

Abdul Majid Khan

LIVES OF THE

**B**RITISH **R**EFORMERS,

FROM WICKLIFF TO FOXE.

*NEW AND REVISED EDITION.*



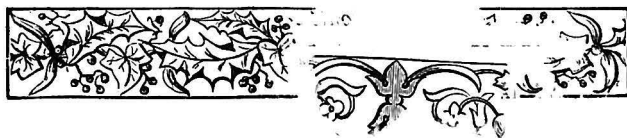
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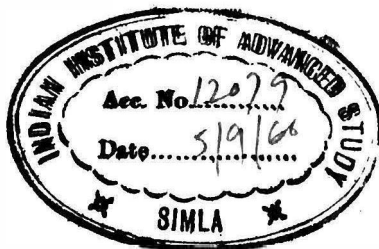
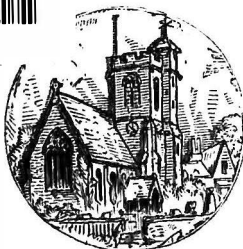
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## PREFACE.

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WITHIN the last few years the characters of the British Reformers have been assailed with unprecedented violence. They have been denounced as hypocrites and time-servers, and been charged with base subserviency to the will of a licentious despot, to gratify whose evil passions they sacrificed the welfare of England, the unity of the church, and the cause of truth. That such accusations should have been brought against them by avowed Romanists is not surprising. But it is a strange and startling circumstance that in our days the charges should have been echoed and exaggerated by members and ministers of the church of which they were the chief founders, and for which they laid down their lives.

Whilst the enemies of the Reformation have thus assailed the memories of its promoters with virulent invective, its friends have allowed their names to pass into unmerited neglect. They are often spoken of, even by Protestants, in the language of faint praise and timid apology.

That the leaders of the Reformation in England were faultless is not pretended. They were men of like passions with ourselves. And they were subject also to the

infirmities and imperfections of our common nature—liable to “the fears of the brave and follies of the wise.” But while this is admitted, it is yet maintained that they deserve to be held in honour for their adherence to the truth as they understood it, and to be remembered with gratitude for the signal services they rendered to the cause of true religion in our native land. The present new and revised edition of the “*Lives of the British Reformers*” is issued in the hope of doing something to reinstate them in the position which they deserve to hold, and that the lessons to be learned from a study of their history may not be lost to the present generation.

It will be observed that the following memoirs are to a great extent composed of extracts from the writings of the Reformers themselves, or from those of contemporary historians. The reader is thus placed in a position to judge for himself of the characters of the men whose lives are brought before him. If the narratives, in consequence, lack something of the vivacity and attractiveness which might be gained by a different mode of treatment, the loss is certainly more than compensated for by the trustworthiness of the portraiture given.



## LIVES OF

# RITISH EFORMERS.

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### JOHN WICKLIFF.

JOHN WICKLIFF<sup>1</sup> was born about the year 1324, at a village of the same name, a few miles from the town of Richmond in Yorkshire, where his ancestors had resided from the time of the Conquest. The family were respectable, and possessed considerable property. But as they continued the advocates of those superstitions which he earnestly laboured to remove, it is probable that he became estranged from them. Under the feelings thus excited he would be led to use the language of one of his tracts, in which, speaking of the errors into which worldly-minded parents often fall, he says, "With much travail and cost they get great riches, and estates, and benefices for their children, and often to their greater damnation; but they incline not to get for their children the goods of grace and virtuous life. Nor will they suffer them to retain these goods, as they are freely proffered to them of God, but hinder it as much as they may; saying, If a

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Reformer has been spelt in sixteen different ways. Wiclif is adopted by Lewis and Baber, and is used in the oldest document in which the name appears—his appointment to the embassy to the pope in 1374. Wycliffe is adopted by Vaughan, and appears to be the most correct. Wickliff is used in the present work as the most popular form. In those times orthography was but little attended to; in proper names, especially, it was much neglected.

child yield himself to meekness and poverty, and flee covetousness and pride, from a dread of sin, and to please God, that he shall never become a man, never cost them a penny, and they curse him because he liveth well, and will teach other men the will of God to save their souls ! For by so doing, the child getteth many enemies to his elders, and they say that he slandereth all their noble kindred who were ever held to be true men and worshipful."

His parents designed him for the church, and his mind was early directed to the requisite studies. He was entered at Queen's College, Oxford, an institution then recently founded, from whence he soon removed to Merton College, the most distinguished in the University at that period, when the number of scholars had recently been estimated to amount to thirty thousand. Wickliff's attention appears rather to have been directed to the studies suitable for his profession, than to general literature. As Fuller observes, "The fruitful soil of his natural abilities he industriously improved by acquired learning. He was not only skilled in the fashionable arts of that age, and in that abstruse, crabbed divinity, all whose fruit is thorns, but he was also well versed in the Scriptures, a rare accomplishment in those days." Dr. James enumerates various writers, by whom he considers Wickliff to have been grounded in the truth. He doubtless learned much from the fathers, and was considerably indebted to Grosseteste and Bradwardine ; but his writings show that his religious principles were mainly derived from the Bible.

His perusal of the Scriptures and the fathers, rendered him dissatisfied with the scholastic divinity of that age, while the knowledge of canon and civil law then requisite for a divine, enabled him to discern many of the errors of popery. His writings also show him to have been well acquainted with the laws of his own country. The four fathers of the Latin church, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, are continually quoted by him, so as to show his intimate acquaintance with their writings.

Augustine, in particular, he seems to have valued next to the Scriptures. It will not be forgotten that Luther derived much instruction from the writings of that father. The acknowledged ability of Wickliff as a scholar, led his adversaries to accuse him of evil designs rather than of ignorance, while his friends gave him the title of the Evangelic Doctor. Even Knighton, a bigoted Romanist, states that he was second to none in philosophy.

During Wickliff's youth Europe was shaken by a succession of earthquakes; shortly after it was ravaged by a pestilence, the effects of which were more rapid and extensive than at this day we can easily conceive. More than half the people of this and other lands were swept away: the alarmed survivors reckoned the mortality far higher.<sup>1</sup> That Wickliff was deeply impressed by these events, appears by his frequent references to them, when he is sounding an alarm to a careless and profane generation. Under a strong feeling that the end of the world approached, he wrote his first publication, a small treatise entitled, "*The Last Age of the Church*," in which he describes the corruptions which then pervaded the whole ecclesiastical state, as the main cause of that chastisement which Europe had so lately felt. Early and deep impressions of this nature evidently tended much to strengthen and to prepare the reformer for the arduous course he was shortly called to pursue. That his mind had been led to look to the only true ground of support, is evident from a passage in this tract, wherein he speaks of Christ Jesus as having "entered into holy things, that is into holy church, by holy living and holy teaching; and with His blood He delivered man's nature; as Zechariah writeth in his ninth chapter, Thou verily, with the blood of witness, or of Thy testament, hast led out from the pit

<sup>1</sup> Knighton says that before this plague a curate might have been hired for four or five marks a year, or for two marks and his board; but after it, scarcely any could be found who would accept of a living of twenty marks a year. Archbishop Islip interfered, and forbade any curate to claim an advance of more than one mark yearly. Stow observes upon this limitation, that it induced many priests to turn robbers!

them that were bound. So, when we were sinful, and the children of wrath, God's Son came out of heaven, and praying His Father for His enemies, He died for us. Then, much rather shall we be saved, now we are made righteous through His blood."

We find Wickliff in his thirty-second year respected for his scholastic acquirements, deeply impressed with the importance of Divine truth, awakened to a sense of the Divine judgments, enabled already to break through the bands of superstition, and in possession of that hope which alone can afford refuge for a guilty sinner. We shall now see how these preparations fitted him for the contest, and led him to the encounter in which he was called to engage.

The first circumstance which summoned Wickliff to this conflict was a controversy with the mendicant friars. Some of them had settled at Oxford in 1221, where they attracted much notice by their professed freedom from the avarice of the monastic fraternities in general, and by their activity as preachers. They introduced many of the opinions afterwards adopted by the reformers, for a time saying much in opposition to the papal authority, and in support of the authority of the Bible. But their errors and encroaching spirit soon appeared, so that Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, who for some years had favoured the friars, at length deeply censured their conduct. Their zeal to proselyte youths at the universities to their orders, called forth vigorous opposition from Fitzraf, archbishop of Armagh, who, in a petition to the pope in 1357, affirmed that the students of Oxford were reduced on this account to six thousand, not more than a fifth of their former number.<sup>1</sup> In 1366, a parliamentary enactment ordered that none of the orders

<sup>1</sup>In his tract of *Clerks Possessioners*, Wickliff complains that "Friars draw children from Christ's religion into their private order, by hypocrisy, lyings, and stealing." He charges them with stealing children from their parents through inducing them to enter their orders, by representing that men of their order would never come to hell, and would have higher degree of bliss in heaven than any other.

should receive any youth under the age of eighteen; also that no bull should be procured by the friars against the universities. Similar disputes then prevailed in the university of Paris. The objections alleged against the mendicants, as stated by Wickliff, may be thus summed up:—they represented a life inertly contemplative, as preferable to one spent in active attention to Christian duties; they were defective in morals when discharging their office of confessors; while itinerating in the offices they assumed, they persecuted all such as they detected really “travailing to sow God’s word among the people:” to these may be added a full proportion of every error and vice which has been charged on the corrupt clergy of Rome. Nor did Wickliff merely expose and seek to correct these fruits of error; he showed that they proceeded from the unscriptural nature of the institutions, which evidently were opposed to those precepts of the Bible which they professed to regard.

Against these mendicants, Wickliff wrote several tracts, entitled, “Of the Property of Christ,” “Against able Beggary,” and of “Idleness in Beggary.”<sup>1</sup> The vices of the friars led him to consider more fully the vices of the Romish priesthood.

The approval which the conduct of Wickliff, in opposing the mendicants, received from the University, appears from his being chosen warden of Balliol College, in 1361. In the same year he was presented by his college to the living of Fillingham, in Lincolnshire, which he afterwards exchanged for Ludgershall, in Wiltshire. In 1365 he was appointed warden of Canterbury Hall, by Simon de Islip, the founder, who was then primate of England.

In the instrument appointing Wickliff to this office, Islip states him to be a person on whose fidelity, circumspection, and industry he confided; one on whom he

<sup>1</sup> In his writings, Wickliff sometimes speaks of the houses of the friars as Caim’s castles (Cain was then so spelt), alluding to the initial letters of the four mendicant orders, the Carmelites, Augustines, Jacobites, and Minorites. They were commonly called the White, Black, Austin, and Grey friars.

had fixed for that place for the honesty of his life, his laudable conversation, and knowledge of letters. Islip dying shortly after, Wickliff was displaced by Langham, his successor, who had been a monk, from whose decision he appealed to the pope.

The integrity and courage of Wickliff are manifest from the boldness with which he continued to oppose the mendicants, both personally and by his writings, during the time his appeal was under consideration.

Another circumstance assisted to call Wickliff into public notice. This was the decision of the English parliament in 1365, to resist the claim of Pope Urban v., who attempted the revival of an annual payment of a thousand marks,<sup>1</sup> as a tribute, or feudal acknowledgment that the kingdoms of England and Ireland were held at the pleasure of the popes. His claim was founded upon the surrender of the crown by King John to Pope Innocent III. The payment had been discontinued for thirty-three years, and the recent victories of Cressy and Poitiers, with their results, had so far strengthened the power of England, that the demand by the pontiff of the arrears, with the continuance of the tribute, upon pain of the papal censure, were unanimously rejected by the king and parliament. The reader must recollect that this was not a question bearing only upon the immediate point in dispute; the grand subject of papal supremacy was involved therein, and the refusal to listen to the mandate of the pope necessarily tended to abridge the general influence of the clergy. Such claims were not lightly relinquished by the papacy, and shortly after this decision of the parliament, a monk wrote in defence of the papal usurpations, asserting that the sovereignty of England was forfeited by withholding the tribute, and that the clergy, whether as individuals or as a general body, were exempted from all jurisdiction of the civil power,—a claim which had already excited considerable discussion in the preceding reigns. Wickliff

<sup>1</sup> A mark is 13s. 4d.

was personally challenged by this writer to prove, if he were able, the fallacy of these opinions; nor should it be forgotten that this work did not proceed from any of the mendicant orders, but from one of those monks who were directly opposed to them.

In Wickliff's reply, wherein he has preserved the arguments of the monk, he styles himself one of the royal chaplains. He combats the assumptions of the church of Rome, confirming his sentiments by giving the substance of several speeches delivered by certain of the nobility in the recent debate relative to the claims of the pontiff. We need not enter into the contents of this tract further than to quote the following declaration attributed to one of the speakers, that "Christ is the supreme Lord, while the pope is a man, and liable to mortal sin, and who while in mortal sin, according to divines, is unfitted for dominion." The extent to which such a principle might be applied, is evident from the well-known wicked lives of the pontiffs, which had led to the monstrous assertion of Romish divines, that the pope, though guilty of the most heinous sins, still was to be obeyed and respected in his mandates, even those which concerned religion!<sup>1</sup>

The treatise concludes with a view of the future, taken by Wickliff, which has long since been fulfilled: "If I mistake not, the day will come in which all exactions shall cease, before the pope will prove such a condition to be reasonable and honest." Who now in England ventures to assert that the temporal authority of the pope is supreme? or that his ecclesiastics are exempted from the laws of God and their country? Yet such doctrines were openly maintained in former ages, and still are asserted in some parts of Europe! The parliament in 1366 also directed regulations to be observed, by which

<sup>1</sup> Bellarmine goes farther. He says: "Though the pope should err in enjoining vices, and prohibiting virtues, yet would the church be bound to believe the vices to be virtues, and the virtues vices, if it would avoid sinning against its own conscience."—*De Pontif.* iv. 5.

One of the popes says: "The pope, who represents on earth not mere man, but true God, has a heavenly power, and therefore changes

the power and influence of the mendicants were limited. In the part taken by the university of Oxford, during these proceedings, Wickliff doubtless was concerned; and the attention given to his arguments on the subjects which then so deeply agitated the public mind, must have brought his opinions concerning the Scriptures, and other points more immediately connected with Divine truths, into general notice. Thus attention was called to those doctrines which he now began publicly to advocate. One circumstance which promoted this opposition to the papal claims, was the national animosity then existing between England and France. Many of the popes being natives of France, evinced their partiality for their own country, in which they then resided. All these concurring circumstances led Edward III. to pursue a line of conduct which certainly characterises him as a promoter of the Reformation, at least as to its outward concerns.

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, claims notice as conspicuous among the court and family of the British monarch, for the countenance and support he afforded to Wickliff. Under his influence an attempt appears to have been made in 1371, by authority of parliament, to exclude ecclesiastics from all offices of state.<sup>1</sup> Wickliff, in his writings, has fully shown his agreement with his noble patron on this point, and his deep sense of the necessity for the clergy being exclusively devoted to the duties of their spiritual functions. The views of Wickliff as to the proper method of discharging the office of minister to the church, will appear by the following extract from one of his early pieces, entitled, "A short

the nature of things. Nor is there any one that can say unto him, Why dost thou so? For he can dispense laws; he can make justice injustice by altering and amending laws, and he has a fulness of power."—*Innocent III. Glos.* A contemporary of Wickliff openly maintained that the pope was incapable of moral sin!

<sup>1</sup> Almost every office of importance or profit was filled by ecclesiastics, from that of lord chancellor, to the surveyor of the king's buildings and the superintendent of his wardrobe. About this time the chancellor was bishop of Ely; the two latter offices were filled by the parsons of Oundle and Harwich.

rule of life." He says: "If thou art a priest, and by name a curate, live thou a holy life. Pass other men in holy prayer, holy desire, and holy speaking; in counselling and teaching the truth. Ever keep the commandments of God, and let His gospel and His praises be ever in thy mouth. Ever despise sin, that men may be drawn therefrom, and that thy deeds may be so far rightful, that no man shall blame them with reason. Let thy open life be thus a true book, in which the soldier and the layman may learn how to serve God, and keep His commandments. For the example of a good life, if it be open and continued, striketh rude men much more than open preaching with the word alone. And waste not thy goods in great feasts for rich men, but live a frugal life on poor men's alms and goods. Have both meat, and drink, and clothing, but the remnant give truly to the poor; to those who have freely wrought, but who now may not labour from feebleness and sickness; and thus shalt thou be a true priest both to God and to man."

These sentiments remind us of the early ages of the church, and Wickliff was not one who set forth precepts for others which he did not practise himself. Similar passages are found in many parts of his writings. Nor was he less earnest on the other hand to enforce due respect for the ministers of religion, as will appear from the following extract: "Thy second father is thy spiritual father, who has special care of thy soul, and thus shalt thou worship (reverence) him. Thou shalt love him especially before other men, and obey his teaching as far as he teaches God's will. And help, according to thy power, that he have a reasonable sustenance when he doth well his office. And if he fail in his office, by giving evil example, and in ceasing from teaching God's law, thou art bound to have great sorrow on that account, and to tell meekly and charitably his default to him, between thee and him alone."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan observes upon this extract: "If Wycliffe ever sanctioned any less mild or scriptural methods of reform, it was because

In 1379, the papal court decided against the continuance of Wickliff in the wardenship of Canterbury Hall. The pope decreed that the inmates should all be monks, notwithstanding the express declarations of the founder, and the terms of the royal license to the contrary! The royal sanction to this sentence was obtained two years afterwards. Among the means employed by his opponents, bribery appears to have been the principal. Wickliff was neither surprised nor troubled by this decision; he does not even refer to it in any of his writings.

In 1373, Wickliff was admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity. As this rank was at that time unfrequent, and conferred a considerable degree of influence, it must have facilitated the diffusion of the doctrines he advocated throughout the kingdom. Many of his scholastic pieces doubtless were lectures delivered by him as a professor of divinity, to which office he was appointed in 1372. His early English writings also show both the doctrinal views and the religious feelings with which he proceeded in his new office. He was skilful in the use of the artificial logic then in vogue, and by accustoming his hearers to enter into logical and metaphysical distinctions, he taught them to exercise their minds upon such inquiries, which he gradually directed to more important subjects than those usually introduced into such lectures. This particularly appears in his work entitled "Trialogus."

Among these early productions, the "Exposition of the Decalogue," now in the Cotton library, should be included. A brief extract or two may be here given. Urging that love to God be shown by keeping His commands, Wickliff says: "Have a remembrance of the goodness of God, how He made thee in His own likeness, and how Jesus Christ, both God and man, died so painful a death upon the cross, to buy man's soul out of hell, even with His own heart's blood, and to bring it to the bliss of heaven."

the state of the malady was found to require a severer treatment." In his tracts, *For the Order of Priesthood*, and the *Office of Curates*, Wickliff enters very fully into this subject.

He admonishes that the Sabbath not only commemorates the work of creation, but also the resurrection of Christ, and the gift of the Spirit, adding, "Bethink thee heartily of the wonderful kindness of God, who was so high and so worshipful in heaven, that He should come down so low and be born of the maiden, and become our brother, to buy us again by His hard passion from our thralldom to Satan." After describing the sufferings of Christ, he adds, "All this He did and suffered of His own kindness, without any sin of Himself, that He might deliver us from sin and pain, and bring us to everlasting bliss. Thou shouldest also think constantly, how, when He had made thee of nought, thou hadst forsaken Him, and all His kindness, through sin, and hadst taken thee to Satan and his service, world without end, had not Christ, God and man, suffered this hard death to save us. And thus, see the great kindness, and all other goodness, which God hath shown for thee, and thereby learn thy own great unkindness; and thus thou shalt see that man is the most fallen of creatures, and the unkindest of all creatures that ever God made! It should be full, sweet, and delightful to us o think thus on this great kindness, and this great love of Jesus Christ!"

Vaughan observes of this exposition of the commandments: "We find Wycliffe zealously inculcating the lessons of inspiration, on the fall of man and the consequent depravity of human nature; on the excellence and perpetual obligation of the moral law; on the exclusive dependence of every child of Adam on the atonement of Christ for the remission of his sins; and for victory over temptation, and the possession of holiness, on the aids of Divine grace. It appears also that these momentous tenets were very far from being regarded by Wycliffe with the coldness of mere speculation."

The aid which the labours of Wickliff received from the disputes then existing between the popes and the English government, has been already noticed; these

differences were again renewed in 1373, on the subject of "provisors." The papal see had been accustomed to grant anticipated vacancies in the English church among its foreign dependants, by which ministers were appointed who were neither able nor willing to discharge the duties of their office. Various legal enactments had been previously made to meet these encroachments, and a law was passed whereby the election of bishops was rendered entirely independent of the papal sanction.

In the year 1360, during the pestilence, seven English bishoprics had become vacant. All of these were filled by aliens, by papal grants previously bestowed. An inquiry made in 1376, showed that a very large number of the English benefices were in the hands of foreigners. An embassy was despatched to the continent in 1374, to remonstrate with the papal see on the subject; Wickliff was one of the delegates. Bruges was the place appointed for meeting the papal commissioners. The proceedings, as usual in all matters of a similar nature, were protracted by every species of evasion. After continuing nearly two years, the concessions obtained were few and unsatisfactory. Wickliff saw enough during his visit to the continent to satisfy him fully of the antichristian character of the papacy. He returned from this treaty, like Cranmer and Luther from Rome, more than ever convinced of the necessity of a thorough reformation in ecclesiastical affairs. He now styled the pope, "antichrist, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, the most cursed of clippers and purse kervers." We find strong expressions in his subsequent writings, but when we refer to the corruptions of the church of Rome, and to the treatment Wickliff received from the Romish ecclesiastics, it may truly be said, "Was there not a cause?"

The public attention was now awakened to the intolerable exactions of the popedom. A parliamentary remonstrance in 1376 states that the taxes paid to the pope yearly out of England were five times the amount

paid to the king ; also that the richest prince in Christendom had not the fourth part of the income received by the pope out of England. These calculations might well call forth the emphatic expression contained in the same document, "that God had committed His sheep to the pope to be pastured, and not to be shorn or shaven."

In November, 1375, Wickliff was presented by the king to a prebend in the collegiate church of Westbury, and shortly after to the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, at that time in the royal gift, by the minority of Lord de Ferrars, the patron. He was speedily called to take a still more prominent part in public affairs.

At that period a severe political struggle existed between the Duke of Lancaster and some of the leading ecclesiastics, among whom Courtenay, bishop of London, and Wykeham of Winchester were the most distinguished.

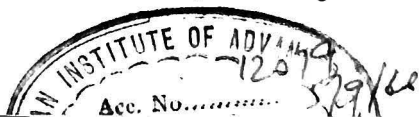
The clergy were highly displeased at proceedings against some of their number, and at this period, for the first time, we find them adverting to the doctrines of Wickliff, as calling for official interference. This doubtless was intended as an attack both upon the doctrines of the reformer and the power of his patron.

In the convocation which met in February, 1377,<sup>1</sup> Wickliff was cited to appear before his ecclesiastical superiors, to answer certain charges brought against him for holding and publishing erroneous and heretical doctrines. A day was appointed for hearing his defence. The scene which ensued is thus described by Foxe from the chronicle of St. Albans.

"When the day assigned to the said Wickliff to appear was come, which day was Thursday, the 19th of February, John Wickliff went, accompanied with the Duke of Lancaster, also four friars appointed by the duke, the better to ensure Wickliff's safety, and Lord Henry Percy, lord marshal of England ; Lord Percy going before to make room and way where Wickliff should come.

"Thus Wickliff, through the providence of God, being

<sup>1</sup> Lewis, by mistake, assigns this transaction to the year following.



sufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the bishops sat. By the way they animated and exhorted him not to fear nor shrink a whit at the company of the bishops there present, who were all unlearned, said they, in respect of him—for so proceed the words of my author, whom I follow in this narration; neither should he dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves assist and defend, in such sort that he should take no harm. With these words, and with the assistance of the nobles, Wickliff, encouraged in heart, approached the church of St. Paul, where a main press of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was the throng of the multitude, that the lords, for all the puissance of the high marshal, scarcely, with great difficulty, could get way through. Insomuch that Courtenay, bishop of London, seeing the stir which the lord marshal kept in the church among the people, speaking to the Lord Percy, said, That if he had known before what masteries he would have kept in the church, he would have stopped him out from coming there. At which words of the bishop the duke disdaining not a little, answered the bishop again, That he would keep such mastery there, though he said, Nay.

“At last, after much wrangling, they pierced through, and came to our lady’s chapel, where the dukes and barons were sitting, together with the archbishops and bishops, before whom John Wickliff stood, to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the Lord Percy, bidding him to sit down, saying that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the Bishop of London, cast eftsoons into a fumish chafe with those words, said, He should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he, who was cited there to appear to answer before his ordinary, should sit down during the time of his answer, but he should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle between them. Insomuch that they began so to rate and revile one the other, that

the whole multitude, therewith disquieted, began to set on a hurry.

"Then the duke, taking the Lord Percy's part, with hasty words began also to take up the bishop. To whom the bishop again, nothing inferior in reproachful checks and rebukes, did render and requite, not only to him as good as he brought, but also did so far excel him in this railing art of scolding, that, to use the words of mine author, the duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not overpass the bishop in brawling and railing. He therefore fell to plain threatening, menacing the bishop, that he would bring down the pride not only of him, but also of all the prelacy of England. Speaking moreover unto him: Thou, said he, bearest thyself so brag upon thy parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves. His parents were the Earl and Countess of Devonshire. To whom the bishop again answered, that to be bold to tell the truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the duke whispering in the ear of him next by him, said that he would rather pluck the bishop by the hair of his head out of the church than he would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretly, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon, being set in rage, they cried out, saying that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuously to be abused, but rather they would lose their lives than that he should be so drawn out by the hair. Thus the council being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine of the clock."

Some proceedings having been taken by the duke and Lord Percy which affected the liberties of the citizens; a tumult ensued on the day following. Information was brought to the duke at the Savoy, of the approach of the infuriated Londoners. The duke "being then at his oysters, without any further tarrying, and also breaking both his shins at a form for haste," took boat with the

Lord Percy, and by water went to Richmond, where the princess regent was, with Richard, the young king. By her interference the Londoners were compelled to humble themselves, and to make a great taper of wax, with the duke's arms upon it, at the charge of the city, which was carried in procession, and placed in the chapel of our lady, in St. Paul's, to burn before the image of the virgin!

From February to October, 1377, Wickliff seems to have been occupied in discharging his duties as rector and professor. During this interval Edward III. died. The accession of Richard II. was followed by a diminution of the influence of John of Gaunt, but the opposition to the papal claims was not less decided. Amongst other subjects, the next parliament seriously discussed whether it would not be lawful for the kingdom, in case of necessity, and as a means of its defence, to detain its treasure, that it be not conveyed to foreign nations, though the pope himself should demand the same under pain of his censures, and by virtue of obedience said to be due to him. An answer to this question was at that time very difficult. It involved most important questions, both of a civil and a religious nature. Under this dilemma the opinion of Wickliff was requested. In his reply he discarded the opinions and decisions of civilians, or other human authorities. He considered the proper reference to be "to the principles of the law of Christ." The nature of the pope's demands sufficiently indicate the result of such an appeal.

The doctrines of Wickliff were now publicly known. The ecclesiastics had not remained indifferent to them as affecting their interests and their power. A number of his opinions were censured by the pope, and in June, 1377, bulls were issued, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the king, and the university of Oxford, in which the pope required that Wickliff should be seized and imprisoned under the papal authority; that distinct information of his tenets be

obtained, and that he should be kept in custody until further instructions were sent concerning him. If he were not apprehended, citations were to be issued, commanding his attendance before the pope within three months. The utmost care was to be taken to prevent the king and the nobility from being defiled with his errors. The bulls, however, were not made public till after the parliamentary proceeding just mentioned.

These harsh mandates, it will be observed, treat Wickliff as a criminal already condemned: the prelates were merely to inform themselves privately whether Wickliff had taught the doctrines imputed to him. Such was the inquisitorial policy of the Romish ecclesiastics! The university of Oxford did not receive this bull without considerable hesitation, though accompanied by an especial letter from the pope, lamenting that tares were suffered to grow up among the pure wheat in that seat of learning, and even to grow ripe, without any care being applied to root them up.

Not the smallest intention of placing Wickliff in the power of his enemies was manifested by the heads of the University. Archbishop Sudbury, however, wrote to the chancellor, enjoining him to cite Wickliff to appear before his superiors, and early in 1378 the Reformer attended a synod at Lambeth. The Duke of Lancaster no longer retained his political power, but the deep impression Wickliff's doctrines had made upon the people was now apparent. Considerable crowds surrounded the place; many forced an entrance, openly declaring their attachment to the reformer; and Sir Lewis Clifford, in the name of the queen-mother, forbade the bishops from proceeding to any definitive sentence.

On this occasion Wickliff delivered a written statement of his opinions, which has been unfairly represented as an artful attempt to evade the consequences of his doctrines by apologies and explanations. This is not correct. Many things had been laid to his charge which he knew not; some were utterly false, while

other opinions he had not yet maintained. To attempt an explanation of his real views was, therefore, a proof of ingenuousness rather than of artifice; and it is by no means certain that this document has come down to us without mutilation from his enemies. Yet, if the whole be attended to, and allowance be made for the scholastic forms of argument, from which Wickliff had not been emancipated, his statements will not be considered as evasive. These articles are given at length by Lewis, from Walsingham, and are fully abstracted by Vaughan. If the reader finds less distinct reference than he expected to the great truths of the Christian faith, he must not be surprised. In controversy, the Romish church has usually kept these all-important subjects out of sight; or rather, they are admitted in form, while in effect they are denied. The points controverted with Wickliff chiefly related to the authority of the pope and the powers of the priesthood. The doctrine of transubstantiation was the great subject of inquiry in the sixteenth century. Few, except Luther and Knox, succeeded in bringing their opponents into direct discussion upon the point which in fact was the main subject at issue, namely, whether salvation was to be obtained only by faith in Christ, or whether other mediators and means of remission of sin were to be looked to. Of Wickliff's explanations it will suffice to say, that so far from having made decided statements, and retracted them by subsequent explanations, he repeated, in his subsequent treatises, the sentiments deemed most obnoxious, while he ever professed his readiness to retract, if his conclusions were proved to be opposed to the faith.<sup>1</sup>

The papal authority at this time suffered from other causes in addition to the attacks of the advocates of

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan has shown that the writings in which Wickliff used more decided expressions against the papacy, were not written till *after* this period. This is important, as proving that Wickliff did not resort to equivocation or evasion, but that, like Luther, his views became clearer as his opinions were called in question. "Rome was not denounced as antichrist till Rome had become his prosecutor."

reformation. On the death of Pope Gregory XI., in March, 1378, a schism took place which exhibited the church of Rome with two, and sometimes with three different heads at the same time; each pretending to infallibility, and all denouncing curses against their opponents in most awful terms!<sup>1</sup> To the death of Gregory XI. and these distractions, the escape of Wickliff from the vengeance of the clergy may partly be attributed. The general feeling of the necessity for reformation was also promoted, and Wickliff was not wanting in exertions to expose the vain and wicked 'pretensions of these unchristian pretenders to infallibility. In a tract entitled, "On the Schism of the Popes," he made a direct attack upon the papal usurpations.

Amidst these labours and persecutions Wickliff was assailed by sickness. While at Oxford he was confined to his chamber, and reports of his approaching dissolution were circulated. The mendicants considered this to be a favourable opportunity for obtaining a recantation of his declarations against them. Perhaps they concluded that the sick-bed of Wickliff would resemble many others they had witnessed, and that their power would be there felt and acknowledged. A doctor from each of the privileged orders of mendicant friars, attended by some of the civil authorities of the city, entered the chamber of Wickliff. They at first expressed sympathy for his sufferings, with hopes for his recovery. They then suggested that he must be aware of the wrongs the mendicants had experienced from him, especially by his sermons and other writings. As death now appeared at hand, they concluded that he must have feelings of compunction on this account; therefore they expressed their hope that he would not conceal his penitence,

<sup>1</sup> Platina, the Romish historian, says: "In the time of Urban vi. arose the twenty-second (or twenty-sixth) schism, of all schisms the worst, and the most puzzling. For it was so intricate that not even the most learned and conscientious were able to decide to which of the pretenders they were to adhere, and it continued to the time of Martin v." (More than forty years.)

but distinctly recall whatever he had hitherto said against them.

The suffering reformer listened to their address unmoved. When it was concluded, he made signs for his attendants to raise him in his bed, then fixing his eyes on the friars, he summoned all his remaining strength, and loudly exclaimed, "I shall not die, but live, and shall again declare the evil deeds of the friars." The appalled doctors, with their attendants, hurried from the room, and shortly after found the prediction fulfilled.

While Wickliff strongly censured the fabulous legends and crafty delusions practised by these orders, he by no means neglected the means of usefulness they so much misapplied. He was not less distinguished as a preacher than as a theologian or a controversialist. Milton well speaks of Wickliff's preaching, as a saving light at which succeeding reformers effectually lighted their tapers.

Nearly three hundred of his sermons have escaped the destruction to which his writings were doomed. The plain simplicity of their language and style show that he was not less fitted for the humble, yet important station of a village pastor, than for the office of ambassador to the pope, or to consider matters of state referred to him by the highest authorities of the land. That he was an active preacher is evident, and there can be no doubt but that he discharged the other duties of his function according to what he has himself pointed out to be the duty of the Christian man—"to visit those who are sick, or who are in trouble, especially those whom God hath made needy by age, or by other sickness, as the feeble, the blind, and the lame, who are in poverty. These thou shalt relieve with thy goods after thy power, and after their need, for thus biddeth the gospel." Upon the importance of preaching, in all ages of the church, it is unnecessary to enlarge, but certainly it was peculiarly important in those times, when little but oral instruction could be imparted, and the invention of printing was unknown.

Wickliff's sermons are seldom to be considered as essays upon particular subjects ; frequently they are only sketches, or heads of his discourses, but they are almost invariably what were then called postils — discourses founded upon passages of Scripture, the various parts of which are considered in succession. This method was most usual, both in the primitive church and among the reformers who followed Wickliff. In general, the discourses are founded upon the gospel, the epistle, or the lesson for the day, and are supposed to have been delivered at Lutterworth, during the eight years he was rector of that place. They are strictly of a popular character, as will be seen by the specimens in "*The British Reformers*" (published by the Religious Tract Society).

In one of these discourses he speaks of the labours of Christ and His apostles as teachers. They are touched upon in a manner which shows that he recommended similar proceedings in the times in which he lived, and the testimonies of historians inform us that the teachers among the Lollards went about in this manner, testifying of the things of the kingdom of heaven. He says : " The gospel telleth us the duty which falls to all the disciples of Christ, and also telleth us how priests, both high and low, should occupy themselves in the church of God and in serving Him. And first, Jesus Himself did indeed the lessons which He taught. The gospel relates how Jesus went about in the places of the country, both great and small, as in cities and castles, or small towns, and this to teach us to profit generally unto men, and not to forbear to preach to a people because they are few, and our name may not, in consequence, be great. For we should labour for God, and from Him hope for our reward. There is no doubt that Christ went into small uplandish towns, as to Bethphage, and Cana in Galilee ; for Christ went to all those places where He wished to do good. And He laboured not thus for gain, for He was not smitten either with pride or with covetousness." In another discourse he says : " It was ever the manner of Jesus to speak the

words of God, wherever He knew that they would be profitable to others who heard them; and hence Christ often preached, now at meat, and now at supper, and indeed at whatever time it was convenient for others to hear Him."

Another still more important labour of Wickliff claims our attention—his translation of the Scriptures into the English tongue, which occupied him during many years. It was completed in 1383. The first honour of this great undertaking clearly belongs to Wickliff, and no event recorded in the annals of our land can be compared with it for importance. The attempts made by others had neither been numerous nor extensive. They were only versions of the Psalms and some other portions of sacred writ, and detract not from the labour or merit of Wickliff's performance. A well-known passage from the historical work of Knighton, a canon of Leicester, the contemporary of Wickliff, contains evidence upon this subject too decisive not to be repeated here." He says: "Christ delivered His gospel to the clergy and doctors of the church, that they might administer to the laity and to weaker persons, according to the state of the times and the wants of man. But this Master John Wickliff translated it out of Latin into English, and thus laid it more open to the laity, and to women who can read, than it formerly had been to the most learned of the clergy, even to those of them who had the best understanding. And in this way the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine, and that which was before precious, both to clergy and laity, is rendered as it were the common jest of both! The jewel of the church is turned into the sport of the people, and what was hitherto the principal gift of the clergy and divines, is made for ever common to the laity."

Lingard, the Romanist historian of England, expresses the same opinion as Knighton, though in more guarded language. He says: "Wickliff made a new translation (of the Scriptures), multiplied the copies with the aid of

transcribers, and by his 'poor priests' recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power. Men were flattered by the appeal to their private judgment; the new doctrines insensibly acquired partisans and protectors in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of letters; a spirit of inquiry was generated, and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution which in little more than a century astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe."

From the register of Alnwick, bishop of Norwich, in 1429, it appears that the cost of a testament of Wickliff's version was £2 16s. 8d., equal to more than £20 of our present money. At that time five pounds were considered a sufficient allowance for the annual maintenance of a tradesman, yeoman, or a curate. In the persecution under Bishop Longland, in 1521, when severe penalties, perhaps death, followed the merely possessing such a work, the accusation against one man was his having paid twenty shillings for a Bible in English, probably only some detached books.

This translation was made from the Latin vulgate. Scarcely any persons then were acquainted with the original languages of the Scriptures. Wickliff took considerable pains to collect copies, and procured as correct a text as possible for his version.

The circulation of the English Scriptures was so offensive to the clergy, that in 1390 the prelates brought forward a bill in the House of Lords for suppressing Wickliff's translations. The duke of Lancaster is said to have interfered on this occasion, boldly declaring, "We will not be the dregs of all, seeing that other nations have the law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language." He added, that he would maintain our having the Divine law in our own tongue, against those, whoever they should be, who first brought in the bill. The duke being seconded by others, the bill was thrown out. Three years previously, in 1387, a severe statute had been revived at Oxford, which is thus de-

scribed in a prologue for the English Bible written by one of Wickliff's followers:—"Alas! the greatest abomination that ever was heard among Christian clerks is now purposed in England by worldly clerks and feigned religious, and in the chief University of our realm, as many true men tell with great wailing. This horrible and devilish cursedness is purposed of Christ's enemies, and traitors of all Christian people, that no man shall learn divinity or holy writ but he that hath done his form in art, that is, who hath commenced in arts, and hath been regent two years after. Thus it would be nine or ten years before he might learn holy writ."

The subsequent and more successful endeavours of the Romish clergy to prevent the circulation of the English Scriptures, will be noticed in the account of the followers of Wickliff.

In 1381, the troubles known as the insurrections of Wat Tyler and others broke out. A very slight acquaintance with the history of England sufficiently explains the causes of these tumultuary proceedings, which were wholly unconnected with the doctrines or labours of Wickliff, who in his writings strongly urged the due subordination of different ranks of men. Nor should it be forgotten that tumults of a far more sanguinary description, and marked by deeper atrocities, had about this period raged in France and Flanders, where the doctrines of our reformer were unknown. Froissart, a contemporary historian, attributes the proceedings of the English insurgents to the example set them on the continent. Other atrocious deeds, perpetrated in neighbouring countries, within our own recollection, might be referred to, were it at all needful to show that tumults and rebellions are not the results of opposition to popery;<sup>1</sup> but it ever has

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan has examined this subject very fully. He relates several instances of tumultuary insurrections evidently proceeding from the fanaticism of popery. The real cause of the tumults in England, probably, was rightly stated by the parliament. "These injuries, lately done to the poorer commons, more than they ever suffered before, caused them to rise and to commit the mischief done in the late

been a favourite plan of that church to endeavour dexterously to fasten upon its adversaries the blame which properly appertains to itself.

Wickliff's opposition to the dogma of transubstantiation is now to be noticed. This doctrine was first openly maintained in the west by Radbert, a French monk, in the ninth century, but it was not fully sanctioned by the church of Rome till the third Lateran council, under Innocent III., in 1215. So doubtful had the popes been at first respecting this doctrine, that one of them feigned a revelation from the virgin in opposition to it.

One of the Saxon homilies thus states the doctrine held by the early English church upon this subject:—"Much (difference) is between the body Christ suffered in, and the body hallowed to housell (the sacrament); this latter being only His spiritual body gathered of many corns, without blood or bone, without limb, without soul; and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is to be spiritually understood."

Transubstantiation was not held by the Anglo-Saxon church, but had been introduced after the Norman conquest, by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury. Wickliff had touched upon this subject in some of his treatises, the most popular of which, his "Wicket," is printed in "The British Reformers;" but he brought his views forward with increased activity in his divinity lectures during the spring of 1381, when he published a series of conclusions, in which he called the attention of the members of the University to the subject. In these he stated that "the consecrated host, which we see upon the altar, is neither Christ nor any part of Him, but an effectual sign riot." The Romish ecclesiastics also were guilty of considerable oppression. Wickliff, in one of his tracts, complains that, "Where in many abbeys should be, and sometimes were, great houses to harbour poor men therein, now they are fallen down, or made swine-cotes, stables, or bark houses; and the abbots make costly feasts, waste many goods on lords fran rich men, suffering poor men to starve, and perish for hunger and other mischiefs." Lewis adds: "So far were the religious at that time from relieving all the poor of the nation at their gates."

of Him." On these conclusions Wickliff offered to dispute publicly.

In his "Trialogus,"<sup>1</sup> Wickliff represents Satan as reasoning thus respecting transubstantiation :— "Should I once so far beguile the faithful of the church, by the aid of antichrist my vicegerent, as to persuade them to deny that this sacrament is bread, and to induce them to regard it merely as an accident ; there will be nothing then which I may not bring them to receive, since there can be nothing more opposite to the Scriptures or to common discernment. Let the life of a prelate then be what it may ; let him be guilty of luxury, simony, or murder, the people may be led to believe that really he is no such man ; nay, they may then be persuaded to admit that the pope is infallible, at least with respect to the matters of Christian faith, and that, inasmuch as he is known by the name of most holy father, he is of course free from sin." How completely had the powerful mind of Wickliff discerned the dreadful consequences of this monstrous doctrine, which represents a piece of bread as containing the flesh and blood, and even the soul and Divine nature of our blessed Lord !

A convention of Romish doctors speedily assembled ; the doctrines of Wickliff were condemned, as may easily be supposed. Sentences of excommunication and imprisonment were fulminated against all members of the University who should teach his tenets, or even be convicted of listening to arguments in defence of them.

This assembly met in private ; its determination was communicated to Wickliff while engaged in lecturing his pupils. He paused for a moment, and then again challenged his opponents to a fair discussion of the subject, declaring that if attempts were made to silence him by force, he would appeal to the king for protection.

Courtenay, who had been recently appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, in May, 1382, called a synod to consider respecting certain strange and dangerous opinions then

<sup>1</sup> Book iv. ch. 7.

widely diffused among both the nobility and the commons of England. His well-known hatred to Wickliff sufficiently indicated the objects in view. The synod was held at the Grey Friars, in London. It had scarcely assembled when the city was shaken by an earthquake, which the members interpreted as evidence of the Divine displeasure at the objects for which they were then collected. But Courtenay was not a slave to superstitious fears. "He comforted them by putting them in mind that they should not be slothful in the cause of the church; that the earthquake in reality portended a cleansing of the kingdom from heresies. For as air and noxious spirits are shut up in the bowels of the earth, which are expelled in an earthquake, and so the earth is cleansed, but not without great violence, so there were many heresies shut up in the hearts of reprobate men; but by the condemnation of them the kingdom has been cleared, but not without irksomeness and great commotion."

The assembled divines were thus reassured, and the conclusions imputed to Wickliff were condemned as erroneous and heretical. The sentence denounced against all who should hold, preach, or defend his tenets, was promulgated with the usual solemnities, and addressed to all places subject to the see of Canterbury. These fulminations were communicated to the university of Oxford, but the chancellor and many of its leading members were attached to the reformer, and the public discourses before the University highly commended the character and doctrines of Wickliff.

The state of public affairs strengthened the efforts of the clergy. A few months before, they had procured the enactment of a law by the parliament, which provided for the punishment of those who preached what the ecclesiastics denominated heresy. The preamble of the statute evidently refers to the labours of the followers of Wickliff, and to the promulgation of such doctrines as he advanced. They were extensively diffused. A contemporary historian represents every second person in the kingdom as infected

with his heresies, and in Wickliff's confession respecting the sacrament, he implies that a third part of the clergy held similar opinions.

The statute sets forth that divers evil persons went from county to county, and town to town, in certain habits, under dissimulation of great holiness, without license of the ordinaries or other authorities, preaching daily, not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places, where great congregations were assembled, divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, etc. It was therefore enacted that all such preachers, and also their favourers, maintainers, and abettors, should be "arrested, and held in strong prison," till they "justify themselves according to the law and reason of holy church," before the prelates.

This law was passed by the Lords, but never had the assent of the Commons, so that in reality it was both informal and invalid. In the following October it was revoked and laid aside; but the archbishop procured letters patent from the king, whereby he and his suffragans were authorised to detain all such offenders in their own prisons, and by the artifices of the prelate the act of repeal was suppressed. This was the commencement of a series of bloody enactments, whereby the consciences of Englishmen were enthralled, and the best and holiest characters of the land were subjected to the severest persecutions and most horrible cruelties. No traces of such laws appear previously on our statute book, and these notoriously emanated from the Romish priesthood, on feeling their craft to be in danger. It is evident that they proceeded not from the peculiar opinions of that day, or the maxims of state policy then prevalent, but entirely from the fiend-like desire of the popish ecclesiastics to persecute for conscience' sake.

Courtenay having arranged his machinery for persecution, summoned Rigge, the chancellor of Oxford, and Brightwell, one of his doctors, to answer for their late

conduct respecting Hereford and Rippington, who had advocated the cause of Wickliff. After some hesitation, they were induced to assent to the articles lately sanctioned by the Synod. The chancellor was enjoined to search for Wickliff, Hereford, Rippington, Ashton, and Redman, and by ecclesiastical censures and canonical penalties to compel them to abjure. Meanwhile, the archbishop proceeded in his prosecution of Hereford and Ashton; the former had assisted Wickliff in his translation of the Scriptures, the latter was well known throughout the kingdom as a laborious and successful preacher of the gospel.

Wickliff then resided at Lutterworth. In one of his sermons he refers to these persecutions. Speaking of Courtenay as "the great bishop of England, who is incensed because God's law is written in English to unlearned men," he adds: "He pursueth a certain priest because he writeth to men this English, and summoneth him, and travaileth him, so that it is hard for him to bear it. And thus he pursueth another priest, by the help of Pharisees, because he preacheth Christ's gospel freely, without fables." Hereford appears to have escaped from the "bitterness of death," probably through the influence of the Duke of Lancaster, but he, outwardly at least, reconciled himself to his opponents, as he was among the clergy who, in 1391, sat in judgment upon one of the Lollards, named Walter Brute, though he still retained an attachment to the doctrines of Wickliff. Rippington acted in a similar manner, but Ashton died as he had lived, a follower of the truth, before the clergy had proceeded so far as openly to bring the Lollards to the stake. The accounts respecting these men, however, are contradictory, and their enemies appear to have attributed to them greater concessions than they really made, a practice not unfrequent with the church of Rome. Some further particulars respecting them will be found in a future page.

The conduct of the clergy, and the means they had

recourse to, are thus described by Wickliff in one of his discourses at this period. "Our high priests and our religious are afraid, lest God's law, after all they have done, should be quickened. Therefore make they statutes stable as a rock, and they obtain grace (favour) of knights to confirm them, and this they mark well with the witness of lords, and all lest the truth of God's law should break out to the knowing of the common people. Well I know, that knights have taken gold in this case, to help that Thy law may be thus hid, and Thine ordinances consumed."

Wickliff saw the storm gathering fast, while increasing age and infirmities rendered him less able to counteract the proceedings of his adversaries. He knew not how soon the blow might be struck. Thus situated, he resolved to appeal to the king and parliament, in the form of a petition. This document contains opinions for which some Protestant writers have too hastily been inclined to censure the reformer, without considering the situation in which matters then stood, or the characters of those whom Wickliff denounced as worldly priests and of the congregation of Satan.

The order of proceedings against Wickliff are not clearly stated; but it appears that in 1382 a council of prelates and clergy was held in the church of the preaching friars at London, as already mentioned, and a similar council was afterwards assembled at Oxford, to take measures for remedying certain disorders which were extending rapidly through the whole community. Courtenay having made the requisite preparations, Wickliff was summoned to appear, that he might answer for his opinions. The Romish prelate laid his plans so as to deprive Wickliff of the support and countenance he had hitherto received. While the nobility opposed the church on points of worldly interest, they gladly encouraged Wickliff in his opposition, though it originated from higher motives than those of a secular nature; but at this critical period the Duke of Lancaster felt that it was his interest to avoid further hostilities with the

clergy, and as Courtenay had placed the matter at issue on points of doctrine, the duke advised Wickliff to submit to the prelates in all points of that nature. Here human aid failed the reformer, as might be expected. The world may contend upon subjects of a religious nature when interest is concerned, but not when there is reason to expect only trouble and loss for so doing.

Had Wickliff then shrunk from the contest—had he sacrificed the truth to avoid the risk of encountering his adversaries, there might have been some ground for characterising him as a political reformer, even though the hesitation had proceeded from age and infirmity rather than from any other source. But he shrank not. The Romish historian Walsingham, who is ever desirous to cast any disgrace he can upon the reformer, represents him as equally withstanding the commands of the duke and the threats of the primate. He says that Wickliff, in publicly defending his doctrines on the sacrament of the altar, “like an obstinate heretic, refuted all the doctors of the second millenary.”<sup>1</sup> Wickliff did not consider the doctrine of transubstantiation to be a mere dogma of the schools; he viewed it as a worshipping of the creature more than the Creator, and perceived all its attendant consequences, of setting up will-worship and other mediators than the Lord Jesus Christ.

The assembly convoked at Oxford, by whom Wickliff's doctrines were condemned, was numerous and eminent for rank and authority. He stood alone in the place where he once had preached and lectured to approving auditories, but now he was forsaken. With the Apostle Paul he might have said, “At mine answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me.” With that apostle he experienced that the Lord stood by him, and strengthened him, and he was delivered out of the mouth of the lion. His defence, as we have seen, was such as to compel praise from his adversaries, and his written confessions recapitulated his former views upon the

<sup>1</sup> The writers subsequent to the first thousand years after Christ.

subject. There were two—one in Latin, in which he argued the subject after the scholastic method; the other in English, which he drew up so as to be intelligible to the people.

