curatis et non curatis solaribus
APPENDIX.

ac notaribus publicis et tabellariis clericisque et litteratis quibuscumque per provinciam Cantuariam alias ubi subsequi constituerint, saltem in Domino, ac nostri hujusmodi et dicte reverendissimae domini cardinalis iudicis delegati antedicti, inno verius apostolicis, volentibus firmare obedienti mandatis litteras commissionales sive subdelegatorias praefati reverendissimi patris et domini domini Jacobi cardinalis et judicis delegati predicti ipsius sigillo cera rubae impressa in quadam alba lignea capsula includen cum cordulis rubei coloris oblongo dependentibus sigillat in signo, nomine et subscriptione prvidi viri Claudi Badii clericis Ermittini diocesis publici anceritate apostolicae et imperialis ut apparuit notarii munitis et subscriptis, non viciatis, non resumis, non abolitis, non cancellatis, nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas, sed sane et integras ac omni vicio et sinistra suspicione carentes, nobis directas et per partem illustrissimorum serenissimorumque Philippii et Marie Dei gratias Anglie regis et reginae in ipsa litteris commisionibus nominatis anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto indictione decima tercia pontificatus dicti sanctissimi domini nostri Pauli Pape eo nomine quarto anno primo, mensis vero Septembris die 20 in ecclesias parochialis die Virgini Mariæ in alma academias Oxoniens actuat realiter presentata: noveritis nos cum ea qua docuit reverencia recepisse tenorem inscriptum in se continentem, IOACEM missarumque divina titulo sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesiae presbyter cardinalis de Puteo nunucupatus, causque et causis ac partibus inscriptis iudex ac commissarius a sanctissimo domino nostro Pape specialiter deputatus, reverendis in Christo patribus et dominis dominis Dei et apostolice sedis gracia Wigera et Glocestren episcopis ac decano Londoini et archi dioecese Cantuariar et vestrum eunilib ansebide, salutem in Domino et presentibus fidem induibiam adhibere ac hujusmodi in commissis diligenciam facere nostriques hujusmodi, imame verius apostolicis, firmare obedienti mandatis. Noveritis quod nuper sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus nostro domini Paulus divina providencia Pape quartus quando commissio sine stipulacione papiri seculum nobis per certos cursores suos presentari fecit, quam nos cum ea qua docuit reverencia receptum hujusmodi sub tenore motu proprio, etc. Quoniam, sicut nuper nobis significatum fuit per litteras dilectorum in Christo filiorum nostrorum Philippii regis et Marie regin Anglie, Thomas Cranmer, qui olim sedes apostolice anciortitae metropolitanae ecclesiae Cantuarien, prefectus fuisse, in heresia alii qua tam grandis tamque enormia crimina sit prolapsus, ut non solem diete metapholitanae ecclesiae regimine ingenuo se reddiderit, sed cum omnem fere divini et humani juris raciencia abscissa videatur, majori pena meritum se fecerit, prout etiam ex compurrimis dicti regn Anglie praetorum attestacionibus dicitur apparere, essentur etiam omnia esse notoria: nos de premisiis certam alter quam ut presentem noticiam non habentes et tanta crimina (si vera sint) impunitas diem tamque metropolitanae ecclesiam sine pastore idoneo dereliquere, ad aliquid tamen executionem alter quam rei veritate per legitimam receptas probaciones habita procedere nolentes, dilecto filio nostro Jacobo tituli sancti Simeonis sancte Romane cardinale, ut de premissis etiam summarum simpliciter et de plano, sine strepitu et figura judicii
APPENDIX.

ac sine ulla terminorum substaecialium vel tele judiciorise obseavione, citato dico Thoma se informet, et quicquid inveniet nobis referat, committimus et mandamus cum potestate in curia et extra citandi et inhibendi literas compulsoriales generales ac remissorias in forna consuetad ad partes decernendi personasque quoscumque (si opus esse arbitrabitur) sive ad exhibenda jura sive ad perhibendum testimonium, etiam pro censuras ecclesiasticas cogendi et compelliendi, seu si pro celeriori expedizione sibi videbitur ad recipiend' informacionem hujusmodi aliquem probum virum in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum in partibus illis commorantem comm w mpli citandi, inhibendi, cogendi, facultatem deputandi ac compelliendi et subdelegandi, cunque alicis facultatibus necessariis consuetudinis et opportunis, presentium tenore committimus et mandamus, non obstant\' constitucione et ordinacione apostolica dicti regni legibus statutis et consuetudinibus etiam jura mento robatoriis ceterisque contrarioris quibuscumque statum merita et tenores predictorumque aliorumque fuerat latius expressendorum pro sufficient expressis habentes. Que quidem commissio binas in ejus fine habebat suasrum, quarum prior talis erat, viz. de mandato domini nostri Pape, audiam, idem reverendissimus dominus cardinalis citet, decernat, deputet, subdeleget et referat ut petitur. Secunda vero sic subsequatur, viz. placet. J. Cuju quidem commissionis pretexetur pro nos citacione legitime extra Romanam curiam et ad partes contra et adversas reverendum patrem dominum Thomam Cranmerum prefect\' metropolitane ecclesiae Cantuar\' in forma solita et consuetudinae decretis et concessis. Subsequentem vero constitutus legitime coram nobis providus vir magister Petrus Renilius in Romanze curia causarum et senesimorum Philippi regis et Marie regine Anglie procuratoris notatur, a prot de sue procuracionis mandato nobis legitimam promisit fercare fidem et ex nomine procuratori et ad recipiend' informacionem contenetur in praeserta commissione aliquem probum virum in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum in partibus illis commorantem juxta et secundum predicte commissionis vim, formam, continuacionem et tenorem subdelegamenti, viceque nostros committit per nos debita cum instaucia postulativa. Nos tunc Jacobus Puteus cardinalis et judex prelatus, attendentes postulationem hujusmodi fore justam et ratione consonam, vos reverendos dominos Wigornien\' et Glocestren\' episcopos ac de canum Londoniem\' et archidioconorum Cantuarie\' et vestrum quemlibet insolide\' ad recipiend' informacionem premissorum narratorium et contentorum in praeserta commissione juxta dicta commissionis vim, formam, continenci
ciam, et tenorem subdelegamenti\' ac vices nostros commit tend\' duximus, et per presentes subdelegamus et committimus hab nostros litteras nostro sigillo munitas decenternas. Que omnia et singula premisa nobis omnibus et singulis predictis intimamus, insinuamus, et notifisimus et ad vestrum et ejuslibet vestrum noticiam deducimus et deduci volumus per presentes. In quorum omnium et singularum fidei et testimonium premissorum presentes litteras sive praelem publicam instrumentam, hujusmodi subdelegacionem in se continentis sive continens, exinde fieri et per notarium publicum nostrumque et hujusmodi cause coram nobis scribamus infrascriptum subscribi et publicari mandamus, sigillique nostri justissimus et fecimus

2 L 2
appensione communiri. Dat' et actum Rome in domo habitacionis nostre solite residen' sub anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indicatione decima tercia, die vero Mercurii decima nona mensis Junii, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Pauli divina providencia Papæ quarti anno ejus primo: presentibus ibidem venerabilibus viris dominis Menelao de Bazzanis et Augustino Ferragutt clericis, Parmen' et Majoricen' respective civitatum testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis et speciales, et ego Claudius Badius clericus Bismitin' dioecesis, publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritatisibus notarius reverendissimique domini cardinalis prefati et hujus cause coram eo in locum venerabilitis viri domini Parii de Fabianis clerici Arben' notarii scriba deputatus: quia dict' subdelegacioni, peticiioni, et decreto, omnibusque aliis et singulis premisso, dum sic ut premititur fierent et agerentur, una cum prenominatis testibus presens interfuit, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi ac in notam sumpei, ex quas presens publicum instrumentum manu alterius scriptum exinde confeci et subscripti, signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis una cum ipsius reverendissimie domini cardinalis sigilli appensione signavi in fidem premissoorum rogatus et requisitus. Post quorum quidem literalum commissionis predict' presentationem et earum receptionem nobis et per nos sic ut premititur fact' fuimus per partem prefatorum illustissimorum regis et regine debita cum instancia requisiti, quatenus onus execucionis earundem literalum et contentorum in easdem in nos assumere, et eas juxta formam in eis annotatam et secundum juris exigentiam debite exequi et citationem legitimam contra et adversus prenominatum Thomam Cranmerum pro Cantuar' archiepiscopo se gerentem in predict' litteris ex adverso principaliter nominatum, sub modo et forma inferius descript' decernere et concedere dignamur. Unde nos Jacobus episcopus et subdelegatus sive commissarius antedictus, attendentes requisionem hujusmodi nobis ut premititur factam justam fore et racioni consonam ob reverendissimae dicti reverendissimae domini cardinalis judicis delegati committentes onus commissionis hujusmodi in nos assumentes, neconon juxta ipsius commissionis, vim, formam, et effectum procedere volentes in hac parte, citationem hujusmodi etiam ad diem et locum inferius descript' fieri decernimus, justicia id poscente. Vobis igitur conjunctim et divisim auctoritate apostolica (qua fungimur in hac parte) committimus et firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus citatis seu citari faciatis peremptorio prefatum Thomam Cranmerum archiepiscopum asserturn antedictum, quod comparaet coram nobis in ecclesia parochiali dive Virginis Maria in alma academia Oxon' situat' duodecimo vis. die instantis mensis Septembris hora octava ante meridiem ejusdem diei cum continuacione et prorogacione dierum, horarum, et locorum tunc sequend' et limitand', si oporteat in hac parte fiendi causam rationabilum et legitimam, si quæ pro se habeat aut dicere sciat objectionemve sive exceptionem si quam proponere, facere, aut objioere velit aut possit contra literas sive instrumentum subdelegacionis predict' aut contra articulos in hac parte datos seu contra instrumenta processum sive jura aliqua in hac parte producta in debita juris forma dictur' ostensur' et allegatur'; neconon
testes aliasque probaciones super articulis ceterisque juribus et instrumentis hujusmodi produci, jurari, et fieri visur et auditur, interrogatoriaque si que dare voluerit datur et ministratur, necnon ad omnia et singula acta in hac parte necessaria atque juxta premiess et juxta vim, formam, et tenorem literarum commissionaliun sive subdelegatoriarum predictarum successive expediendi processeur et procedi visur uteriusque factur et receperur quod tenor et effectus dictarum literarum commissionaliun sive subdelegatoriarum et contenta in eisdem de se exigunt et requirunt, et quod justicia in hac parte suadebit, intemantes nihilominus eodem Thome Cranmero archiepiscopo asserto sic citato, quod sive ipse in dicto citacionis et decreti nostri hujusmodi termino comparuerit sive non, nos juxta juris exigentiam ac juxta vim, formam, tenorem et effectum dictarum literarum commissionaliun sive subdelegatoriarum tam ad testium productionem, juramenti prestacionem, et eorum examinacionem, ceterorumque probacionem receptionem et admissionem, quam etiam ad omnia et singula acta necessaria in hac parte successive expediendi, prout justum fuerit, procedemus ipsius Thome citati absens sive contumacia in aliquo non obstante. Et quid in precediis feceritis, nos subdelegatum antedictum dictates die et loco debite certificet ille vestrum qui presens nostrum mandatum fuerit executus personaliter vel per suas literas patentes harum seriem in se continentem una cum presentibus auctentice sigillat. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus apposuimus. Dat' nonzero die mensis Septembri anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto. IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Universis et singulis presens publicum instrumentum inspectus pateat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione decima tercia pontificatusque sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Pauli divina providencia hujus nominis Papa quarti anno ejus primo, mensis vero Septembri die nono, in domo Rogeri Taylor alias Cooke infra parochiam beste Marie Magdalene in suburbii civitatis Oxon' diocesisque Oxon' notorius situat', in providi et circumspeti viri domino Johannis Clerk notarii publici subscripti testiumque infranominatorum ad hac specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum precencia, ego Christoferus Smyth the notarius publicus ac mandatarius in hac parte specialiter deputatus juratuserque et admissus ex parte illustrissimorum serenissimorumque Philippi et Marie Anglie regis et regine in retrospectis literis citatorius principaliter nominatorum, ad assumend' in me executionem retrospectarum literarum citatoriarum et ad illas exequend' instanter requisitus, tanquam obdiciens filius, literas hujusmodi humiliiter et reverenter recepi, ac is erad executionem juxta officii mei debitis suscepi, et eadem Thome Cranmero ex adverso principalis in retrospectis literis ex adverso principaliter nominato presenti easdem literis et contenta in eisdem insinuavi, publicavi, notificavi et ad ejus noticiam, quantum melius potui et debui, deduxi, ac earundem vigore eundem Thomam citavi, quatemus post hujus citacionis executionem infra terminum in ea prefixum in judicio coram reverendo in Christo patre et domino domino Jacobi permissione divina Glocestren' episcopo, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Jacobi miseracione divina tituli Sancte
Maris in via mercatoris Romane ecclesie presbyteri cardinalis de Patro nominatus causae et causis ad paribus infra nominatis judicis et commissarii a dicto sanctissimo domino nostro Papa specialiter deputati sub modo et forma infrascripta judice subdelegato sive commissario, sufficienter et legitime deputato, in retrospectis literis nominato modo et forma in eadem literis expressa, comparat, et alias dictas citatorias literas juxta viam, formam, terminum et effectum earundem executus fui, nihil de contentis in eadem omitendo, et in signum vere et realis execucionis hujusmodi ipsi Thome versus earundem literarum copiam, necesse copiarem veram articulorum, capitulorum, sive interrogatoriorum ex parte dictorum serenissimarum dominorum nostrorum regis et reginae in haec parte contra eum proposit' dat' et exhibi' collacionatam, ac manue et signo dicti domini Johannes Clerk notarii publici predicti, ac hujus cause in actorum scribam specialiter assumpti, subscripsa et firmatam, una cum libris munimenta, et documentis in ipsis articulis sive capitulis specialibus, et in haec parte eorum retro nominato domino subdelegato eisam exhibitis tradis et dimisi. Super quibus omnibus et singulis tam ego notarius et mandatarius antedictus, quam eam praebuit domino Johannes Clerk notarii publici predictus, tum eisam personaliter presens ex parte dictorum serenissimarum domini- norum nostrorum regis et reginae, et eorum nomine ad constituend' instrumentum sive instrumenta publicum seu publicum unum vel plura, ac testes infra nominatos inde testimomium parihere specialiter fuimus respective requisiti. Acta fuerunt haec omnia et singula prout superscribuntur et recitatiur sub anno Domini indictione post- octavae ac manue die et loco supradictis: presentibus sumo ibidem Griffithus Willyams Oxon' commorante, et Thoma Owen London commorante, notarius publicus, ac Rogerus Taylor alias Cooke Oxon' dicas et Rolandus Grane literato London' etiam commorante, testibus ad premsas vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Et ego Christoforus Smytho Lincoln dioecesis publicus apostolicae auctoritatise notarius, quia dictas citationem contra memoratum dominum Thomam Cramerum modo et forma quibus supra debite executus fui, omnibusque aliis et singulis prasmisit, dum sic ut proemium sub anno Domini indicatione post-octavae ac manue die et loco supradictis fuerant et agerentur (una cum praesato domino Johannes Clerk notarii publico et actorum scriba predicto hie inferius se subscribente) pronominasque testibus presens personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic feci, executus fui, et expedivi ac in notam sumpsi. Ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu mea propria exinde confeci, scripsi et subscripsa, signoque* et nomine meis solitus et consuetus una cum signo et nomine prefatis Johannes Clerk notarii predicti atque dicti reverendi patris domini Jacobi Glocestren' episcopi subdelegati supradicti sigillse apponse signavi in fidem praeviso rum rogatus specialiter et requisitus. Et ego Johannes Clerk, Bethon' et Wellen' diocesis publicus saecra auctoritatise apostolicae notarius, et alme curie Cantuariorum procuratorum generalium unus, in causaeque et causis retrospectis actorum scriba specialiter assumptus, admissius, et assignatus, quia dictarum literarum cita-