Courtenay and his associates probably felt at a loss how to act towards the Reformer. As yet they had not found any who resisted unto blood, nor had they arrived at the decision with which their successors put the summary requisition, "Turn or burn." They appear at that time to have contented themselves with terminating Wickliff's connection with the university of Oxford. A mandate from the king was addressed to the vice-chancellor, dated July, 1382, ordering the expulsion of Wickliff and his adherents from the University, within seven days. Probably the increasing age and infirmities of the reformer indicated his speedy removal from this world, and inclined his enemies to suspend more violent and unpopular measures.

The next proceeding was a summons from the pope, ordering Wickliff to appear before him at Rome. He suffered too much from paralysis to undertake such a journey, even had it been a desirable plan for him to adopt. He addressed a letter to the pope, professing his faith, expressing his willingness to retract any opinions which might be proved to be erroneous, and his hope that his personal appearance before the pontiff would not be insisted upon.

Although Wickliff was excluded from Oxford, and age advanced rapidly upon him, he did not cease to labour for the welfare of the souls of men. His translation of the Scriptures was completed about this period. The greater part also of his tracts and sermons appear to have been composed during the latter years of his life. They were written out, and circulated with avidity; the numerous copies of his writings yet remaining, show the extent to which they must have been transcribed, especially when we consider that the Romish clergy destroyed not a few.

Among these pieces is an address written against the friars, in which, commenting on the text, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy," Wickliff directs against the followers of St. Francis and St. Dominic of that day the censures addressed to the Pharisees of Judæa of old. The Reformer's feelings of abhorrence at the proceedings of the mendicants had been renewed by their activity in behalf of Pope Urban against his opponent Pope Clement. Each of the popes endeavoured to stimulate his adherents to take up arms against his rival, by the same promises of spiritual blessings, and the same denunciations of Divine wrath, as had been used to obtain supporters to the crusades, or military expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels. These military expeditions were represented as equally meritorious, and were designated by the same title, while all the nefarious practices employed in support of the crusades were employed on the present occasion. The Bishop of Norwich raised a considerable army by the bulls of Pope Urban, promising full remission of sins, and a place in paradise to all who assisted his cause by money or in person. This military prelate headed his troops, and invaded France, by which kingdom Pope Clement was supported. But his campaign was unsuccessful: he returned to England in a few months, with the scanty remains of his army, and became the subject of general derision.

Against such proceedings Wickliff spoke boldly. He says: "Christ is a good shepherd, for He puts His own life for the saving of the sheep. But antichrist is a ravening wolf, for he ever does the reverse, putting many thousand lives for his own wretched life. By forsaking things which Christ has bid His priests forsake, he might end all this strife. Why, is he not a fiend stained foul with homicide, who, though a priest, fights in such a cause? If man-slaying in others be odious to God, much more in priests, who should be the vicars of Christ. And I am certain that neither the pope, nor all the men of his

council, can produce a spark of reason to prove that he should do this." Wickliff speaks of the two popes as fighting, one against the other, with the most blasphemous leasings (or falsehoods) that ever sprang out of hell. But "they were occupied," he adds, "many years before in blasphemy, and in sinning against God and His church. And this made them to sin more, as an ambling blind horse, when he beginneth to stumble, continues to stumble until he casts himself down." Several passages written by Wickliff at this time express his condemnation of all warfare unless in self-defence, and as sanctioned by the New Testament.

The danger incurred by Wickliff in his proceedings now was greater than ever, but he pursued his course with steadfastness to the last. "The language of his conduct" has been well described, as being to this effect: "To live, and to be silent, is with me impossible—the guilt of such treason against the Lord of heaven is more to be dreaded than many deaths. Let the blow therefore fall. Enough I know of the men whom I oppose, of the times on which I am thrown, and of the mysterious providence which relates to our sinful race, to expect that the stroke will ere long descend. But my purpose is unalterable; I wait its coming."

The stroke, however, was stayed. The Duke of Lancaster still acted as the patron of Wickliff, the popes were occupied by their mutual contests, the political distractions of England absorbed the attention of all the leading characters, and Wickliff was permitted to pass the short remainder of his days without interruption from the hand of violence. He had also a constant patroness in Anne of Bohemia, queen of Richard II., who was eminent for her piety and blameless conduct. For two years previously to his decease Wickliff was paralytic, and had the assistance of a curate named Purvey, who partook of his master's sentiments. It is said that he was distributing the bread of the Lord's Supper when seized with the last and fatal attack of paralysis. He was at

once deprived of consciousness and the power of speech. After a brief struggle his spirit left the earth, and found a joyful refuge in a better world. He was taken ill on the 29th, and died on the 31st of December, 1384.

In 1415 the council of Constance ordered Wickliff's remains to be disinterred, and cast forth from consecrated ground. This was not enforced till 1428, when by command of the pope, forty-four years after his interment, his bones were dug up and burnt to ashes, which were then cast into the brook hard by. Foxe observes: "And so was he resolved into three elements, earth, fire, and water; they thinking thereby to abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliff for ever. Not much unlike to the example of the old Pharisees and sepulchre knights, who when they had brought the Lord to the grave, thought to make Him sure never to rise again. But these and all others must know, that as there is no council against the Lord, so there is no keeping down of verity, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged up his body, burned his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God and truth of his doctrine, with the fruit and success thereof, they could not burn, which yet TO THIS DAY, for the most part of his articles, do remain, notwithstanding the transitory body and bones of the man were thus consumed and dispersed."

Soon after the decease of Wickliff, an English prelate stated that the writings of the Reformer were as voluminous as those of Augustine. Those still extant would make several large volumes, and embrace a great variety of subjects. It is not difficult to ascertain that the principal works attributed to Wickliff are his genuine productions. Many are expressly mentioned in the public documents intended to suppress his opinions.

Printing had not then been discovered, copies could only be increased by the slow process of writing, and his enemies were indefatigable in their endeavours to destroy them; yet the copies were so numerous, and so

much valued, that nearly the whole of his writings are still extant—a sufficient proof, if any were wanting, that the doctrines Wickliff taught were widely diffused and highly esteemed. Nor was this confined to England; copies are still found in public libraries on the continent. Subinco Lepus, bishop of Prague, burned more than two hundred volumes, many of which were richly adorned, the property of persons of the higher classes in Bohemia. It also appears that the greater part of the writings of Wickliff which have not come down to us treated of philosophical or scholastic subjects, which would be little prized except by the students, while the copies of Wickliff's writings which remain seem to have been preserved by the laity. Many of these are large volumes, written with much labour and cost. We may suppose they were prepared under the direction of some of his powerful supporters, while their plain appearance, contrasted with that of many of the highly adorned volumes written at that period, shows that the contents formed the chief value in the estimation of their possessors, nor do they seem to have been the workmanship of the religious establishments of that day.

In one of Wickliff's homilies, he complains of the endeavours of the clergy to prevent the circulation of the English Scriptures, and adds: "But one comfort is of knights that they savour (esteem) much the gospel, and have will to read in English the gospel of Christ's life." Another, and even more interesting class of the Wickliff manuscripts, are the little books written with less elegance, but which evidently were designed for the solace and instruction of souls thirsting in secret for the waters of life. The tattered and well-used appearance of many of these small volumes is an indisputable testimony to the correctness of the allegations in the bishops' registers of the next two centuries, as to the manner in which these "pestilent books" were read by the followers of the truth, till, by the invention of printing, copious supplies of other religious tracts were brought forward.

Wickliff's principal work was the translation of the Scriptures. Copies of the whole or of detached portions are found in several public and in some private libraries. A very beautiful and perfect copy is preserved in the royal library in the British Museum. A specimen may interest the reader.

*The twenty-third Psalm (called the twenty-second, according to the Septuagint and Vulgate versions).*

'þe title of þe xxii. salm eȝ þe song of dauid.

The Lord governeþ me. ȝ no þing schal fail to me : in þe place of pasture ȝe he haþ set me. He nurschide me on þe watir of refreischȝng : he conuertide my soule. He ledde me forþ on þe papis of ritzfulnesse : for his name. For whit þouz ȝ schal go in þe mýddis of schadewe of deef : ȝ schal not drede ȝuels. For þou art wiþ me. þi zerde and þi staf : þo han coufortid me. þou hast maad redi aboard in mȝ sizt : azens hem þat troblen me. þou hast maad fat myn heed wiþ oyle : and mȝ cuppe þat filleþ me is ful cleer. And þi merci schal sue me : in alle þe daies of mȝ lýf. And þt ȝ dwelle in þe hows of þe Lord : in to þe lengþe of daies.

A particular account of the writings of Wickliff will be found in "The British Reformers,"<sup>1</sup> in which collection several of them are printed. One specimen, from a tract entitled "To Love Jesus," may here be given, divested of its ancient orthography, and with a few obsolete words exchanged for others of the same meaning.

"Be the wicked man done away that he see not the glory of God—righteous men seek glory and life, and they find it in Jesus whom they loved. I went about by coveting and riches, and I found not Jesus. I went about by the swallow of lusts, and I found not Jesus. I ran by wantonness of my flesh, and I found not Jesus. I sat in company of worldly mirth, but there I found Him not. I sought Him in highness of myself,<sup>2</sup> but there I found Him

<sup>1</sup> *Select Writings of the British Reformers, from Wickliff to Jewell and Foxe*, published by the Religious Tract Society.

<sup>2</sup> Pride, high thoughts.

not. In all these things I sought Him, but I found Him not. For He let me know by His grace that He is not found in the land of easy and soft living. Therefore I turned by another way and sought Him by poverty; and I found Jesus—born into the world poor, laid in a cratch,<sup>1</sup> and wrapped in poor rags. I went by sharp sufferings, and I found Jesus weary in the way, tormented with hunger, and thirst, and cold; filled with slanders and reproofs. I sat by myself, fleeing the vanities of the world, and I found Jesus fasting in the desert, and praying by Himself in the hill. I went about in penance and pain, and I found Jesus, bound fast, hand and foot, to a pillar of stone, and from the head to the feet all torn with scourges. I found Jesus hanging on the cross, fast nailed hand and foot, having gall given Him to drink, and dying on the cross. Therefore Jesus is not found in riches, but in poverty; not in delicacies, but in penance;<sup>2</sup> not in idle and wanton joving, but in bitter weeping and mourning; not among many, but in a lonely place; not in soft nourishing of body, but in pain of body. In truth, an evil man findeth not Jesus, for he sees Him not where He is. He enforces himself to seek Jesus in the joys of this world, where He shall never be found."

The doctrines taught by Wickliff have been continually misrepresented by papists, and often misunderstood by protestants. From the following summary we may learn both what he taught and what he opposed.

Wickliff's FAITH was derived from the Scriptures. He considered them as a Divine revelation, containing a sufficient and perfect rule of Christian belief and practice. The authority of Scripture he esteemed to be superior to any other writing or to any tradition. He considered the canonical books alone to be inspired. He urged that all truth is contained in Scripture, and that no conclusion is to be allowed unless sanctioned by the sacred records.

The pope's authority, or right to interfere in temporal

<sup>1</sup> Crib, or manger.

<sup>2</sup> Repentance.

concerns, he wholly rejected, and would have it admitted in other respects only when conformable to Scripture. He maintained that the popes might err in doctrine as well as in life.

The church of Christ he considered to be the universal congregation of those predestinated to life eternal. The church of Rome he considered not to be superior in authority to any other. He did not allow that the pope was head of the church, and opposed the extravagant authority claimed by the hierarchy, considering it as antichrist, whether usurped by the pope or the clergy at large, while he strongly urged the respect due to consistent and holy ministers of the Word, and that the clergy ought not to be accounted lords over God's heritage, but as ministers and stewards of their heavenly Master.

He supported the king's supremacy over all persons, even ecclesiastics, in temporal matters. He never taught any doctrine contrary to the legal rights of property.

He sometimes mentions the sacraments as seven, but only lays stress upon two, baptism and the Lord's Supper. Of the others he spoke so lightly, as to be accused by his enemies of rejecting them. His opinion of the Lord's Supper is stated in his "Wicket" and his "Confession." The Romish doctrine of transubstantiation he wholly rejected.

He approved outward worship, and public assembling for that purpose, but condemned the superstitious rites of the Romish church. He disapproved the church music then esteemed, which was elaborate, often trifling, and opposed to devotional feeling.

He admitted the doctrine of purgatory, but rejected the most corrupt and profitable part of the fable, that the sufferings of purgatory may be shortened by the prayers of men, or the intercessions of saints. It was rather the doctrine of an intermediate state which he taught, than the popish purgatory, which he condemns as "pious falsehood." As he advanced in life, his views on this subject became more clear and scriptural.

He allowed the memory of the saints to be honoured, but only that men might be excited to imitate their example, not as objects of worship. He denied the efficacy of their mediation, asserting that the Lord Jesus Christ is the only Mediator. Pilgrimages he wholly disapproved, and the worship of images he frequently condemns.

The doctrines of papal indulgences and pardons he condemned in the strongest terms, as encouragements to sin. He also objected to sanctuaries, as affording impunity to crime. He held that absolution or forgiveness of sins belonged to God only. He condemned the celibacy imposed by the church of Rome upon its clergy.

Wickliff is accused of wishing to deprive the church of its property, by what he has said upon the subject of tithes. His views were simply these. It is reasonable that the priest should have a suitable provision, besides the mere necessities of food and raiment. He allowed that dymes (or tythes) and offerings are God's part, and that priests should live on them; but he urges "that the principal cause for which tythes and offerings should be paid, was curates teaching their parishioners in word and examples."<sup>1</sup>

He condemned the blasphemous adjurations then so common. This has occasioned his being misrepresented as asserting that judicial oaths were unlawful, whereas he expressly declares that it is lawful to make oath by God Almighty in a needful case.

On the great doctrines of Justification and Merit, Dr. James quotes passages which prove Wickliff to have taught: "That faith in our Lord Jesus Christ is sufficient for salvation, and that without faith it is impossible to please God; that the merit of Christ is able, by itself, to redeem all mankind from hell, and that this sufficiency is

<sup>1</sup> What was said of Luther by Erasmus, may also be applied to Wickliff as one great cause of the vehement opposition he experienced. "He touched the pope on the crown, and the monks on the belly." The English Reformer, perhaps, went farther than the German in the latter respect.

to be understood without any other cause concurring. He persuaded men therefore to trust wholly to Christ, to rely altogether upon His sufferings, not to seek to be justified but by His righteousness; and that by participation in His righteousness all men are righteous." Dr. James adds: "In the doctrine of merits, Wickliff was neither Pelagian nor papist; he beateth down all these proud Pharisees, who say that God did not all for them, but think that their merits help. Wickliff says: 'Heal us, Lord, for nought; that is, no merit of ours; but for Thy mercy, Lord, not to our merits, but to Thy mercy, give Thy joy. Give us grace to know that all Thy gifts are of Thy goodness. Our flesh, though it seem holy, yet it is not holy. We all are originally sinners, as Adam, and in Adam; his leprosy cleaveth faster to us than Naaman's did to Gehazi. For according to his teaching we all are sinners, not only from our birth, but before, so that we cannot so much as think a good thought unless Jesus the Angel of great counsel send it; nor perform a good work unless it be properly His good work. His mercy comes before us, that we receive grace; and followeth us, helping us, and keeping us in grace. So then it is not good for us to trust in our merits, in our virtues, in our righteousness, but to conclude this point, good it is only to trust in God.'"

We must not expect to find in Wickliff's writings a finished system of doctrine. Many of his statements taken separately perhaps will appear incorrect, but take them as a *whole*, and we shall be convinced that he well merited his glorious title, "The Gospel Doctor." For the variations which exist, as Dr. James says, "considering the times wherein, and the persons with whom he lived, he may easily obtain pardon of any impartial reader." Wharton justly observes that these variations do not detract from him; they show that his opposition to Romish errors was directed by a matured judgment; and that he should not detect them all at once, cannot be matter of surprise. Vaughan also has cleared the

Reformer from the charge of inconsistency, or wavering ; he has "fairly vindicated Wycliffe from the long reiterated accusation of having concealed his opinions to escape the terrors of power."

Upon the great and leading doctrine of the Christian faith, Vaughan well observes, that Melanchthon could have known but little of Wickliff's theological productions when he described him as "ignorant of the righteousness of faith." He adds : "If by that doctrine Melanchthon meant a reliance on the atonement of Christ, as the only, and the certain medium for the guilty, it is unquestionable that this truth was the favourite, and the most efficient article in the faith of the English, as well as in that of the German Reformer. It must be acknowledged that this tenet is more frequently adverted to in the writings of Luther than in those of Wycliffe ; and his statements respecting it are more definite, because distinguishing more commonly between the acceptance of offenders in virtue of the Saviour's death, and the growth of devout affections in the heart, under the influence of the Divine Spirit. But that such was the design of the Redeemer's sacrifice, was not more distinctly apprehended by the professor of Wittemberg than by the rector of Lutterworth ; nor was this truth the source of a more permanent confidence with the one than with the other."

THE  
DISCIPLES OF WICKLIFF.

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THE appellation of Lollard was early given to the followers of Wickliff. There are various opinions respecting the origin of this name, but that of Mosheim appears the most probable. He considers that it was derived from a German word, *lollen*, signifying to sing with a low voice. It originated upon the continent, and from the middle of the eleventh century was applied to persons distinguished for their piety: they were generally remarkable for devotional singing.

The number of Wickliff's disciples at the time of his decease is described by Knighton, a canon of Leicester, his contemporary. He says: "The number of those who believed in Wickliff's doctrine very much increased, and were multiplied like suckers growing from the root of a tree. They everywhere filled the kingdom; so that a man could scarcely meet two people on the road but one of them was a disciple of Wickliff." Knighton also says: "They so prevailed by their laborious urging of their doctrines, that they gained over the half of the people, or a still greater proportion, to their sect. Some embraced their doctrines heartily, others they compelled to join them from fear or shame." In another place he accuses them of causing divisions in families. The testimony of Knighton is valuable. It is the evidence of an enemy who fails in bringing forward any just cause of accusation. That a people so persecuted could compel others to belong to them, is a charge too improbable to need refutation.

In reality, the followers of the Reformer were of two classes. The first included those who felt disgust at the usurpations of the popedom and the vices of the Romish priesthood, while they cared little for the doctrinal errors of that church, though they could not but perceive their opposition to Scripture, and even to common sense. When we remember the conflicts in which the king and parliament of England had been engaged with the papacy during many years, and the impunity with which ecclesiastics were allowed to pursue their profligate courses, we may well suppose that a large portion of the community entertained the sentiments just described ; so that Knighton's statement of every second person in the kingdom being a disciple of Wickliff, may scarcely have been an exaggeration when so understood.

But there was another class whose attachment to the doctrines of the Reformer was of a more spiritual nature ; those who felt the evil of sin, and desired to live a devout and holy life under the rule and guidance of the law of God : these were far less numerous.

Reinerus, a writer in the thirteenth century, believed to have been himself once a follower of the truth, but who afterwards became an apostate, and even an inquisitor, of the church of Rome, describes those whom he denounces as heretics. The description may be applied to the disciples of Wickliff, and the Lollards of England, as they existed from one to two hundred years afterwards. He says: "Heretics are known by their manners and their words. In their manners they are composed and modest. They admit no pride of dress, holding a just mean between the expensive and the squalid. In order that they may the better avoid lies, oaths, and trickery, they dislike entering into trade, but by the labour of their hands they live like ordinary hired workmen. Their very teachers are mere artisans. Riches they seek not to multiply, but they are content with things necessary. They are chaste. In meat and drink they are temperate. They resort neither to taverns, nor to dances, nor to any other vanities. From anger they carefully

restrain themselves. They are always engaged either in working, or in learning, or in teaching, and therefore they spend but little time in prayer. Under fictitious pretences, nevertheless, they will attend church, and offer, and confess, and communicate, and hear sermons; but this they do merely to cavil at the preacher's discourse. They may likewise be known by their precise and modest words, for they avoid all scurrility and detraction, and lies and oaths, and levity of speech." Reinerus then describes how, by offering jewellery and other articles for sale, they obtained opportunities for repeating to the noble and the great whole chapters from the gospels, and explaining the scriptural nature of the doctrines they held. The allegation that they pray but little, shows that they followed the directions of our blessed Lord, which they found in the sermon on the mount (Matt. vi. 5-13), instead of using the vain repetitions of *aves* and *credos*, and the hours substituted by the church of Rome, for the prayer of the spirit and understanding. They were compelled to attend the public services, and could not but feel the necessity laid upon them—"Take heed what ye hear."

The nominal followers of Wickliff, those who merely opposed the outward errors of the papacy, will not require particular notice here, although they left valuable testimonies against the errors of popery, and in favour of the Lollards. In this number may be included the poets Chaucer and Gower, and Langland, who during the early life of Wickliff wrote the bold reproofs on the vices of ecclesiastics, contained in the "*Visions of Piers Plowman*."

Among those actuated by higher motives, there were many individuals of rank and influence, who, although not separated from the world to the extent above described, yet were sufficiently decided to incur censure from the Roman ecclesiastics. The high rank of one, however, prevented this so far as regarded herself. Anne of Bohemia, the consort of Richard II., evidenced her attachment to the Scriptures, copies of which she possessed, and constantly studied. Even the Romish prelate

Arundel speaks of her piety and knowledge of the Bible as reflecting great shame upon the ignorance of many ecclesiastics. She interfered in behalf of Wickliff; and to the intercourse established between England and her native land, may be ascribed the progress of the gospel in Bohemia, with the subsequent opposition to the errors of popery in that country. The history of the Reformation in Bohemia, and the narratives respecting the Waldenses at this period, should be perused in connection with the accounts of the English Lollards.

Foxe, Lewis, and others, mention Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir Lewis Clifford, the Queen-mother, John of Gaunt, Lord Henry Percy, Sir John Montague, the Earl of Salisbury, and others, among the protectors of the Lollards. But LORD COBHAM was the most illustrious in this respect among the British nobility. He laid down his life for the truth. John of Northampton, mayor of London in 1382 and the following year, was characterised as a Lollard on account of his bold proceedings against persons of wicked life. The terms of reproach applied to the inhabitants of London, on account of the proceedings of their mayor, show that the principles of Wickliff had made considerable progress in the chief city of the land.

Some other adherents of Wickliff claim more distinct notice. Their history presents many interesting particulars of that period. NICHOLAS HEREFORD was of Queen's College, Oxford. He was included in some of the proceedings against the Reformer, both at Oxford and in London. The accounts given of him are inconsistent and confused. This is not surprising, as almost the only particulars we possess are given by Romish writers. It appears that he went to Rome, and there defended his opinions in the presence of the pope, by whom he was imprisoned. Being liberated by a popular tumult, he returned to England, where he was imprisoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury. From the statement of Thorpe, he seems to have submitted to the church of Rome. Hereford is supposed to have assisted Wickliff in

the translation of the Scriptures. He was one of the most learned of the followers of the Reformer, but did not possess firmness or consistency. He sat among the clergy who passed judgment, in 1391, upon Walter Brute, and yet, in the following year, he again needed and obtained the royal protection against his enemies.

JOHN ASHTON was also included in the proceedings against the Reformer. He was a zealous preacher. Knighton describes him as "travelling on foot, with a staff in his hand, visiting the churches throughout the kingdom." His vigilance is thus characterised: "He was like a dog raised from sleep, ready to bark at every noise, and as expeditious in passing from one place to another as if he had been a bee; full of arguments, ready to dogmatize or spread his opinions. He boldly, to the utmost of his power, declared the doctrines of his master Wickliff at the tables of sinful hearts, that he might increase his sect. Nor was he contented with the enticing conclusions of his master, nor ashamed out of his own novel, subtle invention, to add many others, sowing tares among the wheat wherever he preached." Ashton's fate is uncertain, but it would appear that he retained his profession of the faith, while by some concession he was permitted to resume his scholastic engagements. To Ashton and Hereford, Wickliff is supposed to allude in one of his homilies, which has been quoted in the life of Wickliff, but may be here repeated. "He (Courtenay) pursueth a certain priest, because he writeth to men this English, and summoneth him and travaileth him, so that it is hard for him to bear it. And thus he pursueth another priest, by the help of pharisees, because he preacheth Christ's gospel freely and without fables. Oh men who are on Christ's behalf, help ye now against antichrist, for the perilous times are come which Christ and Paul foretold."

PHILIP REPINGDON was a canon of Leicester, and a noted preacher at Oxford. He also was included in the proceedings against Wickliff. For a time he preached

very boldly respecting the sacrament, and against the Romish ecclesiastics. But his fall was a decided one. Terrified by the prospect of sufferings, or allured by promotion, he forsook the Lollards, and became a bitter persecutor of the truth. He was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln and a cardinal! a sufficient proof that the papists would gladly have induced the principal followers of Wickliff to join their party, had the usual worldly inducements availed for that purpose.

JOHN PURNEY, or PURVEY, was an active preacher, like Ashton. Knighton describes him as a simple priest, of grave aspect and behaviour, with an appearance of greater sanctity than others. In his dress and habits a common man, giving himself no rest of body, he was unwearied in his endeavours, by travelling up and down, to persuade the people and bring them over to his views. He adds: "Being an invincible disciple of his master, John Wickliff, Purney conformed to his opinions, and fearlessly confirmed them like an able executor. For that he boarded with his master when alive, and so having drunk more plentifully of his instructions, he more abundantly sucked them in, and always, even to his dying day, as an inseparable companion, followed both him and his opinions and doctrines, being unwearied in his labours and endeavours to propagate them." Walden calls him "the library of the Lollards and the glosser (annotator) upon Wickliff."

Purney was curate to Wickliff during the latter part of his residence at Lutterworth. He is supposed to have written the prologue to the English Bible which has by some been attributed to his master. It is also conjectured that to his care we are indebted for a considerable part of the homilies of Wickliff which have been preserved. He was afterwards imprisoned by Arundel, and by tortures induced to recant at Paul's Cross, in 1396. A small living was then given to him. He is mentioned in Thorpe's examinations as living in conformity to the manners of the world. But his conscience did not allow him to pursue this course. He was imprisoned again in 1421, by

Archbishop Chichely, and is supposed to have died in confinement, like many others whose end was concealed from public notice.

Knighton mentions several other active Lollards; among them was WILLIAM SWINDERBY. He was originally a hermit. Coming to Leicester, he preached against the corruptions of the age, particularly reproving the pride and vanity of females, until, as we are told, "the good and grave women, as well as the bad, threatened to stone him out of the place!" He then addressed the merchants and rich men, denouncing those who neglected heavenly riches for worldly wealth; so often dwelling thereon, that, as the Romish chronicler remarks, had not the Divine clemency interposed, he had driven some honest men of the town into despair! Swinderby then became a recluse, but after a short time resumed his preaching, directing his discourses against the errors and vices of popery. Knighton, of course, stigmatises his doctrines as erroneous, but adds: "He so captivated the affections of the people, that they said they never had seen or heard any one who so well explained the truth." Being excommunicated, and forbidden to preach in any church or churchyard, he made a pulpit of two millstones in the High-street of Leicester, and there preached "in contempt of the bishop." "There," says Knighton, "you might see throngs of people from every part, as well from the town as the country, double the number there used to be when they might hear him lawfully." Swinderby was cited to appear before the bishop at Lincoln, when he was convicted of heresy and errors, for which it is said, "he deserved to be made fuel for the fire." Many of his hearers had accompanied him, and lamented his danger, but the Duke of Lancaster, being at Lincoln, interposed in his behalf: he was allowed to escape upon promising to recant his opinions and publicly acknowledging them to be errors. He afterwards settled at Coventry, where he preached and taught with greater success than before. Walsingham, another Romish historian, says that the multitude raged

in his behalf, so as to deter the Bishop of Lincoln from further measures against him.

Swinderby then retired to Herefordshire, where proceedings were instituted against him by the bishop of the diocese, in 1391. Foxe has given them at length from the registers of the bishop. They show that Swinderby taught the same doctrines as Wickliff, and was active in preaching the truth. One of the articles against him states, that "the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath many and often times come into a certain desert wood, called Dorvallwood, and there, in a certain chapel not hallowed, or rather in a profane cottage, hath, in contempt of the keys,<sup>1</sup> presumed of his own rashness to celebrate, nay rather to profanate." He was also accused of similar "doings" elsewhere. Already had the poor Lollards resorted to village worship in private houses, then considered a crime worthy of death! This accusation was denied by Swinderby in his replies to the articles alleged against him, but rather on the ground of the facts being wrongly stated, than as admitting such conduct to be contrary to God's law. From the registers it appears that Swinderby being cited to appear again, absented himself, when he was excommunicated. He addressed a letter to the parliament, urging an examination into the errors and abuses then prevalent, but no particulars are recorded of the subsequent events of his life.

WALTER BRUTE, or BRITTE, was a layman. He studied at Oxford, and graduated there. In 1360 he opposed the favourite tenet of the friars, that Christ obtained his livelihood by begging. He was of the diocese of Hereford, where he was accused of heresy in October, 1391. The tenets objected of him are those usually attributed to the Lollards. He was also accused as a favourer of Swinderby. His answers were clear and decisive as to his belief, that he approved Swinderby's answers, that real bread remained after the consecration of the sacrament, and that the pope was antichrist. He further presented

<sup>1</sup> Or ecclesiastical authority.

some written declarations of the doctrines he held, which were entered in the bishop's register, and have been copied by Foxe.<sup>1</sup>

It appears that Brute was a man of some consequence, from the pains taken by the Romanists to bring him to their views. The proceedings lasted for two years, when after an examination of three days' continuance, before a number of prelates and other ecclesiastics, among whom was his late associate, Nicholas Hereford, Brute made a submission in general terms, which, however, did not imply a recognition of the errors of the church of Rome. The register also contains a letter sent to Nicholas Hereford by some Lollard, faithfully rebuking his apostasy. Swinderby and Hereford were deemed of sufficient importance for royal proclamations to be issued, denouncing them by name. What became of Brute is not known. If he survived till the persecutions became more severe, he probably perished in prison.

Many other disciples of Wickliff are enumerated by Lewis and Foxe. Among them was THOMAS THORPE, whose examinations are an important document in the history of the Reformation. They were written by himself, and printed by Tindal and Foxe. The "Acts and Monuments of Foxe" contain interesting particulars of many others of the faithful band who constituted the church of Christ in England till the brighter days of the Reformation commenced. It is much to be regretted that they are so little known, having been almost entirely unnoticed in the numerous imperfect extracts from Foxe which have issued from the press.

We have now to take a brief view of the course pursued to suppress the English Lollards.

Of this period, Milton well observes in his discourse of the Reformation in England: "When I recall to mind how the bright and blissful Reformation, by Divine power, struck through the black and settled night of ignorance

<sup>1</sup> Some extracts will be found in the *British Reformers*.

and antichristian tyranny, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears, and the sweet odour of the returning gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners, where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it; the schools opened; divine and human learning was raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues; the princes and cities came trooping apace to the newly-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the unresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon."

The doctrines of the truth were so widely diffused at the time of Wickliff's decease, that the Romish ecclesiastics found that prompt and decisive measures alone would preserve their power. To reformation they were utterly averse. As they would not relinquish their vices and errors, the only course was to establish their authority so fully, that whatever they chose to sanction or permit should not be gainsaid. The dictates of the church of Rome were to be received as equal in authority to the faith builded on Christ, set forth in the Scriptures. Every opponent, therefore, of the papal doctrines was to be treated as an infidel, and as an enemy to Christianity.

Various measures were adopted to repress the obnoxious doctrines. As early as 1387 commissioners were appointed in many parts of the kingdom, who were directed to search for and seize the books and tracts of Wickliff, Hereford, and Ashton, and to send them up to the council. All persons were forbidden to defend, maintain, or teach, openly or privately, the opinions set forth in those books; or to keep, copy, buy, or sell them, under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of all their property. Many were apprehended in consequence of these measures, and compelled to abjure, or to suffer imprisonment, perhaps death. Knighton, however, expresses his regret

that these edicts were slowly and faintly executed. The numerous copies of portions of Wickliff's writings still extant are evidences to confirm his statement as to the non-suppression of the Reformer's writings; but the indisputable authority of the bishops' registers show that very active exertions were made against the Lollards.

The contest between the English government and the papal court was still kept alive by the encroachments of the latter. This encouraged the Lollards, or rather those who were the outward adherents of Wickliff, to make a bold attack upon the ecclesiastics. A parliament was held in 1394, at which they presented twelve articles of complaint. These chiefly attacked the power and profligacy of the clergy, but the more gross errors of popery were also adverted to. A variety of small satirical papers, exposing these errors and vices, were actively circulated. The clergy were much alarmed at these open proceedings. They sent some of their number to the king, then in Ireland, who induced him to return without delay. He summoned Clifford, Latimer, Montague, and others, and by threats prevented them from giving encouragement to the Lollards. The pope was not wanting on such an occasion. He addressed a letter to the king and prelates; the latter were especially admonished that they must no longer be slothful, but must make strenuous efforts "to root out and destroy" their heretical opponents.

The clergy, in truth, did not deserve these reproaches. Courtenay had been active in his proceedings, and Arundel, who succeeded to the primacy in 1396, followed his example. Immediately after his accession he held a council at London, when eighteen conclusions, taken from Wickliff's "Trialogus," were condemned. By order of the prelate, a friar named Woodford drew up a long reply to the opinions thus deduced from the writings of the Reformer.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is printed in the *Fasciculus Rerum*. The date at the conclusion is 1396, but some passages show that it was not completed till

In the same year a royal brief was directed to the university of Oxford, directing the removal of all Lollards and others suspected of heretical pravity. The "Trialogus" of Wickliff was also to be examined, that the errors contained therein might be pointed out. In the following year letters patent were issued, forbidding the University to plead any exemption to the prejudice of the royal authority, or in favour and support of Lollards and heretics. Some unwillingness to proceed against the followers of Wickliff probably had been evinced, for Archbishop Arundel wrote to the chancellor that he was informed that almost the whole University was touched with heretical pravity. To avert the dangers consequent upon such a charge, twelve delegates were appointed, who from fourteen of Wickliff's tracts selected three hundred conclusions as worthy of censure. These they sent to the archbishop and the convocation.

A darker hour was at hand, although the civil discords which terminated in the dethronement and death of Richard II. checked the proceedings against the Lollards for a brief interval, and the accession of the son of John of Gaunt, their most zealous patron, excited hopes of protection. These, however, were speedily disappointed. Henry IV. was a usurper; he felt that he needed the support of the Romish clergy, and at once entered decisively into their views. In his first message to the convocation, October, 1399, he declared that he never would demand money from them except in the most urgent necessity: he also promised to protect their immunities, and to assist them in exterminating heretics. Arundel and the ecclesiastics lost no time in availing themselves of the royal disposition in their favour. In the next parliament a law was enacted, at the instance of the clergy, forbidding any one to preach without leave of his diocesan, and ordaining "that none should from

the commencement of the reign of Henry IV. Arundel's occupation of the see of Canterbury was interrupted in consequence of his political intrigues, till the accession of Henry replaced him in power.

thenceforth preach, hold, teach, or instruct, openly or privily, or make or write any book contrary to the catholic faith or determination of holy church, or make any conventicles or schools." All books of heresy were to be delivered up within forty days. Whoever offended was to be arrested by the diocesan, proceeded against according to the canons, to be kept in prison, and fined at the discretion of the diocesan. "If he refused to abjure, or relapsed, he was to be delivered to the sheriff or chief magistrate, to be BURNED ALIVE, in a conspicuous place, for the terror of others!"

Thus the liberties and immunities of the Romish clergy, or in other words, their errors, usurpations, and profligacies, were protected by a statute which constituted them sole judges in their own cause, and compelled the civil power to put to death any one whom they might denounce as differing from themselves in opinion! It is unnecessary to say that such measures evidently originated with the Romish clergy; in fact this law, though, as Foxe observes, it "cost many a Christian man his life," never was legally enacted—it was the act of the king, the nobility, and the clergy, without the concurrence of the commons.

The ecclesiastics did not suffer this bloody law to remain an idle letter. During the session wherein it was enacted, William Sawtree, priest of St. Osyth's, in London, was condemned for heresy, chiefly for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation and refusing to worship the cross. He was burned alive in Smithfield, in February, 1401. He was the first of the noble band who sealed the truth with their blood, and rejoiced in the flames, in the metropolis of our land.

These cruel proceedings, with the activity used by Arundel against the doctrines of truth, by degrees repressed the outward manifestations of attachment to Wickliff or his opinions. Titled and distinguished leaders no longer appeared among the Lollards, but their sentiments were entertained in secret by great numbers, in

almost every part of England. In Foxe's "Acts and Monuments" will be found details of numerous sufferers, taken from the bishops' own registers; and many documents, reprinted at length by Wilkins, show both the cruelty and the superstition of the prelates of that day. While the Lollards were persecuted with unceasing severity, the Romish service-book was loaded with additional ceremonies and acts of worship to the virgin and saints.<sup>1</sup>

The principal measures which followed may be briefly noticed. In 1408, *Constitutions* were made by Archbishop Arundel, forbidding any one to call in question what the church had determined, and again prohibiting the perusal of Wickliff's writings. Severe measures were taken to clear the university of Oxford from Lollards. It was also ordained "that no one thereafter should, by his own authority, translate any text of holy Scripture into English, or any other language, by way of a book, little book, or tract."<sup>2</sup> And that no such publication composed in the time of John Wickliff, or since, should be read, under pain of excommunication, until approved by the diocesan or a provincial council."<sup>3</sup>

In the preface to Arundel's *Constitutions*, the pope is said to carry the keys of eternal life and eternal death; and to be the vicegerent of the true God, to whom God had committed the government of the kingdom of heaven! At that time there were two popes, each of whom had

<sup>1</sup> Among other documents may be mentioned a papal bull, in 1494, to inquire respecting miracles said to have been worked by Henry VI. with a view to his canonisation! The expense, more than 1,500 golden ducats, probably interfered with the design to make a saint of the "meek usurper." A manuscript in the British Museum contains a list of more than fifty miracles (so called) said to have been performed by Henry!

<sup>2</sup> It has long been the policy of the church of Rome to impede or prevent translations of the Bible, while its own legends are freely circulated in many languages. The lying falsehoods respecting the chapel of Loretto are printed for the convenience of pilgrims; they are provided even in such languages as are not likely to be called for by many pilgrims—as, for instance, the Welsh!

<sup>3</sup> In these *Constitutions* of Arundel, the heretics were described as the tail of the black horse in the apocalypse!

denounced the other as a child of Satan, and shortly after both were deposed by the Council of Pisa as heretics!

The desire to diminish the unnecessary wealth of the ecclesiastics was not extinguished. In 1409 it was represented in a measure to the king in parliament that if the estates of the bishops, abbots, and priors, which they spent in unnecessary pomp and luxury, were taken away, the king might support from their revenues, fifteen earls, one thousand five hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and one hundred hospitals, in addition to those which then existed, leaving a further surplusage of £20,000 yearly to the king. Nor was this a vague computation. Various abbeys and other ecclesiastical endowments were enumerated, amounting to 322,000 marks yearly.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this large sum, other "houses of religion" possessed revenues sufficient to maintain fifteen thousand priests. Such a measure was not listened to at that time. When renewed at the commencement of the following reign, the prelates engaged Henry v. in war with France, to divert his attention from the subject. But the stone was loosened, and a hundred and twenty years after, this important measure respecting the ecclesiastical revenues was partly carried into effect.

In 1411, forty-five articles, attributed to Wickliff, were condemned at London by the prelates and doctors. The first of these was, that the substance of bread and wine remain in the sacrament of the altar.

Henry iv. died in 1413, and Archbishop Arundel in the following year. But the proceedings against the Lollards were urged forward with still greater activity by Henry v. and Primate Chichely. In 1415, enactments yet more severe were made. All officers, at their admission, were ordered to take an oath to destroy Lollardy. It has been observed that "these wholesome severities," or "pious rigours," as they were called, show

<sup>1</sup> A mark, as already stated, was 13s. 4d. Equal in value to about £12 of our present money.

that the Romish clergy at this time "ceased not to rage after Christian blood, like roaring lions." Whosoever did the fault, all horrible mischiefs whatsoever were imputed to the poor Lollards. Lord Cobham was one of the first victims of this reign.

Further active measures were directed in 1416, whereby inquisitors were appointed to search after persons suspected of heresy; also to inform against all who asserted heresies or errors, or had suspected books, or "who differed in life and manners from the common conversation of the faithful." What that conversation commonly was, is sufficiently shown, not only by the writings of Wickliff, but by the public documents and histories of the Romish church! As Lewis observes: "Now an inquisition was set up in every parish, and men were set at variance against their own fathers and mothers and nearest relations. So that often a man's greatest foes were those of his own household. Bishop Longland's registers, a century later, show sisters and brothers detecting their own brothers and sisters, the husband the wife, children their own father and mother, the parents their own sons and daughters, masters and servants accusing each other."<sup>1</sup> In fact every bond of relative and social life was dissolved by these measures; general distrust became prevalent.

Lewis continues: "But though these barbarities, so reproachful to the Christian name and religion, terrified men's minds, and forced them to great submission, yet they no way contributed to alter their judgments or settle their belief. Nay, it was very plain that, though by authority or the secular arm they were devoted to destruction, the Wickliffites were *oppressed* but not *extinguished*. Though it was made more than capital to have even a line of Wickliff's writings, there were those who had courage enough to preserve them, although for the crime of having them, some were burned alive with

<sup>1</sup> See the *British Reformers*.

their little books. And, indeed, how little these cruelties served to convince men, very plainly appeared when at the Reformation, about one hundred years after, these restraints were moderated or quite taken off. The whole nation, whatever their outward profession was before, unanimously, as it were, embraced these principles, and showed themselves very earnest in their defence; although we are now unhappily fallen into an age that has lost its first love, and is so generally corrupted both in principle and practice as to suffer the opposition then made to popish tyranny and superstition to be condemned, and the cruelties used to force men to approve of them to be palliated and discredited.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1415 the council of Constance sat, when the articles prepared by the Oxford delegates were presented. Forty-four conclusions were drawn up, said to be found in Wickliff's writings, which were condemned as false, heretical, and erroneous. He was declared to have been an obstinate heretic. His bones were ordered to be dug up and cast upon a dunghill, if they could be separated from the bones of the faithful. This sentence was not executed till 1428, when Pope Martin v. sent renewed orders to Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, once a professed favourer of the Reformer's doctrine! The bishop's officers accordingly took the mouldering remains from the grave, where they had quietly lain for more than forty years, and burned them! The ashes were cast into an adjoining rivulet called the Swift. As Fuller beautifully observes: “This brook conveyed his ashes into the Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliff are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.”

Chichely held the primacy till 1443. The extent of his scriptural knowledge appears from a decree in which he speaks of the Lord's day as the seventh day of the

<sup>1</sup> Lewis, *Life of Wickliff*, ch. viii.

week, on which God rested after the work of creation! Although he did not so much delight in the open execution of heretics as his predecessor, several martyrs were committed to the flames, and he was not less active in using other means of extermination. Some faint attempts at outward reformation were made, but these were scarcely more than nominal. A commission of this nature, granted by Archbishop Bourchier in 1455, speaks of many of the clergy as ignorant and illiterate, profligate, negligent of their cures, while they strolled about the country with abandoned women, spending their revenues in luxury and debauchery. During this period the error of transubstantiation was farther established in England by the withholding of the cup from the laity.<sup>1</sup> On the accession of Edward iv., in 1462, he obtained the support of the clergy by granting them a charter of immunity, whereby all civil magistrates were forbidden to take any notice of treasons, murders, rapes, robberies, thefts, or any crimes committed by archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, or any person in holy orders. What must have been the general character of a class of men who could desire, or even accept, such immunities? What would have been the reply of Wickliff and his associates, had such privileges been offered to them? Nor was this all: it was referred to the clergy at all times to decide whether any person claiming exemption was of their number or not. Many purchased holy orders when accused of crimes they had committed, and thus escaped with impunity. The ruling ecclesiastics were, as might be supposed, lenient in the punishment of vice among the clergy, while the fate of Bishop Pecock and others shows how little favour was extended to those who differed as to views of doctrine.

Edward iv. addressed letters to the university of Oxford, urging the suppression of Wickliff's and Pecock's doctrines. This letter, with the reply of the University,

<sup>1</sup> These documents, and others referred to in the present sketch, will be found in Wilkins's *Concilia*.

are among Archbishop Parker's manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Morton succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1486. He called a synod for the reformation of the manners of the clergy, but his efforts were mostly directed against irregularities in dress. The preachers of the order of St. John were censured, but it was for reproving the vices of the clergy in their sermons! That there was occasion for them to do so is evident from a bull of Innocent VIII. in 1490, grievously complaining of the dissolute lives of the monastic orders in England. Morton's admonitory letter to the abbot of St. Alban's shows that the monks were detestable miscreants. This primate, finding his journeys to London impeded by the ruinous state of Rochester bridge, granted remission of the punishment incurred for sins, for a certain term, to all who assisted in repairing it! Still there were many in the land who bowed not to Baal, as appears from the records of martyrs suffering at the close of this century, and in the early years of the next.

During the unsettled state of affairs in the middle of the fifteenth century, we do not find that many had suffered publicly for the truth. As Fuller observes: "The very storm was their shelter, and the heat of these intestine commotions cooled the persecutions against them." Towards its close the scenes of persecution were renewed. The annals of martyrdom then become more full; they present numerous records of suffering.

The Divine judgments now fell heavily upon the land. Famine, pestilence, and war, foreign and domestic, depopulated the country to a terrific extent. This is proved by parliamentary enactments, and the testimony of eye-witnesses to the ruined villages, uncultivated fields, and decayed towns. There is reason to believe that the whole population of England and Scotland, at the termination of the civil wars of York and Lancaster, did not amount to three millions! Rich and powerful families experienced sad reverses; those who had revelled at home in pomp and

luxury were seen begging their bread in foreign lands. We may easily suppose the misery of the lower classes, where neither person nor property were secure.<sup>1</sup> Yet such times are described by Romish historians of the present day with unblushing effrontery, as days of happiness in England, almost equalling the golden ages of poetic fiction! But it may be asked, Wherein were they superior to preceding centuries, or to those that have followed? They were the reverse, as appears from the public documents of the Romish ecclesiastics themselves, which have been preserved. We know that the poor will never cease from out of the land; in the mysterious but wise dispensations of Providence, much outward suffering will exist at all times in this world of sin and sorrow, and true history never yet has recorded a people as prosperous or happy when sinning as a nation against the Most High, or when suffering under Divine judgments deservedly sent upon their country.

The preceding sketch carries us to that period when the light of the German reformation shone upon the plants which had sprung up from the seeds so widely sown by Wickliff. Meanwhile, as in former ages, the operations of Divine grace were not limited to any one class of men. Although the Lollards were the main instruments of diffusing the truth, and of preparing the way for the English Reformation of the sixteenth century, there were some, even within the Romish church in England, who loved the Saviour, and looked to Him alone for salvation, and others who opposed the cruel persecutions urged forward by their associates.

Among the first of these, whose writings have come

<sup>1</sup> The civil power in the dark ages was unable to preserve public peace. This led to deadly feuds, and pretences for plunder were easily found where sufficient power existed. The council of Clermont ordered that all violence should be suspended from sunset on Wednesday to sunrise on Monday, calling it the truce of God. Grateful, indeed, were the people at large for an enactment by which they passed so large a portion of the week in peace, instead of being in peril every hour. The scenes which took place on the other two days and nights of the week may be better supposed than described.

down to the present day, may be mentioned Walter Hilton, a monk who lived soon after Wickliff. Of the latter class was Bishop Pecock, whose melancholy history shows us one of those who allow their prejudices or connections to lead them to oppose and keep aloof from the real followers of Christ, on account of outward differences, while they are inwardly convinced of the religious truths they maintain, and, there is ground to hope, partakers of like precious faith.

Another and still more valuable character, connected with the church of Rome, but in reality a forerunner of the Reformation, was Dr. JOHN COLET. The following narrative respecting him is given by Foxe.

“About this time, A.D. 1519, died Doctor John Colet, to whose sermons the known men (or Lollards) about Buckinghamshire had great mind to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to read the epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of Scotus and Thomas Aquinas. From thence he was called by the king and made dean of Paul’s, where he preached much to great auditories of the king’s court, the citizens, and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright, in discipline he was severe. So that his canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like monks. The honest and honourable state of matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of priests. At his dinner, commonly was read either some chapter of St. Paul or of Solomon’s proverbs. He never used to sup. And although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common errors of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed to incline from the common manner of that age. The orders of monks and friars he fancied not. Neither could he greatly favour the barbarous divinity of the school doctors, as of Scotus, but least of all of Thomas Aquinas. Insomuch that when Erasmus, speaking in praise of Thomas Aquinas, commended him that he had read many old authors, and had written many new works, to

prove and to know his judgment, Colet, supposing that Erasmus meant good faith, burst out in great vehemence, saying: 'What tell you me of the commendation of that man, who except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly; and also except he had been rather worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's whole doctrine with man's profane doctrine in such sort as he hath done.'

"The Bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, aged no less than eighty; who, bearing long grudge and displeasure against Colet, with other two bishops taking his part, like to himself, complained against Colet to Archbishop Warham. The complaint was divided into three articles. The first was for speaking against worshipping of images. The second was about hospitality, for that he in treating upon the place of the gospel, 'Feed, feed, feed,' John xxi., when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of life and with doctrine, in the third, which the schoolmen expound for feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The third crime wherewith they charged him was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosom sermons,<sup>1</sup> declaring nothing else to the people but as they bring in their papers with them. Which, because the Bishop of London then used much to do, for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The archbishop, more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so took his part, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

"William Tindal, in his book answering Master More, testifies that the Bishop of London would have made Dean Colet a heretic for translating the Paternoster into English, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury holpen the dean! The malice of Bishop Fitzjames ceased not. The king (Henry VIII.) was preparing for war against

<sup>1</sup> Written sermons, carried in the bosoms of the preachers.

France. Whereupon the bishop, with his coadjutors, taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, wherein he seemed to prefer peace before any kind of war, were it ever so just, accused him therefore. And upon Good Friday, Dr. Colet, preaching before the king, treated of the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight, under the standard of Christ, against the devil; adding moreover what a hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner, and that all they who upon private hatred or ambition took weapon against their enemy, one Christian to slay another, such did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan; and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Christian men in their wars would follow Christ their Prince and Captain, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the example of Julius or Alexander, etc. The king, fearing lest by his words the hearts of his soldiers might be withdrawn from his war, took Colet, and talked with him alone in his garden, walking. His enemies thought now that Colet must be committed to the Tower, and waited for his coming out. But the king with great gentleness entertaining Dr. Colet, bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, in long courteous talk much commended his learning and integrity of life, agreeing with him in all points, only he required him, for that the rude soldiers should not rashly mistake that which he had said, more plainly to explain his words and mind in that behalf, which after he did; and the king dismissed Colet with these words: 'Let every man have his doctor as him liketh; this shall be my doctor,' and so departed. None of his adversaries afterwards durst trouble him.