* The device is in the margin of the MS.
teriarum receptioni et execucioni ac vera copie eorum etiam manu nominatis et sigmo meo propriis et solitis signatis et firmate tradicioni ceterisque praeordine omnibus et singulis, dum sic ut premittur sub anno Domini indictione pontificatu mensae ac die et loco superioris specificatis agerentur et fierent, una cum memorato domino Christofero Smythe notario publico et mandatario predicto (ut prefertur) se supe-rius subscribente testibusque pronomitis presens personaliter interi, eosce omnibus et singulis sic fieri vidi, scivi, et audivi, ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum, manu propriis supranominiti domini Christoferi Smythe notarii publici predicti scriptum et exinde confectum, estiam subscripsi, signoque* et nomine meo solito et consuetis signavi una cum appressione sigilli supradicti reversandi domini subdelegati in fidem et testimonium praeordinarum regatur (ut prefertur) et requiris. In die nominis Amen eoram vobis reverendo in Christo patre et domino dominico Jacobo permissione divina Glocestrense episcopo, reveren-dissimi in Christo patris et domini domino Jacobo missione divina titulo Sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbyteri cardinalis de Puteo nuncupati, a sanctissimo domino nostro dominio Paulo divina providencia illius nominis Papa quarto judicis delegati commissario sive subdelegati in hac parte sufficenter auctorizato, articulos, capitula, posiciones sive interrogatoria inrescripta, ac omnia et singula in cedem contenita, omnibus maioribus validioribusque et effectuariis via modo et juris forma, quibus molias validiuos et effectu- tias de jure potuit aut debeat atque ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi velae procurator et eo nomine illustriissimorum servissimo-rumque principum Philippo et Marie Anglie regis et regine con-tae et aversus Thomam Cranmerum pro archiepiscopo metropolitane ecclesie Cantuaris se gerentem dat, proponit, et exhibet conjunctim et divisim ac articulatim prout sequitur. In primum procurator dictorum illustriissimorum regis et regine ac procuratorio nomine pro cedem posuit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod idem Thomas Cranmerus ad viginti seu circiter annos elapsos in archie-piscopum Cantuarien (tusque ipsa sede archiepiscopali et ecclesiae metropolitanae Cantuaris pro mortem recolendo memorie Will'ni Warrham ultimis archiepiscopi ibidem et illius Thome immediati predecessoris vacantis) auctoritate sedis apostolice ut quamque prefectus fuit, atque per nonnullos citra annos pro archiepiscopo metropolitanoque ejusdem ecclesie metropolitico se gessit et aliquo modo se gerit pretenditque in presenti, hocque fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum: posuit et articulatur conjunctim, divisim, et de quodlibet. Item posuit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, procurator prefectus et procuratorio nomine quo supra, quod olim antequam dictus Thomas Cranmerus dicta Cantuaris ecclesie (ut prefertur) prefectus fuit, et ante ullos asertos ordinis ab eo susceptos, ad xxx* et ultra annos elapsos quandam mulierem communiter et voce nominatam Johanne alias “black Johanne of the dolphin” in Cantabrigia Elien diocesis (seu alio forsana nomine sive cognominse vocatur) in uxorem duxit: posuit et articulatur ut supra. Item posuit

* The device is in the margin of the MS.
et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, procurator antedictus, quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus post mortem dicte uxoris sue, preebitur effectus ac in sacro ordine ascensitali constitutus, quandam aliam mulierem Annam nominatam, seu forsan aliter vocatam de facto quum de jure non deberet, in suam conjugem acoepit, et in archiepiscopum Cantuarii auctoritate predicta utcunque prefectus fuit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, idem procurator, quod ipse Thomas Cranmerus mulierem hujusmodi sic per eum secundo tanquam uxorem acceptam pro uxore usque ad mortem Henrici octavi nuper Anglie regis, clanculum tamen et (ut fieri potuit) secrete tenuit, habuit, et custodivit. Item procurator predictus ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod memoratus Thomas Cranmerus a morte dicti regis Henrici et tempore Edwardi sexti tunc immediate Anglie regis eandem mulierem sic secundo acceptam non secrete, ut prius, sed palam, publice, notoriceque et manifeste citra illum pudorem et verecundiam tanquam suam uxor norm et pro sua uxor tam in mensa quam alibi de facto tenuit, acceptavit, et tractavit, et cum ea tanquam cum sua uxor cohabitat, prolesque et liberos multos ex eadem suscitavit et habuit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur antedictus procurator, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus, adeo impudens existens ut turpitudinem suam in hac parte manifeste jactando detegeret, et in publicum totius hujus regni Anglie conspectum notorie deduceret, tempore dicti regis Edwardi (et ipso regnante) publice asseruit et affirmavit, inter cetera, sse dictam mulierem secundam ex multis antea annis in uxoritem suscepisse et cum ea cohabitasse, necnon proles et liberos (ut prefertur) ab eadem suscitasse: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur procurator antedictus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod prelibatius Thomas Cranmerus ad profundum malorum veniens (Christianae fide et religione penitus contemptis) in hereses suas suas quas longe antea imbibet, et maxime contra venerabile eucharistia sacramentum, libros una cum copia istorum articulorum sibi ostensos, proposti et traditos, sc in margine hujus articuli expressos sive designatos, eorumque vim, formam, tenorem et effectum edidit lingua partim Latina partim Anglicana saltem sic ed imprimique et orbi publicari fecit etiam suo nomine, ipsaque hereses publice asseruit et docuit: ponit ut supra." Item ponit et articulatur procurator supranominatus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod prefatus Thomas Cranmerus articulis quibusdam hereticis, maxime inter cetera contra veritatem verumque presentiam corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia editis

*A defence of the true and catho' doctrine of the sacrament of the bodie and bloode of our saivo'* Christe, etc. A discourse vpon the sacrament of the Lords supper solempie handled at the vniversitie of Oxforde by docto' Petir Martir etc. Catachismus brevis Christiane discipline etc. Articuli de quibus in Sinodo Londonien's a° dni. 1552. etc. An Aunswver of the most reverende father in God Thomas Archebushop of Cant' vnto a craftie and sophisticated cavallacion deuised by Steven Gardiner etc.
et conceptis, verumque et reale ac perfectum Christi corpus in ipso sacramento sub specie sive forma panis et vini notorie denegantibus, sub nomine cleri Cantuarien' falso editis et publicatis pastores, rectores et ecclesiis curatos non paucos subscribere coegit, fecit et compulsit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item procurator antedictus ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod dictus Thomas, quia libros et articulos antedictos modis quibus potuit non cessabat defendere, tum ut factionis et heresis sue participes in impieitate retineret, tum ut alios ad eandem nequiciam pertraheret, auctoritate serenissime domine Marie regine predictae (et ejus consiliariis suadentibus) e turri et carceri London', ubi ob sua enormis nephandaque scelera, delicta, et criminis detentus fut, ad academicam Oxonien', ubi tunc parliamentum futur' sperabatur, mittebatur: hocque fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit procurator antedictus, quod idem Thomas Cranmerus in dicta academia Oxonien' (publica disputacione secum ex more scholarum habita) libros et articulos predictos publice pro viribus defendebat, et sic quatenus potuit defendens exibilatus et convictus fuit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur procurator sepe dictus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod memoratus Thomas Cranmerus, quia sic libros, articulos, et hereses, predicto pro viribus defendebat, et quia modo premisso convictus cedere et ab eisdem recedere pertinaciter recusavit, scolasticum et academicum Oxonien' decreto pro hereticco et impio execratoque pronunciatus fuit et declaratus, librique et articuli predicti pro hereticis impis et execratis pronunciati similiter et declarati fuerunt: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur procurator predictus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod prefatus Thomas Cranmerus fuit et est merus et notorius schismaticus, ex eo presertim quod non solum ab unitate Catholice et universalis ecclesie ipsiusque ecclesie constitucionibus, ordinacionibus, ritibus, decretis, sanisque doctrinis et determinacionibus variis et innumeris modis, atque a sede apostolica ecclesiisque Romana totius ecclesie Catholice sola matrice summoque et Romano pontifice et domino nostro Papa ejusdem ecclesie Catholice et universalis solo sub Christo capite, recessit, verum etiam ex eo quod tum hujus regni Anglie regem Henricum octavum, tum etiam plures alios hujus regni Anglie episcopos, pretatos, et proceres et magnates, atque utriusque sexus personas quamplurimas, sic recedere summoque pontifici et ejus ac sedis apostolice auctoritati renunciare procuravit et fecit, et in ea parte ejus consilium et auxilium adhibuit etiam pluribus et variis modis quosdam eorum ad sic recedendum et renunciandum compulsit et coegit, neonon in ea parte specialis precipuusque et principalis seu quasi instigator et fautor fuit, pro taliquo et ut talis fuit et est committere dictus, tentus, habitus, nominatus et reputatus, palam, publice et notorie: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, sepe dictus procurator, quod prefatus Thomas Cranmerus auctoritate sedis apostolice et domini nostri Pape Cantuarien' archiepiscopus (ut prefertur) consecratus et prefectus (inter cetera tempore consecrationis sue
bujusmodi paucove avtus est utra) fidelitatem et obedientiam beate
Petro sancteque et apostolice Romane ecclesie et sanctissimo dominee
nostro Pape tanee existenti ejusque successoribus juxta tamquam sedule
predecessus annae saltem in effecta prestitiit, et in ea parte juramentum
ad sancta Dei Evangelia subivit: posuit et articulatur ut supra.
Item posit et articulatur procurator predictus, quod dictus Thomas
Cranmerus ejus fidelitatem obedientiamque et juramentum praecipuum
predictum et oeteris praeemissis non obstantibus (sed penitus spretis et post
positis) spiritu perversi consilii ductus, immo varias seductus, non
seuum modo praeemise ab ecclesie unitate sedaque apostolica et domino
nostro dominio Pape ejusque suaeuritatem recente, et alius supra nomi
natos recederet et (ut proferetur) renunciare fecit, procuravit, et coegit,
in plurimaeque et varias heresem lapes sit; verum etiam ipsius summi
praeemissi et sedis apostolicae auctoritatem in se assumere et usurpare
presumente, saltem prophana et illicita auctoritatum utendo (et omnino
absumo bueusmodi summi pontificii et sedis apostolicae auctoritatis) tam
ejusmodi consecrare oeterusque ad solam sedem apostolicam et dominum
nostri Papam et ad nullum aliun spectatiam atemptatam et peragere
pressumptam: quorum praeemissarum pretextum idem Thomas Cranmerus
cum rectum ornameque heresii et schismatis, tam etiam rectum perjurii
eiis voluntarii, notorio et manifeste incurrut et incurrut: hocque
fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum:
posuit et articulatur ut supra. Item posit et articulatur procurator
predictus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod licet hujus
regni Anglie subsit et utrisque sexus personas nuper ad eceo seu
novem messe aut circiter elapes a schismate pernicioso, que hoc
regnum antea pestifere infectum fuit, recesserunt, atque ad ecleesie unitate
cederunt, sedibus apostolico et sacrosancte Romane ecclesie ac
domini nostri domini Papae auctoritatem recuperant, acceptarunt et admi
serunt, et in ea parte a schismate et ab heresibus quibus infecti et invo
luti fuerunt reconciliacionem auctoritatem dicto sedis apostolicae et domini
nostri Papae obtinuerunt, praefatus tamen Thomas Cranmerus animo
perverse, indurato corde, in heresibus suis et in schismatis restitu (quibus
antea infectus fuit) adhuc involutos remanent et iacent infectus, atque se
in ea parte debite reconciliare ejusque heresii errori et schismati remunci
are ad unitatem ecclesie Catholice et dominum nostrum Papam
summumque pontificem caput ejusdem ecclesie redire contempsit et
neglexit, ac sic pertinaciter contempsit et neglegit in presenti: hocque
fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum:
posit et articulatur ut supra. Item posit et articulatur procurator
predictus, ac si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod praeemisa omnia
et singula presentim in hoc regno Anglie fuerunt et sunt vera, publica,
notoria, manifesta pariter et famosa apud omnis ordinis homines, etiam
tam publica, vera, notoria, manifesta et famosa, quod ulla tertivirus
sacaoe calari non possunt, atque pro talibus et ut talia taliterque facta
et perpetrata communiter dicta, tanta, habita, nominata et reputata
palm, publice et notoria. Unde petit procurator illustrissimos
et serenissimos dominorum regis et regine predict' ac procuratorius
nomine pro eisdem jus et justicium de et super praeemissis et ea conti
nentibus quibusque conjunctum et divisum fuerit et ministerii: non
arotans se ad omnia et singula premessa probanda, nec ad onus superfine probacionis eorumdem de quo protestatur specialiter in hac parte, juris beneficio in omnibus semper salvo ac vestrum officium, domine judex, antedict in hac parte humiliter implorando. In Dei nomine Amen. Ego Thomas electus Cantuarien' ab hac hora in ante fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro sancteque apostolice Romane ecclesie ac domino nostro domino Clementi Papa septimo suisque successoribus canonice intransibis. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut memram, seu capiatur aut in eos manus violenter quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injurie alique inferantur quovisquesito colore. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncius seu literas, ad eorum damnum (me sciente) nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutorieis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolice sedis in eundo et reedendo honorifice tractabo et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honorae, privilegia, et auctoritatem Romane ecclesie et domini nostri Papa et successorum predictorum conservare et defendere, augere et promovere curabo, nec ero in consilio vel tractatu in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eadem Romanam ecclesiam alisque sinistra vel prejudiciales personarum, juris, honoris, status, et potestatis eorum machinantur; et si talis a quibuscumque procurari nevero (vel tractari), impediam hoc pro posse, et quantocum potero commodo significabo sidem domino nostro vel alteri per quem ad ipsum noticiam pervenire possit. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinaciones, sentencias, disposiciones, reservaciones, provisiones, et mandata apostolica totius viribus observabo et faciam ab aliis observari. Hereticos, schismaticos, et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus predictis pro posse persequerar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad sinodum veniam, nisi prepeditus fuero canonicam prepedicione. Apostolorum limina Romana curis existentia citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulius biennius visitabo aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolver licencia. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam neque donabo neque impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo etiam cum consensu capitiuli meo, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet et heo sancta Dei Evangelia.—In Dei nomine Amen. Per presentis publici instrumenti seriem cunctis apparat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tertio, indicatione sexta, regni illustrissimi metuendissimi ac invictissimi principis et domini nostri suprmi Henrici octavi, Dei gratia Anglie et Francie regis, fidei defensoria, et domini Hibernie excellentissimi, anno vicesimo quarto, mensis vero Marcii die tricesimo, in domo capitulari collegii regii sancti Stephani prothomartyris prope palatium regium Westminster Londoni dioecesis notorie situat, constitutus personaliter reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Thomas in Cantab archiepiscopum (ut dicesat) electus, in mea prothonotarii regii ac notarii subscripti ac venerabilium virorum magistri Johannis Tregonwell legum doctoris, et Theome Bedyll clerici a consiliis dicti domini nostri regis, Richardi Gwent decretorum doctoris curis Cantuar officialis principalis, et Johannis Cock legum doctoris, dicti reverendissimi patris audiencie causarum et negociorum auditoris ac vicarii in spiritualibus generalis, testium in hac parte