"Among many other memorable acts left behind him, he erected a worthy foundation of the school of Paul's. He provided a sufficient stipend as well for the master as for the usher, whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single priests with their suspected chastity. The first master of the school was William Lily."

## THOMAS BILNEY.

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THOMAS BILNEY was born about the year 1500, and was brought up in the university of Cambridge from an early age. He was feeble and diminutive in person ("Little Bilney" Latimer calls him), but he was conspicuous for his ability, his energy, and his almost ascetic devotion. He made considerable proficiency in study, particularly in civil and canon law. But, as Foxe expresses it: "Having gotten a better schoolmaster, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart by secret inspiration, with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at the last unto this point, that forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more to godliness than gain." The story of his conversion, told in his own simple and touching words, will be found on a subsequent page.

Leaving the University, Bilney travelled into several parts of England, accompanied by Thomas Arthur, another of the seals to his ministry. The scriptural doctrines he taught were frequently attacked by the Romanists, and were powerfully defended by him. One memorial of these controversies has been preserved by his opponent, a Friar Brusierd of Ipswich, who wrote down their conference, to make it a ground of accusation against Bilney. We cannot suppose that this singular document does full justice to the Reformer; but it contains sufficient proof of the scriptural origin of the doctrines he taught, while it shows the fallacies advanced by the popish advocate.

The friar objected to Bilney: "Whereas you have said

that none of the saints make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have blasphemed the efficacy (power) of the church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ; which, nevertheless, you are not able to deny, seeing they (the church) incessantly knock at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, as is plainly set forth in the sevenfold Litany."

Bilney referred to the text: "There is but one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus;" and asked: "If there be but one Mediator between God and man, even Christ Jesus, where is our blessed lady? where is St. Peter, and the other saints?"

The friar admitted that such was the doctrine of the primitive church, and that St. Paul was right in making such a statement, "when as yet there was no saint canonised, nor put into the calendar." But "now the church assuredly knew and believed, that the blessed virgin and the other saints were placed in the bosom of Abraham, and the church, like a good mother, diligently taught her children to praise the omnipotent Jesus in His saints, and also to offer up by the same saints our petitions to God!"

To this sophistical argument, Bilney replied by quoting the words of our Saviour: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father, in my name, He will give it unto you;" adding: "He saith not, Whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, and other saints; but *in my name*. Let us, then, ask help in the name of Him who is able to obtain for us of the Father whatsoever we ask; lest, at the day of judgment, we should hear Him say, 'Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name.'" The friar could not evade the force of this reasoning, but endeavoured to entangle Bilney in a scholastic argument, and a discussion respecting the authority of the church of Rome. Bilney, however, was too well informed to be so caught; and again referred to Scripture, inquiring if the friar knew the ten commandments. His answer deserves notice: "According as the

Catholic doctors do expound them, I know them." The remainder of their conference was very similar to what is already given.

In November, 1527, Bilney and Arthur were apprehended by command of Cardinal Wolsey, who, after a few questions, committed their further examination to Tonsal, bishop of London, a decided Romanist, though milder than his brethren in his proceedings against the Protestants. Foxe gives the particulars of their examinations from the bishop's own register, wherein Tonsal, with scrupulous fidelity, caused several letters written to him by Bilney to be inserted. Foxe states :—

"The third day of December, the Bishop of London with the other bishops, assembling at the house of the Bishop of Norwich, after that Bilney had denied utterly to return to the church of Rome, the Bishop of London in discharge of his conscience, as he said, lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, exhibited unto the notaries, in the presence of Bilney, five letters or epistles, with a schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; which, all and every one, he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again. This was done in the presence of Bilney, desiring a copy of them; and the bishop bound the notaries with an oath, for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registering of the same."

The following extract from the first of these letters contains an interesting account of Bilney's conversion. After describing the false teachers of that day, he says :—

"These are those physicians, upon whom that woman which was twelve years vexed had consumed all that she had, and felt no help, but was still worse and worse, until such time as at the last, she came unto Christ, and after she had once touched the hem of His vesture through faith, she was so healed, that presently she felt the same in her body. Oh, mighty power of the Most Highest!

which I, also, miserable sinner, have often tasted and felt. Who before that I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant physicians, that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession, so that there was but small force of strength left in me, which of nature was but weak, small store of money, and very little knowledge or understanding; for they appointed me fastings, watchings, buying of pardons, and masses: in all which things, as I now understand, they sought rather their own gain, than the salvation of my sick and languishing soul.

“But at the last I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus. Which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latin than for the Word of God, for at that time I knew not what it meant; I bought it even by the providence of God, as I do now well understand and perceive. And at the first reading, as I well remember, I chanced upon this sentence of St. Paul, oh, most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul! in his first epistle to Timothy, and first chapter: It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief and principal. This one sentence, through God’s instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that my bruised bones leapt for joy. (Psalm li.)

“After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honey or the honeycomb; wherein I learned that all my labours, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without truth in Christ, who alone saveth His people from their sins; these, I say, I learned to be nothing else, but even, as St. Augustine saith, a hasty and swift running out of the right way, or else much like to the vesture

made of fig leaves, wherewithal Adam and Eve went about in vain, to cover themselves, and could never before obtain quietness and rest, until they believed in the promise of God, that Christ, the Seed of the woman, should tread upon the serpent's head. Neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharp stings and bitings of my sins, before that I was taught of God that lesson which Christ speaketh of in the third chapter of John, Even as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert, so shall the Son of man be exalted, that all which believe on Him should not perish, but have life everlasting.

“As soon as, according to the measure of grace given unto me of God, I began to taste and savour of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but only God, who revealed the same unto Peter, I desired the Lord to increase my faith; and at last, I desired nothing more than that I, being so comforted by Him, might be strengthened by His Holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked His ways, which are mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be converted unto Him by me, who sometime was also wicked. Which thing, whilst that with all my power I did endeavour before my lord cardinal and your fatherhood, Christ was blasphemed in me, and this is my only comfort in these my afflictions, whom with my whole power I do teach and set forth, being made for us by God His Father, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and finally our satisfaction. Who was made sin for us (that is to say, a sacrifice for sin), that we, through Him, should be made the righteousness of God. Who became accursed for us, to redeem us from the curse of the law; who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. The righteous, I say, which falsely judge and think themselves so to be, for all men have sinned, and lack the glory of God; whereby He freely forgiveth sins unto all believers, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus.

“And therefore with all my whole power I teach, that

all men should first acknowledge their sins and condemn them, and afterwards hunger and thirst for that righteousness whereof St. Paul speaketh. The righteousness of God by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them which believe in Him, for there is no difference; all have sinned, and lack the glory of God, and are justified freely through His grace, by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ. (Rom. iii.) Which, whosoever doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt, they shall at length so be satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

“But, forsomuch as this hunger and thirst was wont to be quenched with the fulness of man’s righteousness, which is wrought through the faith of our own elect and chosen works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of candles, fasts chosen, and oftentimes superstitious, and finally all kind of voluntary devotions, as they call them, against the which God’s word speaketh plainly in the fourth of Deuteronomy and in the twelfth, saying, Thou shalt not do that which seemeth good unto thyself, but that which I command thee for to do, that do thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it; therefore, I say, oftentimes have I spoken of those works, not condemning them, as I take God to be my witness, but reproving their abuse, making the lawful use of them manifest, even unto children, exhorting all men not so to cleave unto them, that they being satisfied therewith, should loath or wax weary of Christ, as many do. In whom I bid your fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.”

A brief account of some of the depositions against Bilney will present awful proofs of the spiritual darkness which then prevailed, and shows the blindness in which the church of Rome sought to retain its votaries.

It was deposed, that in his sermon in Christ’s Church in Ipswich, Bilney preached and said: “Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father. What should we need then to seek any saint for remedy? Wherefore it is great injury to the blood of Christ to make such petitions, and blasphemeth our Saviour.”

“That man is so unperfect of himself, that he can in no wise merit by his own deeds.”

Also, “that the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets. But John Baptist being more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed him, saying, Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Then if this were the very Lamb which John did demonstrate, that taketh away the sins of the world, what an injury is it to our Saviour Christ to say that to be buried in St. Francis’s cowl should remit four parts of penance: what is then left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ.”

Also, “that it is a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers in times past have been antichrists, and now it hath pleased God somewhat to show forth their falsehood and errors.”

Also, “that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterbury, and there in Ipswich, were done by the devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people; and that the pope hath not the keys that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living.”

Also it was deposed against him, that he did in the parish church of Willesdon, exhort the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and cease their offerings unto them, for that such things as they offered have been known oftentimes afterward to have been given to harlots. Also that Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had it not been for the idolatry of Christian men in offering of candles, wax, and money, to stocks and stones.

Tonstal was particularly desirous not to proceed to extremities with Bilney. He repeatedly remanded him, to give time for reflection, and even after reading a part of the sentence, deferred the remainder. These continued attacks upon the constancy of Bilney were seconded by several friends of the reformer, and probably were of

greater efficacy than severer measures. We find that at length he recanted, and was released after carrying a faggot in a procession, and standing bareheaded at Paul's cross during the sermon. In this recantation he admitted the worship of saints, and prayer to them, also that men could merit by their deeds.

Bilney returned to Cambridge after his abjuration, deeply lamenting and sorrowing for his weakness. He was almost brought into a state of utter desperation, as Latimer described in his Sermons. He relates that Bilney's agony of mind was so great, "that his friends dared not suffer him to be alone day or night. They comforted him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them to him was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword."

Foxe, or rather Archbishop Parker, whose narrative of Bilney's martyrdom he inserts, proceeds thus:—

"By this it appears how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space almost of two years, that is, from the year 1529 to the year 1531. It followed then, that by God's grace and good counsel, he came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolved to give his life for the confession of that truth which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in Trinity Hall, at ten of the clock at night, of certain of his friends, and said that he would go to Jerusalem; alluding belike to the word and example of Christ in the gospel, going up to Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> what time He was appointed to suffer His passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, departed to Norfolk and there preached, first privately, to confirm the brethren and sisters, and also to confirm the anchoress<sup>2</sup> whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the

<sup>1</sup> Or probably to St. Paul, Acts xix. 21; xx. 22.

<sup>2</sup> A sort of nun, or female hermit.

fields, confessing his faith, and preaching publicly that doctrine which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the anchoress in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tindal's translation, and 'The Obedience of a Christian Man;' whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain till the blind Bishop Nix<sup>1</sup> sent up for a writ to burn him.

"In the mean season, the friars and religious men, with the residue of their doctors, civil and canon, resorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him not to die in those opinions, saying he should be damned body and soul if he so continued. Among whom Doctor Call, by the word of God, through the means of Bilney's doctrine, and good life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the gospel's side.

"The order of his martyrdom was as follows :—

"Thomas Bilney after his examination and condemnation, was degraded, according to the popish custom, by the assistance of all the friars and doctors of the same suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's special good friend, and sorry to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and the dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him; who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death, so, for the time that he was in his custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept, concerning his diet, than before.

"After this, the Friday following at night, which was

<sup>1</sup> At this time, Nix, bishop of Norwich, was fourscore years of age, infirm and blind, "blind both in body and soul."

before the day of his execution, being St. Magnus day and Saturday, the said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Amongst whom, one of the said friends finding him eating of an ale-brew (or posset) with such a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he did, said that he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself. Whereunto he answered: 'I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up; and so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to Him, refresh the same as ye see.'

"Then sitting with his said friends in godly talk, to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire which he should suffer the next day should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word, Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides) and feeling the heat thereof, said: 'I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire, by God's ordinance is naturally hot; but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly believe, that howsoever the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby: a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable.' And then he much treated of this place of Scripture: 'Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name; thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water, I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel.'

(Isaiah xliiii.) Which he did most comfortably entreat of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present, of whom some took such sweet fruit therein that they caused the whole said sentence to be fairly written in tables, and some in their books. The comfort whereof, in divers of them, was never taken from them to their dying day.

“The Saturday following, when the officers of execution were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishop’s gate, in a low valley, commonly called the Lollard’s pit, under St. Leonard’s hill, environed about with great hills—which place was chosen for the people’s quiet sitting to see the execution—at the coming forth of Bilney out of the prison door, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in God’s behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance: ‘Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same; but yet in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: so am I now toward this sailing, and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven; as I doubt not thereof by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect.’

“And so he, giving much alms by the way, by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied by one Doctor Warner, pastor of Winterton, whom he chose as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his spiritual comfort, came to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a layman’s gown, with his sleeves hanging down, and his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation; little single (slight) body in person, but always of a good upright countenance, and drew near to the stake prepared; and

somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak to the people.

“‘Good people, I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again; and that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith the articles of my creed.’ He then began to rehearse them in order as they are in the common creed, often elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God; and at the article of Christ’s incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the Word, crucified, he humbly bowed himself and made great reverence; and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation or charging any man for procuring him his death.

“This once done he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death, and ended at the last his private prayers with the cxliii. Psalm, beginning, ‘Hear my prayer, O Lord, consider my desire:’ and the next verse he repeated in deep meditation, thrice, ‘And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified,’ and so finishing that Psalm, he ended his private prayers.

“After that he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said Doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping.

“Upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words

of thanks; and the last were these: 'O master doctor, feed your flock, feed your flock, that when the Lord cometh He may find you so doing: and farewell, good master doctor, and pray for me.'

"And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars being there present, as they were uncharitably present at his examination, came to him, and said, 'O Master Bilney, the people are persuaded that we are the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter.' Whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people, and said, 'I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they.' And so he ended.

"Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body and set fire on the reeds, which made a very great flame that sparkled and deformed the visor of his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes, 'Jesus,' sometimes, 'I believe.' Which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day, and two or three days before, notably great, in which it was said that the fields were marvellously plagued by the loss of corn: and so for a little pause he stood without flame, the flame departing and recoursing thrice, ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume him: and then he gave up the ghost, and his body being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers, with his halberd, smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed."

## WILLIAM TYNDALE.

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THE world, it has often been said, knows little of its greatest men. They do not labour merely to gain the applause of the world; and before their real worth is appreciated they have passed away, and it is no longer possible to obtain a full and exact record of their lives. Their influence remains, and continues to benefit the world; but of the men themselves only a few scanty details can be gleaned, all too meagre to satisfy the curiosity of their admirers.

This has been notably the case with WILLIAM TYNDALE, the illustrious martyr to whom we are chiefly indebted for our noble English Bible. His real merit is only now beginning to be recognised; and when his countrymen turn with eager anxiety to learn the story of his life, it is mortifying to find that long ages of carelessness have allowed it to be obscured by a dense cloud of oblivion, through which, after much labour, only a few points can be brought fully into the light.

Tyndale was born, according to ancient tradition, in the county of Gloucester. It used to be believed that the actual spot of his birth was the dilapidated old manor house called Hunt's Court, on the outskirts of that picturesque village of North Nibley, which lies at the foot of the bluff knoll selected for the recently erected Tyndale memorial. This, however, has now been ascertained to be a mistake; Hunt's Court did not come into the possession of the Tyndales till after the birth of the Reformer; and it seems more probable that he belonged to a family of Tyndales who were established a few miles off, in the parish of Slymbridge, among the flat and fertile

swamps which had just been reclaimed from the river Severn.

Of the family to which the Reformer belonged scarcely anything is known; they are said to have come originally from that district of Tynedale whose name they bore, and to have sought safety during the Wars of the Roses by assuming the name of Hutchins. What is certain is, that William Tyndale had a brother John, who subsequently settled as a merchant in London, and another brother, Edward, an active yeoman who, by his honesty and energy, rose to wealth and dignity, and was receiving marks of royal favour at the very time when the Reformer was denounced by the sovereign for daring to translate the New Testament into English.

There seems good reason for believing that Tyndale was born somewhere about the year 1484, and he appears at an early age to have manifested a love of learning, which led to his being sent to Oxford while he was extremely young. He was entered at Magdalen Hall, then usually known as Grammar Hall, one of the smallest establishments in the University, though it can boast of a considerable roll of famous scholars, none more famous, however, than Tyndale himself, whose portrait still adorns its walls. It was an age of darkness and torpor, but there were signs of the coming day and of reviving life. Just about the time when Tyndale came to the University, a young and delicate scholar, John Colet, had roused all hearts by his eloquent lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul. Discarding the stereotyped method of allegorical interpretation, and the customary unprofitable scholastic disputation, he endeavoured to ascertain the literal sense of the words of the great apostle, and seemed to bring his hearers into personal contact with the living mind of the inspired writer. His lectures were thronged; Erasmus and More, who were then at Oxford, were charmed; a deep ferment was excited in all minds; some sympathized with the new opinions; some frowned upon them as dangerous and heretical; and Colet, though subsequently

elevated to the deanery of St. Paul's, narrowly escaped perishing as a heretic.

Such was the atmosphere that surrounded Tyndale when he entered the University; and though we have no record of the process by which his opinions were changed, it is impossible to doubt that he was strongly impressed by Colet's teaching. He soon became distinguished by his "special progress in the knowledge of the Scriptures," and is even said to have "privily read some parcel of divinity to certain students and fellows of Magdalen College." Such conduct was sure to excite the suspicion of the authorities, and accordingly he found it advisable to retire to the sister university.

At Cambridge he is supposed to have enjoyed the great advantage of learning Greek from Erasmus, the most famous scholar in Europe; and though this is only a conjecture, it is certain that he acquired a thorough acquaintance with the Greek language, and that he entertained for many years the highest respect for the illustrious Dutchman. At Cambridge, too, he would find not a few likeminded with himself; and it seems highly probable that he became acquainted with Bilney, whose study of Holy Scripture was destined to produce such momentous effects in England. He obtained the customary academic degrees; he was admitted into that holy profession to which his learning naturally attracted him; and he might reasonably have cherished hopes of promotion; but after residing at Cambridge till about 1521, he left the University in the somewhat obscure capacity of tutor to the children of Sir John Walsh, of Little Sodbury, Gloucestershire.

Tyndale's duties as tutor in the old manor house of Little Sodbury could not have been very onerous, for his pupils were mere infants. Time did not, however, hang heavy on his hands; he went about preaching in the villages around, sometimes even penetrating so far as the great city of Bristol; and at the table of Sir John, who was wealthy and hospitable, he met many of the neigh-

bouring gentry and clergy, and eagerly discussed with them those great religious questions which were then occupying the minds of all earnest men. In these encounters Tyndale, fresh from the University, was naturally more than a match for the clergy, whose learning had become rusty, and he began to be looked upon with suspicion and dislike. Even his employers were inclined to disparage him. "Why," said Lady Walsh to him, after one of these debates, "one of these doctors may spend one hundred pounds, another two hundred, another three hundred, and were it reason, think you, that we should believe you (a tutor with ten pounds a year) before them?"

Tyndale, however, was not discouraged; he was, indeed, only a poor tutor, but to convince Lady Walsh that he was not alone in his opinions, he translated a treatise of Erasmus entitled "*Enchiridion Militis Christiani*," or "*Manual of a Christian Soldier*," in which the great scholar defends with all his eloquence the very points which Tyndale had been endeavouring to maintain against the "hundred-pound doctors" around Little Sodbury. His work was successful; Sir John and Lady Walsh learned to appreciate the worth of their tutor, and the priests were no longer so cordially welcomed in the dining-hall of the manor house. Thus stimulated to greater opposition, the clergy accused Tyndale to the chancellor of the diocese, who summoned the heretical tutor before him, and, after "rating him like a dog," dismissed him uncondemned.

All this opposition was not without its influence on Tyndale's own religious opinions; he saw more clearly every day how hopelessly corrupt the religion of the age had become. He knew not what to think of the conduct of those great ecclesiastical authorities who permitted the people to remain in such gross ignorance. He mentioned his difficulties to an aged priest in the neighbourhood, and his reply shot across Tyndale's mind like a flash of lightning across the dark midnight sky. "Do you not know," said the priest, "that the pope is the very

antichrist whom the Scripture speaketh of?" The idea thus presented seems never to have left Tyndale: it became thenceforward one of the cardinal articles of his belief. From that day his great purpose was to prove to his countrymen that the pope was indeed antichrist; and every day's experience made it more and more clear to him that in this attempt success was hopeless so long as they had not access to the Holy Scripture in their native tongue. This was what suggested to Tyndale the great work which will ever be associated with his name; it became the ruling desire of his life to translate the Word of God into English. "If God spare my life," he exclaimed on one occasion to an antagonist, "ere many years I will cause the boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than you do."

Little Sodbury was no longer either a pleasant or a safe residence for him. He determined, therefore, to repair to London, where Tunstal, a learned and liberal man, had lately been appointed bishop, under whose patronage he hoped to accomplish undisturbed his important work. With the simplicity of a scholar, he translated one of the orations of Isocrates as a sample of his skill in Greek; and thus provided with what he supposed to be a passport to episcopal favour, he set out, about July, 1523, on his journey to the metropolis. His sanguine dreams were speedily and rudely disappointed. The bishop, he found, was too busy in affairs of state to be accessible to mere clerical scholars; and when he did at length obtain an interview, the cautious and courtly prelate received him with a dignified reserve that well nigh broke poor Tyndale's heart, and he retired from the palace disconsolately wondering at this his first introduction to the "practice of prelates."

God, however, did not leave him friendless. He preached in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and among his hearers was a wealthy merchant, Humphrey Monmouth, whose chief pleasure it was to assist men of learning in their need. Something in Tyndale's manner or in his

sermon enlisted the sympathies of the merchant; he ascertained the poor scholar's position, received him into his own house, and generously provided him with the "sodden meat," "the small single beer," and the humble apparel which, as he himself tells us, were all that the "good priest" required. Monmouth was no mere common trafficker; he had travelled much; he had been to Rome and Jerusalem; he was inclined to the opinions of the Reformers, and was well able to advise Tyndale how to proceed in the accomplishment of his great work, for Tyndale had not relinquished the purpose which had brought him to London. He had, indeed, to his mortification, discovered that there was no room in the bishop's palace to translate the New Testament, although there was, as he sarcastically remarks, "room enough in my lord's house for belly cheer"—Tunstal was famous for his elegant dinners—yet nothing could now divert him from the confirmed hope and object of his life. Finding, therefore, that the work was impracticable in London, he, no doubt under the advice of Monmouth, resolved to face the dangers of exile, and in May, 1524, he left London for Hamburg, never to set foot again in that native country, which he loved so well.

Immediately on landing at Hamburg, he seems to have proceeded to Luther at Wittemberg; and there, free from all fears of molestation, and cheered by what he saw and heard around him, he applied himself diligently to his task. It was not much more than a year since he had conceived the idea of translating the Scriptures into English, and he had probably not accomplished much of his work in England. He was, however, a man of rare energy, and within a year the New Testament was ready for the press.

Tyndale did not, like Wickliff, translate from the Vulgate; he used the Vulgate, no doubt, as he used the German of Luther, and the Latin version of Erasmus; but Tyndale was a scholar, confident in his own knowledge, and so, without being "help with English of any

that had interpreted the Scripture before time," he endeavoured "singly and faithfully, as far forth as God gave him the gift of knowledge," to provide his countrymen with a true and honest translation of the Word of Life in their native tongue. When his work was finished it was next necessary to employ a printer, and to make arrangements for conveying the precious volumes to England. For these purposes money was required, and in the spring of 1525, carrying his manuscripts with him, he returned to Hamburg, to await the arrival of some money which he had left with Monmouth.

From Hamburg, provided with money, and furnished with a companion, William Roye, to assist him in his labours, he repaired to Cologne, where he had determined to print his New Testament. It was a year of troubles in Germany, and Cologne, like the other Rhenish towns, was agitated by the insurrection of the peasants; but Tyndale was too engrossed in his great work to heed the disturbances. All was going on well; the Gospel of St. Matthew was already finished at press, and the English authorities had no suspicion of his occupation; when, quite unexpectedly, the Senate of Cologne prohibited him from proceeding with the work, and he was compelled to leave the city and seek refuge elsewhere.

Unfortunately there was in Cologne at the time a priest who had been driven from his living by the insurrection of the peasants, and who was occupying the leisure of his exile in literary pursuits. This priest, called Dobneck or Cochloeus, had actually employed the same printer who was engaged on the New Testament; and in his frequent visits to the printing-office he heard some boasts of the workmen which aroused his suspicions. He invited some of them to his house, plied them with wine, and learned, to his amazement, that an English New Testament was then in the press, which, it was hoped, would speedily be completed, and surreptitiously conveyed to England, to spread "Lutheranism" through the length and breadth of the country. The officious Cochloeus lost

no time in turning his information to account; he procured that order from the Senate which brought Tyndale's work prematurely to a close, and he wrote to Henry VIII., warning him of the danger which threatened him, and urging him to adopt precautions to preserve his subjects untainted by heretical books.

Though grievously vexed by this interference, Tyndale had no intention of abandoning his purpose. Carrying with him the sheets which had been already printed, he sailed up the Rhine to Worms, a city favourable to the Reformation, where he was likely, therefore, to be allowed to finish his work without further molestation. In this old-fashioned Rhenish city, accordingly, the first English New Testament was finished, early in the year 1526, by Peter Schoeffer, son of the Schoeffer who had been associated with Faust and Gutenberg in the invention of printing. The interruption at Cologne somewhat modified Tyndale's work; he had originally designed a quarto New Testament, with notes (or glosses, as they were called) in the margin, as in Luther's German version; but at Worms he sent to press a smaller work, in octavo, without any notes, containing nothing beyond the text of Holy Scripture, except a very brief address to the reader at the end. The sheets rescued from Cologne were not lost, however; another edition, with marginal notes, was likewise prepared for circulation, and this was, in all probability, composed of those sheets completed by Schoeffer or some other printer at Worms.

The English authorities had been warned of the "pernicious poison" which the audacious heretics were preparing to introduce into their country, and doubtless they kept a watch at the outports; but in spite of their precautions Tyndale's New Testament, in its two forms, was smuggled into England, and was widely distributed before the bishops were aware of its presence. Great was the consternation when it was discovered that this mischievous book, the Word of God in the English language, was actually in circulation in a country which, it was boasted,

had hitherto been kept "unblotted" by this infection. The king denounced the book, and ordered it to be burnt wherever it was found; the archbishop condemned it; Tunstal issued an injunction against this production of the "children of iniquity," and declared, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, that it contained more than three thousand errors, and was fit for nothing but the flames. All copies of the condemned work were eagerly searched for; the bishops, in their zeal, subscribed to purchase them abroad on their way to England; and public bonfires, under episcopal patronage, blazed in St. Paul's Churchyard, to testify to all beholders the abhorrence which the clergy of England felt for this work, so pregnant with heresy and soul-destroying error. In spite of all this the English New Testament found many who were daring enough to sell it, and many who braved all dangers to buy and read it. The money which the bishops spent in buying up the book only served to increase the supply. The Antwerp printers, sure of customers, issued various surreptitious editions, and New Testaments poured into England in such numbers as to fill the bishops with despair of arresting the progress of the invasion.

At first it was not known that the translation was the work of Tyndale; labouring from a sense of duty, and not from the love of fame, the translator had sent forth his book anonymously. After a time, however, the secret of the authorship was discovered; Tyndale was denounced by name as a "heretic and a manifest Lutheran;" and the pen of Sir Thomas More was enlisted in the cause of the church to malign the scholar who had dared to translate the New Testament into the vulgar tongue without the consent of his ecclesiastical superiors. The enmity of the bishops was not likely to be confined to words. Wolsey had been irritated by the satirical verses of Roze, Tyndale's companion, and efforts were made by various agents abroad to discover and apprehend the two exiles.

Thus threatened with danger, Tyndale left Worms,

and for a time found refuge in the secluded city of Marburg, the capital of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the most prominent leader of the German reforming princes. Here, in the society of men who shared his love for the Word of God, and protected by the authority of the local potentate, Tyndale probably spent some of the happiest days of his exile. Secluded as Marburg was, it lay on the route between England and Wittenberg; and exiles from England and Scotland, who were compelled to leave their native land for conscience' sake, frequently passed through it on their way to visit the great German Reformer, so that Tyndale had frequent opportunities of learning the religious condition of his native land. Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr of the Scottish Reformation, resided at Marburg for the greater part of 1527, the very year in which Tyndale took up his abode there. Barnes, the Cambridge Reformer, came hither after his escape from durance in England. Hither, too, came from Cambridge, at the close of 1528, John Fryth, whom Tyndale had known in London, who was, indeed, his own son in the faith, with whom he had often discussed his great design of giving to the English people the Word of God in their own language.

Tyndale was not idle in his retirement. God had called him to be the instructor of his countrymen; and though an exile, he possessed the means of discharging his functions through the instrumentality of the press. At Worms he is believed to have printed an "Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans," expounding, as Luther had done, the doctrine of justification by faith, which forms the main theme of that epistle; and at Marburg, in 1528, he issued two of the most famous of his works, his "Parable of the Wicked Mammon," and his treatise on the "Obedience of a Christian Man."

These works found their way to England, and in spite of all the anathemas of the bishops, they were widely circulated, and produced a deep impression on thousands of eager readers. The "Wicked Mammon" was mainly

a doctrinal treatise on justification by faith; but the "Obedience" was a practical inquiry into the mutual duties of king and subject, clergy and people, in all relations of life, and exposed with fearless boldness the endless abuses and corruptions which had been allowed to creep into the church. It gave voice and expression to the universal grievances under which all classes of Englishmen were groaning — the existence of a vast spiritual tyranny which domineered over the law, deprived the monarch of half the allegiance of his subjects, and impoverished the people by its shameless exactions. All this Tyndale exposes in words of vehement eloquence, which must have found an echo in many an English heart, as the articulate expression of its own grief.

Like every true Reformer, Tyndale was prepared with a remedy for this intolerable evil. The king, he declared, ought to be supreme in his own dominions; the clergy ought to be subject to the law, not superior to it; the Word of God in the English language ought to be freely accessible to all, as the only true standard of belief and practice. The bishops could not contain their indignation at the work; and Sir Thomas More, their advocate, loses all control of his temper in censuring "this malicious book, wherein," as he asserts, "the writer showeth himself so puffed up with the poison of pride, malice, and envy, that it is more than marvel that the skin can hold together." The Reformers, on the other hand, prized it very highly, and felt themselves guided by its wisdom and strengthened by its consolation. It even found its way into the palace. Anne Boleyn procured a copy, which she carefully read, making marks "with her nail" in the margin of the more striking passages; and, by a curious adventure, this very copy came into the hands of Henry, who also perused it with care, and, in language very different from Sir Thomas More's wild diatribe, remarked, "This book is for me and all kings to read."

Useful as these works were, and greatly as they contributed to the spread of the Reformation in England,

they were less valuable than that undertaking which was the true purpose of Tyndale's life, and from which these literary pursuits for a time diverted his energies. In 1529, however, he resumed his former occupation as a translator of Holy Scripture, and finished a version of the Pentateuch. But before committing it to the press he found it necessary to make a journey to Antwerp—the great centre of trade with England—in order, perhaps, to procure the necessary funds, or to make arrangements for the transmission of the work to England; or, not impossibly, to purchase type for his Marburg printer, who had not been long established in business, and whose stock was not very abundant.

By a strange coincidence, the bishop who had so coldly rejected Tyndale's request for employment in London was also in Antwerp, purchasing English New Testaments, and other heretical books, for a public bonfire on his return. And, if we may credit the old chronicler Hall, Tyndale sold, through the agency of Packington, a considerable number of books to this episcopal merchant, whose money was a most seasonable addition to the scanty funds of the penniless exile. Tunstal returned to his diocese with the spoils of his expedition. Next year St. Paul's Churchyard was again illuminated with the blaze of prohibited books; but the bishop found that the importation of New Testaments continued as before, and he had to digest as best as he could the smiles of Sir Thomas More, who had warned him of the folly of his purchase, and the arch joke of the merchant Packington, who recommended him to buy up the printing-presses, and so make sure of stopping the work.

With the money so unexpectedly supplied by Tunstal, Tyndale is believed to have purchased some type in Antwerp, and likewise some blocks for the illustration of his work, and returned to Marburg, where the Pentateuch appeared on the 17th of January, 1530. This work was finished more carefully than the New Testament had been. It was provided with woodcuts to illustrate the

tabernacle and its furniture; a few notes were added at the end of each book, comments were placed in the margin, generally drawing attention to the corruptions of the Romish church, as when on the words, "None shall appear before me empty," he remarks, satirically, "This is a good text for the pope;" and prologues were prefixed to the various books, in which he expounds, with admirable good sense, the true system of interpreting Holy Scripture. Need it be added that this translation of the Old Testament was received by the English authorities with the same hostility as had been shown to the New? The bishops denounced it, the people were forbidden to read it, and all copies were to be seized and burnt.

At the close of this same year, 1530, Tyndale published the most severe of all his controversial works, the "Practice of Prelates." The English bishops seemed to him to be inspired by the spirit of antichrist; the pope was their king, and they directed the affairs of England, not for the benefit of the sovereign and the nation, but solely for the promotion of their own interests and the advancement of the authority of the "holy father." This is the theme of Tyndale's work, and he expatiates on it in a strain of bitter invective, terrible as the denunciations of the old Hebrew prophets. In his eyes the whole system was simply a "mystery of iniquity;" he hated it with his whole heart, and his indignation knew no bounds. Let those, however, who point to the violence of his language as an excuse for the proceedings of the English bishops, remember that he earnestly protests against employing any physical violence towards these persecutors; let them honestly confess that bitter words are not so hard to bear as exile, not so cruel as imprisonment, not so terrible as the stake.

He was busy also at the same time with a reply to Sir Thomas More's attack, of which it is not too much to say that he showed himself no unworthy antagonist of the most illustrious man of letters in England. And the year

was no less eventful in England than it had been in the personal history of Tyndale. The signs of coming change began, for the first time, to be plainly visible; the first attempt was made to curtail the enormous power of the clergy, and in the fall and death of Wolsey the ecclesiastical system in England received a shock from which it never recovered.

In 1531 Tyndale removed from Marburg to Antwerp, which was thenceforward his general place of residence. That great commercial city offered facilities for intercourse with his native land which he could not elsewhere enjoy. It abounded in enterprising printers; English merchants, too, were established here, some of them generous and noble-minded, as his former patron Monmouth had been; and (what was not to be despised) the privileges of the city afforded him an amount of protection and security which rendered it no unpleasant home for the exile. For a time, indeed, it almost appeared as if all fear of danger were over; he was invited to return to England, with a promise of safe conduct, and possibly with the hope that he might be found serviceable to the sovereign in that new policy which, since the fall of Wolsey, he had adopted. The exact purpose of the negotiations is, it is true, not very clearly ascertained, but it seems highly improbable that they were intended merely as a snare to entrap the unwary Reformer; and it is, at all events, certain that no danger was to be apprehended from the high-souled envoy, Stephen Vaughan, who was entrusted with the commission. Tyndale, however, was suspicious of Henry's advances; he distrusted even the royal promise of personal safety, for he feared that the clergy might persuade the king that promises made to heretics ought not to be kept. But whilst declining to venture himself in England, he granted repeated interviews to Vaughan, who seems to have conceived a high esteem for Tyndale.

It is not surprising that the honest envoy was touched with admiration at the noble character and the unmerited sufferings of Tyndale. There is something inexpressibly

touching in Tyndale's enumeration of his misfortunes, his "poverty, his exile out of his natural country, his bitter absence from his friends, his hunger, his thirst, and cold, the great danger wherewith he was everywhere compassed, the innumerable hard and sharp fightings which he endured." And there was something characteristically noble and unselfish in his declaration: "I assure you, if it would stand with the king's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare text of the Scripture to be put forth among his people, be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same, but immediately to repair unto his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his royal majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or tortures, yea what death his grace will, so that this be obtained."

Vaughan's negotiations are interesting, because his despatches contain many extremely valuable glimpses of the Reformer's character; but they failed in accomplishing their purpose. They seem, in fact, to have produced a feeling of irritation in the mind of Henry, for he soon after appointed another envoy, who was commissioned to seize Tyndale. For a time, therefore, Tyndale was compelled to leave Antwerp, and betake himself to a life of wandering, in order to baffle his enemies; but on the cessation of the attempts to apprehend him, he returned once more to Antwerp, and remained there till his arrest.

In spite of all external disturbance, he still continued his literary labours for the benefit of his countrymen. He published a translation of the Book of Jonah, with a prologue applying the story to his own times; and he likewise issued expositions of the Epistles of St. John, and of the Sermon on the Mount. These works had been undertaken in prosecution of a design which seemed to him to be a necessary sequel to his translation of Holy Scripture; for the minds of the people had been so ac-

customed to the old interpretations, that it appeared indispensable, not only to give them Scripture in their own language, but to restore it "to its right understanding" from the corrupt expositions of the Romish clergy. The intention was good, and the work was well performed; but no one can doubt that it was a pity that Tyndale was thereby withdrawn from what was his true vocation in the world.

In 1532 his faithful friend Fryth ventured over to England, and was almost immediately apprehended. Tyndale anticipated only too truly the danger which threatened his dear companion, and before his apprehension he had written to warn him against being entangled in abstruse doctrinal discussions. The letter is deeply interesting, and exhibits in the clearest light the modesty, the true wisdom, the warm heart, the firm faith which formed so conspicuous traits in Tyndale's character. He urges Fryth, whom he salutes as "brother Jacob, beloved in my heart," to let things pass if they were "hid secrets," and to "stick stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things." For himself, he adds, his "body was weary, but his soul was not faint;" he was "ill-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted," but he had endeavoured faithfully to do his duty. "I call God to record," he protests, "against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's Word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me."

The advice to Fryth came too late; the youthful Reformer had been entangled in the very discussions against which Tyndale had cautioned him. He had been entrapped into argument on the subject of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament—the very point on which Tyndale advised him to "meddle as little as he could;" and as his opinions were inconsistent with the standard

of orthodoxy of the time, he was condemned to the flames. Tyndale again wrote to comfort him. "Dearly beloved," says he, "commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father and most kind Lord, and fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair; but trust Him that is true of promise, and able to make His Word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel. . . . Be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of your high reward; and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may at His coming be made like to His immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that nothing. . . . Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in My name, I will give it you.' And pray to your Father in that Name, and He will cease your pain, or shorten it." It is doubtful whether Fryth was still alive when this letter reached England; but he needed no human comforter; he met his death with that calm constancy which only a firm confidence in God's help could impart.

On returning once more to Antwerp, Tyndale resumed his labours as a translator. His New Testament had been originally produced somewhat hurriedly; and he had promised to revise and amend it, if "God had appointed him thereunto." Hitherto he had not found leisure for the work; but now, actuated perhaps by a presentiment that his time was short, he applied himself with all earnestness to the task, and as the result of his labours, there appeared in November, 1534, a revised edition of the New Testament, which has been styled, "Tyndale's noblest contribution to the English Bible."

With incredible pains he had compared the whole of his work with the original, and had introduced a multitude of changes, effected with the greatest skill, adding clearness to what had been obscure, giving force to what

had been weak, improving the melody and rhythm of the sentences, in a word, making the English more exactly than before a reproduction of the Greek of the inspired penmen. So admirably, in fact, was his work performed, that nothing has been left for subsequent revisers but to follow in his footsteps, to catch, if possible, the tone and style of the original translator, and to introduce some changes which the progress of modern scholarship has rendered necessary. For it must not be forgotten that the English New Testament of which we are so justly proud is substantially the work of Tyndale; no other has left any distinct impress upon it.

Even this edition of 1534 did not come up to Tyndale's ideal of what might be accomplished, and it had scarcely left the press when he again undertook to revise it. Various improvements were introduced in the next edition, which appeared in 1535, but, before it was given to the public, the doom which had so long been hanging over Tyndale's head descended upon him; he was arrested and imprisoned. The work on which he was engaged was not, however, lost; it was published at Antwerp, but it wanted the advantage of Tyndale's own supervision, and exhibited certain peculiarities which have given rise to curious modern theories. It is found on examination that several words are spelled in a somewhat peculiar manner; mother is, for example, occasionally spelled *moether*, brother, *broether*, stone, *stoene*, etc.; and it has been supposed by some writers that this system of spelling was adopted by Tyndale in order to fulfil his promise of making Holy Scripture intelligible to the ploughboys of Gloucestershire. It is almost a pity to spoil the romance of so ingenious a theory: there cannot, however, be the slightest doubt that the eccentric orthography was owing to the carelessness of the Fleming who corrected the press.

The whole story of Tyndale's arrest cannot yet be written. It is evident that those who devised the scheme took precautions to preserve the secret, and we can only

conjecture who may have been the hidden prompters of the plot, which succeeded only too well. It is at all events certain, however, that neither Henry nor Cromwell had any hand in the conspiracy; and the blame which has been thrown upon them, and in which Cranmer also is sometimes involved, is founded upon an entirely mistaken view of the circumstances of the case. Tyndale had been residing at Antwerp with Thomas Poyntz, an English merchant, a relation of his former employer, Lady Walsh; and so long as he kept under Poyntz's roof, the privileges of the English house protected him. He was therefore enticed to leave the house, during the absence of Poyntz, by Henry Philips, an English priest, who had, with little difficulty, won the confidence of the simple and unsuspecting martyr. All the preparations for his arrest were skilfully made; officers were placed near the door of the English house, and as soon as Tyndale emerged into the street he was seized, carried before the emperor's procureur-general, the pitiless Duffel, and by his orders conveyed forthwith to the strong castle of Vilvorde, the Bastille of the Low Countries.

So quietly and rapidly was everything managed, that his friends in Antwerp knew nothing of his arrest till Duffel came to the English house to seize Tyndale's books and papers. The English merchants were indignant at the loss of a friend whom they all esteemed, and at the encroachment upon their privileges. They remonstrated with Mary of Hungary, the queen-regent of the country, but no heed was paid to them. An appeal was made to Henry and Cromwell, and they seem to have employed commissioners to watch the traitor; they could not, however, on any legal grounds interfere in Tyndale's behalf. Poyntz, indignant at what seemed the apathy of the authorities at home, wrote, urging them to take some action to save a man whom he declares to be as true-hearted a subject as any one living; and in consequence of his remonstrance, letters were addressed to some of the most influential members of the government of the

Low Countries. Nothing could damp the zeal of Poyntz; neglecting all his own affairs, he devoted himself entirely to the object of rescuing Tyndale. It almost seemed as if his perseverance were about to receive its reward; the authorities exhibited symptoms of yielding to his urgency; it was even rumoured that Tyndale was to be delivered to him, when the same traitor, Philips, again intervened; he accused Poyntz also of heresy, and the generous merchant was arrested and imprisoned in Brussels. After a few months' imprisonment, he contrived to make his escape, but all active intervention in Tyndale's behalf was now abandoned.

Tyndale had been arrested in May, 1535, but his trial was long delayed, both by the efforts which were made to procure his release, and also by the necessity of translating his works into Latin, in order that the theologians might be able to read them, and select from them what was deemed heretical. The process of trial was, moreover, tedious, and more than a year elapsed before it was commenced in earnest. He was accused of teaching doctrines on the subject of justification by faith and other matters which were contrary to the orthodox creed of the church; and much time was spent in long written discussions on these points between him and the theologians of the university of Louvain.

The result of the trial was never in reality doubtful; Tyndale was resolute in his adherence to his opinions, and there was not the slightest doubt that, according to their ideas of heresy, he was a great and dangerous heretic, for whom the customary fate of heretics was in store. His arguments could not be expected to convince his antagonists; they, however, made a deep impression on the minds of some of them, and his life in prison was so exemplary, that it is said he converted his keeper, his keeper's daughter, and others of his household. A letter, written by the illustrious martyr during his imprisonment, has recently been discovered, and gives a touching picture of his sufferings. He complains of the cold and damp of

his dungeon, and of the tedious winter nights which he had to spend alone in the dark; and he entreats his keeper to send him warmer clothing, to allow him the use of a candle, and, above all, to grant him his Hebrew Bible and dictionary, that he might prosecute that work for which he felt that but a few days remained. According to a tradition which seems worthy of credit, he translated, during his imprisonment, nearly the whole of the Old Testament, and transmitted his work, in manuscript, to his friend John Rogers, at Antwerp, who subsequently incorporated it in his edition of the Bible.

After a long delay the anticipated sentence was at length pronounced, and on the 6th of October, 1536, he was led out to die. He engaged briefly in devotion, he uttered aloud the well-known prayer, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes;" he was then, according to the law, strangled, and his lifeless body was consumed to ashes.

No brighter name exists in the long catalogue of English worthies. His career presents none of those phases of vacillation and relapse which chequer the history of some even of the greatest of our Reformers. Foxe asserts of him that "he was a man without any spot or blemish of rancour or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any sin or crime;" and this high eulogium is advanced on the authority of Poyntz, who knew Tyndale most intimately, and it is tacitly confirmed by the silence of Tyndale's bitterest antagonists. He is indeed one of the finest specimens in our annals of the true Christian hero; and one cannot read the story of his life without feeling that a fresh interest is imparted even to our English Bible by its close association with one who reminds us so strongly of the cloud of witnesses whose example is recorded in the sacred pages.

Englishmen are at length beginning to recognise the superlative merit of this long-neglected Christian hero, and English gratitude has at length erected a memorial

to him in his native county. But his true monument—a monument which will outlast stone or brass—is the English Bible. After many revisions, the English Bible is still, in its substance, the Bible which Tyndale gave us. Those words which we repeat as the holiest of all words, which are the first that the opening intellect of the child receives with wondering faith from the lips of its mother, which are the last that tremble on the tongue of the dying as he commends his soul to God—those words are the words in which Tyndale gave to his countrymen the Book of Life. What blessing that we enjoy can be placed on a higher level than this? This surely is the noblest service that any man can render to his country, and England never had a nobler son than the man who performed it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The memoir of Tyndale may be had separately as a biographical tract. For fuller details, the reader is referred to *William Tyndale: A Biography*, by Rev. R. Demaus, M.A. London: The Religious Tract Society.

## JOHN FRYTH.

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JOHN FRYTH was the son of an innkeeper at Seven-oaks in Kent, where he was born about the year 1503. From his childhood he was remarkable for his abilities and his inclination for learning, in which he made very considerable progress. He studied at King's College, Cambridge, and was one of the persons selected by Cardinal Wolsey, on account of their learning, to be members of his new college at Oxford, which he founded in 1527, upon a very magnificent scale, by suppressing several monasteries and other ecclesiastical institutions. While in London, about 1525, Fryth had become acquainted with Tyndale, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and pure godliness. Fryth and several of his companions at Oxford soon evinced an attachment for evangelical doctrine, which excited the enmity of the Romanists, who imprisoned them in a deep cellar belonging to the college, where the salt fish was kept. The damp and noisome stench of this place affected them so that several of their number died.

After some time Fryth was released. In 1528 he went beyond sea, where he remained two years.

Among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum are two letters, one from Cromwell to Vaughan, the royal agent in the Low Countries, the other from Vaughan to the king, in which mention is made of Fryth, and which show that he was accounted of considerable importance.

Vaughan writes:—"As concerning a young man being in these parts named Fryth, of whom I lately advertised your majesty, and whom your royal majesty giveth me in commandment with friendly persuasions, admonitions, and wholesome counsels to advertise to leave his wilful opinions and errors, and to return into his native country, I shall not fail, according unto your most gracious commandment, to endeavour to the utmost of my power to persuade him accordingly, so soon as my chance shall be to meet with him. Howbeit, I am informed that he is very lately married in Holland, but in what place I cannot tell. This marriage may by chance hinder my persuasions. I suppose him to have been thereunto driven through poverty, which is to be pitied, and his qualities considered."

Cromwell writes thus to Vaughan:—"As touching Fryth mentioned in your said letter, the king's highness hearing well of his towardness in good love and learning, doth much lament that he should in such wise as he doth, set forth, show, and apply his learning and doctrine in the semination and sowing forth evil seed of damnable and detestable heresies, maintaining, bolstering, and administering the venomous and pestiferous works, erroneous and seditious opinions, of the said Tyndale and others, wherein his highness, like a most virtuous and benign prince and guardian, having charge of his people and subjects, being very sorry to hear tell that any of the same should in such wise run headlong, and digress from the laws of Almighty God, and wholesome doctrines of holy fathers, unto such damnable heresies and seditious opinions, is inclined willingly and greatly desirous to provide for the same."

The letter then proceeds to state the king's readiness to provide for Fryth, if he could be brought to forsake the doctrines of Tyndale, and, leaving his "wilful opinions, like a good Christian would return to his native country," where he should find the king most favourable. Cromwell further exhorts Vaughan to use his best endeavours to win the refugees from their opinions, adding:

"In which doing ye shall not only highly merit in Almighty God, but also deserve highly thanks of the king's royal majesty, who will not forget your devoirs and labours in that behalf, so that his majesty may find that you effectually do intend the same."

While abroad, Fryth made considerable progress in the knowledge of the truth, and wrote his book against purgatory. When he returned he went to Reading, having, it is supposed, some expectations from the abbot of that place. These appear to have been disappointed, as he was taken up and set in the stocks as a vagrant. After being confined some time, when ready to perish with hunger, he asked to see the schoolmaster of the town, who, discovering his abilities and learning, procured his release and gave him assistance.

Fryth then went to London, where he endeavoured to remain concealed, but he soon became "a marked man." He was apprehended at Milton in Essex, endeavouring to escape to the continent, and sent to the Tower. There he gained the favour of his keeper, so that he was allowed sometimes to visit the followers of the truth in the city. Strype relates, that "When John Fryth was in the Tower, he came to Petit's key in the night, notwithstanding the strait watch and ward by commandment. At whose first coming, Petit was in doubt whether it was Fryth or a vision; no less doubting than the apostles, when Rhoda the maid brought tidings that Peter was out of prison. But Fryth showed him that it was God that wrought him that liberty in the heart of his keeper, Philips, who, upon the condition of his own word and promise, let him go at liberty in the night to consult with godly men." Petit was a wealthy merchant of London, member of parliament for the city for many years, but being suspected by Sir Thomas More of favouring those of the new religion, and assisting to print their books, he was imprisoned, and laid in a dungeon upon a pad of straw, where he contracted a disease of which he soon afterwards died.

While in confinement Fryth was induced by a friend to commit to writing his opinions upon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. These we are told were four. "

1. That the matter of the sacrament is no article of faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation.

2. That forasmuch as Christ's natural body hath all properties of our body, sin only excepted, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that He should be in two places, or more, at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

3. Moreover it is not right or necessary that we should in this place understand Christ's words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the Scripture.

4. The sacrament ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, albeit the order which at this time has crept into the church, and is used now-a-days by the priests, ever so much differs from it.

At that period there was in London a tailor named William Holt, who pretended to be very friendly towards the followers of the truth. Having obtained a copy of this writing of Fryth's, he carried it to Sir Thomas More, and it was the cause of Fryth's death. More, at that time, was very active in defence of the Romish doctrines; he not only imprisoned Fryth, but printed a refutation of his arguments. His book, however, was kept from Fryth and his friends with much care for some time. With great difficulty the Reformer obtained a written copy, and saw the printed work during an examination before the Bishop of Winchester. Fryth then replied to More's answer in an able treatise, written under all the disadvantages of strict confinement.

Fryth had now attracted considerable notice, as the first who publicly advocated in England the doctrines of Zwingle respecting the sacrament. One of the king's chaplains alluded to him in a sermon, at the instigation of the Bishop of Winchester, in consequence of which

his imprisonment in the Tower was terminated by an order to the bishops to examine him. The subsequent account is best given in the words of Foxe.

“That there should be no concourse of citizens at the said examination, my lord of Canterbury removed to Croydon. Now, before the day appointed, my lord of Canterbury sent one of his gentlemen, and one of his porters, whose name was Perlebean, a Welshman born, to fetch John Fryth from the Tower unto Croydon. This gentleman had both my lord’s letters and the king’s ring unto my Lord Fitzwilliams, constable of the Tower, then lying in Cannon Row, at Westminster, in extreme anguish and pain from a disorder, for the delivery of the prisoner. Master Fitzwilliams, more passionate than patient, understanding for what purpose my lord’s gentleman was come, banned and cursed Fryth and other heretics, saying, ‘Take this my ring unto the lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man, your heretic, with you, and I am glad that I am rid of him.’

“When Fryth was delivered unto my lord of Canterbury’s gentleman, they twain, with Perlebean, sitting in a wherry and rowing towards Lambeth, the said gentleman much lamenting in his mind the infelicity of the said Fryth, began to exhort him, to consider in what state he was, a man altogether cast away in this world, if he did not look wisely to himself. And yet, though his cause was ever so dangerous, he might, by somewhat relenting to authority, and so giving place for a time, help both himself out of trouble, and when opportunity and occasion should serve, prefer his cause, which he then went about to defend, declaring further that he had many well-willers and friends, who would stand on his side, so far as they were able, and durst do; adding hereunto, that it were great pity that he, being of such singular knowledge both in the Latin and Greek, both ready and ripe in all kind of learning, and as well in the Scriptures as in the ancient doctors, should now suddenly suffer all those singular gifts to perish with him, with little commodity or profit to

the world, and less comfort to his wife and children, and others his kinsfolks and friends. 'And as for the verity of your opinion in the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ,' added he, 'it is so untimely opened here amongst us in England, that you shall rather do harm than good; wherefore be wise, and be ruled by good counsel until a better opportunity may serve. This I am sure of, that my Lord Cromwell and my lord of Canterbury, much favouring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardness, and likely to be a most profitable member for this realm, will never permit you to sustain any open shame, if you will somewhat be advised by their counsel. On the other side, if you stand stiffly to your opinion, it is not possible to save your life. For like as you have good friends, so have you mortal foes and enemies.'

"'I most heartily thank you,' said Master Fryth unto the gentleman, 'both for your good will and for your counsel; by which I well perceive that you intend well unto me; howbeit, my cause and conscience is such, that in no wise I may not, and cannot for any worldly respect, without danger of damnation, start aside, and fly from the true knowledge and doctrine which I have conceived of the supper of the Lord or the communion, otherwise called the sacrament of the altar; for if it be my chance to be demanded, what I think in that behalf, I must needs say my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I have written therein already, though I should presently lose twenty lives, if I had so many. And this you shall well understand, that I am not so unfurnished, either of Scripture or ancient doctors, schoolmen, or others for my defence; so that if I may be fairly heard, I am sure that mine adversaries cannot justly condemn me or mine assertion, but that they shall condemn with me St. Augustine and the most part of the old writers; yea, the very bishops of Rome of the oldest sort shall also say for me, and defend my cause.'

“‘Yea, marry,’ quoth the gentleman, ‘you say well, if you might be indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for our Master, Christ, was not indifferently heard, nor should be, as I think, if He were now present again in the world, especially in this your opinion, the same being so odious unto the world, and we so far off from the true knowledge thereof.’

“‘Well, well,’ said Fryth then unto the gentleman, ‘I know very well that this doctrine of the sacrament of the altar which I hold, and have opened, contrary to the opinion of this realm, is very hard meat to be digested, both of the clergy and laity thereof. But this I will say to you (taking the gentleman by the hand), that if you live but twenty years more, whatsoever become of me, you shall see this whole realm of mine opinion concerning this sacrament of the altar; namely, the whole estate of the same, though some men particularly shall not be fully persuaded therein. And if it come not so to pass, then account me the vainest man that ever you heard speak with tongue. Besides this, you say that my death would be sorrowful and uncomfortable unto my friends. I grant that for a small time it would be so; but if I should so mollify, qualify, and temper my cause in such sort as to deserve only to be kept in prison, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but also to my friends would breed no small disquietness, both of body and of mind. And therefore all things well and rightly pondered, my death in this cause shall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what He hath to do with His poor servant, whose cause I now defend and not my own; from the which I assuredly do intend, God willing, never to start or otherwise to give place, so long as God will give me life.’

“This communication, or the like in effect, my lord of Canterbury’s gentleman and Fryth had, coming in a wherry upon the Thames from the Tower to Lambeth.

“Now, when they were landed, after repast being taken”

at Lambeth, the gentleman, the porter, and Fryth went forward towards Croydon on foot. This gentleman, still lamenting with himself the hard and cruel destiny of Fryth, if he once came amongst the bishops, and now also perceiving the exceeding constancy of Fryth, devised with himself some way or means to convey him quite out of their hands, and thereupon considering that there were no more persons there to convey the prisoner, but the porter and himself, he took in hand to win the porter to his purpose.

“The gentleman proposed that they should suffer Fryth to escape, saying, ‘You see yonder hill before us named Bristow (Brixton) causeway; there are great woods on both sides: when we come there we will permit Fryth to go into the woods on the left hand of the way, whereby he may convey himself into Kent among his friends, for he is a Kentish man; and when he is gone we will linger an hour or two about the highway, until it draw towards night. Then in great haste we will approach Streatham, and make an outcry in the town that our prisoner is broken from us on the right hand towards Wandsworth, so that we will draw as many as we can of the town to search the country that way for our prisoner, declaring that we followed him above a mile or more, and at length lost him in the woods.’

“So when my lord of Canterbury’s gentleman came nigh to the hill, he joined himself in company with the said Fryth, and calling him by his name, said, ‘Now, Master Fryth, let us twain commune together another while.’

“When Fryth had heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he said to the gentleman, with a smiling countenance, ‘Is this the effect of your secret consultation, thus long between you twain? Surely, surely, you have lost a great deal more labour in times past, and so are you like to do this; for if you should both leave me here, and go to Croydon declaring to the bishops that you had lost Fryth, I would surely follow after, as fast as I might, and bring them news that I had found and

brought Fryth again. Do you think that I am afraid to declare my opinion unto the bishops of England in a manifest truth ?’

“ ‘You are a foolish man,’ quoth the gentleman, ‘thus to talk : as though your reasoning with them might do some good. But I do much marvel that you were so willing to fly the realm before you were taken, and now so unwilling to save yourself.’

“ ‘There was and is a great diversity of escaping, between the one and the other,’ quoth Fryth. ‘Before, I was indeed desirous to escape, because I was not attached, but at liberty ; which liberty I would fain have enjoyed for the maintenance of my study beyond the sea, where I was reader in the Greek tongue, according to St. Paul’s counsel. Howbeit, now being taken by the higher power, and as it were, by Almighty God’s permission and providence delivered into the hands of the bishops, only for religion and doctrine’s sake, such as in conscience and under pain of damnation I am bound to maintain and defend ; if I should now start aside and run away, I should run from my God, and from the testimony of His holy word ; worthy then of a thousand hells. And therefore I most heartily thank you both, for your good wills towards me, beseeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought, for else I will go thither all alone.’

“ And so with a cheerful and merry countenance he went with them, spending the time with pleasant and godly communications, until they came to Croydon, where for that night he was well entertained in the porter’s lodge. On the morrow he was called before certain bishops and other learned men, sitting in commission with my lord of Canterbury, to be examined, where he showed himself passing ready and ripe in answering to all objections, as some then reported, incredibly and contrary to all men’s expectations. And his allegations, both out of Augustine and other ancient fathers of the church, were such that some of them much doubted of Augustine’s authority in that behalf. Insomuch that it was reported

by them who were nigh and about the Archbishop of Canterbury (who then was not fully resolved of the sincere truth of that article), that when they had finished their examination of Fryth, the archbishop, conferring with Dr. Heath privately between themselves, said: 'This man hath wonderfully laboured in this matter, and yet, in mine opinion, he taketh the doctors amiss.' 'Well, my lord,' said Dr. Heath, 'there was no man who could do away his authorities from St. Augustine.' Then he began to repeat them again, inferring and applying them so strongly that my lord said, 'I see that you, with a little more study, will easily be brought to Fryth's opinion.'<sup>1</sup> And some there present openly reported that Dr. Heath was as able to defend Fryth's assertions of the sacrament as Fryth was himself.

"This learned young man being thus thoroughly sifted at Croydon, to understand what he could say and do in his cause, there was no man willing to bring him to answer in open disputation as poor Lambert was. But without regard of learning or good knowledge, he was sent and detained unto the butcher's stall, I mean Bishop Stokesly's consistory, there to hear, not the opinion of Augustine and other ancient fathers of Christ's primitive church, of the said sacrament, but either to be instructed and to hear the maimed and half cut-away sacrament of antichrist, the Bishop of Rome, with the gross and fleshly imagination thereof; or else to perish in the fire, as he most certainly did, after he had before the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Chichester, in the consistory in St. Paul's Church, most plainly and sincerely confessed his doctrine and faith in this weighty matter.

"Sentence being passed and read against him, the Bishop of London (Stokesly) directed his letter to the mayor and sheriffs of the city of London, for receiving of John Fryth into their charge, who was delivered over unto

<sup>1</sup> This was not realised with respect to Heath, who was Archbishop of York in Queen Mary's days, but Cranmer himself was led to see the truth of Fryth's doctrine, and was influenced by his writings.

them. While in Newgate, Fryth was put into the dungeon under the gate, and laden with bolts and irons as many as he could bear, and his neck with a collar of iron made fast to a post, so that he could neither stand upright nor stoop down; yet was he there continually occupied in writing, namely, with a candle, both day and night, for there came no other light into that place. In this sad case he remained several days. On the fourth day of July, in the year 1533, he was by them carried to Smithfield to be burned; and when he was tied unto the stake, there sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death. For when the faggots and fire were put unto him he willingly embraced the same, thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, and the true doctrine whereof that day he gave with his blood a perfect and firm testimony.

"A young man, apprenticed to a tailor in Watling-street, named Andrew Hewit, was burned at the same stake with Fryth, for holding the same opinions. When before the bishops, Hewit was asked how he believed concerning the sacrament. He replied, 'Even as John Fryth does.' Bishop Stokesly said, 'Why, Fryth is a heretic, and already condemned to be burned; and except thou revoke thy opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him.' His reply simply was, 'Truly I am content withal,' upon which he was condemned and burned with Fryth.

"When they were at the stake, Doctor Cook, a priest in London, openly admonished the people that they should in no wise pray for them—no more than they would do for a dog. At which words Fryth, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bore away the flame from him unto his fellow that was burning with him; but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that, even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow than to be careful for himself."

## THOMAS CRANMER.

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PART I.*Cranmer during the reign of Henry VIII.*

A COMPLETE biographical account of Cranmer must include a large portion of the history of the English Reformation. Only a brief sketch can be attempted in the present volume. It is inserted thus early, as the historical particulars it contains explain many circumstances mentioned respecting his associates who are noticed in the following pages, and a repetition of them will thus be rendered unnecessary.

THOMAS CRANMER was the son of a gentleman in good circumstances, at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, where he was born July 2, 1489. He received the first rudiments of his education under a harsh preceptor, an ecclesiastic, from whom "he learned little and had to suffer much." His father permitted him to practise field sports and exercises, in the pursuit of which he manifested much courage and address. After his father's death he was sent, at the early age of fourteen, to Jesus' College, Cambridge. There he spent his time, till he was twenty-two years of age, in the sophistry, logic, and scholastic philosophy of that day. Afterwards he studied Erasmus, and good Latin authors, for four or five years, till the writings of Luther began to engage public attention. He then, as Strype relates, "considered what great controversy there was in matters of religion; not in trifles, but in the chiefest articles of our salvation, and bent himself to try out the truth therein. And forasmuch as he perceived he could not rightly judge in such weighty

matters without the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, before he was influenced with any man's opinions or errors, he applied his whole study for three years therein. After this he gave his mind to good writers, both new and old; not rashly running over them, for he was a slow reader, but a diligent marker of whatsoever he read, seldom reading without pen in hand. And whatsoever made either for the one part or the other, of things in controversy, he wrote it out if it were short, or at least noted the author and the place, that he might write it out at leisure, which was a great help to him in debating matters ever after."

This was Cranmer's course of study until 1523, when he took his degree of doctor of divinity, about the thirty-fourth year of his age. He thus accumulated stores of learning which proved of material service to him, for he never was at a loss when Henry VIII. consulted him on subjects of doubt and difficulty. In a few hours he could communicate information upon any of the abstruse or complicated questions in which that monarch frequently employed himself.

Cranmer had previously married the daughter of a gentleman, by which union he lost his fellowship, but he continued to pursue his studies, and was appointed lecturer at Buckingham (afterwards Magdalen) College. His wife resided with a relative who kept the Dolphin inn, whither Cranmer frequently resorted to visit her. Upon this circumstance the papists grounded an assertion that he was originally a hostler, accustomed to frequent low company, and devoid of learning! His wife died in child-birth within a year after their marriage, when the masters and fellows of Jesus' College unanimously re-chose him a member of their society.

About that time Cardinal Wolsey induced some of the most eminent scholars of Cambridge to remove to his new foundation at Oxford. Cranmer was nominated for one, but he declined the offer, although advantageous in point of emolument. Soon after he was appointed examiner

in divinity, "in which place he did much good; for he used to question the candidates out of the Scriptures, and by no means would let them pass if he found they were unskilful therein, or unacquainted with the history of the Bible. The friars, whose study lay only in school authors, especially were so; whom therefore he sometimes turned back as insufficient, advising them to study the Scriptures for some years longer before they came for their degrees, it being a shame for a professor in divinity to be unskilled in the Book wherein the knowledge of God and the grounds of divinity lay. Whereby he made himself from the beginning hated by the friars, yet some of the more ingenuous afterwards rendered him great and public thanks for refusing them; whereby, being put upon the study of God's word, they attained to more sound knowledge in religion."

Such was Cranmer at the age of thirty-nine, when called to enter upon more public duties. Here we must briefly relate some particulars respecting the divorce of Henry VIII., which materially assisted the progress of the Reformation in this country, as it was the main cause of the pope's authority being cast off.

In 1501 Henry VII. married his eldest son, Prince Arthur, then a youth of sixteen, to Catherine, princess of Spain. The prince died a few months after his marriage. The king, being unwilling to return the large dowry of the princess, determined to affiance her to his younger son, Prince Henry, then a child of twelve years of age. As this marriage with a brother's widow was contrary to the canon law and the practice of Christian nations, the papal sanction was considered needful. It was applied for against the earnest remonstrance of Archbishop Warham, but Pope Julius II. readily consented to oblige the two powerful monarchs of Spain and England. A bull was granted by which the prince and princess were absolved from ecclesiastical censures if they should marry, provided they submitted to some penance which might be enjoined by their confessors: thus the pope

admitted that such a union was contrary to the Scriptures, and assumed a power to dispense with the laws of God. The age of Henry, however, prevented the immediate completion of this contract, and his father, upon more mature reflection, began to apprehend that many disadvantages might arise from such a connection. He therefore caused his son, two years afterwards, to make a protest against the marriage, and when on his death-bed, he urged the prince not to complete his union with Catherine.

Other counsels prevailed. Henry's own inclination coinciding, he married the Spanish princess a few weeks after he came to the throne.

For a time Henry lived happily with Catherine, but all their children died young, excepting the Princess Mary. As the queen advanced in life she fell into an ill state of health, and an heir to the throne was no longer to be expected. This was a severe disappointment to the king. His education had led him to the study of casuistical divinity, and he was struck with the similarity of his own case to the denunciation of Holy Writ, that such marriages should be childless.<sup>1</sup> Further examination of the writings of the school divines increased his uneasiness. He found that his favourite author, Thomas Aquinas, very strongly censured such marriages, and also held that the popes had no power to dispense with the laws of God. It does not appear precisely when Henry first began to entertain scruples upon this subject, but so early as 1524 these doubts had begun to influence his conduct. The difficulties in which he was placed also became more apparent in the following year, when the Emperor Charles had engaged to marry the Princess Mary, but the treaty was broken off upon the council of Castile expressing doubts as to her legitimacy, many learned men hesitating as to the authority of the pope to sanction such a union. Negotiations respecting the marriage of the princess into the royal family of France also failed from the same cause.

While Henry's mind was thus exercised, his desire to

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xx. 21.

put an end to this un auspicious union received an increased impulse from another circumstance; the appearance at court of Anne Boleyn, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, a nobleman of considerable wealth and influence, connected with some principal families of the land. He had been much employed in affairs of state. His daughter was taken to France by the sister of the king, on her marriage with the French monarch, in 1514. Anne was then seven years of age; she remained as an attendant upon Queen Claudia, and the duchess of Alençon, who was a favourer of the Reformation. On Anne's return she appeared at the English court in the spring of 1527. Being in the prime of youth, exceedingly beautiful, and far more accomplished than the ladies of that period generally were, she attracted much attention. The eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland declared himself anxious to obtain her for his wife: the offer of such a union speaks highly in her favour. But the king had also become her admirer, though he was not disposed at that time to avow his own sentiments. Her marriage with Lord Percy was forbidden, and she was withdrawn from court for a time, which she attributed to the displeasure of the cardinal. Previously, however, to the intentions of Henry towards Anne Boleyn being declared, he had taken steps to procure a divorce.

A recent instance of facility in a similar case, that of Lewis XII., made it probable that no difficulty would be offered on the part of the pope; especially as it could be proved that the bull of dispensation for the marriage was obtained under false pretences, a circumstance always considered sufficient to justify the revocation of a papal decree, without compromising the infallibility of the papacy. As a preliminary step, the bishops were directed to give their opinions upon the subject. With the single exception of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, all declared against the validity of the king's marriage, and Dr. Knight, one of the king's secretaries, was despatched to Rome to conduct the negotiations.

This was in 1527. At that period the pope was completely in the emperor's power. Rome had been taken and sacked by the imperial troops; the pope was then a prisoner, fearful that the emperor would accuse him of simony, and cause him to be deposed, to which, it was said, he was also liable from having forged documents to conceal the illegitimacy of his own birth.

With much difficulty Knight contrived to communicate with the pope, who professed his willingness to forward the views of the English monarch, but stated that the emperor had forbidden him to do so. After seven months' imprisonment, the pope effected an arrangement with the emperor, and succeeded in escaping to Orvieto. Dr. Knight followed him thither, and was received by Clement with many professions of a desire to oblige Henry, but he avoided giving a decision upon the subject. Among other suggestions, he proposed to Sir Gregory Cassalis, an agent of Henry, that if his master's conscience were satisfied, he should immediately marry another wife, and then refer the whole case absolutely to him for decision. The English monarch, of course, would not take this step, which must have thrown him wholly into the power of the pope.

The various artifices and expedients practised by Clement are related by the historians of those times, who refer to the original papers which passed during these negotiations, in which Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, was most active, as one of the king's agents, in forwarding the divorce. In 1528 the pope consented to grant a commission to two cardinals, Wolsey and Campegio, to examine and try the cause in England. But he protracted the affair as much as possible. His main object was to gain time, for any change of circumstances would tend to relieve him from his dilemma, and it was not until the 31st of May, 1529, that the legates opened their court. Even then the proceedings went on slowly. Campegio, as the servile instrument of the pope, sought to delay any decision. Wolsey dared

not openly oppose his master's will, or hinder a measure from going forward which he had himself so earnestly promoted; yet having by this time ascertained where the king's choice would be placed, he was anxious to prevent a union which in all probability would cause his own downfall. His secret correspondence with the pope was detected by the English ambassador at Rome, and communicated to Henry, who, as may be supposed, was much exasperated at Wolsey's treachery. The king was also displeased with Campegio, who had shown him a decretal bull annulling the marriage, already signed by the pope, but refused to part with it from his possession, or to let any one else see it. While the proceedings of the legatine court went slowly forward, the pope succeeded in arranging his disputes with the emperor on favourable terms, and agreed to the emperor's desire that no divorce should take place. Further pretexts for delay now were requisite. In July, when nothing remained but for the legates to pronounce their decision, Campegio unexpectedly adjourned the court until October, alleging that the vacation in the courts of law at Rome had commenced; and on the 4th of August an injunction was received, forbidding any further proceedings, as the pope would himself decide the cause at Rome, where the king and queen were cited to appear.

This conduct might have been endured in a less enlightened age, but the authority of the pope had been publicly questioned, and Henry possessed a spirit not inclined to submit to such domination. He expressly declared that he would not degrade himself or his kingdom by yielding obedience to such a mandate. Campegio shortly after returned to Italy, and Wolsey soon became sensible that his disgrace was at hand. The baggage of the Italian cardinal was searched at Calais, in the hope of obtaining possession of the pope's bull annulling the marriage, but it had been committed to the flames.

The embarrassment of the pope at this time was extreme: he would gladly have availed himself of any

expedient which could have been listened to both by the emperor and the English monarch. The object of the former was that his aunt should not be degraded from her rank: he would have agreed to allow Henry to contract a second marriage upon the plan sometimes adopted in Germany, of allowing a second and inferior wife. Clement was willing to sanction this, and Cassalis, the English agent, in a letter dated Rome, September 18, 1530, says: "Some days ago the pope in private offered to me this proposal—as a thing of which he made much account; that your majesty might have a dispensation to have *two* wives." But Henry's uneasiness proceeded from scruples against the pope's sanction to an illegal proceeding, and was not likely to be silenced by a mere repetition of the same measure.

We now resume the account of Cranmer. In the summer of 1529, the plague raged at Cambridge, and most of the members of the University retired to other places. Cranmer was at Waltham Abbey, residing in the family of a Mr. Cressy, whose sons were under his care. The king had made a short progress into the country, to divert his thoughts under the uneasiness he then suffered. Having dismissed the cardinals he returned towards London. On his journey he stayed a night at Waltham; the royal suite were as usual lodged in the houses of the neighbouring gentry. Dr. Stephen Gardiner, the king's secretary, and Dr. Fox, the royal almoner, were entertained by Mr. Cressy. Gardiner and Fox were among the most active agents in forwarding the divorce; they rejoiced at thus unexpectedly meeting with Cranmer, whom they knew to be eminently skilled in the civil and canon law, and in the writings of ancient divines. The conversation, of course, turned upon the subject then so much discussed, and they requested him to state his opinion. Cranmer told them that he had not considered the question so fully as they had done, but that, without any reference to the self-constituted authorities of the popes and their courts, he thought it a matter of con-

science whether the marriage were contrary to the word of God or not. Of this he considered divines to be the best judges, and their opinions upon the subject could be ascertained without much delay or expense, while their reasonings would communicate information whereby the king's mind probably would be relieved.

Fox and his companion were pleased with the suggestion: they took an early opportunity to communicate it to the king. The crafty Gardiner would have given it as their own idea, but Fox honestly stated that Dr. Cranmer was the author. Henry immediately expressed his satisfaction, and directed that a messenger should be sent for Cranmer. He had then proceeded to Cambridge, and unwillingly returned towards London. On his arrival he complained to Gardiner and Fox that they had mentioned his name, urging them to get him excused from appearing personally before the king. They tried to do so, but Henry required Cranmer to attend, and commanded him, as his subject, to endeavour to forward the plan he had suggested, according to law, and with impartiality. Henry also stated solemnly, that he had long been troubled in conscience respecting his marriage with Catherine, declaring that if he could consider it a lawful connection, he would not seek to be released. There is good ground for believing that his scruples were real, and not mere pretences, as the Romanists have asserted. Cranmer, still desirous to avoid personally engaging in this affair, then recommended the king to direct some of the ablest divines to examine the question. Henry assented, but required Cranmer to write upon the subject. Calling Sir Thomas Boleyn, the earl of Wiltshire, he committed Cranmer to the care of that nobleman, directing that he should have any books he might require, and a quiet opportunity to enter on his researches. Thus we see that the king first introduced Cranmer to the Boleyns, whereas the Romanists have represented him as a creature of that family, introduced by them to Henry, to promote ambitious views of their own.

Cranmer took his stand upon Scripture ground, and founded his conclusions on the principle that the Bishop of Rome had no authority to dispense with the word of God. This evidently went much further than the mere question of the king's marriage; its adoption must lead to a general reformation of the church, both as to doctrine and practice. We may observe that it did so both in England and in Germany, although different circumstances in each country led to that desirable result. Whether the opposition rose from the sale of pardons, or the sanctioning of an incestuous marriage, the papal authority, in reality, was the point in question; that being controverted, the word of God was again referred to as the supreme authority. This principle suggested to Cranmer the plan he recommended the king to pursue.

Cranmer having declared his readiness to proceed to the continent, and to defend his opinions even at Rome, was directed to proceed thither, as one of an embassy, with the Earl of Wiltshire. The opinions of several of the Italian universities in favour of the divorce were obtained, but at Rome no permission for public discussion upon the subject was given. Cranmer resided for some time at Rome and in Italy: he there witnessed many things which satisfied him as to the real character of the popedom. His mind, like that of Wickliff and Luther, was prepared by his study of the Scriptures to be deeply impressed with the antichristian spirit of the pontiff and his court, and their decided opposition to the precepts of that book which the pope claimed an exclusive power to interpret. Clement, desirous to conciliate Cranmer, conferred upon him the title of grand penitentiary of England, which appears to have been merely a nominal office: his acceptance of it only shows that he did not then seek a quarrel with the see of Rome. Cranmer next proceeded to Germany, where he conferred with Agrippa, one of the principal persons of the imperial court, whom he convinced by the arguments he brought forward. No one was found willing to pursue the discus-

sion, especially as the emperor was so displeased by the conduct of Agrippa, as to withdraw his favour and place him in confinement.

Cranmer then visited other parts of Germany to ascertain the opinions of the protestants, and to offer assistance from the English monarch to the princes, who had lately been compelled by the emperor's conduct to form the league of Smalcald in their own defence. It is remarkable that the protestant universities were less inclined to favour the divorce than the Romanists, which shows that the opinions collected by the king's agents were obtained in a fairer manner than papists have asserted. The emperor gave considerable benefices to some who wrote against the divorce, while the accounts of Henry's agents show that no more than a few crowns, which may be considered as official fees for the documents respecting the opinions given, were paid by him to any one.

We find Cranmer in 1532 at Nuremburg, where Osiander was the chief protestant minister. That Reformer had given considerable attention to questions of a similar nature, and was inclined to promote the divorce. His interviews with Cranmer however had a more important result: his advice and exhortation tended much to advance his visitor in spiritual knowledge, and to show him the necessity of a thorough reformation in the church. While at Nuremburg Cranmer married the niece of Osiander, and thus again gave practical evidence of his renouncing that authority which has forbidden ecclesiastics to marry. The friendly intercourse between Cranmer and the German protestants was an important means of forwarding the English Reformation. But his connection with the Lutherans tended to fix upon his mind more firmly the idea of the corporeal presence in the sacrament, although he did not adopt their views. He, for some years, continued to believe the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation.

During Cranmer's absence from England, Warham,

archbishop of Canterbury, had died. That prelate was deeply attached to the erroneous doctrines of the Romish faith, except with regard to the papal supremacy, against which he bore open testimony, while he cruelly persecuted the Lollards and other faithful followers of Christ. Henry was aware of the critical situation of his affairs, and determined to appoint a successor to Warham who would oppose the Romish usurpations. He therefore passed by Gardiner and the servile ecclesiastics who then were among the loudest in advocating his measures, and chose Cranmer to fill the vacant see. For this purpose he was summoned home, but having an intimation of the king's design, he delayed his journey on purpose to avoid the appointment, as he declared when before the Romish commissioners in the reign of Queen Mary.

It was six months before Cranmer was consecrated, a delay unusual in the appointment of archbishops, which certainly does not indicate an ambitious or grasping spirit in Cranmer. When his reluctance in other respects had been overcome, Cranmer stated to the king that he neither could nor would receive the archbishopric from the pope, whom he considered to have no authority within the realm. The king then directed several civilians of eminence to state their opinions. They laid before him a mass of evidence, confirming the views of Cranmer, and advised that he should be appointed to the office by the king, suggesting that, previously to his consecration, he should solemnly declare his determination not to act in any manner inconsistent with a minister of Christ or a subject of England.

The pope was not pleased to hear of Cranmer's promotion, but he felt that it was not safe to irritate the English monarch by opposition to his will in this instance, and the usual bulls were forwarded from Rome. On the 30th of March, 1533, Cranmer appeared in the chapter-house of Westminster, and there openly, publicly, and expressly, made a protestation, as a precaution that

his oath should not be misinterpreted. This protest was witnessed by five civilians and ecclesiastics of eminence.<sup>1</sup>

Upon Cranmer's conduct in this affair the Romanists have dwelt with much asperity, but if the reader will examine the oath which he took, they will find that the decided declarations of fealty to the pope usually inserted in episcopal oaths were *not* contained therein—the strongest expression being, that he would aid and defend the papacy so far as might be consistent with his duty as a Christian minister. There was nothing in Cranmer's subsequent conduct inconsistent with his oath of consecration, nor was his protest needful excepting that perhaps the prejudices of the times might have induced many to continue to suppose that the English church was necessarily dependent upon the church of Rome, had not the new primate thus openly declared the manner in which alone he would be considered as standing in any relation with the pontiff. The oath and the protest are quite consistent with each other, and were requisite in connection with his subsequent oath for the temporalities; while the transaction is a proof of his candour and integrity, instead of being open to the imputations of the Romanists. Agreeing with this, we have his solemn declaration when about to suffer at the stake—that he had *never* dissembled until he signed the formula of recantation.<sup>2</sup>

Convocation was then engaged in debate upon the subject of the king's marriage, and shortly after declared that a papal dispensation could not be accounted of sufficient power to set aside the Divine law. This was a powerful blow at the claims of the papacy.

The full manner in which the question had been examined during the preceding years, satisfied the minds both of Henry and his subjects in general, that the papal

<sup>1</sup> It is printed by Strype.

<sup>2</sup> It may be remarked, that if Cranmer acted inconsistently with his oath, Warham did so to a far greater extent, yet his conduct is passed over by the Romish historians without censure, though in this respect more liable thereto.

assumption of power to dispense with the law of God, was utterly unfounded; therefore his marriage with Catherine was void. Henry now determined to proceed with decision. He married Anne Boleyn in the latter end of January, 1533. Dr. Lee, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, officiated—the ceremony took place privately in the palace at Whitehall, and Cranmer's own declaration is extant, that he did not know of the union till a fortnight afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

The purity of the previous conduct of the new queen was soon evidenced, and it became important for the nation as well as for Henry that his protracted suit for a divorce should be concluded.<sup>2</sup> Cranmer applied to the king upon the subject, as appears from a letter written by him, still in the State Paper Office. The whole proceedings were conducted with regularity, the evidence was fully examined, and on the 23rd of May the king's marriage with Catherine was pronounced null and void. Let it not be forgotten that Gardiner was an active agent in this affair, and that both Bonner and Gardiner strongly advocated that measure. Their subsequent behaviour fully proved that they acted as courtiers, while Cranmer desired to oppose the usurpations of the papacy.

The pope was exasperated at this proceeding in contempt of his authority; he declared the divorce to be null and void, and threatened Cranmer with excommunication, upon which the new primate prepared an appeal to a general council. At this time he visited his diocese, where he was active in detecting the imposture of Eliza-

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Hawkins, ambassador at the emperor's court (see Ellis's *Letters illustrative of English history*, vol. ii.) Cranmer adds, what is very applicable to modern as well as ancient accounts of him, "And many other things be also reported of me, which be mere lies and tales."

<sup>2</sup> Some letters of Henry to Anne Boleyn, written while the treaty for the divorce was in progress, are preserved in the Vatican. They were purloined from her cabinet by the papal agents, doubtless in the hope that they would furnish evidence of improper conduct. But they contain strong proofs of the correctness of her life, and convey a favourable impression of both parties. They are printed in the *Harleian Miscellany*, and in *Turner's history of Henry VIII.*

beth Barton, the nun of Kent, who, at the instigation of the papists, pretended to have communications with Mary Magdalene and angels, and to receive Divine revelations. It was a clumsy attempt to check the progress of the Reformation.

The differences between Henry and the pope had now proceeded to such an extent, that without absolute submission an open rupture appeared inevitable: an opportunity for conciliation, however, was presented. The pope said that if Henry would send a proxy to his court, and thus acknowledge his authority, he would give sentence in favour of the divorce. The Bishop of Paris was despatched to England by the King of France with this intelligence, upon which it was resolved that the negotiations with Rome should be renewed, but that the opposition to the papal authority should not be relinquished until a favourable result was certain. The bishop proceeded to Rome, where he impressed upon the minds of the pope and cardinals that England might still be kept within the pale of the church. It was agreed to allow some delay, but if, by a certain day, Henry should not signify his consent to a plan devised for settling the affair, the pope would consider his offer as rejected, and resort to extreme proceedings. Henry accepted the offer; an answer was despatched to Rome, stating his readiness again to submit his cause to the pope, but it was winter, and the stipulated time expired before the messenger could arrive. The Bishop of Paris represented the weather as the probable cause of the delay, and urged for a respite of six days, but in vain. The measures against Henry were hurried forward. At the instigation of the cardinals of the imperial faction, proceedings which usually occupied three days were despatched in one. The king's marriage with Catherine was declared to be valid, and he was required under pain of ecclesiastical censures to receive her again as his wife. On the following day the messenger arrived, but it was now too late. Clement refused to reconsider his decision. An English ambas-

sador was proceeding to Rome to complete the negotiations, but on learning what had occurred, he returned home. It is impossible to read these particulars without observing on what a slender thread human events depend, and that the breach with Rome, which so materially forwarded the English Reformation, was effected by one of those remarkable interpositions of Divine Providence which the Christian reader will frequently notice in history.

The parliament assembled at the commencement of 1533, when decisive measures were taken for emancipating the nation from the Romish yoke. The pope's supremacy was openly called in question. The earliest result was the taking away some of the most oppressive and secret proceedings in cases of heresy, and allowing the accused a trial in open court. The payment of certain taxes to the pope was discontinued, and by various other measures the papal power was entirely set aside in England. Thus the nation was delivered from Romish bondage by a prince who certainly did not show himself opposed to the doctrinal errors of popery; who, as De Thou has observed, would in all probability have continued a willing subject of the papacy had a more just and prudent pontiff borne the sway. In these parliamentary debates the chief burden lay upon Cranmer. The collections from the fathers which he had made in former years now were most useful. As Strype expresses it, "He proved so evidently and stoutly, both by the word of God and consent of the primitive church, that this usurped power of the pope is a mere tyranny, and directly against the law of God, that the issue was the abolishing of that foreign papal power, and the expulsion of it out of this realm, by the full consent of parliament."

Other good effects of this renunciation of the papal authority were soon perceived. Cranmer felt himself at liberty to have the Scriptures translated into the English language, and he procured a resolution of the convocation in December, 1534, applying to the king to order that such a work should be undertaken.

An oath assenting to the succession of the crown devolving upon the royal children by the present marriage was now imposed by authority of parliament. Some expressions used therein implied a renunciation of the papal authority, to which Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and other Romanists refused their assent, though they consented to the alteration in the succession. Cranmer wrote to Cromwell, recommending that these eminent persons might be allowed to take the oath in the form they were willing to admit, but his advice was not followed, and they were beheaded as traitors. Throughout England only five individuals persisted in refusing to renounce the pope's authority.

In the same year we find Cranmer preaching at Canterbury; his sermons were not confined to disproving the supremacy of the pope, he showed that "our sins are remitted only by the death of our Saviour Christ." One of the regulations now directed to be followed was, that "the true, mere, and sincere word of God should be preached in the churches." The lying Romish legends with which it had been customary to amuse the people, need not here be noticed.

Cranmer also visited some of the dioceses of the most violent of the Romish bishops, who strenuously opposed his proceedings. They sent several bigoted divines, Hubbardin and others, to visit different parts of the kingdom, to counteract as much as possible the labours of Latimer and other gospel preachers employed by the influence of Cranmer and his supporters, who also took especial care that able ministers should be selected to preach at Paul's cross.

In 1534 Cranmer delivered his testimony in the house of lords respecting general councils, then a subject much agitated. Strype relates that "he much doubted in himself respecting general councils, and thought that only the word of God was the rule of faith which ought to take place in all controversies of religion. The Scriptures were called canonical, as being the only rule of the

faith of Christians, and these, by the appointments of ancient councils, alone were to be read in the churches. The holy fathers Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, in many things differed from one another, but they always appealed to the Scriptures as the common and certain standard. He also cited some remarkable passages out of Augustine, to show what difference he put between the Scriptures and all other writings, even of the best and holiest fathers."

Cranmer now urged forward the translation of the Bible. Tyndale's translations being considered objectionable, he caused an old English version of the Testament to be divided into portions, sending one to each of the most learned amongst the bishops, for them to revise. The Acts were sent to Stokesley, bishop of London, who refused to take any part in a measure which he said would bring simple people into error! Cranmer expressing his surprise at Stokesley's frowardness, a bystander said he could explain the reason. "It is a portion of the New Testament, and my lord of London being persuaded that Christ hath bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, thought it mere madness to bestow labour and pain where no gain was to be gotten. And besides this, it is the Acts of the apostles, which were simple, poor fellows, and therefore my lord of London disdaineth to have to do with any of them!" Cranmer at that time was unable to carry his design into execution in the manner he had intended, but he encouraged others, and Coverdale's Bible appeared in 1535.

The progress thus made in opposition to the papacy, with a desire to set a good example, induced Cranmer to send for his wife from Germany. As yet, however, he did not consider it expedient to bring her forward to public notice, nor did he allow his domestic engagements to interfere with his public duties. Foxe thus describes Cranmer's manner of life, after his advancement to the primacy, during this and the following reign.

"To avoid giving cause that the word of God should be slandered and evil spoken of, this worthy man evermore

gave himself to continual study, not breaking that order which he in the University commonly used—that is, by five o'clock in the morning at his book, and so consuming the time in study and prayer until nine. If the prince's affairs did not call him away, he then applied himself until dinner-time to hear suitors, and to despatch such matters as appertained to his especial cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his household and other foreign business, unto his officers. So that such things never were impediments either to his study or to his pastoral charge, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere doctrine. For the most part always being in commission, he associated himself with learned men for searching out one matter or another, for the commodity and profit of the church of England. By means whereof, and his private study, he was never idle; besides that, he accounted it no idle point to bestow one hour or twain of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the seas.

“After dinner, if any suitors were in attendance, he would very diligently hear them, and despatch them in such sort as every man commended his lenity and gentleness, although the case required that sometimes divers of them were committed by him to prison. And if he had no suitors after dinner, for an hour or thereabout he would play at the chess, or behold such as could play. That done, then again to his ordinary study, at which commonly he for the most part stood, and seldom sat; and there continuing until five of the clock, bestowed that hour in hearing the common prayer, and walking or using some honest pastime until supper time. At supper, if he had no appetite, as many times he would not sup, yet would he sit down at the table, having his ordinary provision of his mess furnished with expedient company, he wearing on his hands his gloves, because he would, as it were, thereby wean himself from eating of meat, but yet keeping the company with such fruitful talk as did repast and

much delight the hearers ; so that by this means hospitality was well furnished, and the alms chest well maintained for the relief of the poor. After supper he would consume one hour at the least in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of study or other. So that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed as tended to the glory of God ; which his well bestowing of his time, procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other men's conversation faultless, as it became the minister of God."

The following account of Cranmer's preaching in the reign of Henry VIII. is given by an eminent contemporary, Sir Richard Morison : " He used to preach often, and was a minister of the heavenly doctrine. The subjects of his sermons for the most part were, from whence salvation was to be fetched, and on whom the confidence of man ought to lean. He insisted much upon the doctrines of faith and works, and taught what the fruits of faith were, and what place was to be given to works. He instructed men in the duties they owed their neighbours, and that every one was our neighbour whom we might profit. He declared what it was fit men should think of themselves when they had done all ; and lastly, what promises Christ had made, and who they were to whom He would make them good. And these his holy doctrines he strengthened with plenty of quotations out of the holy Scriptures, not out of the schoolmen's decrees or later councils ; and he recommended them with great integrity of life. Thus he brought in the true preaching of the gospel, altogether different from the ordinary way of preaching in those days, which was to treat concerning the saints, and to tell legendary tales of them, and to report miracles wrought for the confirmation of transubstantiation, and other popish corruptions. And such a heat and conviction accompanied the archbishop's sermons, that the people departed from them with minds possessed with a great hatred of vice, and burning with a desire of virtue."

At the commencement of 1535 Henry again evinced a desire to be reconciled to the see of Rome, but the imperious temper of Paul III., then the reigning pope, rendered the negotiation abortive. Cranmer having ably vindicated the independence of general councils, and urged the necessity of suppressing the corruptions of the popedom, "a thundering bull," as it is denominated by Father Paul, was fulminated, not only against the king, but against the whole nation of England, placing the kingdom under an interdict, and ordering similar proceedings to those which had compelled King John to place his crown at the legate's feet. But those days were passed; few modern Romanists would justify the pope's command to the people of England to rebel against their sovereign.

These denunciations of the pontiff, and the attachment to the papal authority manifested by many, both of the clergy and laity, rendered stronger measures requisite for the national security. The dissolution of the monasteries was thereby hastened. The attachment of the monastic orders to the see of Rome has always been very great—they ever have been "the soldiery of the pope;" their power and numbers rendered them important opponents to the progress of the Reformation in England, especially from their ready access to persons of every rank, and the influence they exercised more or less in every family. It was manifest that while they existed the papal authority never could be wholly destroyed. Their suppression therefore became a subject for the consideration of the council. Cromwell was appointed to act as vicegerent, and a visitation of all the monastic establishments throughout the land was ordered. This was speedily carried into effect, when the veil of pretended holiness which had thinly concealed the vices of these establishments was removed. It was incontestably proved, that the greater part of the monasteries were seats of the grossest debaucheries and most horrid vices; that deceptions and frauds abounded within their walls; that discord, violence, and oppression were the least flagrant of their crimes.

The voice of the nation called for the termination of these enormities, while the wealth of the establishments rendered the king and the courtiers more eager for their destruction. The smaller monasteries were suppressed without delay. Cranmer saw that such a measure was absolutely necessary, both from the abominations that prevailed within their walls, and the support they afforded to the papal usurpations. He endeavoured, however, to have their revenues applied to laudable and useful purposes, but in this he could only partially succeed. While noticing the subject, it should not be forgotten that Cardinal Wolsey had set a recent example for such spoliation. Pope Clement authorised him, in 1525, to suppress forty monastic establishments, to endow his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich; in other cases similar permission had also been given. Thus the pope gave an example which proved destructive to his interests in England. Here again we see the hand of God causing the selfish purposes of man to promote His glory. The state of Spain and Italy at this day, show us what, in all human probability, would now have been the situation of our land, had those strongholds of vice and superstition been suffered to remain. If some choice specimens of the arts were destroyed, surely no one who feels the importance of true religion can for a moment weigh them in the balance against the advantages of these measures. The school-divinity, which had so long been a powerful means of darkening the minds of men, was at the same time suppressed in the Universities, and the quadrangles were strewn with the leaves of Duns and other scholastic divines, whose pages were now condemned to the fate they so justly deserved.

In 1535 was published a new edition of the Primer in English, to which Cranmer seems to have rendered considerable assistance. This work was designed to enable the common people to understand their prayers and the principal parts of the public worship, and to do away with many of the superstitions by which they were deceived. It contained about thirty distinct tracts, the contents of

which, for the most part, gave much displeasure to the papists, and several of them were prohibited as soon as they succeeded in displacing Cromwell. The worship of the Virgin, or putting "sure trust and hope in her," was especially shown to be contrary to the word of God. In "A devout and fruitful remembrance of Christ's passion," the error of the common ideas respecting the mass were pointed out. In a "Dialogue on the Ten Commandments," the second is plainly distinguished from the first: this tract was afterwards prohibited. A preface to the translation of the "Dirige," or office said for the souls of the departed, explains the true intent of the service. The compiler classes "the mumbling and pewling forth" of certain psalms and lessons for the souls of the deceased, among other works of darkness and deep ignorance, wherein they had blindly wandered, following a sort of blind guides, many days and years. He accounts and he declares that the repeating of them is of no use or efficacy for those that are departed. Strype says, "This book did excellent service, no question, in this ignorant age, and was one among the many good services the Lord Cromwell did for religion."

In January, 1536, Queen Catherine died, when a reconciliation between Henry and the emperor took place. The former, however, no longer desired to be reconciled to the see of Rome, but entered into further negotiations with the German protestants. But the hopes of those who were most anxious for the progress of the Reformation were checked by the fate of Anne Boleyn. She appears to have partly lost the king's affections when he found himself disappointed of a son, and her ungarded conduct excited his jealousy, while the beauty of Jane Seymour, one of her attendants, attracted his regard. Anne's sister-in-law, Lady Rochford, a woman whose vile character shortly after appeared, accused her of incestuous intercourse with her brother: some other individuals of meaner rank about the court were also said to be the queen's paramours. While Henry's mind, already prejudiced, was under the influence of these charges, a tournament took place at Greenwich,

in which Lord Rochford successfully engaged. Anne, as might be expected from her lively character, took much interest in the sports, and, by the misrepresentations of enemies, her conduct appeared to Henry to be of a criminal character. He hastily retired to Westminster, leaving orders that the queen should remain in her apartments.<sup>1</sup> The next day she proceeded towards London, anxious to ascertain the cause of the king's sudden displeasure, when the Duke of Norfolk and others of the council came on board her barge, and produced an order for her committal to the Tower. On being informed of the charges brought against her, she declared their falsehood and her own innocence.

- On entering the prison, her courage failed for a short time. A succession of hysterical fits came on, during which she uttered some incoherent expressions which were misrepresented by her enemies, but when the agitation had subsided, she again protested her innocence; at the same time considering her fate as sealed, she expressed her hopes of another and a better world. All the circumstances which surrounded her were calculated to depress. Her own uncle's wife, the Duchess of Norfolk, was appointed to be her companion, whose enmity was gratified by the office of drawing from Anne admissions which might be distorted into evidence against her. The proceedings need not be minutely detailed. Only one of the basest of those who were accused could be brought, by any means, to make anything like an acknowledgment of guilt, and that was only a general expression, "that he deserved well to die," nor were any of them confronted with the queen. The queen herself wrote a very powerful letter to the king, in which she averred her innocence. She was tried before the peers of the realm, and by them found guilty of treason, in having said and done what was "to the slander of the issue between the king and her." But only twenty-six of

<sup>1</sup> Turner refers to some documents which indicate that the plans against Anne Boleyn were arranged previously to this scene at Greenwich. (ii. 436.)

the fifty-three peers of the realm were present. The Duke of Norfolk, a bigoted Romanist, and a jealous relative, was the presiding officer of this court, which sat within the Tower; and so little were the charges brought home, that Meterin, a foreigner who was in London at the time, has stated that the magistrates of London, and several others who were there, said they saw no evidence against Anne; only it appeared that it was resolved to be rid of her. Others have given similar testimony.

On the sentence being pronounced, Anne Boleyn again made a solemn protestation of her innocence, expressing a steadfast hope of another and a better life, and a belief that God had taught her to know how to die. Upon the fourth day after condemnation (May 19, 1536) she was beheaded, and suffered with constancy and courage. Her last words were, "To Christ I commend my soul." There is now no necessity to enter into a defence of the queen. Henry himself offered perhaps the strongest testimony in her favour, when, on the third day after execution, he married Jane Seymour. The important part in the Reformation taken by Anne Boleyn is sufficiently pointed out by the bigoted Romanist Cardinal Pole, who, writing to the king soon after, styles Queen Anne the king's "domestic evil," "the cause of all his errors," "and that from her descended all disorders:"—a Protestant will not desire more favourable testimony.

Cranmer's conduct in this, as in almost every important act of his life, has been misrepresented. He was neither intimidated, nor ductile to Henry's purposes. He seems to have been the only person who offered any opposition to the king's proceedings. Henry appears to have expected this, and that he might avoid Cranmer's personal remonstrances, immediately upon the queen's committal to the Tower the primate was ordered to confine himself to Lambeth. But he wrote to the king, and though he did not venture to assert Anne's innocence of charges which he was told could be proved, he expressly said, he thought "that she could not be culpable." When a fuller state-

ment of the accusations against the queen had been communicated to him, he still professed himself unconvinced, though he considered her deserving of punishment, if guilty. After the queen's condemnation, a suit to annul her marriage with Henry was brought before the archbishop for judgment. This it was his duty, as metropolitan, to determine. The queen confessed certain lawful impediments to her marriage, probably some previous engagement or promise to another suitor. Whatever they might be, it was Cranmer's duty to pronounce sentence according to the evidence before him, and the admission of the party herself of course was conclusive. He declared the marriage void, but that he showed "zeal" to arrive at this decision, as the Romanists have asserted, is an unfounded allegation.

That the queen herself should acquiesce in this decree, or even promote it, is not surprising—maternal affection would render her anxious not to excite the king's displeasure farther, lest it should fall upon her child; and she could not be unwilling to die by a less painful end than burning, which was the sentence pronounced upon her: other reasons also might be alleged.