specialiter adhibitorum presentia, protestaciones quasdam fecit, legit, et interposuit, ab cetera fecit pro unit quasdam papiri secula, quam tunc ibidem in manibus suis tenuit et perlegit plenus omnibus. Cuius quidem secula verus tenor (nil addito vel dempto) de verbo ad verbum sequitur et est talis: IN DIE NOMINE AMEN. Coram vobis auctentica persona et testibus fide dignis hic presentibus, ego Thomas in Cant' archiepiscopum electus dico, allego, et in hiis scriptis palam publice et expresse protestor, quod cum juramentum sive juramenta ab electis in Cant' archiepiscopos summo pontifici pretari solita me ante mean consecrationem aut tempore ejusdem pro forma potius quam pro esse aut re obligatoria ad illam obtinend' oporteat, non est nec erit meo voluntatis aut intencionis per huissmodi juramentum vel jura-
menta, qualitatemque verba in ipso posit a sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod racione sorundem post hac dictum, facendum, aut attemptandum, quod erit aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei vel contra illustriissimum regem nostram Angliam aut rempublicam huies
sui regni Angliae, legesse aut prorogatissim ejusdem: et quod non intend o per huissmodi juramentum aut juramenta quovis modo me
obligare, quo minus libere loqui, consulere et consentire valeam in omnibus et singulis reformacionem religionis Christianae, gubernacionem ecclesiae Anglicanae, aut prorogativam corone ejusdem reipublicae commoditate quoquomodo conscribem', et ut ubique exequi et reformare que michi in ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur. Et secundum banc interpretationem et intellectum hunc, et non aliter neque alio modo, dicta juramenta me prestaturum protestor et profiteor: prote-
torque insuper, quod nonque juramentum sit quod meus procurator summo pontifici meo nomine antehac prestittit, quod non erat intencionis aut
voluntatis mei sibi aliquam dare potestatem, cujus vigore aliquod jura
mentum meo nomine prestar potuerit contrarium aut repugnantius juramentum meo nomine prestare potuerit, aut imposterum prestans illus
triissimo Anglie regi. Et casu quo aliquod tale contrarium aut
repugnans juramentum meo nomine prestittit, protestor quod illud me insecio et abesse mea auctoritate prestittit pro nullo et invali
deso volo. Quas protestaciones in omnibus clausulis et sententiis dictorum juramentorum repetitas et reiteratas volo, a quibus per ali-
quod meum factum vel dictum quovis modo recedere non intend o nec recedam, sed eas mihi semper salvas esse volo. Super quibus omnibus et
singulis premisissis dictus reverendissimus pater me prothonotarium et no-
tariorum predictum unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive
instrumenta exinde confioer, ac testes superius nominatos testimonium
perhibere rogavit et requisiit. Et deinde die, mense, et anno predictis
dictus reverendissimus dominus Thomas electus in me[a] et prelato
orum venerabilium vironum presentia testium ad hoc etiam adhibitorum dict
orum capitularem exivit et ad gradus summi altaris dicti collegii
vestibus saecundoibus amictus ad recipiendum munus consecrationis
perrexit, ac ibidem coram reverendo in Christo patre domino Johanne
permissione divina Lincoln' episcopo pontificibus induuto super cathe
drum honorifice ornatum sedente, reverendis patribus Johanne Exon' et
Henrico Assaven' episcopis eodem Lincoln' episcopo in actu consecra-
cionis dicti reverendissimi electi assententibus, genibus innixus quan-
dam pergameni scedulam tenoris sequentis, viz. IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Ego Thomas electus Cantuarien" ab hac hora inantea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro sancteque apostolice Romane ecclesie ac domino nostro domino Clementi Pape septimo suisque successoribus canonice intractibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur, aut in eos manu violenter quomodo libet ingerantur, vel injurie aliquie inferantur quovisquesitio colore. Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios seu literas, ad eorum damnum (me sciente) nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolice sedis in eundo et reeduco honorifice tractabo, et in sua necessitatis adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Romane ecclesie, domini nostri Pape et successorum suorum predictorum, conservare et defendere, augere et promovere curabo. Nec ero in consilio vel tractatu quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel prejudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinantur, et si talia a quibuscumque procurari novero vel tractari, impedi a hoc pro posse, et quantocum potero commode significabo eodem domino nostro vel alteri per quem ad ipsius noticiam pervenire possit. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinaciones, sentencias, dispositiones, reservaciones, provisiones et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo et faciam ab alii observari. Hereticos, scismaticos, et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus predictis pro posse persecurar et impignabo. Vocationis ad sinodum veniam nisi preceptitus fuero canonica precordicione. Apostolorum limina Romana curia existentia citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniiis, visitabo aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvam licenciam. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam neque donabo neque de novo infuedabo vel aliquo modo alienabo etiam cum consensu capitali ecclesie mee, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hec sancta Dei Evangelia: manibus suis tenens ante lecturam ejusdem scedule et juramentum in eadem contenti prestacionem in mea et eorumdem testium presentia, asseruit et protestatus est se dictam scedulam lecturum ac juramentum inibi insertum prestitum sub premissis prestacionibus alias per eundem eodem die in dicto domo capitulari in mea et eorumdem testium presentia habitus et factia, et non aliter neque alio modo. Et incontinentem post premissa eandem scedulam perlegit, et ut in eadem continetur juravit. Super quibusc accancemente et protestacione per eundem modo premisso tunc ibidem factia unum vel plura publicum seu publica exinde conficere instrumentum sive instrumenta ac testes prescriptos testimonium perhibere etiam tunc ibidem rogavit et requisivit. Quibus sic peractis die, mense, et anno predictis, ac solenni consecracione ejusdem reverendissimi patris finita et expedita, idem reverendissimus pater dominus Thomas Cantuar' archiepiscopus ante dictum sumnum altare pallium recepturus in mea et dictorum mag. Johannis Tregunwell, Thome Bedill, et Richardi Gwent testium predictorum ad hoc specialiter adhibitorum presentia ante prestacionem juramenti infrascripti iterum protestatus est se hujusmodi sequens juramentum.
sub eisdem protestacionibus ut premissitur in dicto domo capitulari habitis et factis ac superius descripsis, et men aliter neque alio modo prestaturum et juraturum, ac ibidem immediate post premisita juris-mentum sub forma que sequitur.—In Dei nomine amem. Ego Thomas archiepiscopus Cantabri habebaque in animae meae salvo et, in obediens ero beato Petro sancteque apostolice Romane ecclesia et domino nostro domino Clementi Papa septimo suisque successoribus canonice intratibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut mem-brum, seu captantis mala capcione. Consilium vero quod mihi creditu-tari sunt per se aut nuncium seu literas, ad eorum damnum me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum salvo meo ordine contra omnes hominem. Legatum apostolice sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suia necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad sinodum veniam nisi propeditus fuero canonicae praepedizione. Aposto-lorum limina Romanum cur’ existentia sita singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis, visitabo aut per me aut meum nuncium, nisi apostolice absolviur licencia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mai archiepis-copatus pertinentes non vendam neque donabo nec impignorabo neque de novo infundabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontificio. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hec sancta Dei Evangelia—præstitit et juravit.—Super qua protestacione sic ut premissitur ut eundem reverendissimum terrico facta et habita, idem reverendissimus pater me prothonotarium et notarium publicum subscriptum unum vel plurum publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficiere, as testes predictos testimonium perhibere de et super eisdem etiam terrcio rogavit et requisivit. Acta fuerunt hec omnia et singula prout superascritibuntur et recitantur respective sub anno Domini indicatione, anno regni regis predicti mense, die, et locis predictis, presentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris prenominatis testibus ad premisae respective ut premissitur adhibitis et requisitis. Et ego Richardus Walshyn in lagibus baccalaurii, dicti domini nostri regis prothonotarius, quae pre-missias omnibus et singulis dixit sic ut premissit sub anno Domini et regni dicti domini nostri regis mense, die, et loco predictis agebantur et faebant una cum prenominatis testibus presentes personaliter interfueri, saepe omnia et singula sic fieri vidit et audivi ac in notam sampai, ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manus alterius (me interim aliter occupato) fideliter scriptum exinde confeci, publicavi, atque in hanc publicam formam redegi, signavi* et nomine meis solitis signavi, rogatus et requisitum in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premisessorum. QUibus quidem processis et actis nostriie anticipatam pleniam et indubitaam fidem tam in judicium quam extra ac alias ubilibet in agendis adhibend’ fore volumus, et per presentes decernimus, vobisque reverendissimo patre domino Joacomo cardinali et delegato antedicto de premisissimus omnibus et singulis per presentes presentiumque vigore cum omni debita reverencia et honore certificamus, informacionem damus et referimus. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium premisissorum presentes literas sive