The fall of the queen encouraged the Romanists more boldly to oppose the attacks then making upon their superstitions; but while the convocation was engaged in discussing their complaints, the king sent a message, enjoining that all things should be abolished which could not be supported by Scripture. Cranmer spoke strongly to the same effect, while Foxe, who had lately returned from Germany, told the clergy what was passing in other countries, and that it was impossible for them any longer to keep men ignorant of the word of God. After several debates a series of doctrinal articles were sanctioned by the clergy, which were set forth in the following year (1537), with considerable enlargements and additions, by royal authority. This work was entitled, "The Institution of a Christian Man," but was more commonly known by the title of the Bishop's Book. Although not free from the

errors of popery, particularly on the subject of the sacrament, yet there is far more of gospel truth in these articles than had been publicly set forth by authority in England for many centuries. The great doctrine of justification by faith is clearly inculcated. Upon that point Cranmer succeeded in introducing a statement drawn up by himself, which will be found in "The British Reformers." On other points also there is a decided departure from the church of Rome, and the principle that matters should in all respects be conformed as much as possible to the primitive church, is maintained. Much of the work is derived from the confession of Augsburg, and other writings of the Lutheran divines. The mixed contents of this work show how severe the contest was between the different parties. The work was thus imperfect, owing to the influence of Gardiner, and the darkness of the king's views on many subjects, which interfered with and limited Cranmer's statements of the truth. Nor was Cranmer's own mind yet fully emancipated from error upon several points. As Strype observes: "We find many popish errors here, mixed with evangelical truths, which must either be attributed to the defectiveness of our prelates' knowledge as yet in true religion, or as being the principles and opinions of the king, or both. Let not any be offended herewith, but let him rather take notice what a great deal of gospel doctrine here came to light, and not only so, but was owned and propounded by authority, to be believed and practised. The sun of truth was now but rising, and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, which had so long prevailed, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness."

The error respecting the Lord's Supper being retained by the king and all the leading ecclesiastics, led to some painful results about this period. Several most excellent followers of Christ, who had adopted the clearer and more decided views of the Swiss Reformers, were prosecuted for heresy. The histories of that day contain in

particular the account of the noble stand made by the martyr Lambert against Henry and his ecclesiastics. Gardiner and his party urged forward these prosecutions, while Cranmer and Cromwell rather witnessed than encouraged the course which Henry chose to adopt. In fact, the arguments and writings of these Reformers, especially those of Fryth, appear first to have shaken the Romish views of the sacrament held by Cranmer.

The minds of the leaders were not sufficiently enlightened to discern the errors of Romanism respecting the sacrament; nor did they clearly perceive that the principles of Christianity forbid the infliction of punishment upon others because they differ in matters of faith. But the particulars recorded of the part taken in these tragedies by the principal Reformers, owing to the official situations they held, and from Lambert having appealed to the king, show evidently that they were actuated by a different spirit from that of Gardiner and his colleagues. No protestant will defend or excuse the conduct of Cranmer. But the remarks of Melancthon on the case of Servetus, twenty years afterwards, show how little even the mildest characters of that day understood, in this respect, the principles by which their actions ought to have been governed.

In August, 1537, another work was finished, the completion of which filled Cranmer with the most lively joy. It was the printing of a new and revised translation of the Bible in English, under his own patronage. Coverdale had completed a version, the printing of which was finished in October, 1535. This edition was allowed by royal authority. In 1536, Cromwell published injunctions to the clergy, in which he commanded that the whole Bible, in Latin and in English, should be provided for every church, and laid in the choir, where all persons should be encouraged to look and read therein. Gardiner and the papists strongly opposed that translation: they told the king that there were many faults in the book, on which account it ought to be suppressed. Henry asked

whether it maintained any heresies. Gardiner did not venture to assert this, upon which the king emphatically replied, "Then, in God's name, let it be issued among our people." On another occasion, the king and Gardiner having argued in defence of tradition, as equal in authority to the writings of the evangelists, Cranmer replied in a satisfactory manner, and Henry bade Gardiner be silent, adding, "My lord of Canterbury is too old a scholar for such truants as we are."

As soon as Cranmer received some copies of the new edition, he exclaimed, "Glory to God," and immediately forwarded one to Cromwell, requesting him to obtain permission from the king that it might be bought and read within the realm. Upon learning that the authorisation had been granted, he wrote that it afforded him more joy than the gift of a thousand pounds. In another letter to Cromwell, fifteen days after, he again refers to the royal authority having been procured, and says, "For the which act, not only the king's majesty, but also you, shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that are now, or hereafter shall be God's faithful people, and the favourers of His word. And this deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest. For our Saviour Christ saith in the gospel, that whosoever shrinketh from Him and His word, and is abashed to profess and set it forth before men in this world, He will refuse him at that day; and contrary, whosoever constantly doth profess Him and His word, and studieth to set that forward in this world, Christ will declare the same at the last day, before His Father and all His angels, and take upon Him the defence of those men."

By the royal authority, commandment was shortly after made that every curate should possess an English Bible, that he might learn to know God and to instruct his parishioners, and that every abbey should have six.

The people rejoiced to hear the word of God in their own tongue. The copies set up in St. Paul's and other

churches were constantly surrounded by persons eagerly listening to those who read aloud the word of life. We who are acquainted with the contents of the Bible from an early age, can form no adequate idea of the sensation caused amongst the people at large by the completion of this great work; especially when, in the year 1539, a revised edition, called Cranmer's great Bible, was published; for the former edition, consisting only of fifteen hundred copies, could but imperfectly supply the demand. The size of the volume and its price prevented the generality of the people from being acquainted with its contents, excepting by the public readers already mentioned;<sup>1</sup> but these readings led to conversations among those who were thus assembled, and the knowledge of Divine truth was more generally diffused. It became a general and a popular concern, in which all ranks and ages felt themselves personally interested. In the preface to the Bible, Cranmer gave many excellent suggestions to all who perused the work. Foxe and Strype have recorded several interesting narratives connected with these proceedings, and the bitter opposition of ignorant and bigoted Romanists. From a letter of Grafton the printer, it is evident that the only patrons he looked for among the prelates were Cranmer, Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, bishop of Worcester.

The great eagerness with which the English Bible was received by the people, is referred to by Robert Wisdom, a prisoner in the Lollard's tower during this reign. Being accused of having said that he trusted "to see the day when maids will sing the Scripture at their wheels, and ploughmen at their plough," he replies, "I thank God, through my Lord Jesus Christ, *I have seen that day*, and I know husbandmen and men of occupation at this day, as well seen or better, in the Scriptures, than a great many priests; yea, than some that were heads, and are

<sup>1</sup> The price of the English Bible, of the largest volume (and as yet scarcely any small ones had been printed), was fixed, in 1540, to be ten shillings unbound, and not above twelve shillings well bound and clasped, but this was equal to five pounds at the present day.

called rabbi and master doctor at every word. The name of God be blessed for it !”

Nor should we forget that this great work has come down to us sealed with the testimony unto death of three who were main instruments in setting forth the first edition of the English Scriptures. Tyndale, the first translator, Rogers, the editor of the first edition, and Cranmer, the great patron and supporter of the work—all these laid down their lives in this cause !

The dissolution of the larger monasteries now took place. For the particulars connected with these proceedings the reader must be referred to the histories of that period, where he will find numerous facts relative to those establishments, which cannot be controverted by all the pretences of the Romish historians.

These measures were warmly opposed by the papists, who availed themselves of the influence they still exercised over the ignorant and superstitious minds of the great mass of the people. They excited rebellions in Lincolnshire and other parts of England, which were suppressed with difficulty. The emperor and the pope rejoiced to hear of the commotions, and the latter employed Cardinal Pole, a member of the royal family of England, who was now at open enmity with Henry, to encourage the insurrections. Pole was sent to the Netherlands as legate, that he might be near at hand to the English rebels. He was supplied with a papal manifesto, in which the pope (Paul III.) strongly approved the rebellion, and exhorted the people to attend to the recommendations of Pole. He also had letters to the kings of Scotland and France, and the regent of the Low Countries, admonishing them to further his proceedings. But before the cardinal could arrive at his post the insurgents were suppressed, and their leaders executed: the Romish historian Saunders styles them martyrs ! After residing some months in the Netherlands, Pole found he could hope for little success from the limited correspondence he was enabled to hold with the malcontents; and being discountenanced by the

potentates of France and the Low Countries, whose political interests at that time rendered peace with England desirable, he returned to Italy.

The important measure of the dissolution of the larger monasteries now proceeded rapidly, and the deceptions which had been practised within their walls were publicly exposed. Many minute particulars have been related respecting them by Fuller and others, which do not rest upon the uncertain authority of one or two writers, as modern Romanists would represent, but are described by several contemporary authors, who refer to facts then generally known, and to public documents, some of which still remain, while it is certain that many others were destroyed during Queen Mary's reign, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, whose instructions have been preserved! Nor was the provision made for the monks and nuns so insufficient for their support, as often has been represented. The pensions allowed to those not notoriously of infamous character were enough to maintain single persons in comfort at that day. In some instances the allowances thus given amounted to more than half of the full revenues of the establishments. This should be noticed, as it shows the reason why so many of the monks, although papists in their hearts, obtained preferment in the church, from patrons who were anxious to resume the pensions they had to pay out of the revenues of which they had become possessed. Private cupidity thus materially impeded the exertions of Cranmer and his associates; for while these Romish ecclesiastics outwardly conformed to the profession required, they could not be prevented from exercising most injurious influence in private.

Cranmer well knew the necessity for suppressing the monastic establishments. In the homily "On Good Works" he describes their evils in strong terms, but he laboured earnestly for the right application of the revenues. He maintained that only the lands originally granted by the kings of England should revert to the monarch, and urged

that the remainder should be employed to endow additional bishoprics and schools, and various laudable and Christian institutions. These designs were thwarted by the profuseness of Henry, the avaricious cupidity of the courtiers, and the importance of forming a party sufficiently powerful, whose interests might bind them to oppose the restoration of the strongholds of popery. That the revenues might have been employed more to the glory of God and the benefit of mankind cannot be doubted, but we may believe that all was overruled for good. The possession of these large incomes by lay proprietors benefited the land, while the dispersion among so many rendered their resumption in the reign of Mary impracticable; and popery, though it again ruled for a time, fell without a contest when deprived of the royal support. The most violent fulminations of papal wrath were dehounced against all concerned in the suppression: the part taken by Cranmer rendered him still more obnoxious at Rome. Meanwhile, his persevering efforts, and those of his friends, for a more worthy use of these treasures, made the king displeased with the promoters of the new learning, especially as they openly advocated their views in the parliament. Gardiner and his party did not suffer so favourable an opportunity to pass unregarded, while the situation of political affairs increased their influence with the king, which they strengthened by writing and preaching against the papal supremacy.

The act of six articles accordingly was brought forward by the popish party under the royal sanction, and promoted by the king's personal influence. It was preceded by a recommendation from Henry that a committee should be appointed to devise articles of religion which might be generally adopted. The leaders of each party were selected for this purpose, but their conferences ended as such attempts always have done. The Duke of Norfolk then adopted proceedings which led to the enactment of the act just mentioned, which was emphatically termed "the whip with six strings." By this law six of the

principal errors of popery were again established upon pain of death. 1. The doctrine of transubstantiation; 2. The Romish communion in one kind; 3. Priests were forbidden to marry;<sup>1</sup> 4. Monastic vows were declared binding; 5. Private masses were sanctioned; 6. Confession was enjoined.

Cranmer argued boldly against the act; he spoke repeatedly, and at great length, against the measure; and when the king desired him to absent himself from the debates, he firmly but respectfully declined to comply, urging that he felt it was God's cause. Henry resolved to force the measure through; he came down in person to the house, where he declared himself in favour of the bill, which was urged forward with unusual rapidity, being introduced in the house of lords on the 7th of June and passed on the 10th. Cranmer, of course, was unable personally to contend with his sovereign; yet he not only opposed the passing of the act, but also protested against it. In his answer to the Devonshire rebels, some years after, Cranmer expressly states that this law would not have passed had not the king come down in person to the parliament house. The arguments of Cranmer were so weighty that the king desired to have a copy of them. Whatever were the faults of Henry, he was too well aware of the value of his faithful and sincere counsellor to allow him to be injured for the decided and bold part he had taken in this affair. Strype gives reasons for believing that one point much urged by Cranmer in these debates was, that the penalty of death ought not to be imposed for mere matters of opinion.

The archbishop, being greatly depressed at this measure, Henry sent the Duke of Norfolk and Cromwell, with others of the nobility, to dine with him at Lambeth, when they publicly delivered a message that it was the king's

<sup>1</sup> At first the act was framed so as only to restrain priests from *lawful* connections. With much difficulty, Cromwell succeeded against the Romanists in making the prohibition generally applicable to *all* cases.

pleasure he should be comforted, and not discouraged by what had passed; at the same time declaring that Cranmer had showed himself "greatly learned, and also discreet and wise." Cranmer acknowledged the king's kindness, and solemnly added, "I hope in God that hereafter my allegations and authorities shall take place, to the glory of God and the commodity of the realm"—yet the Romish historians have not hesitated to state that he not only complied with the enactments of the law by sending his wife back to Germany, but that he also wrote to the king apologising for and excusing his opposition to the act! It is true that he did send his wife again to her relations, to avoid the penalty of death denounced by the act, while many of the Romish ecclesiastics openly manifested their disregard both of the human and the Divine law, as well as of their own vows of chastity; but he never subscribed, or declared an assent to the six articles, nor was subscription required from any of the clergy.

Cranmer's writing sent to the king was of a very different description from an excuse for his conduct. It was his opinions *against* the six articles. In obedience to the king, he caused his secretary to write them out. The secretary having done so, went to deliver the book to his master, but found he had left Lambeth and was gone to Croydon. His own chamber also was locked, and he had to proceed to London. In this dilemma he resolved to take the book with him, having been commanded to be very careful of it; for merely writing such a document was death by the law recently enacted. The secretary then took boat for Paul's wharf with some of the king's guard. When they arrived at Bankside they found the king in his barge, with many attendants, seeing a bear baited at the water's edge. The guards who were with the secretary dared not pass the king. Accordingly the wherry was rowed near to the bank, when, the bear breaking loose, such confusion ensued, that the book was loosed from under the secretary's girdle and fell into the river. He called to a bearward to secure it: the man did so, but

before the secretary could get to him he had shown it to a priest, who, perceiving the book was written against the six articles, told the bearward that whoever claimed it would be hanged. This fellow was a rank papist. Finding that the book belonged to the archbishop, he refused to give it up, and told the secretary he hoped that both he and his master would be hanged for it. He continued in this mood, refusing to listen to the advice of a relative, who, at the desire of the secretary, invited him to supper, and offered him a sum of money if he would return the book, telling him that he would get neither thanks nor reward if he persisted. This was the result, for what happened was told to Cromwell, who found the man the next morning at the court, looking for some of the Romish party to whom he might give the book. Cromwell at once took it from him, threatened him for meddling with papers belonging to a privy councillor, and sent him away.

A general attempt was made to enforce the act of six articles: in fourteen days, five hundred persons, in London alone, were dragged from their families and committed to prison for offences against this law! The prisons being too small to contain them, some of the companies' halls were used as places of confinement. Audley, the lord chancellor, went to the king and represented the necessity of stopping such prosecutions. Cromwell, Cranmer, and some others, supported his applications, and orders were given to liberate the prisoners. Bonner however, and his associates, were permitted to harass and put to death some individuals, while a deep impression was made upon the spirits of the protestants, both at home and abroad, by these measures. The German princes also interposed, and Melanchthon wrote a faithful epistle to Henry. The act of six articles, however, promoted the Reformation in a manner its authors never intended. Many excellent men were compelled to take refuge on the continent for a time, from whence they returned much advanced in Christian knowledge by their communications with the German and Swiss Reformers.

During the dinner at Lambeth already mentioned, Cromwell made an observation to the archbishop upon the remarkable manner in which the king took in good part from him that opposition to his royal will which he would not endure from others, and contrasted the primate's conduct with that of Wolsey. This led to an observation from the Duke of Norfolk; a personal altercation ensued between Cromwell and the duke, which the latter never forgave. Cromwell, who had lately been created Earl of Essex, now stood on the brink of ruin. He had many enemies in consequence of his sudden rise, and was unpopular among the people on several public accounts. The king heard numerous complaints of his minister, and listened to them the more readily from being displeased with Cromwell, who, after the death of Jane Seymour, had promoted the marriage with Anne of Cleves, with whom he was much disgusted. Henry also was enamoured of the niece of the Duke of Norfolk, who strongly urged proceedings against Cromwell. By the influence of the Romish party, Cromwell was accused of heresy and other charges, which, however, rather show the malice of his enemies than any great delinquency on his part. Fuller states, on the authority of Sir Edward Coke, that his adversaries deemed it safer to proceed by a bill of attainder than to allow the usual form of trial. At this juncture only one among Cromwell's numerous friends and dependants appeared in his behalf—that one was Cranmer. He has been represented as attaching himself to Cromwell while his fortunes prevailed, and then joining his enemies; but he stood forward and pleaded for his associate, though in opposition to the royal will and the united influence of those in power.

Cromwell, however, was not guiltless in a legal point of view: he had not only favoured the Reformers to an extent then unlawful, but he had in some instances spoken of limiting the power of the king, and had accepted bribes, which was too commonly practised at that day. The laws against treason also then comprehended much which would

now merely be called errors in judgment. It was not, therefore, difficult to find such grounds to justify the proceedings against Cromwell, that Cranmer could not refuse to acquiesce in the sentence pronounced against him. Cromwell, however, may be considered as suffering in the cause of the Reformation, if not for its doctrines; and although the Romanists have falsely represented him as recanting previous to his death, his prayer when on the scaffold sufficiently manifests that he died in the profession of the real "catholic" faith, not that of the church of Rome. He was beheaded July 28, 1540. Strype, in his *Memorials*, fully shows how indefatigable Cromwell was in promoting the Reformation.

Cranmer now stood almost alone. Bishop Foxe was dead; Cromwell was condemned and executed; Latimer and Shaxton were deprived of their bishoprics, and imprisoned under the act of six articles. When thus exposed, the enemies of the truth did not allow him to remain long unmolested. Even while Cromwell was a prisoner, they caused Cranmer to be included in a commission which was directed to inquire concerning the articles of religion, and to explain some of the chief doctrines. They had prepared a document according to their own views, but Cranmer refused his assent, although his remaining friends urged him to comply, representing the danger of opposition to the king's will. He replied that "there was but one truth in the articles to be concluded upon, which, though they hid for a time, the king would at length perceive, and he knew the king's nature so well, that he would never afterwards credit or trust them." Cranmer further warned them to beware, and faithfully to discharge their consciences. He went to the king and prevailed so far as to have much that was objectionable put aside. The result was a statement of doctrine mainly derived from the Augsburg confession, though in some points warped to meet the views of the Romanists, and an abatement of the penalties of the act of six articles. The recent events, however, induced Cranmer to retire as much as possible from public life, and

to confine himself to the duties of his station. The archbishop was now in the furnace of affliction, and he was supported from on high. His energies rose with the difficulties in which he was placed,—he bore open testimony to the truth, and prevailed.

Among other occupations in the year 1540, we find Cranmer busily engaged in reforming the ecclesiastical foundation at Canterbury, and establishing a grammar school there. Some of the commissioners would have restricted this to gentlemen's children, but Cranmer differed from them, saying that "poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which also are the gifts of God, as with eloquence, memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, and such like; and also commonly more apt to apply to their study, than is the gentleman's son delicately educated."<sup>1</sup> The others again urged that disorders in the state were likely to ensue from bringing up children above the vocation of their parents. To this Cranmer replied, in strong terms, that "utterly to exclude the poor man's son from the benefit of learning, is as much as to say that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of mercy, but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to His most godly will and pleasure, who giveth His gifts of learning and perfections in all sciences, to all kinds and states of persons indifferently." He added other observations of equal force, concluding thus: "If the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not, let the poor man's child that is apt enter in his room." Cranmer was actively employed at this period in causing various superstitious relics to be removed from the churches under his care. We also find him concerned in the passing of a law which was intended to check the luxurious life of some among the clergy.

In the autumn of 1541 Cranmer was again placed in a situation of political difficulty, by being informed of the

<sup>1</sup> An author of that day recommends gentlemen, "who know not how to write," to notch sticks to assist their memory.

dissolute course of life which had been pursued by the queen, Catherine Howard. After consulting with the lord chancellor, the Earl of Hertford, Cranmer placed the documents which had been communicated to him into the king's hands. Had her guilt not been fully established, Cranmer must have fallen: he knew this, but he used no undue means to influence the result. The particulars are fully related by Herbert.—The Romanists have represented it as “a plot woven by the industry of the protestants,” but the queen's misconduct was proved by incontestable evidence. The documents which still remain prove her culpable, and show that no conspiracy against her existed. She admitted her guilt upon the scaffold, where she was executed with Lady Rochford, who had been the confidante of her profligacy. It was not forgotten that the latter had been the principal cause of the deaths of Anne Boleyn and her own husband. In the same year Cranmer was engaged in correcting disorders which prevailed in All Souls' College, Oxford.

In the convocation which met A.D. 1542, the Romanists again brought forward their accusations against the English version of the Scriptures, and by their influence it was resolved that the Bible should not be used in the churches until it had been revised, for which purpose committees were appointed. Their design evidently was, not to produce an improved version, but to adopt any means which might impede the progress of scriptural knowledge. To perplex matters still further, Gardiner brought forward a long list of Latin and Greek words, which he pretended could not be correctly rendered into English. He therefore desired that they should be left untranslated, which of course would have rendered the Bibles almost useless to unlearned men. Cranmer defeated these designs by obtaining the king's sanction for the committal of this revision to the Universities, instead of the Romish prelates. He also urged additional measures for the revisal of the service-books, and for depriving the images of saints of their ornaments and other marks of respect which were

still common. The invocation of saints in the litany had been ordered to be discontinued in 1538. Nor did Cranmer rest until he had obtained the king's authority for a selection of prayers and offices of devotion in the English language. This, however, was not printed till the year 1546. It is known by the name of Henry VIII.'s Primer, and contains much that is excellent, though some addresses to the Virgin, and other traces of popish superstitions remain. A letter written by Cranmer, in 1544, to the king, shows his anxious desire to introduce what may be considered as the commencement of congregational singing. Thomas Sternhold, one of the first translators of the Psalms into English metre, was groom of the robes to Henry VIII., and of the bedchamber to Edward VI.

In 1543 the contest as to reading the Scriptures was again renewed. Directions were given for compiling another formulary of faith. Tyndale's version of the Bible was prohibited, while subsequent versions were allowed, but only under strict limitations. None were to read the Bible aloud without license from the king or the ordinary. Noblemen and gentlemen might cause the Bible to be read to their families and servants, and householders might read it to themselves privately. But all women, except the families of the nobility and gentry, and all artificers, labourers, or servants, with all persons of the lower classes, were strictly PROHIBITED from perusing the word of God! Nor was a free use of the English Scriptures again permitted during that reign.<sup>1</sup>

The free use of the Scriptures being thus prohibited, another exposition of faith was set forth, under the title of "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man." It is very similar in contents to the former publication, entitled "The Bishops' Book," but although in

<sup>1</sup> That this prohibition was generally enforced, appears from a writing upon a spare leaf of a copy of the treatise on inventions, by Polydore Vergil, which was penned by a shepherd to whom it had belonged. "When I kepe M. Letymer's shype, I bout thys boke, when the Testament was obbergated that shepherdys might not rede it. I pray God amend that blyndness. Wryt by Robert Wyllyams, keppying shepe upon Scynbury hill, 1546."

many respects it set forth the Lutheran doctrines, more of the Romish leaven was infused, doubtless by the interference of Gardiner, at whose instance it was called "The King's Book." This will clearly appear to the reader upon his comparing the statements respecting the doctrine of justification in the two "books." Gardiner was so satisfied with this compilation, as to write, "The king's majesty hath, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, composed all matters of religion." Cranmer, on the other hand, wrote annotations upon the "Necessary Doctrine," refuting some of the errors contained therein, and stating the doctrines of truth. This copy is still extant.

In 1543 we find Cranmer much troubled by disputes which prevailed among the clergy at Canterbury. He sent for them to Croydon, where he reasoned, instructed, and exhorted them as the occasion required. To allay the discord which had arisen, he appointed six preachers to officiate in the cathedral, three of each party, telling them it was the king's pleasure.

The dissatisfaction of the Romish clergy against Cranmer now began to assume a darker form. It was commonly reported that "Gardiner had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer," and at his instigation or encouragement several of the clergy of Canterbury engaged in machinations against the archbishop. Meanwhile proceedings were commenced at Windsor which caused three honest men to be burned for heresy. It was intended next to implicate persons of rank; even to include the new queen, Catharine Parr, who was a zealous supporter of the Reformation. The plan was disappointed by a servant of the queen, through whose activity an emissary of Gardiner was waylaid, and some papers taken from him. These being shown to the king, he pardoned those against whom proceedings had been commenced. This ruthless zeal of Gardiner so disgusted Henry that he never liked him afterwards, nor placed the same degree of confidence in him as formerly.

The history of the plot against Cranmer is too long for

more than a brief summary to be given in this work. When the articles and depositions against the archbishop had been prepared, they were presented to the king, who at once saw the real object of the accusers. He ordered his barge one evening to Lambeth, and desired Cranmer to come on board. He then told him that he now knew who was the greatest heretic in Kent, giving him the papers at the same time. Cranmer was much surprised and grieved at their contents; he besought Henry to appoint commissioners to examine the accusations. Henry replied he would do so, and nominated the archbishop for one. Cranmer entreated this might not be, as it would appear unfair to appoint a man to be judge in his own cause, but Henry insisted on his nomination, adding he was sure that Cranmer would speak "the truth of himself, if he had offended." The primate left the investigation to two of his officers named Cocks and Hussey, who being secret favourers of popery, the delinquents had nearly escaped; but the archbishop's friends showed the king it was necessary that more strict examiners should be appointed. Dr. Leigh and Dr. Rowland Taylor were then sent, who caused the papers of the suspected parties to be seized; letters from Gardiner were found, and the whole plot was discovered in a few hours. Among others, Dr. Thornton and Dr. Barber were implicated. The former had been appointed suffragan of Dover by Cranmer, and frequently ate at his table; the latter was a civilian whom the archbishop salaried and retained in his family, as a constant adviser in matters relating to the ecclesiastical law.

When the letters of these two men were forwarded to Cranmer, he was much shocked at the discovery of their treachery. Taking them apart at his palace of Bekebourne, he told them that some persons in whom he placed much confidence had disclosed his secrets, and had even accused him of heresy. He then asked their advice how such delinquents should be dealt with. These perfidious men loudly censured such villainy, affirming that the

traitors deserved death : one of them added that if an executioner were wanting, he would perform the office himself ! At these words the archbishop lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, " O Lord, most merciful God, in whom may a man now trust ! It is truly said, Cursed is he that confideth in man, and putteth his trust in an arm of flesh. There never was man handled as I am, but thou, O Lord, hast evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and master (meaning the king), without whose protection I were not able to stand one day ; I praise thy name therefore."

He then turned towards them, demanding, " Know ye these letters, my masters ?" They immediately fell down upon their knees, imploring forgiveness, and confessing how they had been tempted to join these machinations.

" Well," said Cranmer, " God make you both good men. I never deserved this at your hands ; but ask God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, how should I live ? I perceive now that there is no fidelity or truth among men ; I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not much marvel thereat, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world, to come in the latter days. I beseech Him of His great mercy to finish that time shortly." He forgave them, and never again alluded to their treachery, but he dismissed them from his service.

Such was the conduct of Cranmer when his own personal safety was aimed at. His forgiveness of injuries was so notorious that it became a byword, " Do my lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and you make him your friend for ever." Some who have treated his memory hardly, as they could not deny this distinguishing trait in his character, have endeavoured to represent his forgiveness of injuries to be no virtue, saying that resentment is effaced by present interest in such minds as they would have us believe Cranmer's to have been. But the case of Thornton and Barber effectually dissipates this false

representation. Cranmer's interest in their case evidently was not to let such persons escape with impunity; still less to interpose and prevent their experiencing that just punishment which the king wished to inflict upon all who had joined in the conspiracy. If we fully examine the particulars of this history, we shall see that Cranmer was actuated by the gospel principles, which command us to forgive our enemies: with those who consider it a proof of weakness so to do, the follower of Christ need not argue.

The confessions of some of these men were printed by Strype. He found a paper apparently written by Cranmer about this period, "On the Consolation possessed by Christians against the fear of death;" and adds, "compiled, I guess, as well for his own use, being not inapprehensive of his ticklish station and danger from so many implacable enemies which he had, as also to be inserted in the 'King's Book.'"

The papists were never weary of their attempts against Cranmer. They persuaded a bigoted Romanist, Sir John Gostwick, member for Bedfordshire, to charge the archbishop of heresy in the parliament-house, on account of some sermons preached in Kent. Henry was not a monarch who would suffer such proceedings. Inquiring how this Bedfordshire knight should be so well informed of what passed in Kent, he called him "a varlet," and threatened to treat him severely if he did not acknowledge his fault to Cranmer, and implore pardon; adding, "If they do so now, what will they do with him when I am gone?" Gostwick followed the royal advice without delay.

Another remarkable instance of Henry's interference for Cranmer is recorded. The papists in the privy council besought the king to give them leave to examine the charges against Cranmer, and to commit him to the Tower if they found occasion; assuring the king if that were done many would come forward against him with just accusations who were now afraid to do so. Henry

discerned their purpose, but consented that Cranmer should be called before the council on the day following, and gave them leave to commit him to the Tower if they saw sufficient cause.

At midnight the king sent for the archbishop, to tell him what had passed. He thanked his majesty for the previous notice, and expressed his willingness to be committed to the Tower, if he might afterwards be fairly heard. Henry stood amazed at his simplicity, and told him that when once in prison, three or four false knaves would easily be found to witness against him. Henry then directed Cranmer to request the council to confront his accusers with him, and if they refused to do this, he was to produce a ring, which the king then gave him, by which they would know that the affair was revoked from them for the royal determination.

The following morning Cranmer was summoned to attend the council at eight o'clock, but was kept waiting in the ante-room among the attendants nearly an hour. Dr. Butts, the king's physician, informed Henry of this new promotion of the archbishop to be a serving-man. "It is well enough," replied Henry; "I shall talk with them by-and-by." At length Cranmer was admitted. The councillors told him that a complaint was made that he, and others by his permission, had infected the realm with heresy, and therefore it was the king's pleasure that he should be committed to the Tower for trial. Cranmer reasoned with them, and urged that his accusers might be brought forward, but finding this was refused, he produced the king's ring. At the sight of it they rose and went to the king, fearful of the consequences of their conduct. Henry gave them that reception which he was accustomed to give to those with whom he was seriously displeased; saying, he perceived well how the world went among them, and commanded them to lay aside their malice towards the primate. This was the last attempt against Cranmer while Henry lived. The king possessed much discernment. Referring to a change in Cranmer's

armorial bearings, from three cranes to three pelicans, he told him to be ready, like the pelican, to shed his blood for his spiritual children who were brought up in the faith of Christ, adding, "You are likely to be tasted at length, if you stand to your tackling."

There is another anecdote connected with these plots against Cranmer. Sir Thomas Seymour spoke against him to the king, accusing him of niggardly conduct, and a design to amass wealth for his children by adopting a penurious and improper style of living. Henry took no notice of this complaint till some days after, when he sent Sir Thomas to Lambeth with a message, at the archbishop's dinner hour. Seymour now found how widely different the case in reality was from what he had stated, and saw that ample provision was made for the household and for visitors, as well as a liberal supply for the poor, while all was conducted with propriety. On his return Henry sternly inquired, "Dined you not with my lord?" Seymour perceived the king's meaning, and kneeling down, entreated pardon for having made a false report. The king rebuked him severely, saying that he saw through their devices, and knew that their desire was to be allowed to participate in the bishop's lands, as they had done in the estates of the monasteries; but in this they should be disappointed, and as for Cranmer, he well knew that the archbishop injured himself by his liberality and hospitality. Besides keeping a proper order in his household, suited to his station, Cranmer always had several strangers staying with him, being desirous by his intercourse with them to promote their spiritual welfare, and also to forward the great work of the Reformation. Thus the attention he manifested towards the Earl of Cassilis, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Solway, in 1542, was the means of effecting a change in his views: that nobleman afterwards became a promoter of the Reformation in his own country.

A more pleasing evidence of Cranmer's influence with the king was the gradual adoption of several prayers in English for the public daily services. This was a most

important step towards a more spiritual form of worship, in which the people might feel themselves interested. Gardiner and the papists, of course, endeavoured to counteract this measure. Another important work which Cranmer earnestly laboured to effect, was a reformation of the canon law, but at that time he could only accomplish some preliminary arrangements. He succeeded, however, in abolishing the creeping to the cross, with other superstitious observances. He by this time had begun to introduce a more regular system of preaching than formerly had been customary. Henry also directed him to prepare a formulary whereby the mass might be changed into a communion. It was evident that the Reformers were again exercising a beneficial influence.

Henry's death now approached. Upon discovering a new instance of the treachery of Gardiner towards the queen, he ordered him to be excluded from the council, and even from the royal presence, and having had his last testament drawn up afresh, he ordered Gardiner's name not to be again included in the list of his executors. In other respects the will remained unaltered, the king's ill state of health probably prevented him from giving that complete revision which would have excluded some directions that savoured of popish superstition. The Romish party now rapidly lost ground in the king's favour. Their leader, the Duke of Norfolk, in his turn, was charged with high treason, and though his offences do not appear to have deserved to be so called, yet he fell within the letter of the law. He was attainted and condemned: but the decease of Henry, on the day appointed for his execution, saved Norfolk from experiencing the fate of Cromwell, to whose death he had been so instrumental.

The following particulars relative to the death of Henry VIII. are from Foxe. "After long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, his physicians at length perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for fear of the act passed before in parliament, that none should speak any thing of

the king's death (the act being made only for soothsayers and talkers of prophecies), moved them that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity. Which, when the rest were in dread to do, M. Denny, boldly coming to the king, told him what case he was in, to man's judgment not like to live, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself to death, calling himself to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betimes for grace and mercy, as becomes every good Christian man to do.

"Although the king was loth to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving the same to rise upon the judgment of his physicians, and feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself more quietly to hearken to the words of exhortation, and to consider his past life. Which though he much accused,<sup>1</sup> 'yet,' said he, 'the mercy of Christ is able to pardon me all my sins, though they were greater than they are.' M. Denny, being glad to hear him thus speak, required to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer with, and to open his mind unto. The king answered, that if he had any, he would have Dr. Cranmer, who was then at Croydon. M. Denny asking whether he would have him sent for, 'I will first,' said the king, 'take a little sleep, and then, as I feel myself, I will advise upon the matter.'

"After an hour or two, the king awaking, and finding his feebleness increase, commanded Dr. Cranmer to be sent for, but before he could come the king was speechless and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, he reaching his hand to Dr. Cranmer, held him fast, but could utter no words, and scarcely was able to make any sign. Then the archbishop, exhorting him to put his

<sup>1</sup> A French author of that day, named Thevet, a friar, states that several English persons of rank had told him that the king in his latter days spoke with much compunction of his conduct towards Queen Anne Boleyn. This is better authenticated than the tale of Saunders, which represents him as repenting the dissolution of the monasteries.

trust in Christ, and to call upon His mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes, or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, did wring the archbishop's hand in his as hard as he could, and so shortly after departed."

Foxe was intimate with Morice, the archbishop's secretary, and, there can be no doubt that this account of the last moments of Henry is correct. Without offering any observation thereon, it may be well to say that Foxe states several circumstances which tend to show the intention of Henry, if he had survived, to have proceeded with the Reformation. Foxe adds: "But the secret workings of God's holy providence, which disposes all things according after His own wisdom and purpose, thought it good, rather by taking the king away, to reserve the accomplishment of this Reformation of His church to the peaceable times of his son Edward and Elizabeth his daughter, whose hands were yet undefiled with any blood, and life unspotted with any violence or cruelty."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Many persons will be surprised to hear that Henry VIII. was a monarch highly popular amongst his subjects, and that his death was very generally lamented; but this appears beyond a doubt from the testimony of contemporary historians. Strype has noticed it, and observes: "This king, notwithstanding his rigorous government and his round dealing with many, to the taking away of their lives, lived and died highly beloved of his subjects, whatever were the reasons of it; whether it were some of those princely qualities and excellent accomplishments that he was endued with, or the suppressing the ecclesiastical power, which was so oppressive to the people." The more fully we are aware of the extent to which the profligacy and tyranny of the church of Rome had proceeded, the less we are surprised at this. The various executions during Henry's reign having been carried into effect by sentence of law, he appears to have had no impression upon his mind that they were wrong.

## PART II.

*Cranmer in the reign of King Edward VI.*

HENRY VIII. was succeeded by Edward VI., then a youth in the tenth year of his age. His reign was short, but his virtues and piety are recorded by every historian: even the Romanists scarcely attempt to depreciate his memory. During his reign the Reformation proceeded with activity, and although much was left imperfect, yet the foundation was so firmly laid, that, through the Divine blessing, it withstood the violence of Queen Mary, his successor.

When we examine into English history we find that many causes united to impede the labours of the Reformers. During the two preceding reigns, the regal office had been administered with an authority almost unlimited: the sceptre was now in the hands of a child, and consequently the executive power rested with the ministers. Two of the principal, Wriothesly, lord chancellor, and Tonstal, the bishop of Durham, were Romanists, and in political ability they far exceeded the Earl of Hertford and Cranmer, the leaders of the Protestants. The Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, was appointed protector by general consent: his relation to the young king gave him a claim to that office, while his talents were not sufficient to excite the jealousy of his opponents. He was also expressly limited from acting without the advice and consent of the other executors. The disposition of Cranmer, as we have seen, did not incline him to take a leading part in political affairs: he neither possessed, nor desired to assume that influence by which Romish primates of former days had misled the nation. Thus the short reign of Edward VI. exhibited a stormy conflict of parties, the leaders of which sought chiefly to promote their own individual interests. These, it is true, inclined them generally to favour the Reformation, and Cranmer, with the most pious of his associates, was

enabled to do much in promoting the truth. That they did not effect all they might have done is more than probable, but certainly those cannot fairly enter upon this question who do not estimate the peculiar circumstances of those times, and the situation of England, both in its foreign and domestic relations, which were more complicated at that period than in any other of its history.

One of the earliest measures connected with ecclesiastical affairs, after the accession of Edward, was for the bishops to take out new commissions from the king, authorizing them to hold their respective offices. Cranmer set the example, and his conduct in thus departing from the high assumptions of the Romish clergy was one cause of their displeasure against him. It is probable that the archbishop thought this measure would assist to prevent those prelates who were still attached to Romanism from being active in opposing the Reformation, but doubtless it also proceeded from the little estimation in which Cranmer held his honours and titles. That he set lightly by them, appears from a letter written by him to Gardiner, in May, 1535, when that busy prelate had represented the archbishop's title, "Primate of all England," as inconsistent with the king's supremacy. An extract may be inserted here, as illustrating this trait in the character of Cranmer.

"Even at the beginning of Christ's profession, Diotrophes desired to bear the pre-eminence in the church, as saith St. John in his last epistle. And since, he hath had more successors than all the apostles had, of whom have come all these glorious titles, styles, and pomps into the church. But I would that I, and all my brethren, the bishops, would leave all our styles, and write the style of our offices, calling ourselves the apostles of Jesus Christ; so that we took not upon us the name vainly, but were so even in deed. So that we might order our dioceses in such sort, that neither paper, parchment, lead, or wax, but the very Christian conversation of the people, might be the letters and seals of our offices. As the Corinthians were

unto Paul, unto whom he said, 'Ye are our letters, and the signs of our apostleship.'"

The proceedings of Cranmer at the coronation, and the open manifestation of piety by the protector, showed their determination to promote the progress of Divine truth. One who could use in sincerity the prayer which was customarily offered up by Seymour, could not be a Romanist in principles or practice.

In Strype, Burnet, and other historians, will be found a minute account of the progress of the Reformation during the short reign of Edward VI. The result may be thus summed up. The worship of images was prohibited; the saints and the Virgin were no longer allowed to usurp any of that honour which is due unto God alone. Transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass were no longer substituted for the true doctrine and regular administration of the Lord's Supper. The free use of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue was permitted to persons of every rank and condition. Human traditions were not referred to as equal or superior in authority to the word of God. Public prayers were no longer offered in an unknown language. The clergy were not prohibited from marriage. Belief in purgatory, indulgences, and all the gainful traffics of the Romish church were no longer sanctioned. But the results attained in that short reign were not confined to these benefits, considerable as they are. The great doctrine, that salvation is by CHRIST ALONE, was fully set forth to the people as the only ground for their hope and confidence—as the source of good works and holiness of heart and life, and this no longer obscured by the addition of man's devices, but fully and freely preached to all. The writings of the Reformers, with the records of their proceedings, show that in no period of our history has the Rock of salvation been more fully exhibited, or with more simplicity and power, than in those days. Let us remember that during the reign of Henry these blessings had been very imperfectly attained. It is true that the main fabric of popery had been demo-

lished, and much of the rubbish of that system had been removed, but little of the spiritual edifice was built up. All the advantages just enumerated were attained during the six years in which the influence of Cranmer prevailed, although limited and thwarted in many respects. This summary may give some idea of what we owe to him, and to the faithful witnesses who laboured with him in life, and bore testimony with him in death.

Nor is it difficult to adduce undoubted evidence that the progress here described actually was made. The book of homilies—the forty-two articles of religion drawn up by Cranmer and Ridley—the English Liturgy and Communion Book—the Catechism of Dean Nowell, with Cranmer's short instruction in the Christian religion—his treatise against unwritten verities—his defence of the true catholic doctrine of the sacrament—the proposed improvements in the canon law—the general diffusion of knowledge respecting the errors of popery—the care taken to select faithful and zealous preachers—the numerous publications setting forth gospel truth which issued from the press—but above all, the many editions of the English Scriptures printed in this reign—all these are evidences which yet survive, and bear testimony to the active proceedings of the Reformers of that period.

Cranmer's personal concern in the various labours just described is generally admitted, and is a sufficient answer to the allegations which represent him as an ambitious and active partisan in the political proceedings of that day; for one whose mind was so fully occupied by the subjects already mentioned, could not be found directing measures so contrary in principle. What were considered the duties of his official station required his continual presence in the council, and frequent reference to him for advice; but he appears rather to have withdrawn from political power than to have sought it.

One of the earliest proceedings was to cause a general visitation of the kingdom (which was divided into six districts) by persons furnished with authority to promote

the work of the Reformation, who were accompanied by preachers of ability to set forth the truth. The articles and injunctions prepared for these visitors show both the wisdom and care of the chief promoters of the good work, and also exhibit the state of corruption and superstition in which the bulk of the nation was still involved. Among other important injunctions, the due observance of the Lord's day was required; the bishops were to be careful to ordain none but such as were learned in the Scriptures, and to inquire whether the word of God and the faith of Christ were preached purely and sincerely in every cure; also whether the clergy moved the people to hear and read the Scriptures in English.

As preaching ever has been a most efficient means for diffusing the light of Divine truth, Cranmer's attention was early called to the compiling of a book of homilies, an important and necessary work at that time, when a very small proportion of the clergy were able to prepare sermons for their congregations.<sup>1</sup> Gardiner's concurrence in this work was requested, but he opposed it as much as possible, and with others of his party declared that no innovation whatever in religious matters could be made during the king's minority.<sup>2</sup> Cranmer, however, proceeded, and having himself written the "Homily on Salvation," communicated it to Gardiner, who said he would admit the statements it contained, if they "could show him any old writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification." This it was not difficult to do, but Gardiner was determined not to be satisfied, and continued to wrangle on this subject. At that period he was confined in the Fleet, whither he had

<sup>1</sup> Warner observes that the greatest hindrance which Cranmer met with in his design of reformation was the miserable condition of the parochial clergy, and the want of able men to propagate the doctrines of truth throughout the kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Some images having been plucked down and destroyed at Portsmouth, Gardiner complained bitterly of such proceedings. He said that "such as were affected with the principle of breaking down images were hogs, and worse than hogs, and were ever so considered in England, being called Lollards."

been sent by the council for his opposition to the proceedings of the government, which he had with much pertinacity endeavoured to counteract. He blamed the archbishop exceedingly "for troubling the people with a needless speculation," as he termed it—namely, "that we be justified by faith, without all works of the law." He said this was unnecessary, "because in baptism we are justified, being infants," before we can talk of the justification we strive for; "for all men receive their justification in infancy in baptism, and if they fall after baptism, they must arise again by the sacrament of penance." But it is unnecessary to dwell upon the cavils, the errors, the railing, or the sophistry of Gardiner. The doctrines he advanced were not peculiar to himself: full replies to them will be found in the writings of every Reformer, particularly in the volumes written by Cranmer himself with immediate reference to their discussions. Another subject of displeasure to this bigoted Romanist was the order that a copy of the translation of Erasmus's paraphrase on the New Testament should be set up in every church. The proceedings of Gardiner before his imprisonment, and during its continuance, plainly show the difference of the treatment he received, compared with that which he and his associates inflicted upon the followers of the truth in the succeeding reign.

The act of the six articles, which prevented all discussion upon subjects connected with religion, was now repealed by the interference of Cranmer. So also was the act against Lollards. By the provisions of an act restraining persons from treating the sacrament of the altar with levity or contempt, the laity were restored to communion in both kinds.

The visitation throughout the kingdom was now completed. Many abuses had been corrected, numerous relics of superstition were removed from the churches, and the reading of the English Bible was encouraged. Gardiner's opposition to the latter measure was one cause of his imprisonment. This proceeding of the council,

however, made that busy, meddling prelate to be accounted the champion of his party, and exhibited him as a sufferer for religion. He was liberated after a few months' confinement, when the proceedings which he so warmly opposed had received the sanction of parliament. He returned to Winchester, but his conduct there induced the council to send for him again to London, and to require his residence in the metropolis. Shortly after he was again committed to prison.

In the early part of 1548, the communion book was compiled by several prelates and divines who had been appointed for this purpose. The particulars of their discussions are given by Burnet, and are interesting, as they exhibit to us Cranmer's mind freed from those errors upon the subject of the Lord's Supper by which it had been so long enthralled. The following account is given by Strype. "Ridley, reading Bertram's book of the body and blood of Christ, was sharpened to examine more accurately the old opinions of the presence of Christ's flesh and blood; and looking into ecclesiastical authors, he found it greatly controverted in the ninth century, and learnedly written against, which made him begin to conclude it none of the ancient doctrines of the church, but more lately brought into it. These his thoughts he communicated to Archbishop Cranmer, which was about the year 1546; whereupon they both set to examine it with more than ordinary care, and all the arguments that Cranmer gathered about it he digested into his book. Nor was the good archbishop ashamed to make a public acknowledgment in print of this as well as of his other popish errors. In his answer to Dr. Smith, who, it seems, had charged him with inconstancy, he says:

"This I confess of myself, that not long before I wrote the said catechism I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors that came

from Rome, being brought up from youth in them, and housled therein for lack of good instruction from my youth, the outrageous floods of papistical errors at that time overflowing the world. For the which, and other mine offences in youth, I do daily pray unto God for mercy and pardon, saying, Good Lord, remember not mine ignorances and offences of my youth.

“‘But after it had pleased God to show unto me by His holy word a more perfect knowledge of His Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of Him, by little and little, I put away my former ignorance. And as God of His mercy gave me light, so through His grace I opened mine eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugn unto God and remain in darkness. And I trust in God’s mercy and pardon for my former errors, because I erred but of frailness and ignorance. And now I may say of myself as St. Paul said, When I was like a babe or child in the knowledge of Christ, I spake like a child, and understood like a child. But now that I am come to man’s estate, and growing in Christ through His grace and mercy, I have put away that childishness.’”<sup>1</sup>

This subject now occupied much public attention. Peter Martyr having lectured against transubstantiation at Oxford, was interrupted by the papists, who conducted themselves in a very disorderly manner. The council then directed that a regular disputation should be held, in which proper order should be observed. This was accordingly done. At Cambridge similar public discussions took place. They were summed up by Ridley, who was then more fully master of that subject than any other English divine. The particulars of these disputa-

<sup>1</sup> In the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, among the Parker MSS., is “a thin note book” of Cranmer’s concerning the sacrament, which Strype conjectures to be “his meditations and conclusions when he set himself accurately to examine the sacramental controversy, and fell off from the opinion of the carnal presence.” Strype also considers that Cranmer was the means of bringing Peter Martyr to the clearer views of this subject, which that Reformer afterwards stated in his defence of the ancient and apostolical doctrine.

tions are given by Foxe. The substance of Peter Martyr's discourse was published both in Latin and English.

His own diocese received early attention from Cranmer, particularly the city of Canterbury, which had been kept in much darkness by the Romish ecclesiastics who combined so actively against the archbishop during the preceding reign. He now appointed six preachers to officiate in that city, all of whom were protestants. Their labours were blessed in the conversion of many, as appears by the number of martyrs who in the following reign suffered there the torment of fire for their profession of the gospel. One of these preachers was Becon, a laborious divine, whose writings were very useful in promoting the truth, and are among the most valuable remains of the British Reformers, though scarcely known at the present day. The new service-book was brought into public use in the autumn of this year, 1548. It was grounded upon the liturgies of the primitive church, divested of most of the Romish additions, and retaining the phraseology of Scripture. Of the language used in this work we may observe, that it was compiled before the pedantic phraseology, which became general some years afterwards, had affected the simplicity of the English tongue; and if we compare the translations of ancient prayers contained therein with modern renderings, we shall be impressed with the value of the Reformers' writings, when considered only in that point of view. Considerable progress now had been made in removing the errors of popery, but the representation contained in a letter of Paget to the protector, written in the following year, as given by Strype, was but too true. "The use of the old religion is forbidden by a law, and the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven out of twelve parts of the realm; what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth." Many of the clergy who were attached in their hearts to popery, read the English liturgy and the homilies so as to make them unintelligible to the people.

Cranmer had to contend with many ecclesiastics of this description, but he proceeded with his accustomed mildness and forbearance. An instance of this appears in his conduct towards the vicar of Stepney, who formerly had been abbot of Tower-hill. That unworthy pastor would commonly disturb the protestant lecturers in his church, in the midst of their sermons, if he liked not their doctrine, by causing the bells to be rung or "beginning to sing with the choir before the sermon was half done; and sometimes by challenging the preacher in the pulpit; for he was a strong, stout, popish prelate." At length Underhill, one of the Gentleman Pensioners, a person of good family, and well respected, came to reside in the parish. Finding that the vicar persisted in his opposition to the law, he took him to the archbishop at Croydon, and stated the particulars of his conduct. Cranmer dismissed him with a gentle rebuke, bidding him to do so no more. Underhill remonstrated at this lenity, as encouraging the opposers of the truth, adding, "If it ever come to their turn, they will show you no such favour." "Well," said Cranmer, "if God so provide, we must abide it." As Strype relates: "His opinion was, that clemency and goodness, as they were more agreeable to the gospel which he laboured to adorn, so they were more likely to obtain the ends he proposed than rigour and austerity."

The ambitious and unprincipled conduct of the Lord Admiral Seymour, brother to the protector, led to his attainder in 1549. The unpopularity of the Duke of Somerset was increased by his proceedings against so near a relative, and other circumstances. The papists eagerly promoted these discontents among the people; they were further agitated by the opinions diffused among them by some of the fanatics active in the recent popular disturbances in Germany, who had fled to this country. These opinions were considered dangerous to the Christian religion, as well as to the good order of the state, and a commission was issued to Cranmer and thirty-one other persons, to

inquire respecting these seditious fanatics, and all who opposed the truth. Several persons were brought before the commissioners, and prevailed upon to recant, but their comprehensive powers caused individuals to be included whose opinions were rather fantastic than dangerous. One of them, named Joan Bocher, had adopted some views respecting the nature of Christ which were inconsistent with the truths of the Christian religion, although not upon the points of most vital importance. She accordingly fell under the provisions of the barbarous laws which had been enacted by the papists, and which still continued in force with respect to similar cases. Cranmer, therefore, while sitting as judge, had to pronounce sentence of condemnation against her. The rulers however were unwilling to follow the example of the church of Rome, and both Cranmer and Ridley exerted themselves to induce her to forsake the opinions she had embraced. She was kept in prison for twelve months, but as she refused to retract her opinions, the barbarous laws then in force required her life, and on the 27th of April, 1551, the council resolved that she should be burned. It is stated by Foxe, that the king being unwilling to direct the execution of this sentence, the council prevailed upon Cranmer to urge him to sign the warrant, which the youthful monarch very unwillingly did, casting the responsibility upon the archbishop: the persecuted woman accordingly was committed to the flames.

It is not intended to represent Cranmer as a faultless character, and certainly his part in this affair cannot be defended or excused. We ought, however, to remember that his conduct rather proceeded from his education, the principles of the times in which he lived, and the official station he filled, than from a sanguinary natural disposition. So deep had men in general drank of the persecuting spirit of Romanism, that Cranmer, in this respect, erred with Melancthon and every leading protestant, with the exception of Luther. It should also be remembered that Bocher and Von Parr would have been burned by the

Romanists, while their sentence would have been more promptly carried into execution, and their treatment more harsh. The eagerness with which the Romanists urged many slanders against the Reformers, also tended much to produce this painful tragedy, by rendering the protestants anxious to show, that in departing from the Romish faith they were not actuated by atheistical indifference, as their enemies asserted. It was in this view that they false'y thought it their duty to put to death those whom they considered to be blasphemers of the Christian religion, while in no instance did they proceed to extremities against the Romanists. In justice to the unhappy victim of intolerance, Joan Bocher, it should be stated that she was the friend of Anne Askew, who suffered for the truth in the preceding reign: she herself had been active in circulating the English Scriptures, at the hazard of her life. The opinions for which she suffered were erroneous views respecting the nature of Christ: her errors were speculative rather than practical, and although her conduct cannot be defended in every respect, yet she ought by no means to be accounted as one of the violent fanatics of Munster.<sup>1</sup>

In 1549, Bonner was removed from the see of London, and soon after Gardiner from that of Winchester. Much forbearance and lenity were shown towards these men, whose conduct in every respect was the reverse of obedient subjects. The proceedings against Bonner and

<sup>1</sup> Strype remarks that Foxe, contrary to his usual plan in matters of importance, has not given his authority for the conversation said to have passed between the monarch and the primate. Nor has Saunders, the earliest and most abusive calumniator of the British Reformation, alluded to it, though he has particularly related other circumstances connected with this tragedy. The Rev. H. Soames observes: "Of the part which Cranmer really took in the affair of Joan Bocher we are ignorant, except that he presided judicially at her trial, and that he endeavoured in company with Ridley to shake her opinions in several subsequent interviews. His dislike to the shedding of blood must be inferred from the mildness of his disposition, and is rendered undeniable by known facts." Strype also remarks, that although Edward VI. notices her condemnation and execution in his own diary, he makes no mention of this conversation with Cranmer. The records of the council show that Cranmer was not present when her execution was resolved on.

Gardiner fully show that they suffered, not for their religion, but for political malpractices. Gardiner, especially, promoted the decision against himself: he knew that his life was not endangered, and he had no objection to be exhibited as suffering for his principles. Though Bonner offered no resistance to the measures of Reformation, he suffered the greatest disorder to prevail in his diocese, and took care not to enforce the observance of any wholesome regulations.<sup>1</sup>

In 1550, Bishop Hooper was appointed to the see of Gloucester. Some serious discussions ensued with Cranmer and Ridley relative to the episcopal habits. Upon the particulars of these differences we need not dwell, but may refer with much pleasure to the brotherly love which these once contending parties manifested towards each other when fellow-sufferers in the days of Mary. In fairness to Cranmer, it should be said that he was apprehensive of consequences to himself if he did not enforce what the law then demanded.<sup>2</sup> Had the English Reformation been carried further, these unhappy differences would have been prevented.

At this time several parts of England were agitated by insurrections, and much discontent prevailed amongst the lower classes. The causes are principally to be found in the changes which had taken place in the general state of society during the preceding half century, unconnected with religion. These changes, in many instances, bore very heavily upon the lower ranks, and had supplied subjects for reproof equally to Sir Thomas More, Tyndale, and Latimer, before the Reformation commenced. The monks and bigoted Romanists increased the popular discontent. The Romish priesthood encouraged superstitious

<sup>1</sup> After the death of Queen Mary, some letters from the popish bishops were found amongst her papers, which showed their intrigues during her brother's reign.

<sup>2</sup> Strype says: "Neither was Cranmer any other ways instrumental to Hooper's imprisonment, than by doing that which was expected from him, namely, giving a true account of his unsuccessful dealing with him." The letters of Bucca Alasco and Hooper on this subject will be found in Strype's Memorials.

feelings, and the first proceeding of the misguided populace was to demand the restoration of the mass, with all its attendant superstitions and persecutions. These insurrections became very formidable, especially in the west of England and in Norfolk. They were only suppressed with considerable difficulty and bloodshed. There are many references to them in the writings of the Reformers. From the concurrent testimony of contemporary writers, it is evident that plunder and revolution were the main objects which the leaders had in view, while the particular circumstances in which the lower classes were then placed forwarded their designs. The parts of England best cultivated were thickly peopled, and the landlords, anxious to keep pace with the luxuries and improvements of the age, sought to make their estates more productive by measures which too often were oppressive. The superfluous labourers were in many cases driven from their natural homes, to make room for increased flocks of sheep, on account of the great demand for wool, while the state of manufactures and commerce did not find them employment in the cities. Soames correctly observes, that "unprincipled plunderers, political incendiaries, and gloomy bigots, eagerly laid hold of the discontents necessarily springing from these causes, and by persuading the miserable peasantry that their distresses arose from the abolition of their accustomed superstitions, inflamed their passions so far as to lead them into open rebellion." As a general remark it may be observed, that in the market towns and places of trade the people mostly favoured the Reformation, while in the "upland towns" and more secluded agricultural districts, ignorance and superstition still prevailed.

Cranmer preached a faithful, plain, practical discourse, reproving the vices of the times, and exhorting to repentance and change of life. He also wrote a reply to the demands of the rebels in the west of England, who not only required the restoration of popery in its grossest forms of error, but that the act of six articles should be

again enacted. One specimen of their demands will suffice to show the influence by which these poor people were misled. "We will have the sacrament hang over the high altar, and there to be worshipped as it was wont to be; and they which will not thereto consent, *we will have them die like heretics against the holy catholic faith.*" Cranmer's reply to the rebels fully exposes the errors of popery. The doctrines of the gospel were plainly stated, as the following extract relative to purgatory will show. "What can be more foolish than to say that pains can wash sins out of the soul? I do not deny but that corrections and punishments in this life are 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 are dead are past the time of repentance, and so no correction or torments in purgatory can avail them. And what a contumely and injury is this to Christ, to affirm that all have not full and perfect purgation by His blood who die in His faith! Is not all our trust in the blood of Christ, that we be cleansed, purged, and washed thereby? And will you have us now to forsake our faith in Christ, and bring us to the pope's purgatory to be washed therein, thinking that Christ's blood is an imperfect lye or soap that washes not clean? If he shall die without mercy that treads Christ's blood under His feet, what is treading of His blood under our feet if this be not? But if, according to the catholic faith which the Holy Scripture teaches, and the prophets, apostles, and martyrs confirmed with their blood, all the faithful that die in the Lord be pardoned of their offences by Christ, and their sins be clearly sponged and washed away by His blood, shall they after be cast into another strong and grievous prison of purgatory, then to be punished again for that which was pardoned before? Christ Himself saith, 'He that believeth in Him that sent Me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come to judgment, but shall pass from death unto life.' And is God no truer to His promises,

but to punish that which He promiseth to pardon?" Surely this is not the language of a supple, timid, interested courtier, such as Cranmer is represented by some, nor would considerations of merely worldly expediency have caused these statements of gospel truth to be advanced prominently in a state manifesto.

The year 1550 is also rendered memorable by the publication of Cranmer's "*Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ.*" By this work many were brought to embrace sound doctrine concerning the sacrament. The subject was further discussed by Gardiner, in his book entitled "*A Confutation of Cranmer,*" and in Cranmer's reply to the objections of his opponent. When the Romanists came again to power they would not allow the protestants to resort to the press, or publicly and freely to discuss respecting truth and error. "*Turn or burn*" was the conclusive argument they employed.

In 1552, the articles of religion were set forth by authority. The different reformed churches on the continent had for some time possessed formularies which could be referred to as authentic statements of their doctrines. The importance of such declarations, in controversies with the Romanists, was deeply felt. From the commencement of this reign, Cranmer had desired that a general assembly of delegates from the protestant countries should assemble in England, by whom a statement of this nature, suitable for protestants in general, might be prepared. For this purpose he corresponded with Melancthon and Calvin, who cordially approved the design. Various circumstances prevented the plan from being carried into effect, and the disadvantages resulting from the want of such a document were now too obvious to allow of longer delay. The articles accordingly were prepared. Cranmer may be considered as the author or compiler of them, having avowed himself as such when called to judgment before the Romish commissioners; but he doubtless availed himself of the assistance of

Ridley and others. They vary in some respects from those now called the thirty-nine articles, but not upon any essential point. They were partly drawn from the German confessions of faith, particularly that of Augsburg, and the Saxon confession prepared in 1551, to be presented to the council of Trent.

The histories of Edward VI. relate the political intrigues which disturbed the latter part of his reign. The fall and execution of Somerset, and the ambitious projects of Northumberland, which led to the usurpation and death of Lady Jane Grey, need not be here detailed. There can be no doubt that Somerset erred in many respects, but he deserved not to suffer as a criminal. His conduct during his last hours was that of one who felt himself a sinner, and rejoiced that a ground of confidence was set before him in the death and sufferings of Christ. On the scaffold he expressed himself to this effect, adding: "As to one thing, dearly beloved friends, I feel no cause for repentance. While in authority, I constantly and diligently set forth and furthered the Christian religion to the utmost of my power." He further said: "I most heartily beseech you all that this religion, now so purely set forth among you, may be accepted and embraced by you with becoming thankfulness; producing that effect upon your lives which must flow from it if you would escape the wrath of God." He concluded his address by saying: "I desire you all to bear me witness that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my life's end." His last words were, "Lord Jesus, save me." A feeling of horror was publicly manifested at the execution of Somerset.

Cranmer was deeply grieved by Somerset's fall and death. He saw that the principal outward support of the Reformation was gone. Somerset promoted the good work upon principle, Northumberland only from political motives. Cranmer and others had repeatedly to remonstrate with the latter on the open profaneness and vices of

his followers. During the deliberations respecting the fate of Somerset, the primate boldly stood forward in his defence, and a letter which he wrote to the nobles who engaged in the proceedings against the protector, caused them for a time to hesitate in their course.

Cranmer also displeased Northumberland by openly opposing a bill of attainder against Tonsal, bishop of Durham, the most moderate of the Romish prelates. Though Tonsal was an opponent of the Reformation, yet it was evident that extreme proceedings were urged against him, rather that Northumberland might profit from the spoils of his richly-endowed see, than from the charges of treason being justly founded. Cranmer was unsupported excepting by one peer; even the Romish bishops did not interfere in behalf of their brother; but eventually the attainder for treason was laid aside, and Tonsal was only deprived of his bishopric.

Although Northumberland could not weaken Edward's affection for Cranmer, he succeeded in directing the measures of government as best suited his own interests—even those which related to matters of religion. The advice and opinions of the archbishop were no longer influential. Cranmer now lived comparatively in seclusion, where he mourned over the dark prospect presented by the declining health of Edward. Among other attacks upon him, the old accusations of avarice and heaping up of treasure were revived. Cecil in friendship informed him of this. Cranmer replied: "As for your admonition, I take it most thankfully, as I have ever been most glad to be admonished by my friends, accounting no man so foolish as he that will not hear friendly admonishments. But as for the saying of St. Paul, They that will be rich fall into many temptations—I fear it not half so much as I do stark beggary. For I took not half so much care for my living when I was a scholar at Cambridge as I do at this present. For although I have now much more revenue, yet I have much more to do withal; and have more care to live now as an archbishop than I had at that

time to live like a scholar. I have not so much as I had ten years ago, by a hundred and fifty pounds of certain lent, besides casualties. I pay double for everything that I buy. If a good auditor have this account, he shall find no great surplusage to wax rich upon. And if I knew any bishop that were covetous, I would surely admonish him; but I know none, but all beggars, except it be one, and yet I dare well say he is not very rich.<sup>1</sup> If you know any, I beseech you to advertise me, for peradventure I may advertise him better than you. To be short, I am not so doted to set my mind upon things here, which I neither can carry away with me, nor tarry along with them." Cranmer was reduced to "stark beggary" at last. During his imprisonment at Oxford he had not a penny in his purse, and his enemies refused to allow well-disposed persons to bestow alms upon him—a privilege granted to common beggars and the vilest criminals.

Among the correspondence of Cranmer is a letter which shows the correct view he had taken as to the most effectual way of imparting spiritual instruction to the people of Ireland. It will be interesting to those who, two centuries and a half later, have been led to adopt the same plan, to find him urging the necessity of preaching to the Irish in their own language. Writing of Dr. Turner, who was appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh, he says: "He preached twice in the camp that was by Canterbury, for which the rebels would have hanged him; and he then seemed more glad to go to hanging than he doth now to go to Armagh, he alleges so many excuses. But the chief is this, that he shall preach to the walls and stalls, for the people understand no English. I bear him in hand, yes; and yet I doubt whether they speak English in the diocese of Armagh. But if they do not, then, I say, that if he will take the pains to learn the Irish tongue,

<sup>1</sup> Cranmer here refers to Holgate, archbishop of York, whose character was in several respects very objectionable, though he favoured the Reformation. He was more wealthy than Cranmer supposed, but was stripped of all his property on the accession of Queen Mary. He died in 1555, of an illness brought on by the treatment he had received.

which with diligence he may in a year or two, then both his person and doctrine shall be more acceptable, not only unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland."

At this time Cranmer was unwell in body, as well as in mind; he suffered from a severe attack of ague, which probably was aggravated by anxiety and mental uneasiness; but he lamented the personal suffering which proceeded from his illness less than the hindrance thereby occasioned to the good designs he was desirous to carry forward. Among them was a plan for the better and more equally providing for the ministers of religion. He wrote of these anxieties in a letter to Cecil. His mind, however, was somewhat tranquillised by the pacification in Germany, whereby the free exercise of the protestant faith was secured to a country in whose welfare he had long felt deeply interested. For many years Cranmer had corresponded, at least monthly, with the German Reformers, and had assisted many of his poorer brethren there, with regular allowances, to such an extent as at times excited dissatisfaction amongst his own attendants.

One of Cranmer's occupations at this period was the revisal of the Book of Common Prayer. It was used publicly for the first time at St. Paul's on all Saints' Day, 1552, on which occasion the clergy present laid aside the greater part of the Romish vestments, the use of which had been strongly objected to by Hooper and many of the most estimable Reformers.

Cranmer's attendance at the privy council appears to have ceased on the 8th of June, 1553, probably from dislike to the measures respecting the succession then pressed forward by Northumberland. Nor was he satisfied merely to withdraw. He reasoned with the king at considerable length against the design of setting aside his sister Mary from the throne, and requested a private audience, that he might urge his reasons still more fully. The party then in power prevented this. Northumberland told him that it became him not to speak to the king as he had done.

When the legal instrument for settling the crown upon

Lady Jane Grey was completed, Cranmer was called upon to add his signature, which he refused to do, alleging his oath to the late king. The example of others being urged, he replied, "I am not judge over any man's conscience but my own only." At length the importunity of the dying monarch, with the assurance of the highest legal authorities of the land, prevailed upon Cranmer to sign. This instrument for altering the succession is dated June 21. Soon after, on the 6th of July, 1553, Edward died.

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### PART III.

#### *Cranmer in the reign of Queen Mary.*

DURING the brief pageant of Queen Jane, Cranmer acted conformably to the engagement into which he had entered, but without any bitterness towards the rightful monarch, to whom he early declared his submission. He had reason to expect Mary's displeasure for the part he had taken in her mother's divorce; but he had still stronger claims upon her forbearance, having successfully interfered in her behalf, when her father, Henry VIII., ordered that she should be sent to the Tower, and dealt with as any other subject, upon her refusal to acquiesce in his assumption of the supremacy. The king warned Cranmer that he would repent of his interference.

Soon after the queen's arrival in London, it was reported that Cranmer had endeavoured to gain her favour, by promising to take a part in the funeral solemnities for her brother, according to the Romish ceremonial. Some indeed reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury; this originated in Dr. Thornton's having performed that service. Cranmer was anxious to stop the false rumour, and prepared a writing to clear himself. Scory, then bishop of Rochester, saw this paper in the archbishop's

chamber, and requested a copy. Others speedily were taken, and were so much sought for, that almost every scrivener's shop was employed in making copies. Meanwhile Cranmer expected what would befall, and directed his steward to discharge all debts owing by him without delay. On learning this had been done, he expressed much satisfaction that honest men would not be sufferers by him.

Foxe states that Dr. Cranmer, at a day fixed, appeared before the queen's commissioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. Bishop Heath said: "My lord, there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be aggrieved with the setting up the mass again: we doubt not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad." The archbishop answered: "As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, so must I confess here unto you, concerning the same bill, that I am sorry that the said bill went from me in such sort as it did. For when I had written it, Master Scory got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad, and, as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sorry that it so passed my hands; for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on Paul's church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined thereto." When they saw his constancy, they dismissed him, affirming that he should hear further. Bishop Heath declared afterwards to Cranmer's friends that the queen's determination then was that Cranmer should only be deprived of his archbishopric, and have a sufficient living assigned him, with command to keep his house, without meddling in matters of religion. Not long after this he was sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. The queen, however, could not honestly deny him his pardon, as all were discharged, especially as he had been the last of all to subscribe to King Edward's request, changing the succession, and that against his own will. She therefore released him from the charge of treason,

and accused him only of heresy. This the archbishop liked right well, because the cause was not now his own, but Christ's; not the queen's cause, but that of the church.

At length it was determined that he should be removed from the Tower to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And although the queen and the bishops had concluded what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated, that under some honest show of disputation his murder might be covered.

The manner in which these disputations were conducted is described by Cranmer in a letter which he sent to the council. He says: "Dr. Chadsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what him liked, without order; and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument before another brought a new argument. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us. 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 haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard; for in all haste we were all three condemned of heresy." During these disputations, Dr. Weston, one of the chief arguers of the papists, attempted, by a false quotation from Scripture, to prove that women ought not to receive the sacrament!

After the disputations in Oxford, sentence condemnatory immediately was pronounced against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, by Dr. Weston and others of the university, whereby they were judged to be heretics, and committed to Bocardo, the common gaol in Oxford. Some interesting letters of the martyrs were addressed to Cranmer and his companions while in that prison.

As yet the authority of the pope was not re-established, and the sentence against these Reformers could not be enforced by any law then existing. New proceedings were instituted in the following year, and on the 12th of September, 1555, Cranmer was brought before Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's sub-delegate, who sat in state in St. Mary's Church with Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, as commissioners on the part of King Philip and Queen Mary, and, as Foxe adds, "underneath them other doctors, scribes and pharisees also, with the pope's collector, and a rabblement of such other like."

Cranmer bowed with respect to the royal commissioners, but refused to reverence the pope's delegate.

Bishop Brooks then proceeded to charge Cranmer with heresy, treason, and adultery, the latter epithet being always applied by the Romanists to the marriage of the protestant clergy. Cranmer made a firm reply, concluding thus: "I cast fear apart; for Christ said to His apostles that in the latter days they should suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for His name's sake. 'Fear them not,' saith He, 'but fear Him which when He hath killed the body, hath power to cast the soul into fire everlasting.' Also Christ saith: 'He that will live shall die, and he that loseth his life for My name's sake he shall find it again.' Moreover He said, 'Confess Me before men, and be not afraid. If you do so, I will stand with you; if you shrink from Me, I will shrink from you.' This is a comfortable and a terrible saying, this maketh me to set all fear apart. I say, therefore, the Bishop of Rome treadeth under foot God's laws, and the king's."

Cranmer then declared how the pope's supremacy had been renounced, saying: "The truth is, my predecessor, Archbishop Warham, gave the supremacy to King Henry VIII., and said that he ought to have it before the Bishop of Rome, and that God's word would bear him. And upon the same was there sent to both the Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would do touching the supremacy, and it was reasoned

upon, and argued at length. So at the last both the Universities agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to King Henry VIII., to the court, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope. You (Bishop Brooks) were then doctor of divinity at that time, and your consent was thereunto, as your hand doth appear. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope, but it was yourself. All this was in Archbishop Warham's time, and whilst he was alive, so that it was three-quarters of a year after, ere ever I had the bishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do anything. So that ye report of me that which ye cannot prove, which is evil done."

Dr. Story then attempted to prove the pope's supremacy. A long desultory conversation followed between the archbishop and Dr. Martin, the substance of which is given by Foxe. The articles against Cranmer were exhibited, and his answers taken down. In them is stated, "As for the catechism, and the book of articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings."

Several witnesses were then called, and their depositions being taken, Dr. Story admonished the archbishop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the said witnesses should be refused; who then would admit none of them all, being men perjured, and not in Christian religion. For if to swear, said he, against the pope were unlawful, they should rather have given their lives than their oath. But if it were lawful, then are they perjured, to defend him whom they forswore before. This answer being lightly regarded, he was commanded to the place from whence he came.

Among other things they objected to him that he was married, which he confessed. Whereupon Dr. Martin said that his children werē bondmen to the see of Canterbury. At which saying the archbishop smiled, and asked him if a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her bastards, whether they were bondmen to

the benefice or not, saying, "I trust you will make my children's cases no worse."

After they had received his answers to all their objections, they cited him to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal answer before the pope. He wrote to the queen, that if she would send him he would be content to go.

Cranmer was now remanded to prison, and the mockery of citing him at Rome was proceeded in while he was detained a close prisoner in England, and his brethren, Ridley and Latimer, were committed to the flames. On the 4th of December he was declared to be contumacious, that is, wilfully absent, and sentenced to be put to death.

Bonner, and Thirlby, bishop of Ely, arrived at Oxford on the 14th February, 1556, with full authority to deprive and condemn the venerable primate. The remainder of this narrative will be given chiefly in the words of Foxe.

While the pope's commission was in reading, the archbishop said: "What lies are these, that I, being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witness, and appoint my counsel at Rome! God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." They read on the commission which came from the pope, with fulness of power to supply all manner of defects in law or process, and giving them full authority to proceed to the deprivation and degradation of him, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power, no appeal being allowed.

When the commission was read, they clothed him, putting on him a surplice, and then an alb; after that the vestment of a sub-deacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to mass. When they had apparelled him so far: "What," said he, "I think I shall say mass!" "Yea," said Cosins, one of Bonner's chaplains, "my lord, I trust to see you say mass, for all this." "Do you so?" quoth he: "that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it."

Then they invested him in all manner of robes of a

bishop and archbishop, as he is at his installing, saving that as everything then is most rich and costly, so everything in this was of canvas and old clouts, with a mitre and a pall of the same put upon him in mockery, and the crosier staff was put in his hand.

Bonner then went on, lying and railing against the archbishop, till at length there was never a man but was weary of the unmannerly usage of him in that time and place; insomuch that the Bishop of Ely divers times pulled Bonner by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward, when they went to dinner, that he had broken promise with him, for he had entreated him earnestly to use the archbishop with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to bustle toward his degrading; and first to take from him his crosier staff out of his hands, which he held fast, and refused to deliver, and withal imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying: "I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire to be admitted."

This appeal being put up to the Bishop of Ely, he said: "My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, every appeal being put aside, and therefore we cannot admit it."

"Why," quoth he, "then you do me the more wrong, for my case is not as every private man's case. The matter is between the pope and me immediately, and none otherwise, and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause."

"Well," quoth Ely, "if it may be admitted, it shall," and so received it of him. And then began he to persuade earnestly with the archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him; and so protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time

he could not go on with his tale. Then proceeded they to his degradation.

To be short, when they came to take off his pall, which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop, then, said he, "Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall?"<sup>1</sup> Whereunto one of them said, in that they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges; but being the pope's delegates, they might take his pall, and so they did, and so proceeding took everything in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishops scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein Bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whilst they were thus doing, "All this," quoth the archbishop, "needed not: I had myself done with this gear long ago." Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as evil made as one might see, and a townsman's cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular power.

Then spake Lord Bonner, saying to him: "Now are you no lord any more;" and so whensoever he spake to the people of him, as he was continually barking against him, ever he used this term—"This gentleman here."

And thus with great compassion and pity of every man, in this evil-favoured gown was he carried to prison. There followed a gentleman of Gloucestershire with the archbishop's own gown, who standing by, and being thought to be attending one of the bishops, had it delivered to him; who, by the way, talking with him, Cranmer said: "The Bishop of Ely protested his friendship with tears; yet he might have used a great deal more friendship

<sup>1</sup> A long narrow piece of woollen cloth worn over the shoulders. The palls were made from the wool of lambs consecrated at Rome every year with great ceremony, and were sent by the pope to every archbishop upon his election, for which he had to pay a large sum of money.

towards me, and never have been the worse thought on, for I have well deserved it." This gentleman going into the prison with him, asked him if he would drink. Who answered him, saying, if he had a piece of salt fish, that he had better will to eat; for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, "but now that it is past, my heart," said he, "is well quieted." Whereupon the gentleman said he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But being skilled in the law, durst therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the bailiffs that stood by, and said, that if they were good men, they would bestow it on him, for my lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purse to help him, and so left him, my lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himself to his prayers and all his friends. That night this gentleman was staid by Bonner and Ely for giving him this money, and but for the help of friends, he had been sent up to the council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without punishment.

The doctors and divines of Oxford now busied themselves about Cranmer, to have him recant, assaying by all crafty practices and allurements they might devise, how to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the dean's house of Christ's Church in the said University, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and craftily they suborned certain men, who, when they could not prevail against him by arguments and disputation, should by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recantation; perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop had stood steadfast in his sentence; and again, on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening,

flattering, entreating, and promising, and all other means; especially Henry Sydall, and the Spaniard, friar John de Villa Garcina, also Dr. Cole and others.

The papists thus used every inducement to persuade Cranmer to make some assent to their doctrines. At length they overcame his fortitude, and Cranmer fell! He consented to affix his signature to a formulary of recantation.

This recantation of the archbishop 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.<sup>1</sup> All this while Cranmer was in no certain assurance of his life, although the same was promised to him by the doctors. The queen having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly; but of her purpose to put him to death, she would nothing relent.

Now was Cranmer's cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries. Besides this, on the one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that neither could he die honestly, nor yet live dishonestly. And whereas he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of dissimulation.

Dr. Cole, having his lesson, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part, who, as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith, wherein before he had left him. To whom when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith. Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared. In

<sup>1</sup> Strype has printed Cranmer's recantations, and the subject has been minutely considered by Soames and others. A summary account of them is given in *The British Reformers*.

the morning, the 21st day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, Cole, coming to him, asked if he had any money? To whom, when he answered that he had none, he delivered fifteen crowns to give to the poor, to whom he would; and exhorting him so much as he could to constancy in faith, departed thence about his business.

The archbishop now began to surmise what they went about, and thinking that the time was at hand, in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put secretly in his bosom his prayer with his exhortation, which he minded to recite to the people, before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest, if they had heard the confession of his faith, they would not afterwards suffer him to exhort the people.

About nine of the clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Brydges, Sir John Brown, and the other justices, with other noblemen of the queen's council, came to Oxford, with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side, as are wont in such a matter, was made a great concourse and greater expectation. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for.

In this so great frequency and expectation, Cranmer at length cometh from the prison Bocardo, unto St. Mary's church, in this order; the mayor went before, next him the aldermen in their place and degree. After them was Cranmer between two friars, who mumbling to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one to another till they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*, and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing, on a stage over against the pulpit.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate

of England, and the king's privy councillor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but to consider of their state and fortune.

In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed to God once or twice, till at the length Dr. Cole, coming into the pulpit, divided his whole sermon into three parts, according to the solemn custom of the schools, intending to speak, first, of the mercy of God ; second, of His justice to be showed ; and, last of all, how the prince's secrets are not to be opened.

It were too long to repeat all things that in long order were then pronounced. The sum of this tripartite declamation was, that although pardon and reconciliation were due according to the canons, seeing he repented from his errors, yet there were causes why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death ; of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some.

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only His work, declaring what travail and conference had been 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 doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time he flowed in riches and honour he was unworthy of his life ; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour, he said, and also he did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be dirges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford, for the succour of his soul.

Cranmer, in all the mean time, with what great grief of mind he stood hearing this sermon, the outward show of

his body and countenance did better express than any man can declare ; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, and dropped down marvellously from his fatherly face. They which were present do testify that they never saw in any child more tears than burst out from him at that time, all the sermon while, but especially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, who beheld so heavy a countenance and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart, to prayers. "Brethren," said he, "lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you ; and therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform what you promised not long ago, namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed." "I will do it," said the archbishop, "and with a good will." Rising up, and putting off his cap, he began to speak thus unto the people :—

"I desire you, well-beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed ; but, among all the rest, there is one offence which above all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in process of my talk you shall hear more in its proper place ;" and then, putting his hand into his bosom, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people.

And here kneeling down, he said : "O Father of heaven ; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world ; O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most

wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither should I fly? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To Thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to Thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord, my God, my sins are great, but yet have mercy upon me for Thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give Thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death, for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return unto Thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore, have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy on me, O Lord, for Thy great mercy. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for Thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for Thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake; and now therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be Thy name," etc. And he, rising, exhorted his hearers against the love of the world, to obey the queen, to live in brotherly love, and to be charitable to the poor, especially in the scarcity that then prevailed. He added:—

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

"First, I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, etc. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, His apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

“And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth: which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and which were written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for may I come to the fire, it shall first be burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and anti-christ, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester, the which, my book, teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face.”

Here the standers-by were all astonished, marvelled, were amazed, and looked one upon another. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

Unto which accusation he answered: “Ah, my masters, do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled:” and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out; and especially Cole cried out, “Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.”

And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the

people, saving that to one who troubled him in this way, he spake and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply diligently ; saying, that if he diligently called upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down, he prayed to God ; and not tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long down to his feet. His feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both caps were off, was so bare that not one hair could be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance moved the hearts both of friends and enemies.

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

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, whom, when they perceived to be more stedfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him. And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame ; which he held so stedfast and immovable, saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face, that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame, with such constancy and stedfastness, that standing always in one place without moving of his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound. His eyes were lifted up unto heaven, and oftentimes he repeated, "This hand hath offended ! Oh, this unworthy right hand !" so long as his voice would suffer him : and using often the words of St. Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit !" in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of mind, when Friar John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude but of desperation, he ran to the Lord Williams, crying, that the archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great desperation. But he, aware of the archbishop's constancy, smiled, and by silence rebuked the friar's folly.

And this was the end of the learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away to the glory of His name and the profit of the church.

## HUGH LATIMER.<sup>1</sup>

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“BY yeomen’s sons the faith of Christ is, and hath been maintained chiefly.” Such is the assertion of honest Hugh Latimer in his first sermon before King Edward the Sixth; and in confirmation of his assertion he adds, “Read the Chronicles.” Whether he was mistaken with regard to other yeomen’s sons we know not, but he himself stood there a living proof, in his own person, of the truth of his words, and “being dead he yet speaketh,” as one of the most faithful witnesses for the truth this country has produced. We have the account of his birth from his own lips.

“My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled as much as kept half-a-dozen men. He had a walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness with himself and his horse, and so he came to the place where he should receive the king’s wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went unto Blackheath field.” He goes on to say, “My father kept me to school, or else I had not been able to preach before the king’s majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds, or twenty nobles apiece; and he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did on the same farm.”

Hugh Latimer was born about the year 1480, and at an early age gave evidence of good abilities, so that his

<sup>1</sup> For the details of the Life of Latimer, see *Hugh Latimer, a Biography*. By the Rev. R. Demaus, M.A. Religious Tract Society.

parents sent him to school, and afterwards to the university of Cambridge, where he was distinguished for his diligence in study.

When ordained, he endeavoured to discharge his duties with much zeal. As he afterwards expressed it, "I remember how scrupulous I was in my time of blindness and ignorance." He once had the intention of becoming a friar, thinking that by living a monastic life he should escape damnation. Foxe adds: "In this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel, as his oration against Philip Melanchthon and his other works plainly declared." He used publicly to contradict Stafford, the lecturer in divinity at Cambridge, a follower of the truth, and exhorted the students not to believe the doctrines of the gospel taught in his lectures. This zeal obtained for Latimer the approbation of his superiors. He was appointed the cross-bearer to the University, whose office it was to carry the cross in the popish processions.

But the time for his conversion was at hand. Bilney heard Latimer's oration against Melanchthon, and pitying his blindness, was anxious that this zealous, but ignorant brother, should be brought to the true knowledge of Christ. With this view Bilney went to Latimer's study, and entreated him to hear his confession. In this the former took the opportunity to make a particular declaration of his faith, with the scriptural grounds upon which it was founded. "At the hearing whereof," says Foxe, "Latimer was, through the good spirit of God, so touched that he forsook his former studying of the school doctors and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinity; so that, whereas before he was an enemy and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after Him."

Latimer thus became an earnest preacher of the faith which he once opposed, and instructed both the students and the common people in the truths of the gospel, as he could find opportunity. The Romish ecclesiastics now

persecuted him. He was accused of heretical opinions before Cardinal Wolsey, who examined Latimer, but not finding him an ignorant fanatic, as he had been represented, the cardinal gave him a general license to preach, instead of silencing him, as his adversaries had expected.

When King Henry VIII. began to throw off the shackles of the papacy, Latimer was called into notice. He resided in London for some time, where he preached repeatedly with much acceptance. Whatever were Henry's faults, he never objected to honest, plain dealing, and Latimer never shrunk from reproving what he considered to be wrong. A strong instance of this is Latimer's letter to the king, against a proclamation which forbade the use of the Scriptures and religious books in the English language, and which was afterwards recalled. About 1531, he was appointed to the living of West Kington, in the county of Wilts, to which place he immediately went, preferring the discharge of his pastoral duties to remaining at court. In this cure his diligence was so great, and his preaching so successful, that the adversaries of the truth again sought to bring him into trouble. The accusations against him were founded upon his disregard of some popish superstitions, especially with respect to purgatory, and are noticed particularly in his letters to M. Morice and Sir E. Baynton. Being cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, in 1532, articles were presented to Latimer, which he was required to subscribe; but, by the interference of the king, he was dismissed, after a partial submission and apology for his opinions. He thereupon returned to the faithful discharge of his parochial duties. In the year 1535 he was appointed to the bishopric of Worcester.

In this new charge Latimer acted with the same zeal and integrity as formerly, promoting the Reformation to the utmost of his ability. In particular, he laboured to remove the superstitious ceremonies which remained, pointing out Christ as the only object of adoration. Thus, in distributing the holy bread, the ministers were

to say: "Of Christ's body this is a token—Which on the cross for our sins was broken;—Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers—If of Christ's death ye will be partakers." He spent a considerable part of the year in visiting different parts of his diocese, preaching twice every Lord's day, and whenever opportunity occurred, on the week days. The evil designs of his adversaries were repeatedly baffled by his honesty and courage. One time in particular he was accused before the king for a sermon which he had preached at court: his open testimony against the vices and evil deeds of the times was stigmatised as seditious. Henry sternly required Latimer to answer this accusation. His noble reply to the king has been preserved. After calling upon his accuser to say how he ought to have preached, he turned to the king, and declaring his respect for his majesty, added: "I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and am willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there are a great many more worthy than I am: and if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them; but if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm as I preach before your grace." Let it be observed how Latimer made this difference in his preaching—not by flattering men to their faces, and reproving them when absent, but by honestly and faithfully bearing his testimony, as a messenger from God unto them. In the same spirit one New Year's day, when the courtiers were presenting costly articles to the king, according to the custom of those times, Latimer, says Foxe, presented an English New Testament, folded down at the text, "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." This anecdote sufficiently proves that Latimer was ill qualified to shine as a courtier. In fact, he studiously

avoided meddling with public affairs, but was active in promoting the spiritual interests of the nation : with that desire he preached the sermon at the commencement of the convocation of 1536. One beneficial result from the debates of that assembly, was the authorised publication of the Bible in the English language.

In the year 1539, Gardiner, with other popish ecclesiastics, gained considerable influence over the king's mind, and the act of six articles was passed, which restored some of the leading points of popery. Upon this Latimer resigned his bishopric. He returned to private life with much cheerfulness, but was committed to the Tower at the instigation of Gardiner, and although the king did not allow his enemies to proceed against him to the full extent which they desired, he was kept a prisoner during the remaining six years of that reign.

On the accession of Edward VI. Latimer was set at liberty. He was pressed to resume his bishopric, but declined again undertaking that charge, on account of his age and infirmities, which, however, did not prevent him from diligently pursuing his studies, for which purpose he used sometimes to rise at two o'clock in the morning. He constantly preached the gospel, both at court and in various parts of the country. His chief residence during this period was with Cranmer at Lambeth, where many came to him for advice under sufferings and wrongs of a temporal nature, as well as for spiritual advice. A striking instance of the latter we have in the case of John Bradford, who, in his letters to Father Travers, repeatedly mentions having resorted to Latimer for counsel ; and the extent to which his assistance was sought, as to the former, is described by himself in one of his sermons before the king and the court. "I cannot go to my book," says he, "for poor folks who come to me, desiring me that I will speak, that their matters may be heard." The deplorable state of the administration of justice in those times is often severely animadverted upon in his sermons.

Foxe thus describes the labours of Latimer during this reign : " As the diligence of this man of God never ceased, all the time of King Edward, to profit the church, both publicly and privately ; so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be overpassed, but worthy to be observed, that God not only gave unto him His Spirit, plenteously and comfortably to preach His word unto His church, but also by the same Spirit he did evidently foreshow and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues which afterwards ensued. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life ; to which he cheerfully prepared himself, and felt certainly persuaded that Winchester (Bishop Gardiner) was kept in the Tower for that purpose, as the event too truly proved."

When Queen Mary succeeded to the throne, Latimer was in the neighbourhood of Coventry. The council sent a citation for him to appear before them. The purpose of this summons was evident, and John Careless, a protestant weaver of that city, who afterwards died in prison for the truth, hastened to give Latimer information of the officer's approach. The venerable martyr thus had six hours' notice, during which he might have escaped : even afterwards he had still further opportunities, for the officer only left the summons, and did not take his person. It is probable that the counsellors of the queen rather wished to drive the aged Latimer from the realm, than to exhibit him to the people as suffering for the truth. As Foxe observes : " They well knew his constancy would deface their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth."

But Latimer felt that after the public and decided testimony he had given to the truths of the gospel, it was his duty not to shrink from suffering for them ; and his age and infirmities gave him no opportunity of serving his Lord and Master in any other way so likely to be profitable to the souls of others. As he passed through Smithfield on his arrival in London, he said, " that place had long groaned for him," expecting to be committed to

the flames, where so many had been burned in previous years. With the same constancy and cheerfulness of spirit, when again imprisoned in the Tower, and the winter came on, he told the lieutenant, that "unless they allowed him fire, he should deceive them; for they purposed to burn him, but he should be starved with cold."

As the number of prisoners increased, Cranmer, Ridley, and Bradford were confined in the same apartment with Latimer. These excellent men carefully studied the New Testament together, searching into the doctrines of popery. The benefit derived from their conferences he mentioned in his protestation presented to the popish delegates at Oxford.<sup>1</sup> In April, 1554, the three bishops were removed to Oxford, where they were appointed to dispute in public respecting the sacrament. A full account of what passed was drawn up by Bishop Ridley, and is inserted by Foxe in the "Acts and Monuments." When the Romanists pressed their scholastic distinctions and arguments from the Fathers upon Latimer, he at once told them that such allegations had no effect upon him; that the Fathers often were deceived, and he saw no reason to depend upon them excepting when they depended upon Scripture. After these disputations, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were condemned, but were kept in prison for many months, during which time they occupied themselves in study upon religious subjects, in fervent prayer, or in writing for the instruction and support of their brethren. Foxe states: "M. Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes he continued so long kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help." The principal subjects of his prayers are related by Foxe, as follow:—*First.* That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of His word, so also He would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the same. *Second.* That God of His mercy would

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *The British Reformers*.

restore His gospel to England again; and these words, "once again, once again," he did so repeat as though he had seen God before him, and spoke to Him face to face. The *third* matter was to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty, that now is (Queen Elizabeth), whom in his prayers he was wont to name, and entreated that she might be made a comfort to the then comfortless realm of England. These were prayers of faith, and, as such, were not offered in vain.

On the 30th of September, 1555, Ridley and Latimer were brought before the commissioners appointed by the pope to examine and condemn them. Latimer's appearance is thus described: "He held his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a nightcap or two, and a great cap, such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin, wearing an old threadbare Bristol frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leathern girdle, at which his Testament hung by a string of leather, and his spectacles without case depending about his neck upon his breast." The popish ecclesiastics exhorted him to recant, which he refused, and met their arguments by reference to the word of God. They accused him of want of learning, on which he emphatically replied: "Lo, you look for learning at my hands, who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink, and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles! You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death; and over-night the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy; the other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty, the other is stark (stiff) of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you that to run this man through with a spear is a goodly victory?"

This is but too correct a representation of the manner

in which these examinations were conducted, nor is it necessary to enter into further details respecting them. We now proceed to the account of Latimer's last sufferings, as recorded by Foxe.

On the morning of October 16th, 1555, Latimer and Ridley were led to the place prepared for their burning, in the front of Balliol College, at Oxford. They kneeled down, and prayed separately, and afterwards conversed together. A sermon was then preached, in which their doctrines and their characters were aspersed, but they were not suffered to reply. "Well," said Latimer, "there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." The jailer then took off their upper clothes, to prepare them for the stake, when it was seen that Latimer had put on a shroud as his undergarment; and although he had appeared a withered old man, his body crazed and bent under the weight of years, he now "stood upright, as comely a father as one might anywhere behold."

All being prepared, a lighted faggot was brought and laid at Ridley's feet. Latimer then turned, and addressed his fellow-sufferer in these memorable and emphatic words: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man: WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE, BY GOD'S GRACE, IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST SHALL NEVER BE PUT OUT." The fire burned fiercely; Ridley suffered much with great constancy, but Latimer was soon delivered. He exclaimed aloud, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul." Bending towards the flames, he seemed to embrace them, and bathe his hands therein, and speedily departed. When the fire was burned low, the spectators crowded round the dying embers: they beheld his heart unconsumed, and a quantity of blood gushed from it, reminding them of his prayer already mentioned. He had indeed shed his heart's blood as a testimony to the truth of the doctrines he preached.

This testimony to the truth was not fruitless. Julius Palmer, a fellow of Magdalen College, was present: he had been a bigoted papist, but his mind was excited to

examine into the doctrines held by those who suffered. He was present at the examinations and the burning of Ridley and Latimer, and their Christian fortitude was the means of dispelling his prejudices. He shortly after suffered for the truth, but, before the hour of suffering arrived, declared: "Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn that have the mind and soul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters; but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no more difficulty to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread." There also is reason to believe that the sufferings of Latimer and Ridley, and of other martyrs, were made useful to one of the Spanish ecclesiastics at that time in England.

The distinguishing characteristics of Latimer were sincerity, and faithful zeal for the truth—in a follower of Christ these qualities are inseparable. They were especially displayed in his sermons, and the attention of his auditors was fixed by the lively and cheerful style in which he delivered the truths of the gospel, and reproved the evil practices of men. When preaching, he frequently introduced anecdotes and detailed statements, in a manner which would appear singular in a modern preacher; but this is to be accounted for by the customs of the times in which he lived, and his anxiety to avail himself of the opportunities for usefulness so peculiarly presented to him. The sermons before the court also were preached in the palace garden, as then usual, which admitted a more homely and less formal application of the doctrines set forth by the preacher, than would consist with modern ideas of pulpit exhortations. Such close and personal preaching, however, has been useful in every age of the church. Many of his illustrations seem harsh to modern ears, but they were well suited to make an impression upon minds almost wholly unacquainted with the Scriptures; and this ignorance was so general in that day, that it sufficiently accounts for his minuteness in detailing the events of sacred history. To the anecdotes and parti-

culars of the customs and manners of those times, much of the popularity of Latimer's sermons in later days may be attributed.

The preaching of Latimer has been thus described: "The method and course of his doctrine was to set the law of Moses before the eyes of the people in all the severities and curses of it, thereby to put them the more in fear of sin, and to beat down their confidence in their own performances, and so to bring them to Christ, convincing them thereby of their need of Him, and of flying to Him by an evangelical faith. He could not bear that such as were hastening to heaven should be detained by the way by thieves and robbers, as he expressed it; that is, to be cast into the pope's prison of purgatory, to be tormented, and never allowed to depart thence, unless money were paid to the robbers. He spoke against the opinion of obtaining pardon of sin and salvation by singing masses and wearing monks' cowls. He taught, on the contrary, that Christ alone was the Author of salvation, and that He, by the one only oblation of His body, sanctified for ever all those that believe—that to Him was given the key of David, and that He opened, and none could shut, and that He shut, and none could open. He preached how God loved the world, and so loved it, that He delivered His only Son to be slain, that all who from thenceforth believed in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life; that He was a propitiation for our sins, and therefore upon Him alone we must cast all our hopes, and that however men were laden with sins, they should never perish to whom He reckoned not sin, and that none of them should fail that believed in Him." These were the spiritual and sound contents of Latimer's sermons, and this is the account of a learned man, Sir R. Morrison, who lived in those days, and asks: "Did there ever any man flourish, I say not in England only, but in any nation of the world, since the apostles, who preached the gospel more sincerely, purely, and honestly, than Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester?"

QUEEN CATHERINE PARR.

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CATHERINE PARR, the sixth and surviving queen of King Henry VIII., was born in Westmoreland. She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, of Kendal, and married first to Edward Burgh, secondly to John Neville, Lord Latimer. After his decease, she became the wife of Henry, in July, 1543. Her father left his two daughters £800 each, but in case their brother died, and they became co-heiresses of his estates, then the £1600 was to be paid to the abbey of Clairvaux, not to be employed in acts of charity, but to purchase copes and vestments for performing the Romish ceremonies! Such an arrangement gives some idea of the pomp of those services, when it is remembered that the sum is equal to more than ten times the amount at the present day!

She was early instructed in literature, a plan frequently adopted with females of rank in the sixteenth century: in England it was promoted by the example of the monarch in the education of his daughters. Udal writes thus in a dedicatory epistle to Queen Catherine herself: "Now, in this gracious and blissful time of knowledge, in which it hath pleased God Almighty to reveal and show abroad the light of His most holy gospel, what a number is there of noble women, especially here in this realm of England! Neither is it now a strange thing to hear gentlewomen, instead of most vain communication, to use grave and substantial talk in Latin and Greek, with their husbands, of godly matters. It is now no news in England for young damsels in noble houses, and in the courts of princes, instead of cards and other instruments of idle trifling, to have continually in their

hands either psalms, homilies, and other devout meditations, or else Paul's epistles, or some book of holy Scripture matters; and as familiarly to read or reason thereof in Greek, Latin, French, or Italian, as in English. It is now a common thing to see young virgins so nursed and trained in the study of letters, that they willingly set all other vain pastimes at nought for learning's sake. It is now no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high state and progeny, instead of courtly dalliance, to embrace virtuous exercises of reading and writing; and with most earnest study, both early and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of knowledge, as well in all other liberal arts and disciplines, as also most especially of God and His most holy word."

Of the number thus described was Catherine Parr, also Lady Bacon and her sisters, the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, Lady Jane Grey, and many others. Nor were these acquirements to be found only amongst persons of quality. One instance at least is recorded of their being found in a tradesman's wife. From the monument of Elizabeth Lucar, daughter of one Paul Withipol, and wife of Emanuel Lucar, a merchant tailor of London, given by Stowe in his "Survey," it appears that she wrote three hands very fairly; that she understood Latin, Spanish, and Italian, writing and speaking them with perfect utterance and readiness; that she sung, and played well upon the viol, lute, and virginals; besides this she was not deficient in accomplishments peculiar to her sex, being excellently skilled in all kinds of needlework. Her moral qualities were also most praiseworthy, but, above all, to use the simple expressions of her epitaph, she lived—

"Reading the Scriptures to judge light from dark,  
Directing her faith to Christ the only mark."

She died in 1537, aged only twenty-seven. From various records of that day, it appears that the females who thus acquired learning were not on that account negligent as

to the domestic duties incumbent upon them as daughters, wives, and heads of families.

An anecdote of Catherine Parr, related by Strype, however, indicates that in early life she did not very willingly enter into the domestic employments then usually attended to, even by females of rank. Some astrologer having cast her nativity, told her she was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty, having all the eminent stars and planets in her house; which she took such notice of, that when her mother used sometimes to call her to work, she would say, "My hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, not needles and spindles!" Upon the mischievous absurdity of such prognostications it is unnecessary to remark. Many other females must have been born under the same aspect of the stars who never rose to a throne.