---

* It is *signavi* in the MS. but *signoques* was probably intended.
ho presens publicum instrumentum processum nostrum hujusmodi in se continent exinde fieri, et per prefatum providum virum magistrum Johanneem Clerk notarium publicum scribam nostrum predicti subscirbi et publicari mandamus, nostroque sigillo iussimus et fecimus appellatione communitri. Data et acta fuserunt hae omnia et singula prout suprascribuntur et recitatur, sub anno Domini, indicatione, pontificatus ac mense, diebus, et locis superius respective specificatis, presentibus venerabilibus et circumspectis viris et personis superius respective etiam nominatis cum multis et quasi innumeris aliis testibus, ad perhibendum exinde testimonium specialiter rogatis et requisitis.

Et ego Johannes Clerk, Bathou' et Wellen' dioecesis publicus sacra auctoritate apostolica notarius ac alme curie Cantuar procuratorum generalium unus, necnon actorum ceterorumque per supra nominatum reverendum dominum subdelegatum et coram eo habitorum factorem et gestorum scriba in hac parte specialiter assumptus, quia literarum commissionaliun sive subdelegatoriarum predicti presentacioni occasisque susceptioni earundem ac procuratorii exhibitioni et articulorum datasio prefatique domini Thomas Cranmeri partis ex adverso principalis responsionem testiumque productione et examinacioni predictis modo premisso respective factis, atque ceteris premisis omnibus et singulis, dum sic ut premittitur sub anno Domini, indicatione, pontificatu menseque ac diebus et locis superius respective specificatis coram prenominato reverendo domino subdelegato et per eum agerentur et fierent, una cum testibus prenominatis presens personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi,ideo exinde notam sumpsi et hoo presens publicum instrumentum manus aliena (me interim alios impedito negociiis) falsiter scriptum exinde consepici, subscripsi et publicavi, atque in hano publicam et auctorialiam formam redegi. Sigilloque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi et [in] fidem et testimonium premissorum rogatus specialiter et requisitus.

Jo. CLERK.
APPENDIX.

No. II.

CRANMER'S RECANTATIONS.

All the Submissions and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer,* late Archbishop of Canterbury, truly set forth both in Latin and English, agreeable to the Originals, written and subscribed with his own hand.†

VISUM ET EXAMINATUM PER REVERENDUM PATRUM ET DOMINUM,

DOMINUM EDMUNDUM EPISCOPUM LONDON. ANNO MDLV.

1. The true copy of the first submission of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, which afterward by inconstancy and unstableness he the said Thomas Cranmer did cancel, the original whereof was sent to the queen's majesty and her privy council, as followeth:

Forasmuch as the king and queen's majesties, by consent of their parliament, have received the pope's authority within this realm, I am content to submit myself to their laws herein, and to take the pope for chief head of this church of England, so far as God's laws and the laws and customs of this realm will permit.

THOMAS CRANMER.

2. The true copy of the second submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, which he the said Thomas did advisedly subscribe with his own hand, and did not afterward revoke it, the original whereof was also sent up to the queen's majesty and her said council, as before.

I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor in divinity, do submit myself to the Catholic church of Christ, and to the pope, supreme head of the same church, and unto the king and the queen's majesties, and unto all their laws and ordinances.

THOMAS CRANMER.

3. Tertium scriptum Cranmeri sus ipsius manu eexaratum, et per sum in Buccardo exhibitum London' episcopo.

I am content to submit myself to the king and queen's majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances, as well concerning the pope's supremacy as others. And I shall from time to time move and stir all other to do the like, to the uttermost of my power, and to live in quietness and obedience unto their majesties, most humbly, without murmur or grudging against any of their godly proceedings. And for my book which I have written, I am contended to submit me to the judgment of the Catholic church, and of the next general council.

THOMAS CRANMER.

* [Vid. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 390, et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1822.—Also, Sampson's letter to Bullinger, dated April 6, 1566, in the Original Letters relative to the English Reformation (Park. Soc.), p. 173, with the note there; and the quotation from Todd, infra, pp. 531—535.]

APPENDIX.


Be it known by these presents, that I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor of divinity, and late archbishop of Canterbury, do firmly, stedfastly, and assuredly believe in all articles and points of the Christian religion and Catholic faith, as the Catholic church doth believe, and hath ever believed from the beginning. Moreover, as concerning the sacraments of the church, I believe unfeignedly in all points as the said Catholic church doth and hath believed from the beginning of Christian religion. In witness whereof I have humbly subscribed my hand unto these presents, the xvi. day of February, MDCV. [1555.]

THOMAS CRANMER.

5. The true copy of a fifth submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, written and subscribed with his own hand in the presence of master Henry Syddall, and of one called Frater Johannes de Villa Garcina, a notable learned man, as followeth:

Ego, Thomas Cranmer, anathematizo omnem Lutheri et Zuingili haresim et quodcumque dogma sanae doctrinae contrarium: confiteor vero et credo firmissime unam sanctam et Catholicam ecclesiam visibilibem, extra quam salus non est; atque ejusdem in terris supremum agnosco caput episcopum Romanum, quem fator um summum esse pontificem et papam ac Christi vicarium, cui omnes teneuntur subesse fideles. Jam quod ad sacramentis attinet, credo et colo in sacramento eucharistiae verum Christi corpus et sanguinem sub speciebus panis et vini verissime citra ullan tropum et figuram contenta, conversis et transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem Redemptoris divina potentia. Atque in sex aliis sacramentis (sicut in hoc) id credo et teneo quod universa tenet ecclesia ac sentit Romana. Credo insuper purgatorium locum, ubi ad tempus cruciatur defunctorum animae, pro quibus sancte et salubriter orat ecclesia, sicut et sanctos colit, ad illosque preces effundit. Denum in omnibus me profiteor non alium sentire quam ecclesiam Catholicae et Romanae tenet; ac per me penitet quod alium unquam tenerim ac senserim. Deum autem supplex oro, ut pietate sua mihi condonare dignetur, quse in illum et ejus ecclesiam commissi: fideles simul rogo et obsecro, ut pro me preces effundant; eos autem qui meo aut exemplo aut doctrina seducti sunt, per sanguinem Jesu Christi obtestor, ut ad ecclesias redent usuitatem, idemque dicamus omnes, ut non sint in nobis schismata. Postremo sicut me subjicio Catholicae Christi ecclesiae ejusdemque supremae capita, ita me submitto Philippo et Mariae Anglie regibus, atque eorum legibus et decretis, et testor Deum optimum maximeque, hae in nullius gratiam, nullius metu a me confesseda, sed ex animo et libentialissime, ut meae et allorum simul conscientiis consulas et prospiciam.

Per me, THOMAS CRANMER.

Testes hujus subscriptionis,

FRATER JOANNES DE VILLA GARCINA,
HENRICUS SIDALLUS.

VOL. II. 2 M
6. The true copy of a Sixth Subscription of the said Thomas Cranmer, written and subscribed with his own hand, as followeth:

Ego, Thomas Cranmer, pridem archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, confessor, et doceo, ex animo, quod gravissimae delicerium in oculis et adversus Angliaeum regnum, immo in universam Christi ecclesiam, quase longe savias persecutus sum quam olim Paulus, qui fui blasphemiae, persecutor, et contumeliosus. Atque aitnam qui Saulum malitias et scelera superavi, possem sum Paulo quem detraxi honorem Christi et ecclesiae utilitatem recompensare! Verum meam uterque animam laeto ille evangelium solutur. Ille namque tuus tandem ex animo recipit, tunc illum furti pertessaret, quam furari amplius nec licet: et ego (qui, meo officio et auctoritate abusus, et Christo hórem et huic regno fidem et religionem abstuli) jam tandem Dei maximi beneficio ad me reversus, agnosco me omnia maximo peccatorum, et cupio (et quae possem) Deo primum, deinde ecclesiam, et ejus capiti suprema, atque regibus, toti demum Anglisno regno condignam reddere satisfactionem. Verum rient intus ille fele, quum nec esset solvendo quae pecuniae et opes abstulit (quum nec pos nescius efferre cruci sumum officium faceret) corde et lingua dantaxat (quae non erat dignata) testatus est quod reliqua membran essent factura, si eadem qua lingua libertate gaudearet; illa confessus est Christum innocentem, ea objuraret impudentiam socii, eadem anteaestam vitam detestatus et peccatorum veniam impetravit, et veluti clavi quadam paradisi foris aperuit: haucus exemplo non mediocrem consipio de Christi misericordia spem, for ut mibi peccata condonet. Manibus et pedibus oareo, quibus quod destruxi iterum redidiscire valeam, (relicta anim sunt tantummodo labia circa dentes meos;) sed vitulos laborum nostrorum recipiet, quia est supra quas credi possit miserrors. Haec igitur concepta spe libet hunc offeceris vitulum, hanc minimam et corporis et vitam partem litea. Confessor in primum meam erga Deum opt. max. ingratiudinem, agnosco me omni indignisimum beneficio et pietate, dignisimam vero ami non tantum humano ac temporali, sed divino et aterno suplicio, quod in Henricum VIII. et maxime in ejus uxorem reginam Catherinam vehementissime deliqui, quum divertit causa et ancer exiti: quae sane culpa omnium haucus regni maiorum et calamitatum seminarii fuit. Hinc tot probationes, hinc totus regni schisma, hinc hereses, hinc tot animorum et corporum strages abhorris sunt, ut viam possim vel ratione complecti. Sed quum adeo sit hanc gravias iniuriae dolorum, aperui factae ingentem fenestram heresibus sanctis, quorum ego praecepium ego doctorem et doceo. In primis vero illud vehementer meum excussit animum, quod sacrosanctum sucharistie sacramentum tot blasphemiae et contumeliae affecerim, negans Christi corpus et sangininam verse et realiter sub speciebus panis et vini contineri; editis etiam libellis, quibus veritatem pro viribus impugnabam: in hac sane parte non solum Saulo et latrone deterior, verum omnium quos terra unquam sustinuit sceleratissimum. Domine, pecavi in oculum et coram te: in oculum, quod mea causa tot caret coniciscis, quod easte hoc beneficios nobis exhibitus negavi impudentissime: pecavi et in terram, quas tamdiu hoc sacramento misere caruit, in homines quos ab hac supersubstantiali esca revocavi, tot
occisus hominum, quot imedia perierunt. Defraudavi defunctorum animae hoc jugi et celebríssimo sacrificio. Atque e his omnibus manifestam est, quantopere etiam post Christum in ejus vicarium iuríus exíti, quem libíris etiam editis potestate privávi. Poperes megnópere et impensissíme oro summum pontificem, ut mihi ob Christi clémentiam commónent, quae adversus illum ejusque apostolicam sedem commíti. Ac seréníssimos reges Angliae, Hispaniae, &c. Philippum et Mariam supplici pero, ut regia qua pelent clémentia mihi veliné ignocesse: totum etiam regnum, immo universam ecclesiam rego et obsecro, misericórdur huìus misérœ animœ, cui jam præter linguam nihil est reliquum, quo possím illatas iuríus et damna ressurcire. Précipue vero, quia tibi soli pecaví, oro, clémentissime Pater, (qui omnes ad te venire, quamlibet facíneosœ, et cupis et præisipis) me propius et cominus dignara intéuiri, sicút Magdalennam et Petrum resóxisti; vel certe sicut iatronem ex oráce aspéidens, tue gratíe et glóría premísse dignátem ex pavidum et treméntem animum consolari, ita etiam solita et nativa tua piétate oculos misericordiás ad me convertas, necnon tuo me digneris alloquio, dícens, Salus tua ego sum et in die mortis, Hodie mecum eris in Paradísio. Scriptum est hoc anno Domini 1555. [1585.] mensis Martii 18.

PET me, THOMAS CRANMER.

[With regard to these recantations of Cranmer, the following extract from Boner’s own Register, fol. 423, utterly overthrows the falsehood set forth in the concluding paragraph:

“Nota adnum est quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus fuit potestas [postea], viz. die Sábbati, xxx die mensis Marci, anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesiae Anglicane millesimo quingenésimo quinquagesimo sexto, in quodam loco extra muros borealis partis civitatis Oxoniensis, combustus et in cineres concræatus, &c. et quod idem Cranmer tempore ejusdem concræationis, et immediate ante illum suam concræationem, publice revocavit recantationes suas antea per eum factas, persistendo in erroribus et heresibus suis, &c.”

The extract from Sampson’s letter referred to, p. 528, note, is as follows:

“Recantatio quædam absurda et a papistis confícta cœpit eo vivente spargi, quasi ille eam paliníodiam cecíssit: sed anctores ipsi eam eo vivo revocarunt, et ille fortiter reclamabat vivens pernegabatque.”


On the whole question Archdeacon Todd writes as follows:

“The sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court now remained to be executed by the secular power. But ere the order was issued to this purpose (and a few days only passed before it was issued), another trial of his constancy was made, and he sunk under it. With expressions of pity for his situation, but with a design of leading him to recant, some of the principal academics seem to have immediately visited him in prison. He whose deposition is the last of those who were witnesses against him* is now said to have invited the archbishop to his deanery.

* i. e. Dr. Marshall.
APPENDIX.

at Christ Church; but the invitation could not have been accepted till after the 16th of February, as on that day one of his recantations is signed, which appears to have been delivered, as a preceding recantation was, to Boner personally, in the Bocardo prison. These, in Boner's narrative of 'All the Submissions that Cranmer made,' are the third and fourth. The first and second will shew how the archbishop hesitated ere he fell. Perhaps they were proposed by Thirlby. Before the proceedings on the 14th had ended, they could not have been made. The language of Cranmer was then undauntedly opposed to them. He probably listened at the close of that day to the persuasions of his friend, and signed what by him was hoped might propitiate the queen; of which the copy being seen by others, after it had been dispatched, it was considered not sufficiently explicit, and therefore was followed by the second, without delay we may suppose, retracting what is said in the first. It is remarkable, however, that neither of them is dated."—Todd's Life of Archbishop Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 470—472.