We must not forget that, as is noticed by Udal, the learning of that period ever had especial reference to scriptural knowledge and the study of the doctrines of truth. Historians of infidel or latitudinarian principles have treated the literary acquirements of the higher ranks at that day as contemptible, or at best pedantic; but the Christian estimates them more correctly. The writings of Queen Catherine Parr alone are sufficient to manifest the real value of those acquirements, and the subsequent part of this sketch will show the important services she was thereby enabled to render to the Reformation. From her early youth she studied the Scriptures, although a considerable time elapsed, as appears from her own writings, before she was freed from the bondage of popery.

When elevated to the throne, Queen Catherine Parr was placed in a dangerous and arduous station. She did not hesitate openly to manifest her attachment to the doctrines of the gospel, and rendered all the services in her power to the Reformers. Udal states that the translation of the paraphrases of Erasmus on the New Testament, a copy of which was ordered to be placed in every parish church in the kingdom, was executed by her means.

Udal was then master of Eton School. The queen engaged him in this work, well knowing his ability to superintend and take part in the same. In 1545, previously to the work being printed, he wrote an epistle dedicatory to the queen, in which he mentions, that "at her exceeding great costs and charges, she had hired workmen to labour in the vineyard of Christ's gospel, and procured the whole paraphrase of Erasmus upon all the New Testament to be diligently translated into English, by several men whom she employed upon this work." He further said that he trusted the king would not allow it to remain buried in silence, but would cause it to be set abroad in print, to the use that she had designed; "that is, to the commodity and benefit of good English people, now a long time sore thirsting and hungering after the sincere and plain knowledge of God's word."

The translators of this paraphrase were for the most part persons of rank and ability; some portion, Strype concludes, was the work of Queen Catherine herself. The paraphrase on the Gospel by St. John was begun by the Princess Mary, but was finished by her chaplain, Dr. Malet, "she being cast into sickness partly by overmuch study in this work;" upon which it has been observed that probably the translation of some Romish legends or rituals might have been more agreeable to her. It is likely, however, that she undertook this paraphrase, desiring to please her father, who at that time was disposed to favour such works. A letter written by the queen to the princess respecting this translation, shows the interest she took therein.

The queen evinced considerable judgment in selecting this work of Erasmus to be put forth by authority. It was written by him in his best days, and very fully exhibited the opinions of the best early divines on doctrinal subjects; it also exposed the errors and superstitious abuses of popery, and being the work of Erasmus, carried with it an authority to all, except the most bigoted of the papists, which any production exclusively written by the

English Reformers would not have possessed, even had there been time, which there was not, to prepare an original work; while its passing through the hands of men well affected to gospel truth, was an assurance to the protestants that its contents were not at variance with the Scriptures.

The papists were not indifferent to the exertions of Queen Catherine Parr in promoting the Reformation. She had many around her at court of the same principles as herself, and early in the year 1546, when for a time Bishop Gardiner, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, and other Romanists had gained a portion of influence at court, that party made a vigorous effort for her destruction. To this persecution Ann Askew fell a victim. The narrow escape of the queen is best given in the words of Foxe, which includes many interesting historical particulars. He says:—

“About the year 1546, after the king returned from Boulogne, he was informed that Queen Catherine Parr, at that time his wife, was very much given to the study of the holy Scriptures; and that she for that purpose had retained divers well-learned and godly persons, to instruct her thoroughly in the same. Commonly, but especially in Lent, every day in the afternoon, for the space of an hour, one of her chaplains made some collation to her and to her ladies, and others that were disposed to hear, in which sermons they oftentimes touched the abuses in the church. Which things, as they were not secretly done, so neither were their preachings unknown unto the king. Whereof, for a great time, he seemed very well to like. Which made her the more bold, being indeed become very zealous toward the gospel, frankly to debate with the king, oftentimes wishing, exhorting, and persuading him, that as he had begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome, so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing his church of England clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition.

“And albeit the king grew towards his latter end very stern and opinionate, notwithstanding, toward her he refrained his accustomed manner until a small time before his death. For never handmaid sought with more careful diligence to please her mistress, than she did with all painful endeavour apply herself, by all virtuous means, in all things to please his humour.

“Moreover, besides the virtues of the mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, as singular beauty, favour, and comely personage; and so enjoyed for the king’s favour, to the great likelihood of the setting at large of the gospel within this realm at that time, had not the malicious practice of certain enemies professed against the truth prevented the same, almost to the ruin of the queen and certain others, if God had not marvellously succoured her.

“In the time of his sickness he had left his accustomed manner of visiting the queen; and therefore she, according as she understood him to be disposed to have her company, sometimes being sent for, other sometimes of herself, would come to visit him. At which times she would not fail to use all occasions to move him, according to her manner, zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. The sharpness of the disease had sharpened the king’s accustomed impatience, so that he began to show some tokens of misliking; and contrary unto his manner, upon a day, breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the queen. To whom, notwithstanding, in her presence, he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she for that time took her leave of his majesty. Who, after his manner, bidding her ‘Farewell, sweetheart,’ for that was his usual term to the queen, licensed her to depart.

“At this visit Bishop Gardiner was present, and he noticed the king’s sudden interrupting of the queen in her tale, and falling into other matter, and thought that if

the king's humour were holpen, such misliking might follow towards the queen as might both overthrow her and all her endeavours; and he only awaited some occasion to renew into the king's memory the former misliked argument. His expectation in that behalf did not fail; for the king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words: 'A good hearing it is when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife!'

"The bishop hearing this, seemed to dislike that the queen should so much forget herself as to argue with his majesty, whom he to his face extolled for his rare virtues, and specially for his learned judgment in matters of religion, above not only princes of that and other ages, but also above doctors professed in divinity; and said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his majesty's subjects to reason and argue with him so malapertly, and grievous to him for his part, and other of his majesty's counsellors and servants, to hear the same; and that they all, by proof, knew his wisdom to be such, that it was not needful for any to put him in mind of any such matters. He inferred, moreover, how dangerous and perilous a matter it ever hath been for a prince to suffer such insolent words at his subjects' hands; who, as they take boldness to contrary their sovereign in words, so want no will to overthrow them in deeds.

"Besides this, he said, that the religion by the queen so stiffly maintained, did not only disallow and dissolve the policy and politic government of princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common, so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the prince's estate so perilous, that, saving the reverence they bare unto her for his majesty's sake, they durst be bold to affirm that the greatest subject in this land, speaking those words that she did speak, and defending those arguments that she did defend, had with impartial justice, by law, deserved death.

"These and such other kinds of Winchester's flattering

phrases marvellously whetted the king both to anger and displeasure towards the queen, and also to be jealous and mistrustful of his own estate. Thus Winchester so far crept into the king at that time, and with doubtful fears, he with other his fellows, so filled the king's mistrustful mind, that the king, to see belike what they would do, gave commandment to certain of them to consult together about the drawing of articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the king by their persuasions pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, provided there should be any colour of law to countenance the matter.

"During the time of deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of policies and mischievous practices, as well to suborn accusers, as in seeking to understand what books, by law forbidden, she had in her closet. And to bring their purpose to pass, they thought it best, at the first, to begin with some ladies whom they knew to be great with her, and of her blood. The chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and privy to all her doings, were the Lady Herbert, afterward Countess of Pembroke, and sister to the queen and chief of her privy chamber; the Lady Lane, being of her privy chamber, and also her cousin-german; the Lady Tyrwhit, of her privy chamber, and, for her virtuous disposition, in very great favour and credit with her.

"It was devised that these three above named should first of all have been brought to answer unto the six articles, and upon their apprehension in the court, their closet and coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have been found whereby the queen might be charged; which being found, the queen herself presently should have been taken, and likewise carried by barge by night unto the Tower. The king was forthwith made privy unto the device by Winchester and Wriothesley, and his consent thereunto demanded. Who, belike to prove the bishop's malice, gave his consent, and to allow of every circumstance, knowing notwithstanding in the end what he would do.

“The king at that time lay at Whitehall, and used very seldom, being not well at ease, to stir out of his chamber or privy gallery; and few of his council, but by especial commandment, resorted unto him, these only excepted. This purpose was handled so secretly, that it grew now within few days of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor queen knew not nor suspected anything at all; and therefore when she came to visit the king, used still to deal with him touching religion, as she did before.

“After her accustomed conference with the king, the time of Winchester’s final day approaching fast, the king of himself, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, did break the whole practice unto one of his physicians, Doctor Wendy, as is supposed; pretending unto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a doctress as she was, and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by certain of her enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living.

“The queen all this while compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her by Winchester and his fellows. But see what the Lord God, who from His eternal throne of wisdom seeth and despatcheth all the inventions of Ahithophel, and comprehendeth how the wily beguile themselves, did for his poor handmaid, in rescuing her from the pit of ruin, whereinto she was ready to fall unawares.

“For so came it to pass, that the bill of articles drawn against the queen, and subscribed with the king’s own hand, falling from the bosom of one of the aforesaid counsellors, was found and taken up of some godly person, and brought immediately unto the queen. Who reading there the articles comprised against her, and perceiving the king’s own hand unto the same, fell instantly into a great agony.

“The king hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his physicians unto

her. Who seeing what extremity she was in, did what they could for her recovery. Then Wendy perceiving by her words what the matter was, for the comforting of her heavy mind, began to break with her in secret manner touching the said articles devised against her, which he himself, he said, knew right well to be true; although he stood in danger of his life if ever he were known to utter the same to any living creature. Nevertheless, for the safety of her life, and for the discharge of his own conscience, having remorse to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he exhorted her somewhat to frame and conform herself unto the king's mind; saying he did not doubt but if she would so do, and show her humble submission unto him, she should find him gracious and favourable unto her.

"After this the queen devised how by some good opportunity she might repair to the king's presence. And so first commanding her ladies to convey away their books, the next night following, after supper, she, waited upon only by the Lady Herbert, her sister, and the Lady Lane, who carried the candle before her, went unto the king, whom she found sitting and talking with certain gentlemen of his chamber. Whom when the king did behold, very courteously he welcomed her, and began of himself, contrary to his manner before accustomed, to enter into talk of religion, seeming, as it were, desirous to be resolved by the queen of certain doubts which he propounded.

"The queen perceiving to what purpose this talk did tend, mildly and with a reverent countenance answered again, stating her willingness and desire to be instructed by the king, as her lord and master.

"'Not so, by St. Mary,' quoth the king; 'you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed or directed by us.'

"'If your majesty take it so,' quoth the queen, 'then hath your majesty very much mistaken me, who hath ever been of the opinion to think it very unseemly and preposterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an

instructor or teacher to her lord and husband, but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have with your majesty's leave heretofore been bold to hold talk with your majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being intente to our talk, and hoping that your majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also that I, hearing your majesty's learned discourse, might receive to myself some profit thereof. Wherein I assure your majesty I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself in all such matters unto your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.'

"'And is it even so, sweetheart?' quoth the king. 'And tended your arguments to no worse end? Then perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore;' and, kissing her, he added this saying, that it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of a hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him. And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promises and assurances never again in any sort more to mistake her, entering into other very pleasant discourses with the queen, and the lords, and gentlemen standing by; in the end, being very far in the night, he gave her leave to depart. Whom in her absence, to the standers-by, he gave many commendations.

"The next day was the day determined by Gardiner to have carried the queen to the Tower. The day, and almost the hour appointed being come, the king being disposed in the afternoon to take the air, waited upon by two gentlemen only of his bedchamber, went into the garden, whither the queen also came, being sent for by the king himself, the three ladies above named alone waiting upon her. With whom the king at that time was pleasant as ever he was in all his life before. Suddenly,

in the midst of their mirth, in comes the lord chancellor into the garden with forty of the king's guards at his heels, with purpose to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies aforesaid, even then unto the Tower. Whom then the king sternly beholding, breaking off his mirth with the queen, stepping a little aside, he called the chancellor unto him. Who upon his knees spake certain words unto the king, but what they were, for that they were softly spoken, and the king a good distance from the queen, it is not well known, but it is most certain that the king's replying unto him was, Knave, for his answer; yea, Arrant knave, beast, and fool; and with that the king commanded him presently to avaunt out of his presence. Which words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen with her ladies did easily overhear them; which had been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause of his coming so perfectly as after she knew it. Thus departed the lord chancellor, as he came with all his train, all his device being utterly broken.

“The king immediately returned to the queen. Whom she perceiving to be very much chafed, with as sweet words as she could utter, endeavoured to qualify the king's displeasure, with request unto his majesty in the behalf of the lord chancellor, whom he seemed to be offended withal; saying, for his excuse, that albeit she knew not what just cause his majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error, and so besought his majesty, if the cause were not very heinous, at her humble suit to take it.

“‘Ah, poor soul!’ quoth he, ‘thou little knowest how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go.’ To this the queen, in charitable manner replying in few words, ended that talk; having also, by God's only blessing, happily for that time and

ever, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel's sake."

This attempt of Gardiner's, with some other practices of his about this period, in favour of popery, caused the king to order his name to be erased from the list of his executors, and to take some other steps which facilitated the progress of the Reformation at the commencement of the reign of Edward VI.

Among other services Catherine Parr at this time rendered to the cause of learning and truth, was the preventing the suppression of the colleges at Cambridge, by her intercession, when they were placed at the king's disposal by a recent act, and many about the court were anxious to obtain their revenues.

There can be no doubt that by the example and efforts of Queen Catherine, much outward decorum, at least, was introduced into the court while she presided, and in many instances more than an external profession of religion. Her own constant attention to the observances of religion, appears not only from the foregoing narrative, but also from the devotional works compiled by her, especially her prayers and meditations, several editions of which were printed in 1545 and the two following years, in a form particularly well suited to be a convenient manual for constant use. Ballard has remarked, that the dreadful alarm she must have felt at the attempt of Gardiner for her destruction, seems to have awakened all the Divine faculties of her soul, and to have made her more earnest in preparation for eternity.

The history of Queen Catherine Parr, after the decease of Henry, is short and melancholy. The provision he made for her, though a mark of his affection and esteem, was but a slender provision for one of her rank.<sup>1</sup> Thus left an unprotected female in troublous times, it is not surprising that she should listen to the addresses of a man of rank and power earlier than modern ideas of propriety would countenance. She married in the same year Sir Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Four thousand pounds in addition to her jointure.

Seymour, lord admiral of England, uncle to King Edward and brother to the protector, the Duke of Somerset. Ambition appears to have been his chief inducement to this alliance, which was disapproved by his brother, though the young king wrote a congratulatory letter to the queen, assuring her that suitable provision should be made for them.

With the lord admiral she lived but a short time, and that very unhappily. He was a scorner of the truth, and though he did not prevent her continuing openly to manifest her regard for the gospel, he did not hesitate to show his own indifference, by continually absenting himself from the public services she instituted for the benefit of their family. Latimer spoke of this in one of his sermons before King Edward.

This pious lady was soon released from her trials. She died in September, 1548, soon after giving birth to a daughter; not without strong suspicions that she was poisoned by her husband, who was desirous of marrying the Princess Elizabeth. His ambitious and cruel practices, however, soon met with a just reward. To use the words of Latimer, "he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly." He had been in practice, if not in profession, an open infidel. Some lines, however, written by him a short time before his execution, evince a mind aware of the cause of his situation. He says, "Forgetting God, to love a king, hath been my rod." The daughter, thus left an orphan, died at an early age.

The most valuable of her writings was, "Queen Catherine Parr's Lamentation of a Sinner, bewailing the ignorance of her blind life." This was published after her decease by Lord Burleigh, who found it among her papers.<sup>1</sup>

Such was Catherine Parr, one of those queens whom God has been pleased to constitute nursing mothers to His church—a main instrument in protecting and advancing the English Reformation at a most critical period; one who, it cannot be doubted, was a real follower of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> It is reprinted in *The British Reformers*.

KING EDWARD. VI.  


EDWARD THE SIXTH was the son of Henry VIII. by his third wife, Jane Seymour. He was born at Hampton Court, October 12th, 1537, where he was christened with much ceremony on the 15th of the same month. The joy with which the intelligence was received by the court and the nation was abated by the death of the queen, his mother, on the 24th, twelve days after the birth of her son.<sup>1</sup> Henry was much afflicted, and the festivities of the ensuing Christmas were not allowed to put aside the outward tokens of respect to her memory.

The care of Henry VIII. to place his children under the charge of learned and pious instructors, proves the character of that monarch, with all his faults, to have been very different from the representations of papists. At the early age of six years Prince Edward was committed to the charge of able preceptors, the principal of whom was Sir Anthony Cook, a sincere favourer of the gospel, whose own children manifested their father's suitableness for such a trust. Another of his early tutors was Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely. When Dr. Cox received an ecclesiastical appointment which often required him to be absent from his noble pupil, Sir John Cheke, then professor of Greek at Cambridge, was appointed tutor to the prince. These excellent and learned men gave full attention to their important charge. The manner in which their labours

<sup>1</sup> The Romanists have a legend of Henry's desiring that the life of the child might be preserved by the death of his mother, which they still repeat. The falsehood of that statement is clearly proved by the records of the Herald's College: see Strype's *Memorials*. An original letter from the queen's physicians to the council is also in existence, dated the 24th, which describes her declining state, from an illness incident to her condition.

were blessed is described by William Thomas : " If ye knew the towardness of that young prince, your hearts would melt to hear him named, and your stomach abhor the malice of them that would him ill. The beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun; the wittiest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world. Such a capacity in learning the things taught him by his schoolmasters, that it is a wonder to hear say. And finally, he hath such a grace of posture, and gesture in gravity, when he comes into a presence, that it should seem he were already a father, and yet passes he not the age of ten years. A thing undoubtedly much rather to be seen than believed."

Sufficient proof still remains of the progress made by Prince Edward under these instructors, from numerous letters written by him in Latin and in French, some as early as his ninth year, also by several Latin orations or themes preserved in the British Museum. At this period of his life the prince chiefly resided in Hertfordshire. Of his tutors, Cheke appears to have been the most constantly with him, but the early formation of his habits and temper probably had devolved principally upon Cook and Cox; but the influence of Cranmer must never be forgotten. The watchful care of that excellent prelate, and his anxiety for the progress of the Reformation, were continually exercised for the benefit of the heir to the crown, and for his advancement in true religion and sound learning. It is, however, evident that more than mere natural docility prepared the youthful prince to receive the instructions of his able and pious preceptors. The effects of Divine influence upon his heart were manifest during the whole of his short yet interesting course.

An anecdote of the youthful days of this excellent prince has been preserved. When engaged with some companions in amusements suitable for his age, he wished to take down from a shelf something above his reach. One of his playfellows offered him a large book to stand upon, but perceiving it to be a Bible, Edward refused such assistance

with much indignation. He sharply reproved the offerer, adding, it was unfit that he should trample under his feet that which he ought to treasure up in his head and heart.

Foxe mentions Prince Edward's exact knowledge of the various parts of his own realm, Scotland, and France; also his minute acquaintance with the names and characters of all the magistrates and gentlemen who bore any authority. A manuscript in the British Museum relates how a schoolmaster, named Herne, incited his unwilling scholars to apply themselves more diligently to their books, and to improve in learning, by emulating the example of their prince.

While Prince Edward was in the tenth year of his age, and was thus preparing for the duties which lay before him, Henry VIII. died, on January 28th, 1547. The office of protector devolved upon the Earl of Hertford, one of the young king's maternal uncles. The coronation took place on the 28th of February. The usual grant of a general pardon followed: thus the prosecutions for religion, which commenced during the latter years of the preceding reign under the act of six articles, were terminated. Although that and other persecuting acts were not regularly repealed till some months after, many were released from prison, and a number of learned and pious men were allowed to return from exile, whose assistance gave new vigour to the efforts for Reformation. But the most remarkable circumstance connected with the coronation was the address of Archbishop Cranmer to the youthful monarch. This address was found among the collections of Archbishop Usher. The following is an extract:—

“Your majesty is God's vicegerent, and Christ's vicar within your own dominions; and to see, with your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts are signs of a second Josiah, who reformed the church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to

repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms. For precedents on those kings who performed not these things, the old law shows how the Lord revenged His quarrel; and on those kings who fulfilled these things, He poured forth His blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josiah, in the Book of the Kings, thus: 'Like unto him there was no king that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.' This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days."

The piety of the youthful monarch was manifested at the coronation. When three swords were brought to be carried in the procession, as emblematical of his three kingdoms, the king said there was one yet wanting. The nobles inquiring what it was, he answered, *THE BIBLE*, adding: "That book is the Sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these swords. That ought in all right to govern us, who use them for the people's safety by God's appointment. Without that sword we are nothing, we can do nothing, we have no power. From that we are what we are this day. From that we receive whatsoever it is that we at present do assume. He that rules without it is not to be called God's minister or a king. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of Divine strength." He then commanded the Bible to be brought and carried before him with the greatest reverence.

His affection for Cranmer appears from the following letter written by him to the archbishop, originally in Latin.

"Revered Godfather,—Although I am but a child, yet I am not unmindful of the services and the kindnesses you daily perform and manifest towards me. I have not forgotten your kind letters delivered to me on St. Peter's eve. I was unwilling to answer them until now, not from neglect or forgetfulness, but that, as I daily meditated

on them, and committed their contents faithfully to memory, at length having well considered them I might reply the more wisely. I do indeed embrace and venerate the truly paternal affection towards me which is expressed in them : may your life be prolonged for many years, and may you continue to be a respected father to me by your godly and wholesome counsels. For I consider that godliness is to be desired and embraced by me above all things, since St. Paul has said, ' Godliness is profitable to all things.' "

Cranmer's reply is as follows : it was also written in Latin :—

" My beloved Son in Christ,—I am as much concerned for your welfare as my own ; therefore when I learn that you are safe and well, I feel myself to be so also. My absence cannot be so unpleasant to you as your letters are pleasing to me. They show that you possess a disposition worthy of your rank, and a preceptor suitable for such a disposition. From your letters I perceive that you so cultivate learning that heavenly truths are not among the things you least care for, and whoso careth for those things, shall not be overcome by any cares. Go on, therefore, in the way upon which you have entered, and adorn your native land, that the light of virtue which I behold in you may hereafter enlighten all your England." . . . .

The education of Edward VI. inspired the protestants with great hopes of the progress of the truth, but they were not wholly devoid of apprehensions respecting the influence of the papists at court. Latimer, in his sermon on the plough, notices how the papists " whispered the king in his ear ;" alluding no doubt particularly to the crafty Gardiner, who also laboured earnestly to persuade the protector and the council to leave all matters concerning religion in their present state, during the king's minority.

Happily for England, the intrigues of Gardiner were not successful. The Reformation advanced steadily from

the commencement of the reign of Edward VI. That it proceeded not to the full extent which might have been desirable, is accounted for by the peculiar state of parties in the English court at that time; also by the political situation of the country with regard both to foreign and domestic affairs.

The decision with which the protector and his counsellors proceeded with the work of Reformation from the first, is shown by a letter from John ab Ulmis to Bullinger, written at Oxford on Ascension Day, 1546. He says: "England is adorned and enlightened by the word of God, and the number of the faithful increases largely every day. The mass, so dear to papists, begins to give way—in many places it is already dismissed and condemned by Divine authority; images are extirpated throughout the land, nor does the least spark remain which can afford hopes to the papists, or give them an occasion for confirming their errors respecting idols, or an opportunity of drawing aside the people from our Saviour. The marriage of the clergy is allowed and sanctioned by the royal approbation. Peter Martyr has demonstrated to general satisfaction, from the Scriptures and the writings of orthodox divines, that purgatory is only a cross to which we have been hitherto subjected. The same result has taken place respecting the eucharist, or the holy Supper of the Lord—that it is a commemoration of Christ, and a solemn showing forth of His death, not a sacrifice."

As early as 1548, though but eleven years of age, we find King Edward seriously attending to the duties of the kingly office, by studying the state and condition of his realm, with an earnest desire to promote its safety and peace. In acquiring this knowledge, among other persons he made considerable use of William Thomas, clerk of the council, who planned a series of discourses to illustrate a number of principles or propositions which he stated. Of these he gave a list, desiring the king to point out such as he most wished to have discussed

without delay. These "Common-places of State," as they were entitled, are enumerated by Strype. It is hardly necessary to say that they differ most widely from the principles which Machiavel prepared for the instruction of an Italian prince not long before that period. The following may be mentioned: 10. Whether religion, beside the honour of God, be not also the greatest stay of civil order? 23. How much good ministers are to be rewarded, and the evil punished? 80. Whether princes ought to be contented with reasonable victories, and so to leave? The discourses of Thomas, it is true, were founded chiefly upon human policy, but there are points in them which indicate a better spirit; as for example, "The religion of a prince whose amity is sought," is stated to be a matter for consideration. Similar references to Divine truths will not be found in political instructions at many periods of our history, and the reader will easily suppose that when such principles were recognised in private official documents, those of a public nature would not be deficient in their mention of Him who has declared, "By Me kings reign."

The attendance of Cheke upon his royal pupil was interrupted for a time, the cause of which does not distinctly appear, but the fruits of his former instructions still remained. Among other interesting documents respecting King Edward, still in existence, is a journal, wherein are written down brief remarks concerning such affairs as from time to time came before him. Cheke is said to have advised him to keep a diary. The king also had in his own custody copies of all public records, and other matters which came under the consideration of the council.

Cranmer as well as Cheke encouraged the resort of the foreign protestants to England. On the decease of Bucer, application was made to Melancthon to supply his place: the king's death, however, intervened before a final arrangement was effected. Even foreigners who did not visit England were fully aware of the value of

this pious king, as appears from many passages in their writings. Bullinger addressed him, in the preface to a decade of his sermons, in a manner which at once showed his own faithfulness, and his opinion of the Christian principles of the monarch. He urged him, "To hold it as an undoubted truth that true prosperity was to be obtained by him no other ways than by submitting himself and his whole kingdom to Christ, the highest Prince, and by framing all matters of religion and justice throughout his dominions according to the rule of God's word, not stirring one inch from that rule; propagating the kingdom of Christ, and trampling upon that of antichrist, as he had so happily begun." In another dedication he urges the king to proceed with firmness, and in the fear of God, not imitating the politic courses then adopted in Germany. The foreign protestants were anxious to engage the co-operation of Edward, and offered to waive some minor points of discipline, if a general union could be effected. In order to counteract this, the Romanists sent emissaries who pretended to be opposed to popery, while they were secretly supported by Gardiner in their attempts to excite discord in England.

The king was solicitous for the welfare and comfort of these learned refugees, who were a good deal inconvenienced by some manners and customs of England. Hearing that Bucer had suffered in health for the want of a stove, which he had been accustomed to in Germany, he sent him twenty pounds to defray the expense of constructing one previously to the next winter. Bucer in return wrote a book as a new year's gift for the king. It was entitled, "Concerning the Kingdom of Christ." A summary of the contents is given by Burnet. It contained much advice on the subject of Reformation, and probably occasioned "A General Discourse" on that subject, which the king wrote about the year 1551. The king's esteem for these exiles further appeared by his desire to retain Peter Martyr when the city of Strasburg requested him to return to them. After Bucer's decease,

kind attention was shown to the interests of his widow. The persecutions consequent upon the Interim, which had driven Bucer and his associates from their own countries, excited much sympathy among English protestants. There also was ground for apprehensions of the revival of popery at home. Under these circumstances, to the petition in the liturgy, "Give peace in our time," was added the response, "Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but Thou, O Lord."

The political events of the reign of Edward vi. need only to be noticed very briefly in this sketch. The intrigues of the papists, combined with the feelings excited by recent changes affecting the state of society in England, led to commotions in several districts during the year 1549, which have been noticed in the life of Cranmer. The Duke of Somerset, though earnest for the doctrines as well as the outward advantages of the Reformation, weakened his influence as lord protector by various proceedings calculated to render him very unpopular. His authority was also assailed by political rivals. One of these, his own brother, the lord admiral, endeavoured to supplant the protector with the king, by secretly supplying the latter with money, flattering his youthful vanity, and endeavouring to excite his evil passions. The political intrigues of the admiral at length called for severe measures: he was condemned and executed as a traitor, in 1549. Before the close of that year, the protector himself was displaced from his office, and imprisoned, chiefly by the intrigues of the Earl of Warwick, afterwards the Duke of Northumberland, who succeeded to the direction of public affairs, and outwardly adopted the measures of Reformation pursued by Somerset, though with more worldly views. Somerset was pardoned, and released from confinement in the following year, but again engaging in the intrigues of those turbulent times, he was condemned and executed in January, 1552. The political changes in those days were seldom unattended with bloodshed, and usually were followed by numerous executions.

We resume the personal history of King Edward. The king, now about thirteen years of age, continued his studies. We find him at this time reading Aristotle's *Ethics*; the philosophical works of Cicero he had previously read. Both Greek and Latin were now become familiar to him. Nor was he less occupied in theological studies. The active part taken by Cheke in some of the public disputations with the Romanists, is a sufficient proof that his pupil was interested in those subjects. In a letter to Sturmius, dated December, 1550, Ascham, speaking of the king, says "that his nature equalled his fortune; but his virtue, or, to speak as a Christian, the manifold grace of God in him, exceeded both. He did to admiration outrun his age in his desires of the best learning, in his study of the truest religion, in his will, his judgment, and his constancy." The dowager Queen of Scots, who visited the English court about the same time, said that she found more wisdom and solid judgment in young King Edward, than she would have looked for in any three princes that were in Europe.

His favourite companion was Barnaby Fitzpatrick, a young gentleman of Ireland, brought up with him from childhood. In 1551, the youthful monarch sent his companion to Paris to attend the French court, that he might acquire knowledge which would be useful in future life. The anxiety Edward felt for his favourite's best interests is shown in a letter to him, dated December 20, 1551. It is as follows: "We have received your letters of the 8th of this present month, whereby we understand how you are well entertained, for which we are right glad, and also how you have been once to go on pilgrimage. For which cause we have thought good to advertise you, that hereafter, if any such chance happen, you shall desire leave to go to Mr. Pickering (the English ambassador), or to Paris for your business. And if that will not serve, declare to some man of estimation with whom you are best acquainted, that, as you are loth to offend the French king, because you have been so favourably used, so with safe

conscience you cannot do any such thing, being brought up with me, and bound to obey my laws; also that you had commandment from me to the contrary. Yet if you are vehemently procured, you may go, as waiting on the king, not as intending to the abuse, nor willingly seeing the ceremonies, and so you look not on the mass. But in the mean season, regard the Scripture, or some good book, and give no reverence to the mass at all. Furthermore remember, when you may conveniently be absent from the court, to tarry with Sir William Pickering, to be instructed by him how to use yourself." After some further directions as to his conduct, the king tells him not to forget his learning, "chiefly reading of the Scriptures." Fuller observes upon this and other letters of the king to Fitzpatrick, that familiar epistles communicate truth to posterity, presenting history unto us with a true face of things, though not in so fine a dress as other kinds of writings. Ascham, in one of his letters to Sturmius, speaks of the impression which must have been made in France by the Duke of Suffolk and the other noble youths who had been educated with the king, and who had visited that country.

About this period a learned Italian, named Cardan, had some interviews with the king, and has left the following testimony respecting the youthful monarch. "All the graces were combined in him. He possessed the knowledge of many languages while yet a child. In addition to English, his native tongue, he was well acquainted both with Latin and French, nor was he ignorant of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and perhaps of more. Nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philosophy, or of music: he played well upon the lute. A beautiful specimen of mortality; his seriousness manifested royal majesty; his disposition was suitable to his exalted rank. In sum, that child was so educated, possessed such abilities, and caused such expectations, that he appeared a miracle. This is not said as mere rhetorical expression, nor does it exceed the truth, but in fact falls short of it."

Cardan adds: "He was a marvellous boy; he had learned seven languages, as I was told. With his own, French, and Latin, he was thoroughly acquainted." He also relates a conversation he had with Edward, in which the latter showed that he was not to be satisfied with the imperfect statements then made on astronomical subjects.

The king's continued attention to matters of state is described by Foxe, who relates that he was as well informed with respect to his affairs beyond sea, as those who were personally concerned in the negotiations. Also, that in the reception of ambassadors he would give answers to every part of their orations, to the great wonder of those that heard him, doing that in his tender years, by himself, which many princes at their mature age are seldom wont to do but by others. He was very anxious for the due administration of justice, arranging such hours and times as he considered would best forward the despatch of poor men's causes, without long delays and attendance. His attention to economy is manifest from many documents; it did not arise from a sordid desire of accumulation, but from a wish to spare his subjects as much as possible, and at the same time to extricate himself from a heavy load of debt which consumed his pecuniary resources. He took great pleasure in active exercises, particularly riding, leaping, and shooting with the long-bow, as appears from his own journal, as well as the record of others.

The reign of Edward VI. furnishes the rare instance of a prince who could bear to hear truths faithfully told, and who listened to preachers who did not hesitate to speak to him with sincerity and truth. Foxe says: "Few sermons or none in his court, especially in the lord protector's time, but he would be at them." Again: "Never was he present at any such discourses but he would take notes of them with his own hand." Latimer's sermons supply several instances of bold, uncompromising fidelity; he preached at court during several Lent seasons in succession. In a discourse preached by Lever in 1550, we

find equal faithfulness. It appears that there were some about the court who endeavoured to turn the king from his laudable studies and pursuits to the usual light and frivolous pastimes of courts: this indeed is plainly shown by his own journal. Lever boldly adverted to the subject in the following terms:—

“It is not unlike but if your majesty, with your council, speak unto your nobles for provision now to be made for the poor people, ye shall find some, that setting afore your eyes the hardness of the matter, the tenderness of your years, and the wonderful charges that should be requisite, will move and counsel you to quiet yourself, to take your ease, yea, to take your pastime, in hawking, hunting, and gaming.” And then turning his speech to such a one, he thus accosted him: “Thou hast no taste nor savour how delicious God is unto a pure conscience in godly exercise of good works. But all that thou regardest and feelest is voluptuous pleasures in worldly vanities; and therefore thou dost not perceive how that they which be endowed with a special grace of God may find more pleasure and pastime in godly governance, to keep together and save simple men, than in hawking and hunting, to chase and kill wild beasts. Yea, a godly king shall find more pleasure in casting lots for Jonah, to try out offenders which trouble the ship of this commonwealth, than in casting dice at hazard, to allow and maintain by his example such things as should not be suffered in a commonwealth. Yea, surely a good king shall take far more delight in edifying with comfort, and decking with good order, the congregation of his people, the church and house of God, the heavenly city of Jerusalem, than in building such houses as seem gay and gorgeous, and are indeed but vile earth, stones, timber, and clay. Such like answer ought your majesty and all noblemen to make, if ye find any of your counsellors more carnal than spiritual, more worldly than godly.”

Knox also preached with equal faithfulness in 1552, shortly before the removal of the court from Westminster,

boldly reproving the ill-conduct of the Duke of Northumberland and the Marquess of Winchester, even to their faces, as he states in his "Faithful Admonition." Instead of incurring the royal displeasure by this conduct, a living in the city of London was offered him. He declined it from scruples respecting conformity, but was still retained as one of the six itinerating preachers appointed by the king. Latimer was too aged and infirm to undertake the regular discharge of public duties, but we find him dwelling with Archbishop Cranmer, and as a gift of twenty pounds, then a considerable sum, was ordered for him by the king early in his reign, we may be assured that a suitable provision was continued to be paid.

Strype has given a minute and painful delineation of vices common at that period. It must be remembered they arose from principles implanted in the days of popery. The tares which had been plentifully sown were apparent. To these evils the Reformers continually refer with much sorrow; they doubtless tended to bring down Divine displeasure upon the land. The profligate conduct of many among the nobility, even of some professedly attached to the Reformation, shows most clearly the effects of Divine grace, which alone enabled this pious monarch and others to resist the contagion of evil example.

In reference to his listening to good counsels, Cheke says: "Wherefore, as his majesty hath always learned, so I trust he laboureth daily to avoid the ground of all error, that self-pleasing when a man delighteth in his own reason and despiseth other men's counsel, and thinketh no man's foresight to be so good as his, nor any man's judgment compared to his own."

Considerable anxiety prevailed respecting a suitable matrimonial alliance for the king. A union with Mary, the young queen of Scotland, had originally been designed. After this was relinquished, some progress was made in a treaty with the royal family of France—the French king at that time was in some respects a favourer of the Refor-

mation—but the English protestants in general were decided against a foreign alliance. Latimer spoke with his accustomed plainness from the pulpit, advising the king “to choose one that is of God, that is of the household of faith; and such a one as the king can find in his heart to love, and lead his life in pure and chaste espousage with. Let him choose a wife that fears God. Let him not choose a proud wanton, one full only of rich treasures and worldly pomp.” Besides the proposed marriage with a French princess, which at one period was in a considerable degree of forwardness, alliances were at other times proposed with a daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and with the Lady Jane Grey. John ab Ulmis, writing to Bullinger, in June, 1551, respecting Lady Jane, says: “A report becomes common and is current among the nobility, that the king is to espouse this illustrious young woman. If that should come to pass, how happy the union, and how beneficial to the church may we expect it to prove!”

In 1552, his beloved tutor was afflicted with the sweating sickness, a contagious disease which carried off considerable numbers. The king was anxious for Cheke's recovery. He sought it by earnest prayer. When told by the physicians that they despaired of his tutor's recovery, he replied: “No, Cheke will not die this time; I begged his life this morning in my prayer, and obtained it.” Nor was this confident expectation disappointed. The recovery of Cheke was regarded by the pious Reformers as a national mercy. They knew not the darker hour which approached, both with respect to the tutor<sup>1</sup> and his royal pupil.

In the year 1552 the king was attacked by the measles and the small-pox. From the effects of these maladies he never recovered, though in a letter to Fitzpatrick he speaks of himself as fully restored to health. In April that year

<sup>1</sup> Cheke escaped to the continent early in the reign of Queen Mary, but was treacherously seized and conveyed to England, where, to save his life, he outwardly conformed to popery. His departure from the faith, however, preyed upon his mind, and he died in a few months after.

he removed to Greenwich for the change of air, and continued to reside there the short remainder of his life, with the exception of a progress in the summer. During the ensuing winter he was afflicted with a cough, and symptoms of consumption appeared; but he was not less intent upon the welfare of his kingdom as to matters connected with religion. The king was earnest to procure uniformity as to doctrine, and one of his latest memorandums connected with the public concerns of religion has distinct reference to this point. With this view he had articles of religion prepared, which are very similar to the thirty-nine articles set forth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. At that period the principle of full toleration in matters of religion was not understood or recognized, even by protestants. But an important step towards religious liberty may be here remarked. Although a declaration of assent to these articles was required of all who were public teachers in the church, the royal command did not direct any compulsory measures to enforce subscription, nor any severe proceedings, unless the articles were openly withstood or gainsaid, in which case the council were to be informed, that such further order might be taken as appeared requisite. Upon this principle the king seems to have proceeded with regard to his sister, the Princess Mary. Though he went so far as to prevent the public performance of the mass at her court, he records in his journal that upon her answering that her soul was God's, and that she would not change her faith nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings; it was told her that "he constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey: and that her example might breed too much inconvenience." How different were Mary's proceedings towards her sister Elizabeth when she succeeded to the throne! The alternate obstinacy and compliance of Mary in her correspondence with her father and brother on this subject, appear from her letters yet extant, some of which evince mental reservation worthy of the followers of Loyola: doubtless they were written under the counsel of her spiritual advisers.

The king's illness gave rise to ambitious projects on the part of the bold and unprincipled Duke of Northumberland. He grasped at the succession to the crown, and resolved to secure it, if possible, to his own family. His designs were furthered by the king's sincere attachment to the truth, which made him apprehensive of the consequences if a bigoted papist like his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. He therefore listened to a plan suggested by Northumberland, whereby both the king's sisters should be passed by as illegitimate, on the ground of the marriages of their mothers having been declared void, and by passing over other branches who had a nearer right to the throne, the succession should be settled upon the Lady Jane Grey, who, as Northumberland had arranged, was to marry one of his sons, the Lord Guildford Dudley. Her mother, Lady Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, was granddaughter of Henry VII.

As the spring of 1553 advanced, reports of the king's death were frequent. Feeling his strength decline, Edward became increasingly anxious to secure a protestant successor. He drew up a paper with his own hand, directing the order of succession to the throne, by which the crown devolved upon the Lady Jane Grey. An instrument was then prepared by which the principal counsellors declared their assent to this settlement. The judges hesitated for some time, but, with one exception, were finally induced to consent. Northumberland's conduct was such as to make them apprehensive of personal violence. He urged this measure forward. Cranmer opposed it, and argued much with the king against such a proceeding, in the presence of two of the nobility. He also desired to have a private conference with Edward upon the subject, but this was not allowed, and the Duke of Northumberland told him at the council board, that "it became him not to speak to the king as he had done." Cranmer for some time refused to be a party to this instrument, and urged much in behalf of the Lady Mary's right. He was silenced, and told that the judges and king's counsel learned in the law

were of opinion the alteration could lawfully be made. Cranmer then absented himself from the council, and refused to sign till the king personally entreated him not to stand out. At length his affection for his royal master and the authority of the principal law officers prevailed; he reluctantly added his signature. Only one of the judges, Justice Hales, refused his assent; but this did not save him from being an object of persecution and suffering in the ensuing reign. The regular instrument, signed by the king and his counsellors, bears date June 21.

Another public document completed by Edward at this time excites more pleasing reflections. At the commencement of his last sickness, Bishop Ridley preached before him, and said much upon the duty of all persons to be charitable according to their ability, especially those who were of high rank. After this sermon the king sent for the bishop, and commanded him to sit down and be covered. He then went over the principal arguments mentioned in the sermon, desiring Ridley, that as he had shown what was his duty, he would now show in what manner he should perform it. Ridley was affected, even to tears, at this conduct of the king, and asked leave to consult with the mayor and aldermen of London on the subject. Edward approved of this, and desired that they would consider the best manner of relieving the poor. They did so, and Ridley returned in a few days with a plan, dividing the poor into three parts; the poor by impotency, the poor by casualty, and the thriftless poor; again subdividing them into nine classes. After this, the king ordered the Grey Friars' monastery, with the lands belonging to it, to be endowed as a school (now Christ's Hospital); St. Bartholomew's, for sick and maimed persons; Bridewell and Bethlehem, for idle, dissolute characters, and the insane; provision also was made for the relief of poor housekeepers. He hastened the appropriation of these endowments to the laudable purposes just mentioned; and on signing the charters, upon the 26th of June, 1553, when he was so weak as scarcely to be able to

hold the pen, he thanked God for sparing his life until he had executed his design. The reader will recollect that all these noble foundations have continued to the present time, as well as several free schools founded by him.

The king now evidently drew near his end. When there appeared no longer to be hopes of life, the physicians were dismissed, and some remedies suggested by a female empiric were tried, but without success. The physicians were recalled in a few days, but the royal sufferer rapidly declined, and on the 6th of July breathed his last. "His manner of death," as the council reported to Sir Thomas Hoby, "was such toward God, as assureth us that his soul is in place of eternal rest."

Foxe relates: "About three hours before his death, this godly child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking that none heard him, made this prayer which follows:—

"'Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among Thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but Thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to Thee. O Lord! Thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with Thee, yet for Thy chosen's sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve Thee. O my Lord God, bless Thy people, and save Thine inheritance. O Lord God, save Thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain the true religion, that I and my people may praise Thy holy name, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake.'

"Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, 'Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off.' Then Dr. Owen, one of his physicians, who gave this account to satisfy him, said, 'We heard you speak to yourself, but what you said we know not.' He then (after his fashion) smilingly said, 'I was praying to God.' The last words of his pangs were these: 'I am faint, Lord, have mercy upon me, and take my spirit.' And thus he yielded up the ghost."

The untimely decease of Edward, and the political

circumstances of that day, caused reports to be spread of his having fallen a victim to poison. For this there was no real foundation. The opinions which then prevailed are stated in a letter of Terentian, an Italian, who had accompanied Peter Martyr to England. He says: "On the 6th of July died that holy Josiah, our earthly hope; of consumption as the physicians state, of poison as is said, for the papists spread this report that they may heap every sort of odium upon Northumberland, and, to say the truth, there are considerable grounds for suspicion; but if I may say what I think, I would rather believe the papists themselves to be the authors of such wickedness, for they manifest no appearance of sorrow, and no inquiry is made respecting such a crime."

Strype says: "His funeral was solemnized at Westminster, August 8th, 1553. Whereat were expressed, by all sorts of people, such signs of sorrow for his death, by weepings and lamentations, as the like was scarce ever seen or heard upon the like occasion."

Burnet relates: "Day, bishop of Chichester, preached the funeral sermon for King Edward. It was intended by Queen Mary that all the burial rites should have been according to the old forms that were before the Reformation. But Cranmer opposed this vigorously, and insisted upon it, that as the king himself had been a zealous promoter of the Reformation, so the English service was then established by law. Upon this he stoutly hindered any other way of officiating, and himself performed all the offices of the burial, to which he joined the solemnity of a communion. In these, it may be easily imagined, he did everything with a very lively sorrow; since as he had loved the king beyond expression, so he could not but look on his funeral as the burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a step to his own."

Bale, relating the above, remarks how much Edward had the welfare of his people at heart, and says that he had often observed him at public prayers, when the words, "O Lord, save Thy people," were repeated, joining

most fervently with clasped hands and eyes lifted up to heaven.

The most important feature in Edward's character is that he was a follower of the truth, "a saint of God," one of whom the world was not worthy.

Many letters and other writings of Edward VI. have been preserved. The original of his journal is in the British Museum; it has been printed by Burnet, but there are very few observations of the king on the events he notes down. One of these notices refers to the execution of the unhappy Joan Boacher.<sup>1</sup> Another contains evidence of the deceitful courses adopted by Bishop Gardiner. From memorandums written by the king, it is evident that in allowing the proceedings against his uncle to go forward, he considered that he was sacrificing his personal regard and feelings for the due course of justice and the welfare of the kingdom. Hayward describes him as often lamenting the unhappy situation in which the necessity for consenting to his uncle's death placed him.

The extended circulation of the Bible must ever be considered as one of the principal glories of King Edward's reign. The free use of the Scriptures now was permitted to all; and no less than thirty-four editions of the whole Bible, or of the New Testament, were printed during the six years Edward VI. was upon the throne, besides separate editions of detached parts, and innumerable other writings setting forth the truths of the gospel.

<sup>1</sup> For some account of her sufferings, see life of Cranmer. The entry respecting her in King Edward's journal does not notice the interference which the archbishop is said to have made on this occasion. It is as follows: "May 2, 1549. Joan Bocher, otherways called Joan of Kent, was burned for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary; being condemned before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Ely were to persuade her; but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death." Deep indeed must have been the prejudices that authorized religious persecution, when King Edward could thus record such an event. The preacher was a dissembling papist, Dr. Scory: the sufferer told him to go and read the Scriptures, and we cannot be surprised that she expressed herself in strong terms.

## THOMAS BECON.

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THOMAS BECON, or Beacon, was an active English Reformer, who by his writings contributed much to the diffusion of the truth. He was born in Suffolk about A.D. 1510, and was educated at Cambridge, where the preaching of Latimer appears to have been very useful to him. He became a zealous teacher of the gospel. On this account Becon was persecuted by the Romish clergy, and in 1544 was compelled to make a public recantation at Paul's Cross, and to burn his little treatises, which had attracted considerable notice. Some of them had been printed under the name of Theodore Basil;<sup>1</sup> these were prohibited in the proclamation against heretical books, in July, 1546.

Finding there was no safety in London or its vicinity, Becon travelled into Staffordshire and Derbyshire, where he remained in seclusion until the accession of Edward VI. During this interval "he educated children in good literature, and instilled into their minds the principles of Christian doctrine." But the account of Becon's proceedings at that period is best given in his own words, as related in his tract, "The Jewel of Joy."

"What gentleness I found for my godly labours at the hands of some men in these parts, ye know right well. Therefore, when neither by speaking nor by writing, I could do good, I thought it best not rashly to throw myself into the ravening paws of those greedy wolves, but for a certain space to absent myself from their tyranny, according to the doctrine of the gospel. Leaving mine own

<sup>1</sup> Becon had two sons, whom he named Theodore and Basil, probably from his having assumed that appellation.

native country, I travelled into such strange places as were unknown to me, and I to them. And yet I thank the Lord my God, who never leaveth His servants succourless, I, although an unprofitable servant, in that exile and banishment wanted no good thing. Let the voluptuous worldlings take thought for the belly, and be careful for this present life; I have learned in that my journey to cast my care upon the Lord my God, who abundantly feedeth so many as trust in Him, and depend on His liberality and goodness. For one house I found twenty, and for one friend a hundred. I could wish nothing for the provision of this life, but I had it plenteously, God so caring for me, His unprofitable and wretched servant.

“After I had taken leave of my most sweet mother, and my other dear friends, I travelled into Derbyshire, and from thence into the Peak, whither I appointed my books and my clothes to be brought. Mine intent was, by exercising the office of a schoolmaster, to engraft Christ and the knowledge of Him in the breasts of those scholars whom God should appoint unto me to be taught. I found them of very good wits and apt understandings. Coming to a little village called Alsop, in the dale, I chanced upon a certain gentleman, called Alsop, lord of that village, a man not only ancient in years, but also ripe in the knowledge of Christ’s doctrine. After we had saluted each other, and taken a sufficient repast, he showed me certain books, which he called his jewels and principal treasures. To repeat them all by name I am not able, but of this I am sure, that there was the New Testament after the translation of the godly learned man, Miles Coverdale, which seemed to be as well worn by the diligent reading thereof, as ever was any portass or mass-book among the papists. I remember he had many other godly books, as the ‘Obedience of a Christian Man,’ the ‘Parable of the Wicked Mammon,’ the ‘Revelation of Antichrist,’ the ‘Sum of Holy Scripture,’ the book of John Fryth against Purgatory, all the books published in the name of Theodore Basil, with divers other learned

men's works. In these godly treatises this ancient gentleman, among the mountains and rocks, occupied himself both diligently and virtuously. But all the religion of the people consisted in hearing matins and masses, in superstitious worshipping of saints, in hiring soul-carriers to sing trentals,<sup>1</sup> in pattering upon beads, and in such other popish pedlery. Yet the people where I have travelled, for the most part, are reasonable and quiet enough, yea, and very conformable to God's truth. If any be stubbornly obstinate, it is for want of knowledge, and because they have been seduced by blind guides.