"These papers," (i.e. the first four recantations attributed to the archbishop,) "as might be expected, were not sufficient to satisfy the Romish party. Other concessions must be obtained from their great opponent, they said, by intimidation as well as by artful proposals, and by insidious suggestions. It was immediately after the fourth recantation, I have no doubt, that to the deanery of Christ Church he was conducted for the visit of a few days, to partake of a treacherous hospitality; that there the Spanish friar, John de Villa Garcina, then the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Henry Sydall, a canon in the dean's cathedral, were the principal managers of the allurements and the threats, by which themselves and other Romanists at length subdued him to their purpose. To the king and queen his absolute recantation, these egregious tempters urged, would be highly acceptable. Nor to the lords of the council and other noblemen, they added, who much respected him, could it be less so. They put him in hope that not only his life might be spared, but that his former dignity might be restored; saying that for such boons it was but a small and easy matter they required of him, his subscription only to a few words in 'a little leaf of paper,' with his own hand; and that then, whether he would have rank or wealth, or would prefer the quietness of private life, his choice might be secured by the regal power; but that if he refused, of pardon there was no hope; for the queen was so purposed that she would have Cranmer a Roman Catholic, or else no Cranmer at all.

"To these artifices he yielded: and to the words on the little leaf of paper which they brought, subscribed, as it should seem, in their presence. 'This recantation,' says Foxe, 'was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates, without delay, caused the same to be imprinted and set abroad in all men's hands. Whereunto, for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription; then followed the witnesses, Henry Sydall, and John de Villa Garcina.' The privy council were displeased at the hasty

publication of this paper, and the two printers of it were commanded to deliver all the copies to be burned. It was reserved to be the fifth recantation in Boner's account, where it appears in Latin, bearing, however, an English title, and has been translated by Foxe."*—Id. vol. ii. pp. 474—476.

"To this recantation" (i.e. the fifth, witnessed by J. de Villa Garcia, and H. Sydall) "there is no date. But it was probably made immediately after the writ for burning him had been sent to Oxford, as Noailles, the French ambassador to Mary (whose character for veracity, however, is not spotless), mentions to his court, that with this fifth paper Cranmer sent a letter to Pole, begging the respite of a few days, that he might yet give to the world a more convincing proof of his repentance. Mary is said to have 'cheerfully' granted what Cranmer asked; but, determined not to spare him, she only ordered the day of his approaching fate to be concealed from him. Meantime the sixth recantation was prepared. To a more laboured disavowal (more complete it could not be than what the fifth recites) of tenets he had maintained, to louder cries for mercy, to deeper expressions of self-abasement, he was now to be earnestly pressed under the fallacious persuasion that from the terror of the stake he might be wholly freed. That this outrageous composition was drawn up by Pole, Strype long since assumed, by comparing it with the tedious prolixity and style of the recantation, which the cardinal prepared for the friend of Cranmer, Sir John Cheke."†—Id. vol. ii. pp. 479, 480.

"For what purpose, it may be asked, were this and the preceding instrument formed in a language known only to the learned? Were they to be detailed only so far, in our own, to the common people, as not to lead them to a belief that other words than Cranmer's were recited? But whatever was the intention, and admitting the contents of both the instruments, though paltering in a double tongue, to be universally known, numbers still disbelieved that Cranmer was entirely lost, that yet he would not redeem himself. When he ascended the platform at St. Mary's on the morning of his martyrdom, numbers wept, says the Roman Catholic who witnessed the scene, having indeed 'conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance,'‡ which, ere a few minutes had elapsed, was disappointed. But again, when the fallen prelate began to pray, this honest spectator divides the listening audience into 'those that hated him before, [the Romanists] who now loved him for his [fancied] conversion and hope of continuance,' and 'those that loved him before, [the Protestants] who could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall.'§ Why also was the fifth recantation, published by prelates and divines, immediately after it was made, suppressed by an order

§ Id. p. 554.
of the privy council! Was it because a suspicion was believed to exist, that Cranmer's assent to it was incapable of proof? No, says the apologist for this questionable proceeding: 'Perhaps it was incorrectly printed; perhaps they waited for that which he said God would inspire him to make.' What the privy council are thus conjectured as expecting from the archbishop, is nothing more than what isflipantly pretended as his expression by the French ambassador; not a shadow of authority for which is anywhere to be found. That it was incorrectly printed is probable enough. But Pole and Boner intended not merely to correct it, but to reprint it with the four preceding papers, and with the production of a sixth. Indeed this is the only recantation, to which historians formerly drew the attention of their readers. Hence Collier, after Foxe,† relates, that on the day of Cranmer's execution the Spanish friar (J. de Villa Garcina), 'who was a witness to his recantation, proposed the reading his recantation to a public audience, and to this purpose desired him to subscribe the instrument with his own hand and sign it.'‡ Of any new submission on the fatal morning, this historian seems to have entertained no belief. Burnet is alike silent. Thus too the Romish biographer of Pole, with the printed submissions of the archbishop at his service, speaks apparently of none but that which is numbered the fifth by Boner; and after noticing the writ for burning him, says, 'Cranmer had again renewed his subscription, and transcribed a fair copy of the whole; but, having some misgivings of his approaching punishment, he secretly wrote another declaration, which contradicted, in every point, the doctrine he had before signed.' What here is called a renewed subscription, is affirmed, however, in the recent history of our country, to be nothing less than the copy of a 'seventh instrument of abjuration.' Is it improbable, however, that what the friar proposed was merely the fifth recantation more correctly written than the hastily printed copy

† Foxe calls it "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 the articles) with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the said friar desiring that he would write another copy thereof, which should remain with him, and that he did also." (Vid. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1885. Ed. Lond. 1583.) Hence the interpretation of Burnet: "He was (now) dealt with to renew his subscription and to write the whole over again." (Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 670. Ed. Oxon. 1829.) But the most curious, and I believe hitherto unnoticed, mention in regard to this fifth recantation, and what was selected from it for Cranmer to avow before the people at his execution, occurs in the continuation of "the Chronicles of Fabian," Lond. 1559, vol. ii. p. 564. "In this year (1556), in Lent, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, after that he had recanted his supposed recantation, was burnt at Oxford."—Note, Todd's Life of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 486.
had given it? To this the signature of Cranmer was requisite, and it was made together with that of the friar; but, it is especially to be observed, is undated. It would now be ready for Boner's publication, as the fifth instrument; while a written abbreviation of the material parts of it would be sufficient for Cranmer 'openly to profess before the people;' and accordingly Boner, without the statement of its being a new subscription, without the pretence of its being a seventh recantation, prints only what the martyr was to have spoken, but basely conceals the fact that he did not speak it. The faith that he was to assert was thus worded for him: 'First, I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, &c. &c. I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every clause, word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, and his apostles and prophets, in the new and old Testament, and all articles explicate and set forth in general councils. And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did; that is, setting abroad untrue books and writings, contrary to the truth of God's word, which now I renounce and condemn, and refuse them utterly as erroneous and for none of mine. But you must know also what books they were, that you may beware of them; or else my conscience is not discharged. For they be the books which I wrote against the sacrament of the altar since the death of king Henry the Eighth. But whatsoever I wrote then, now is time and place to say truth. Wherefore, renouncing all those books, and whatsoever is in them contained, I say and believe, that our Saviour Christ Jesus is really and substantially contained in the blessed sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine.'

"So ends the tract, affirmed in the title page 'to have been seen and examined by Boner.' Upon him, therefore, rests the responsibility of the compilation, even if by any other hand than his own it had been compiled; upon him the shame also, which, if not to other parts of it, at least to the conclusion, belongs, where what the sufferer really spoke is concealed, but what was prepared for him to have spoken is related, and by many of the compiler's party was afterwards reported, as if indeed he did speak it."—Id. vol. ii. pp. 484—489. Vide also Todd's Vindication of Archbishop Cranmer, pp. 116 et sqq. 2nd ed. Lond. 1828. Soames' Hist. of Reformat. vol. iv. pp. 515 et sqq., who enters largely into an examination of this portion of the archbishop's history. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. vol. iv. pp. 258—260. Ed. Lond. 1839. Original Letters relative to the English Reformation, Letter XC. p. 173, n. 1, Park. Soc. Ed. 1846.[]