"While I was in the Peak I learned that Robert Wysdom was in Staffordshire.<sup>2</sup> He was the same to me as Aristarchus was to Paul. Desiring greatly to see him, I bade my friends in the Peak farewell, and made haste towards him. When I came to him, I not only rejoiced to see him in health, but also gave God thanks that he was so well placed and provided for. I found him in the house of a certain faithful brother, called John Old, a man old in name, yet young in years, and yet ancient in true godliness and Christian life. He was to us as Jason was to Paul and Silas. He received us joyfully into his house, and liberally, for the Lord's sake, ministered all good things unto our necessities. And as he began, so he continued a right hearty friend and dearly loving brother, so long as we remained in that country. Even as blessed Paul wished to Onesiphorus (2 Tim. i.), so wish I to him, and with the same words pray for him: 'The Lord grant to him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.' After we had passed certain days in the house of that most loving brother, refreshing ourselves with the comfort

<sup>1</sup> The Romish priests who repeated masses for thirty days to deliver souls from purgatory.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Wysdom, or Wisdom, was minister of St. Catherine's in Lothbury, and a laborious preacher of the truth: he was compelled to recant, with Becon, in 1544. He wrote an exposition on the Ten Commandments, for which he was imprisoned in the Lollards' tower. Several of the psalms and hymns of the old version were written by him. On the succession of Queen Mary he escaped to the continent, and became Archdeacon of Ely in the reign of Elizabeth.

of the Holy Scriptures after so many grievous tempests, troublous storms, and painful labours, our dear brother, Robert Wysdom, was called away by letters, which was to us no small pain and grief. Notwithstanding, we submitted ourselves to the good pleasure of God, with this hope and comfort, that his return to his old familiars should be greatly to the advancement of God's glory and to the quiet of his Christian studies, whereof might spring hereafter no small advantage to the Christian public weal. And so we, wishing one another the assistance of God's spirit, repentance of our former life, strength of faith, and perseverance in all godliness to our last end, departed; yea, and that not without tears. He was ever virtuously occupied, and suffered no hour to pass away without good fruit. He is a man in whom the fear of God reigneth unfeignedly.

"After his departure, according to my talent, I brought up youth in the knowledge of good literature, and instilled into their breasts the elements and principles of Christ's doctrine, teaching them to know their Lord and God, to believe in Him, to fear and love Him, and studiously to walk in His holy ways from their cradles even to the yielding up of their last breath. I doubt not but Christ was so deeply graven in their hearts at that time, that He is not yet worn out, neither as I trust shall be, so long as they live. The people were not in all points commonly so superstitious as the people of the Peak; they savoured somewhat more of pure religion. This I think came to pass through certain English books that were among them, and through travellers to and from London.

"After I had spent a year and somewhat more in that country, in the virtuous education and bringing up of youth, I departed into Warwickshire, where, in like manner as before, I freely enjoyed the liberality of my sweet and dear friend, John Old, who, impelled by urgent causes, had removed into that country. There likewise I taught divers gentlemen's sons, who I trust, if they live, will be ornaments to the public weal of England, both for

the preferment of true religion and for the maintenance of justice.

"I travelled in Derbyshire, in the Peak, in 'Staffordshire, and in Leicestershire, yet Warwickshire was to me the most dear and pleasant. In Leicestershire—I pass over the other—I had acquaintance only with one learned man, a countryman of ours, called John Aylmer,<sup>1</sup> a master of arts of the university of Cambridge, a young man singularly well learned both in the Latin and Greek, teacher to the children of my lord Marquis Dorset; but Warwickshire ministered unto me the acquaintance and friendship of many learned men.

"First comes to my remembrance Master Latimer, a man worthy to be loved and revered by all true-hearted Christian men, not only for the pureness of his life, which before the world hath always been innocent and blameless, but for the sincerity and goodness of his evangelical doctrine, which, since the beginning of his preaching, has in all points been so conformable to the teaching of Christ and 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 ever so great power or high authority; wishing and minding rather to suffer, not only loss of worldly possessions, but also of life, than that the glory of God, or 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 fulfil his course with joy, and the office he received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of God's favour. He might say, with the psalmist, 'I spake, O Lord, of Thy testimonies and ordinances in the presence of kings, princes, and rulers, and I was not ashamed.'

<sup>1</sup> Aylmer was active in promoting the Reformation. He was tutor in the family of the father of Lady Jane Grey. During the Marian persecution he took refuge on the continent, and was afterwards Bishop of London. John Old was a teacher of youth, vicar of Cobington, in Warwickshire, afterwards a prebendary of Hereford and an exile for religion.

“His noble fame and virtuous renown is well known, not only in this realm of England, but also in foreign countries, among both learned and unlearned. I have known him twenty years ago, in the university of Cambridge; to whom, next to God, I am most specially bound to give most hearty thanks for the knowledge, if I have any, of God and His most blessed word.

“I was some time a poor scholar at Cambridge, very desirous to have the knowledge of good letters, and in the time of my being there, this godly man preached many learned and Christian sermons, both in Latin and English, at which for the most part I was present; and although at the time I was but a child of sixteen years old, yet I noted his doctrine as well as I could, partly reposing it in my memory, partly committing it to writing, as letters are the most faithful treasurers to the memory.

“I was present when, with manifest authorities of God’s word, and invincible arguments, besides the allegations of doctors, he proved in his sermons that the holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue by all Christian people, whether they were priests or laymen, as they are called; which divers drowsy dunces, with false flattering friars, could not abide, but openly in their unsavoury sermons resisted his godly purpose; even as Alexander the coppersmith and Elymas the sorcerer, with many others, resisted blessed Paul and his godly doctrine. Notwithstanding this he, yea, rather God in him, whose cause he handled, got the victory, and it came to pass according to his teaching. Neither was I absent when he inveighed against empty works, good intents, blind zeal, superstitious devotion, etc., such as the painting of tabernacles,<sup>1</sup> gilding of images, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimages, and such other idle inventions of men, whereby the glory of God was obscured, and the works of mercy less regarded. I remember also how he was wont to rebuke the beneficed men with the authority of God’s word, for neglecting and not teaching their flock, and for

<sup>1</sup> Repositories for the consecrated wafers.

being absent from their cures ; they themselves being idle, and masting<sup>1</sup> themselves like hogs of Epicurus's flock ; taking no thought, though their poor parishioners miserably pine away, starve, perish, and die for hunger. Neither have I forgotten how he, at that time, condemned foolish, ungodly, and impossible vows to be fulfilled, wishing rather that liberty of marriage might be granted to them which have so vowed, than so to continue through single life in all kind of abominable uncleanness. Oh how vehement was he in rebuking all sins, namely, idolatry, false and idle swearing, covetousness, and licentious living ! Again, how sweet and pleasant were his words in exhorting unto virtue ! He spake nothing, but it left as it were certain stings in the hearts of the hearers which moved them to consent to his doctrine. None, except they were stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart, went away from his sermons who were not led into a faithful repentance of their former lives, affected with high detestation of sin, and moved unto all godliness and virtue. I knew certain men who, by persuasion of their friends, went unto his sermons, swelling, blown full, and puffed up like unto Æsop's frogs, with envy and malice against the preacher ; but when they returned, the sermon being done, and were asked how they liked him and his doctrine, they answered with the priests and pharisees' servants,<sup>2</sup> 'Never man spake like this man.'

"So sharp a two-edged sword is the word of God, it entereth through, even unto the dividing of the soul and the spirit, and of the joints and the marrow.<sup>3</sup> So God watches over His word, so the Father of heaven causes His word not to return unto Him void, but to do whatsoever His good pleasure is, and to take root and bring forth fruit in them that are before ordained unto everlasting life ; in some a hundred fold, in some threescore, in some thirty fold. I will not further report his freedom of speech against buying and selling of benefices, against the promoting unto livings of spiritual ministers them which are

<sup>1</sup> Swinishly filling themselves with acorns. <sup>2</sup> John vii. <sup>3</sup> Heb. iv.

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, etc. Neither do I here relate how beneficial he was, according to his ability, to poor scholars and other needy people; so conformable was his life to his doctrine, so watered he with good deeds whatsoever he had planted with godly words. He so laboured earnestly, both in word and deed, to win and allure others unto the love of Christ's doctrine and His holy religion, that there is a common saying which remains unto this day: 'When Master Stafford read, and Master Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed.'

"That Master George Stafford was a man whom the unthankful world was unworthy any longer to have. I pass over the gifts of nature, and such goodly qualities as win unto them that have them the favour and commendation of men, wherewith he was plenteously endued, and this I unfeignedly say unto you: he was a man of a very perfect life, and, if I may so speak, of an angelic conversation, approvedly learned in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, and such a one as had, through his painful labours, obtained singular knowledge in the mysteries of God's most blessed word.

"By his industry, labour, pains, and diligence, he seemed of a dead man to make blessed Paul alive again; and putting away all unseemliness, set him forth in his native colours, so that now he is both seen, read, and heard with great pleasure by them that labour in the study of his most godly epistles. And as he beautified the letters of blessed Paul with his godly expositions, so likewise he learnedly set forth in his lectures the native sense and true understanding of the four evangelists; restoring unto us in a lively manner the apostle's mind, and the mind of those holy writers, which so many years before had laid unknown and obscured through the darkness and mists of the pharisees and papists.

"He was a faithful and prudent servant, giving meat to the Lord's household in due time. He cast away profane

and old wives' fables, and as the good servant of Jesus Christ, he exercised himself unto godliness. He was an example to the faithful in word, in conversation, in love, in spirit, in faith, in purity. He gave his mind to reading, to exhorting, to doctrine. He studied to show himself unto God a laudable workman that needeth not to be ashamed, dividing the word of truth justly. He was gentle unto every man, and with meekness informed them that resisted the truth, if God at any time would give them repentance for to know the truth, and to turn again from the snare of the devil. He fought a good fight, he fulfilled his course, he kept the faith: therefore is there laid up for him a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give him in that day, and not to him only, but to all them that love His coming.<sup>1</sup>

"With Master Latimer, that true preacher of God's word, I was somewhat acquainted in Warwickshire, which was to me no small comfort; not with him only, but with divers others, whereof some were men of worship, well inclined towards the holy Scriptures; some were men very godly learned in the laws of the Most High, and professors of the same. So oft as I was in their company, methought I was clearly delivered from Egypt, and quietly placed in the glorious New Jerusalem, which is described in the revelation of blessed John: so sweet a thing is it to be in the company of godly learned men.

"While I was training up youth, and fashioning their minds unto true godliness in that country, behold, unexpected letters were sent to me from my most dear

<sup>1</sup> George Stafford, or Stavert, was fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, a reader of divinity, who lectured on the Scriptures. He was very attentive to his duties as a minister of the gospel. About 1528, there was one of great fame for his skill as a conjuror at Cambridge. This man fell sick of the plague. From compassion to his soul, Stafford ventured his own life by visiting him, and reasoned with him upon his wicked life and practices, till he was brought to repentance and destroyed his books. Thus Stafford endeavoured to save that man's soul, though he lost his own life by it, for he got the infection, went home, and died. Foxe relates this on the authority of Bishops Ridley and Grindal.

mother ; in which she required me to return to my native country, and to be a staff of her old age, as my father-in-law was departed from this vale of misery. Considering my duty, and the honour which I owe unto her by the manifest commandment of God, I immediately after, not without the friendly consent of my well willers, departed from Warwickshire, and with all haste repaired home."<sup>1</sup>

This extract is long, but it presents valuable delineations of the state of England in the early days of the Reformation. At that time many of the inland secluded districts were scarcely accessible to travellers, and far less known to the inhabitants of the southern counties than some parts of the continent.

When Edward vi. came to the throne, the people of Canterbury were particularly opposed to the Reformation. This induced Cranmer to place in that city six preachers distinguished for their piety and learning. Becon was one of them. From the numerous sufferers for the truth among the inhabitants during the reign of Queen Mary, their labours appear to have been made useful to many. Becon was also chaplain to the Protector Somerset, and for some time an inmate in his family at Sheen.

That Becon was an eminent preacher of the reformed doctrines appears from his having been committed to the Tower, with Bradford and Veron, within a fortnight after the accession of Queen Mary. He was at that time rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, in the city of London. After a severe imprisonment of seven months, he was released, but was deprived of his living by the early proceedings of the queen against the married clergy. It is surprising that he should have been liberated, while many persons, far less distinguished as preachers of the truth, were detained in prison under different pretences until

<sup>1</sup> In the *Jewel of Joy* the foregoing particulars are communicated in a dialogue between Philemon (Becon himself) and some friends, to whom he relates what had befallen him. A part of Latimer's character is put into the mouth of one of the other speakers ; but it is evident that Becon himself is describing his own personal intercourse with that venerable father.

popery was fully restored, when they were burned. These early proceedings, however, warned him of his danger, and after remaining in concealment for some time, he escaped to the continent, where he continued till the death of Queen Mary. He was, to use Strype's expression, "a man mightily tossed about."

Becon's writings were included by name in the proclamation of Philip and Mary against the writings of the principal Reformers, and many copies doubtless were destroyed. While upon the continent he was not idle, but wrote several of his tracts. In an epistle to the persecuted brethren in England, he directed them to their only Refuge and Deliverer: it was read in the private meetings of the protestants, and, with similar writings of other Reformers, imparted edification and comfort to many.

In the preface written in 1563, Becon says: "The cross of Christ was laid upon the true Christians of this realm not many years past, so that divers of our countrymen were most grievously persecuted, most cruelly apprehended, imprisoned, stocked, chained, manacled, brought forth, accused, condemned, and burnt to ashes. Divers were secretly famished, murdered in prison, spoiled of all their goods, exiled and banished into strange countries. I, at that time being partaker of exile and banishment, after long and most miserable imprisonment (to let pass my other afflictions, wherewith I was daily encumbered, besides the deceitful assaults of Satan and his ministers, wherewith I was without ceasing troubled and disquieted, not only outwardly but also inwardly), oftentimes called unto remembrance the most wretched and pitiful state of England, sometime flowing with the knowledge of God's word, as the sea with waters, but then wrapped full of blind ignorance and ignorant blindness. I considered with myself what I might do to help the miseries of my poor countrymen, especially such as were afflicted for the gospel's sake. Not knowing how otherwise to gratify them, I wrote an epistle and sent it to certain godly brethren, declaring in it the causes of all the miseries and calamities

which were fallen upon England; again, how they might be redressed; and finally, what a merciful Lord our God is to all faithful penitent sinners that unfeignedly turn unto Him. This epistle was not read of the brethren without fruit. I added a humble supplication unto God for the restoring of His Holy Word unto the church of England, wherein the devout Christian complains his grief and sorrow unto the Lord for taking away the light of Christ's gospel, and most humbly acknowledging his fault and deserved punishment, most heartily wishes for the subversion of antichrist's kingdom, and the restitution of Christ's most glorious kingdom to the realm of England."

At this period several of Becon's tracts relative to the Romish controversy were written; among them an epistle to the popish priests, showing the difference between the Lord's Supper and the mass, which he declares to be "a wicked idol."

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, Becon returned to England, and again laboured zealously and successfully to promote the truth. He was appointed successively to the rectory of Buckland, in Hertfordshire; Christ Church, Newgate; and Dionis Backchurch, in London. Like many exiles and excellent characters of that day, he desired that greater liberty as to uniformity should be permitted than was then allowed; and he was one of the large minority in the convocation which supported the petition for greater freedom with respect to some rites and ceremonies.<sup>1</sup>

In January, 1564-65, the clergy of London attended at Lambeth; they were required to subscribe to the recent ecclesiastical regulations, but several refused. Strype relates in his life of Grindal: "Many upon this were sequestered, and afterwards some deposed and deprived—Whittingham and Becon refused at first, but afterwards subscribed, and were preferred." It does not clearly appear what preferment he obtained after this, but he was appointed to preach at Paul's Cross in the following year,

<sup>1</sup> See *Life of Jewell*.

and the lord mayor petitioned Archbishop Parker, requesting his grace to prevail upon Becon to preach one of the Spital sermons. After this time he seems to have resided chiefly at Canterbury, where he held a prebend; from thence he dated the preface to his collected works, and one prefixed to his Postills, or plain sermons upon the gospels appointed to be read throughout the year. In that city he died about 1567.

Becon was one of the most laborious and useful writers and preachers among the British Reformers. His publications exceed forty in number; some are of considerable length. The earliest was printed in 1541, and the latest in 1566. They embrace a much wider range of subjects than the works of any other writer of that day. Several of them are upon the Romish controversy, and manifest a thorough knowledge of the subject, but the greater part of them do not directly relate thereto. Their contents are also exceedingly scriptural; frequently for pages together they exhibit a collection of passages from Holy Writ, illustrating in a very striking manner the subjects upon which the author is treating. All the Reformers were "mighty in the Scriptures," but Becon, especially, "abounded" therein.

Most of his publications were originally printed as separate tracts, and were widely circulated in that form. A uniform and corrected edition of his works was printed in 1564. They form three volumes in folio, and are now among the scarcest of the writings of the English Reformers. Few of them have been reprinted since that time; and the numerous and excellent writings of this pious and learned divine have been suffered to fall into unmerited oblivion, although highly commended by Archbishop Parker and other writers, until the recent publication of a selection from them in "*The British Reformers.*"

MILES COVERDALE.

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MILES COVERDALE was a native of Yorkshire, where he was born in 1487. In early life he was a zealous papist, and became an Augustine monk. He entered into orders in 1514, but continued in the monastery of the Augustines at Cambridge, of which Dr. Barnes, afterwards martyr, was prior. About 1526, the doctrines of the Reformation began to influence many at Cambridge. Serious persons resorted together for conference, and attended the sermons of such preachers as were inclined to the Protestant faith. Their meetings for edification were chiefly at a house called the White Horse, which was consequently nicknamed Germany by their enemies, in allusion to the German Reformation. This house was convenient for the private access of students from several of the colleges. Coverdale, and his superior, Dr. Barnes, were amongst the earliest who threw off the errors of popery. From the recantation of Thomas Topley, a friar at Stoke Clare, in Suffolk, we find Coverdale at Bumstead, in Essex, in 1528, where he declared openly against the mass, the worship of images, and private confession. He maintained that contrition for sin, between God and a man's own conscience, was enough, without confession to a priest. This was in conversation. Topley also states, that by Coverdale's preaching his mind was drawn from the Romish doctrine of the sacrament. He also had heard Coverdale preach against images.

Coverdale appears very soon to have devoted himself to the important work of translating the Scriptures into the English language. He was on the continent in 1530,

whither he had gone to escape the persecution then commenced. While there, he assisted Tyndale in his translation of the Pentateuch after the first copy had been lost. He continued to take part in the biblical labours of that Reformer, and when Tyndale had fallen a victim to the malice of his enemies, Coverdale pursued these studies till 1535, when the first complete translation of the English Bible appeared. It seems to have been printed at Zurich. By residing on the continent, he was enabled to carry it through the press without interruption. He also had the assistance of the Lutheran divines, many of whom were well skilled in Hebrew, as well as in the German translation. These helps are acknowledged in his preface. Coverdale's version was dedicated to Henry VIII., and allowed by royal authority. The interest Cranmer took in these labours has been noticed in his life.

Fulk relates, from Coverdale's own statement, that Henry VIII. gave this translation to some of the bishops to peruse, who alleged there were faults therein, but admitted that no heresies were maintained thereby. "If there be no heresies," said the king, "let it go abroad among the people."

In 1538, Coverdale was employed in France in superintending another edition of the English Scriptures, then printing at Paris, on account of the skill of the workmen, and the superiority of their materials. The attention of the papists, however, was attracted to the work, and the *Lieutenant-criminel* was ordered to seize the edition, consisting of 2,500 copies. The greater part were burned: some copies, however, which had been sold to a haberdasher, escaped. The types and workmen were then removed to London, and in 1539, Cranmer's, or "the great Bible," appeared, with the advantage of further corrections from Coverdale, who was much assisted in these labours by the protection of Cromwell.

Coverdale maintained his ground during the chequered proceedings of the latter years of Henry VIII., and hesitated

not to defend the memory of his former prior and friend, Dr. Barnes. He was almoner to Queen Catherine Parr, and assisted in the translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus, carried forward under her influence. He wrote a preface to the Epistle to the Romans. He preached at the funeral of this pious queen in 1548, when he warned the people that the offerings then made were for the benefit of the poor and the honour of the clergyman, "not anything to profit the dead." He was also chaplain to Edward vi.

In August, 1551, Coverdale was nominated to the see of Exeter, in the place of Veysey, a decided Romanist: to this he was presented on account of his knowledge of the Scriptures, and his unblemished character. He had previously attended the king's commissioners who were sent to quiet the disturbances in the west of England, and preached the public thanksgiving sermon on that occasion. He was then appointed coadjutor to the bishop, an office not uncommon in those days. At the intercession of Cranmer, the payment of first fruits was remitted on account of his poverty.

Coverdale exerted himself to promote the Reformed religion in his diocese. His conduct was most exemplary. Like a true primitive bishop, he was a constant preacher, and much given to hospitality. He was sober and temperate in all things, holy and blameless, friendly to good men, liberal to the poor, courteous to all, void of pride, clothed with humility, abhorring covetousness and every vice. His house was like a little church, in which was exercised all virtue and godliness. He suffered no one to abide under his roof who could not give some satisfactory account of his faith and hope, and whose life did not correspond with his profession. He preached constantly on Sundays, and lectured during the week in the churches of Exeter; but notwithstanding his charity, humility, and hospitality, the papists exerted themselves to oppose his labours.

Immediately after Queen Mary came to the throne,

Coverdale was deprived and imprisoned. He was confined with the other leading Reformers, and signed with them the confession of faith. During his imprisonment he wrote "An Exhortation to the Cross." He therein says: "Pray for us, for, God willing, we will not leave you; we will go before you. You shall see in us that we preached no lies, nor tales of tubs, but even the true word of God, for which we, by God's grace, and help of your prayers, will willingly and joyfully give our blood to be shed for confirmation of the same."

He exhorts the professors of the gospel to be steadfast in their course. "Like God's children let us go on forward apace; the wind is on our back. Hoist up the sails, lift up your hearts and hands unto God in prayer; and keep your anchor of faith to cast in time on the rock of God's word, and on His mercy in Christ, and I warrant you." He also wrote a confutation of a sermon preached at Paul's Cross by Dr. Weston, which had called the people to pray for souls departed, "who were neither in heaven nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, in order that they might be relieved by the devout prayers of the congregation."

It was intended that Coverdale should suffer martyrdom, but he had become related by marriage to the chaplain of the King of Denmark, who interfered in his behalf. His release being procured with some difficulty, not till twelve months after the first application, and on condition of his leaving the kingdom,<sup>1</sup> Coverdale went to Denmark, where the king wished him to remain, but this he declined, being unable to preach in the Danish language. He then proceeded to Geneva, where he occupied himself partly in preaching and partly as a teacher. But labours connected with the English Scriptures again claimed his attention. With the assistance of several

<sup>1</sup> Queen Mary endeavoured to evade compliance with this request of the King of Denmark, by alleging that Coverdale was in prison for a debt due to her by reason of his bishopric! The king availed himself of this to urge his release as the more reasonable, as he had cleared his accounts.

fellow exiles he set forth the English Bible, usually called the Geneva Bible, with brief explanatory notes. His co-adjutors in this work are said to have been Gilby, Goodman, Whittingham, Cole, and Sampson, to whom some add Knox, Bodleigh, and Pullain. This version passed through above thirty editions during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, mostly set forth by the royal printers. It was sanctioned by Archbishop Parker and Bishop Grindal. Some of the notes offended James I., who in the conference at Hampton Court, in the early part of his reign, said that "he had never yet seen a Bible well translated in English, though he thought the Geneva the worst, and therefore wished that some special pains should be taken for one uniform translation." He added "that there should be no marginal notes, having found in those annexed to the Geneva translation some very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits." It is hardly necessary to say that such blame from such a speaker may be considered as a testimony in favour of the version. This opinion of the Geneva Bible made King James more zealous in promoting our present authorised translation. The Geneva Bible, however, continued to be very generally used in families during a great part of the seventeenth century. The first edition of the New Testament, printed in 1557, was the earliest English translation in which the verses were numbered.

The following is an extract from the address to the Christian reader, prefixed to this version:—

"Therefore, as brethren that are partakers of the same hope and salvation with us, we beseech you that this rich pearl and inestimable treasure may not be offered in vain, but as sent from God to the people of God, for the increase of His kingdom, the comfort of His church, and discharge of our consciences, whom it hath pleased Him to raise up for this purpose."

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth Coverdale returned from the continent. Experience made him

anxious for a more thorough Reformation from popery than was agreeable to many leading men at that period. With Foxe, Jewell, and others, he regretted the futile efforts made to conciliate the papists, and was in consequence ranked among the moderate nonconformists: thus, for some time, preferment was not offered to him. Advanced age also unfitted him for resuming episcopal duties, but he preached repeatedly at Paul's Cross.

Grindal was uneasy at this neglect of one who, as he expressed it, "was in Christ before them all," and now was left without support. The bishopric of Llandaff was offered to Coverdale in consequence of this interference, but his age and infirmities, with the reasons above mentioned, decided him against accepting it, Grindal then presented him to the rectory of St. Magnus, London Bridge: his poverty prevented him from entering upon this till the first fruits were forgiven. He wrote to Archbishop Parker in January, 1564, requesting him to favour his suit to the queen for that benefit, urging the destitute condition in which he had been since his bishopric was violently taken from him. In affecting terms he notices that he was not likely "long to enjoy this benefice, going upon my grave as they say, and not likely to live a year." Soon after he wrote to Cecil for his interest, to the same effect, adding, that if now poor old Miles might thus be provided for, he should think "this enough" to be as good as a feast. The queen granted Coverdale's request. He lived till February, 1568, having been "quiet," as he promised Archbishop Parker, though he came not up to the uniformity required. A short time before his death he resigned the living, probably on the above account, but was allowed to continue officiating, though he refused to wear the surplice. His last hours were happy, and he departed at the age of eighty-one. He was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew, by the Exchange, his remains being attended to the grave by a numerous and sorrowing concourse of citizens.

## LADY JANE GREY.

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LADY JANE GREY was an illustrious personage of the blood royal of England, by both parents—her grandmother on her father's side (Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset) being queen consort to Edward iv., and her grandmother on her mother's (Lady Frances Brandon) being daughter to Henry vii., queen dowager of France, and great-aunt to Mary queen of Scots. Lady Jane had no brothers: she was the eldest of three daughters, and was born in 1537, at Bradgate, her father's seat in Leicestershire. She very early gave proofs of her uncommon abilities, insomuch that, on a comparison with Edward vi., who was nearly of the same age, and thought a kind of miracle, the superiority has been given to her in every respect. Her genius appeared in the works of her needle, her beautiful handwriting, her skill on various instruments of music, which she accompanied with a voice very sweet in itself, assisted by all the graces that art could bestow.

Her father had himself some taste for letters, and was a great patron of the learned. His two chaplains, Harding and Aylmer,<sup>1</sup> were men of distinguished learning, whom he employed as tutors to his daughter, under whose

<sup>1</sup> Harding was a learned divine of Oxford. He professed the protestant religion on the accession of Edward vi., and became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. When Queen Mary came to the throne he returned to popery, in consequence of which his former pupil addressed a letter to him written in severe terms. After the restoration of the protestant faith, Harding retired to the continent, and engaged in controversy with Bishop Jewell. Aylmer was an active preacher of the Reformation. He boldly opposed popery on the accession of Queen Mary. He then withdrew to the continent, where he remained till Elizabeth came to the throne. In 1576 he was appointed Bishop of London.

instructions she made such proficiency as surprised them both. Her own language she spoke and wrote with peculiar accuracy; the French, Italian, Latin, and it is said Greek, were as natural to her as her own; she was versed likewise in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic. She had also sedateness of temper, quickness of apprehension, and solidity of judgment. Her early letters show that she lived in the fear of God, and that she followed the protestant faith from principle. As Burnet observes: "She read the Scriptures much, and acquired great knowledge in divinity."

With these endowments Lady Jane had such mildness, humility, and modesty, that she set no value upon her acquisitions: she was naturally fond of literature, and that fondness was much heightened, as well by the severity of her parents in the feminine part of her education, as by the gentleness of her tutor Aylmer in this. When mortified and confounded by the unmerited chiding of the former, she returned with double pleasure to the lessons of the latter, and sought in her favourite authors, Demosthenes and Plato, the delight that was denied her in all other scenes of life, in which she mingled but little, and seldom with any satisfaction. Her alliance to the crown, as well as the great favour in which the Marquis of Dorset, her father, stood with Henry VIII. and Edward VI., unavoidably brought her sometimes to court, where she received many marks of Edward's attention, yet she seems to have continued for the most part in the country, at Bradgate.

Here she was with her beloved books in 1550, when the famous Roger Ascham<sup>1</sup> called on a visit to the family in

<sup>1</sup> Ascham was an eminent scholar of the University of Cambridge, and particularly well skilled in Greek. In 1548 he was appointed tutor to the Princess (afterwards queen) Elizabeth; subsequently he was Latin secretary to Edward VI. He continued to be a protestant during the reign of Mary, but was allowed to continue unmolested, and indeed patronised, on account of his abilities. To his other attainments, he added that of writing a most beautiful hand. He was reappointed Latin secretary and tutor to Queen Elizabeth. Ascham died in 1568. His last words were: "I am suffering much pain, I sink under my disease; but this is my confession, this is my faith, this prayer contains all that I wish for—"I desire to depart hence, and to be with Christ."

August. All the rest being engaged in hunting, he went to wait upon Lady Jane in her apartment, and found her reading the "Phædon" of Plato in the original Greek. Astonished at this, after the first salutations, he asked her why she lost such pastime as there needs must be in the park ; at which she answered : " I wist all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas ! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant."

This naturally leading him to inquire how a lady of her age found a depth of pleasure in the language and philosophy of Plato, she made the following very remarkable reply : " I will tell you, and I will tell you a truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits which ever God gave me is, that He sent me such sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad ; be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways which I will not name for the honour I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Master Aylmer, who teaches me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him ; and when I am called from him, I fall to weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and wholly misliking unto me. And thus my book has been so much my pleasure, and brings daily to me more and more pleasure ; in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed are but trifles and troubles unto me." Although Lady Jane was treated as a child by her harsh parents, yet learned and pious men, such as Ascham, Bucer, and Bullinger, regarded her as far beyond her years in piety and learning.

Part of one of her letters to Bullinger is as follows :<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> This letter was written in Latin in her fifteenth year. Two other letters written by Lady Jane to Bullinger are printed in *The British Reformers*.

“ Concerning the letter which I received last from you, accept the following. After that I had read it once and again, for once reading did not appear sufficient, I seemed to have derived as much profit from your excellent and truly pious precepts as I had with difficulty attained from the daily study of the best authors. You persuade me to embrace the true and pure faith in Christ my Saviour. I will strive to satisfy you in this particular, as God shall enable me ; but I acknowledge it to be the gift of God, and therefore ought to promise only as the Lord shall impart. Yet I will not cease to pray, with the apostles, that He would daily increase it to me by His grace. To this, God helping me, I will also add, as you enjoin, purity of life, as far as my, alas ! too feeble strength can attain thereto. I entreat in the mean time that you, of your Christian affection, would daily make mention of me in your prayers. I will enter upon the study of the Hebrew language in that method which you so clearly direct.”

John ab Ulmis, writing from Bradgate in June, 1551, to Bullinger, spoke in very high terms of Lady Jane. He says : “ From the learned epistle, written to you by the daughter of this prince, you will easily perceive the respect and esteem she entertains towards you. Surely there never lived any one more to be respected than this young gentlewoman if her family be considered, more learned if we regard her age, or more excellent if we consider her in both. She is greatly praised by all the nobility, and they talk of her being espoused to the king. If that event should take place, how happy would the union be, and how beneficial to the church ! But God will direct concerning these things ; He alone causes to prosper, He cares for, remembers, foresees and disposes of all things agreeably to His will.”

About this time her uncles, Henry and Charles Brandon, both dying at Bugden, the Bishop of Lincoln's palace, of the sweating sickness, her father was created Duke of Suffolk, October, 1551. Dudley, earl of Warwick, was also created Duke of Northumberland the same day. From

that time Lady Jane appears to have been more frequently at court. In the summer of 1552, the king made a long progress through some parts of England, during which Lady Jane went to pay her duty to his majesty's sister, the Princess Mary, at Newhall, in Essex. During this visit, her piety and zeal against popery prompted her to reprove the Lady Ann Wharton for making a courtesy to the host, or consecrated wafer, enclosed in a box, suspended, as was then usual, over the altar. Lady Jane observing her companion courtesy, asked if the princess were coming. Her companion replied, No, but she made obeisance to Him that made us all. "Why," said Lady Jane, "how can that be He that made us all, for the baker made him?" which being carried by some officious person to the ear of the princess, was retained in her heart, so that she never loved Lady Jane afterwards.

Another anecdote of her is related by Aylmer. He says that having received from the Lady Mary goodly apparel of tinsel cloth of gold and velvet, laid on with parsement lace of gold, when she saw it she said, "What shall I do with it?" "Wear it," said a gentlewoman standing by. "Nay," answered she, "it were a shame to follow my Lady Mary against God's word, and leave my Lady Elizabeth who followeth God's word."

The Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, who were now grown to the height of their power, upon the decline of the king's health in 1553, began to think how to prevent that reverse which, as things then stood, they foresaw must happen upon his death. To obtain this end, no other remedy was judged sufficient but a change in the succession of the crown, and transferring it into their own families.

Upon this account she was married to the Lord Guildford Dudley, fourth son to the Duke of Northumberland, without being acquainted with the real design of the match, which was celebrated with great pomp in the latter end of May, 1553; at the same time her younger sister, and the sister of her husband, were married to the

Lords Herbert and Hastings. These marriages were so much to the king's satisfaction that he contributed largely to the expense of them from the royal wardrobe. In the mean time, though the populace were very far from being pleased with the exorbitant greatness of the Duke of Northumberland, yet they could not help admiring the beauty and innocence which appeared in Lord Guildford and his bride. Lady Jane then removed from her father's house to the residences of the Dudleys—Durham House in London, and Sion House in the country. From her letter to Queen Mary she seems to have spent some days at this period with her mother.

The pomp and splendour attending these nuptials was the last gleam of joy that shone in the palace of Edward, who grew so weak in a few days after, that Northumberland thought it high time to carry his project into execution. Accordingly, in the beginning of June, he broke the matter to the young monarch, who at length yielded to overlook his sisters and set aside his father's will; agreeably to which, a deed of settlement being drawn up in form of law by the judges, was signed by his majesty and all the lords of the council. Judge Hales to the last refused his assent, and Cranmer was only induced to comply by the express commands of King Edward, and the assurance of the law officers of the crown that such a proceeding was lawful.

The next step was to concert the most proper method for carrying this settlement into execution, and till that was done, to keep it as secret as possible. To this end Northumberland directed letters to the Lady Mary in her brother's name, requiring her attendance at Greenwich, where the court then was; but she discerned the real object of this invitation. Two days before the death of her brother she retired to Norfolk, from whence she could escape by sea if she found it requisite to do so. The king expired July 6, 1553, but the two dukes, Suffolk and Northumberland, found it necessary to conceal his decease, that they might have time to gain the city of London,

and to procure the consent of Lady Jane, who as yet was unacquainted with the pains that had been taken to procure her the title of queen.

The Tower and city of London being secured, the council quitted Greenwich and came to London. On July 10, in the forenoon, the two last-mentioned dukes repaired to Sion House, where the Lady Jane resided. There the Duke of Northumberland, with much solemnity, explained to his daughter-in-law the disposition the late king had made of his crown by letters patent, the clear sense the privy-council had of her right, the consent of the magistrates and citizens of London, and in conclusion, himself and other nobles fell on their knees and paid their homage to her as queen of England. Lady Jane, somewhat astonished at their discourse, but not at all moved by their reasons, or in the least elevated by such unexpected honours, returned them an answer to this effect: That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right, standing for the king's sisters, she would beware of burdening her weak conscience with a yoke which belonged to them; that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a sceptre; that it were to mock God and deride justice to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown.

At length, however, she was prevailed upon by the exhortations of her father, the intercession of her mother, the artful persuasions of Northumberland, and, above all, by the earnest desires of her husband, whom she tenderly loved, to yield her assent to what had been done and what remained to do. And thus, with a heavy heart, she suffered herself to be conveyed by water to the Tower, where she entered with all the state of a queen, attended by the principal nobility, and, what is very extraordinary, her train was supported by the Duchess of Suffolk, her mother, in whom, if in any of this line, the right of succession remained. About six in the afternoon she was proclaimed in the city: the same day she assumed the regal title, and proceeded afterwards to exercise acts of sovereignty.

Passing over the transactions of her short reign of fourteen days, we may notice her behaviour on her fall, which was occasioned rather by the general apprehensions of Northumberland's tyranny than by any affection for Mary.

Queen Mary was no sooner proclaimed than the Duke of Suffolk, who then resided with his daughter in the Tower, went to her apartment, and, in the softest terms he could, acquainted her with the situation of their affairs, and that, laying aside the state and dignity of a queen, she must again return to that of a private person; to which, with a settled and serene countenance, she made this answer: "I better brook this message than my former advancement to royalty. Out of obedience to you and my mother, I have grievously sinned, and offered violence to myself. Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of my soul, relinquish the crown, and endeavour to salve those faults committed by others, if at least so great a fault can be salved, by a willing relinquishment and acknowledgment of them."

Thus ended the reign, but not the misfortunes of Lady Jane. She was separated from her husband by the command of Bishop Gardiner. They were placed separately in confinement, being stripped of every penny they possessed. She saw the father of her husband, with all his family, and many of the nobility and gentry, brought prisoners to the Tower, for supporting her claim to the crown; and this grief must have been increased by Northumberland being soon after brought to the block. Before the end of the month she had the mortification of seeing her father, the Duke of Suffolk, in the same circumstances with herself; but her mother, the duchess, not only remained exempt from all punishment, but had such interest with the queen as to procure the duke his liberty on the last day of the month. Lady Jane and her husband being still in confinement, were, November 3, 1553, carried from the Tower to Guildhall, with Cranmer and others, and arraigned for high treason. They pleaded

guilty. Lady Jane manifested much presence of mind upon this occasion. Neither the pressure of the crowd, the clash of arms of the numerous guard, nor the solemn ceremonies observed in passing sentence, seemed to affect or overcome her. Upon her return, she had in fact to comfort those whose business it was rather to have comforted her. Judge Morgan, who pronounced sentence of death upon Lady Jane, afterwards became raving mad, in which state he died, incessantly calling out that the Lady Jane should be taken from his sight.

It is not easy to ascertain what were Mary's intentions towards Lady Jane Grey and her husband. She had addressed a letter to Queen Mary, applying for mercy, and the historian by whom this letter is printed states that the queen resolved at that time to pardon her, but was induced afterwards to order her execution in consequence of the part taken by her father in Wyatt's insurrection. Several little indulgences were granted to Lady Jane and her husband, which tended to alleviate the severity of their confinement, and which would imply a design of mercy towards them; but the conduct of Mary and her counsellors in other cases shows that this might be done to promote an object she had much at heart, namely, to induce the prisoners to profess the Romish faith. But Lady Jane had counted the cost of following the truth; promises and threats were both disregarded; she evidently expected to suffer: she was, however, kept some months in suspense. Her letter to Queen Mary is as follows:<sup>1</sup>—

“My fault is so great that, but for the goodness and clemency of the queen, I could have no hope in asking forgiveness, nor that I should find pardon. For I have given ear to those who at that time appeared to be wise, not only to me, but also to a great part of this realm; but they have made known the contrary, as at present is seen, not only to my great hurt and to their own, but by

<sup>1</sup> This letter is preserved in a historical work by Pollini, and bears every mark of being genuine. It seems to have been written originally in Italian, and fully explains Lady Jane's conduct.

the common disgrace and blame of all men—they having with such shameful boldness made so dishonourable an attempt to give to another what was not theirs to bestow, neither did it become me to accept. Rightly and justly then do I blush and am ashamed, while I ask pardon for such a crime. Nevertheless I trust in God, that as at this time I know and confess my lack of wisdom, for which I deserve heavy punishment, unless the great mercy of your highness prevent, so likewise, from many tokens, I have hope of your great clemency, knowing that the error charged upon me was not wholly my own. My crime is great, and I confess it to be so; nevertheless I am accounted more guilty than in truth I am. For although I took upon me that of which I was unworthy, yet no one can say that I ever sought to obtain it for myself, or ever solaced myself therein, or accepted of it willingly.

“For when it was publicly reported that there was no longer any hope of the king’s life, as the Duchess of Northumberland before had promised that I should remain in the house with my mother, so having soon after learned this from her husband who first told it to me, she was no longer willing that I should leave my house; saying that if God willed to call the king to His mercy, and there was at that time no hope of his life, it would be needful for me to go immediately to the Tower, since his majesty had made me heir of his kingdom. Which being thus suddenly told unto me, it disturbed my mind, and after some time it oppressed me still more.

“But notwithstanding, I gave little heed to these words, and did not delay going from my mother. So that the Duchess of Northumberland was much displeased with me and with the duchess my mother, saying that if she had resolved to keep me in the house, she had also kept her son, with whom she thought I would assuredly have gone. She continued to be much displeased with me. In truth I remained in her house two or three nights, but at length obtained leave to go to Chelsea for my recreation. While there, shortly after, although unwell, I was sum-

moned by the council, who gave me to understand that I must go the same night to Sion, to hear what had been ordered respecting me by the king.

“The person by whom this news was brought unto me was the Lady Sidney, my sister-in-law, daughter of the Duchess of Northumberland. She told me, with seriousness more than common, that it was needful I should go with her, and I did so. When we arrived we found no one; but shortly after there came the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke, who, with unaccustomed kindness and condescension, did me such reverence as was not fitting to my state, for they knelt before me, and in many other ways made semblance to honour me. They also acknowledged me as their sovereign mistress, so that they caused me extreme confusion. After a time they brought to me the Duchess Frances, my mother, the Duchess of Northumberland, and the Marchioness of Northampton. The Duke of Northumberland, as president of the council, then made known the death of King Edward, showing what cause we had to rejoice for his virtuous and praiseworthy life, and also for his joyful departure.

“He furthermore took comfort to himself, and to all present, by praising much the goodness and wisdom of his late highness, for the great care he had manifested in the last hours of his life touching his kingdom, having prayed to God to defend it from the popish faith, and to deliver it from the rule of his evil sisters. He then said that his majesty had well weighed an act of parliament, wherein it was formerly enacted<sup>1</sup> that whosoever should acknowledge the Lady Mary, that is, your highness, or the Lady Eliza-

<sup>1</sup> Northumberland referred to an act passed in 1536, whereby both Mary and Elizabeth were declared illegitimate, and unable to succeed to the crown. This act had not been repealed, although in fact it was set aside by the act passed just before the death of Henry VIII., declaring that the succession should devolve upon those princesses in case Edward had no children. The reasons here assigned are in substance in the proclamation issued by Lady Jane's supporters.

beth, and take them for rightful heirs to the crown of England, should be held for traitors, one of them having formerly been disobedient to her father, Henry VIII., and to himself, touching the truth of religion, and declared enemies of the word of God; also that both were illegitimate. Wherefore in no manner would he that they should be heirs of his crown, he being able in every way to disinherit them. He therefore, before his death, gave charge to his council, that for the duty they owed unto him, for the love they bare to the realm, and for the affection they ought to have for their country, they should obey this his last will. The duke also said that I was the heir named by his majesty to succeed to the crown, and that my sisters should in like manner succeed me, if I died without issue.

“Hearing these words, all the lords of the council kneeled before me, saying that they rendered the honour due to me, I being heir to the crown, of true and direct lineage; and that it became them in every way to observe what they had deliberately promised to the king, to shed their own blood freely, and to offer their own lives to death in this cause. The which things I heard with extreme grief of mind. How I was carried out of myself, amazed, and troubled, I leave it to those lords to testify who were present, and saw me overcome by sudden and unlooked-for sorrow, fall to the ground weeping very bitterly. I then declared to them how unable I was. I much lamented the death of so noble a prince, and turning myself to God, I humbly prayed and besought Him, that if what had been given me was mine by law and right, His Divine Majesty would grant me such grace and spirit that I should govern to His glory and service, and to the good of this realm.

“On the next day, as is known to every one, I was conducted to the Tower. Shortly after the lord treasurer, the Marquess of Winchester, presented to me the jewels, with them he brought the crown, although neither by me nor by any one in my name had this been asked. He further willed me to put the crown upon my head, that it might

be seen whether it became me or not. The which, with many excuses, I refused to do: nevertheless he told me that I should take it to me without fear, and that another would be made to crown my husband with me. This was heard by me with a troubled mind, also with much grief and displeasure of heart. After this nobleman was gone, when talking of many things with my husband, he assented to what had been said, and asked to be made king: he desired to be made by me, by act of parliament.<sup>1</sup> But afterwards I called the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and said to them, that if the crown belonged to me, I would be content to make my husband a duke, but I would never consent to make him king. This my resolution caused his mother, when it was reported to her, to find occasion for much wrath and disdain. She became very angry with me, and was so displeased that she persuaded her son to separate from me. He did so, declaring to me moreover that he would not in any way be made a duke, but king. So that I was constrained to send to him the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who negotiated with him to come to me, otherwise I knew that the next morning he would have gone to Sion.

“And thus, in truth, was I deceived by the duke and the council, and ill treated by my husband and his mother. Moreover, as Sir John Gates has confessed, the duke was the first to persuade the king to make me his heir. As to the rest, for my part I do not know what the council may have determined, but I know for certain in this time poison was twice given to me, the first time in the house of the Duke of Northumberland, and since that, here in the Tower. Of this I have sure and certain testimony, besides that the skin has since that time peeled from my body.

“All these things I have willed to say in testimony of my innocence, and for unburdening my conscience.”

In January, 1554, the proposed marriage of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain excited much disgust in the nation.

<sup>1</sup> He actually assumed the title.

Sir Thomas Wyatt and others took arms to prevent a union from which they anticipated many calamities to England. This hasty and ill-concerted insurrection was soon suppressed. No religious question was mixed with it, and many of the protestants were most active in opposing it, but the Duke of Suffolk endeavoured to promote these proceedings, and the death of his daughter and her husband was resolved on. The news made no great impression upon Lady Jane; the bitterness of death was passed; she had expected it, and was well prepared.

Bishop Ponet expressly declares that several of the council who had been most active in setting up Lady Jane against Queen Mary, were now active in causing her execution! The day first fixed for her death was Friday, February 9, and she had, in some measure, taken leave of the world by writing a consolatory letter to her unhappy father, who she heard was more disturbed with the thoughts of being the author of her death than with the apprehension of his own. While she was in this frame of mind, Dr. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, came to her from the queen, who was very desirous she should die professing herself a papist, as her father-in-law had done.<sup>1</sup> The abbot was the queen's confessor, and a very fit instrument, having, with an acute wit and a plausible tongue, a great tenderness in his manner.

Lady Jane received him with much civility, and behaved towards him with so much calmness and sweetness of temper, that he could not help being overcome with her distress; so that, either mistaking or pretending to mistake her meaning, he procured a respite of her execution till the 12th. When he acquainted her with it, and wished to enter upon a more formal conference, she told him that he had entirely misunderstood her sense of her situation;

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Northumberland was beheaded August 22nd. He had been confined in a part of the Tower of London called Beauchamp's tower. Some years since a curious device and inscription was discovered on one of the walls of this room, which there is strong reason to believe had been carved by this unhappy nobleman. The name of his daughter-in-law "JANE" had also been cut by him in two places.

that far from desiring her death might be delayed, she expected and wished for it as the period of her miseries, and as her entrance into eternal happiness. A contemporary named Banks, in a letter written at this time, states that Lady Jane had desired a brief interval, "that those enticements which invited her to wish for life might be repressed, and entirely cut down by the sword of the word of God."

Feckenham went to this conference with great hope and exultation. He appears to have thought that it would be no difficult matter to triumph over a dejected and heart-broken girl. But he found it quite otherwise. Lady Jane was anxious to decline the proposed dispute; telling him that now she had no time to spare; that controversy might be fit for the living, but not for the dying; and, therefore, the truest sign of his having that compassion for her, of which he made such strong professions, would be to leave her undisturbed in intercourse with God.

With this humble request the confessor's presumptuous hopes forbade compliance; particularly as several individuals had been purposely admitted, before whom he was anxious to display his powers.

The account of this conference states that Feckenham had with her a long and tedious disputation; but like the other priests who had preceded him in attempting to bring her back to popery, he found himself much her inferior. He even acknowledged himself fitter to be her disciple than her teacher; and he besought her to deliver to him some brief account of her faith, which he might hereafter keep, and as a faithful witness publish to the world. To this she is said to have willingly consented; telling him to question her in what points of religion soever it pleased him, and promised that she would give answers such as she would be ever ready to seal with her blood. This catechising argument, for such it was, took place in the Tower publicly, before an assemblage of the noble and learned; during which Lady Jane bore herself with such a modest humility, yet so nobly firm in all

things which either concerned her God or her religion, that she engaged the hearts of all her auditory, while Feckenham lost much of that good opinion of his learning which for a long time he had enjoyed. On this, we are told, that finding his own weakness, and his inability to repel her truth with his scholastic fallacies, he lost his temper, and dared to use to her speeches unsuitable for his gravity; an insult, however, which she only answered with smiles and patience. Some notes of this conference were drawn up by Lady Jane herself.

When Feckenham was about to depart, he said: "Madam, I am sorry for you and your obstinacy, and now I am assured you and I shall never meet again." She replied: "It is most true, sir, we shall never meet again, except God turn your heart; for I stand undoubtedly assured that unless you repent and turn to God, you are in a sad and desperate case; and I pray to God in His mercy to send you His Holy Spirit, for He hath given you of His great gift of utterance, if it please Him to open your heart to the truth."

Between the announcement of the order for her execution and its fulfilment, the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Gage, evidently impressed with love and respect for the unhappy sufferers, was anxious to procure some memorial of his illustrious prisoners; and accordingly he presented to them a "vellum book of a small thickish size,<sup>1</sup> being the devotions of some English protestant of quality, who was cast into prison wrongfully, according to his own opinion. It was illuminated by some foreigner, but hath since been abused, and is now imperfect in two places." Such is the description of the book in the Harleian catalogue, to which is added a note: "I will not affirm that this manual was written by the direction of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset and protector of England, upon his first commitment to the Tower of London, and that the last five prayers were added after his second commitment, which ended in his execution. But if this were so,

<sup>1</sup> It is now in the British Museum, Harl. Coll. No. 2342.

it is easy to apprehend how it might come into the hands of that noble, but unfortunate lady, the Lady Jane Grey ; but that this book was in the Lady Jane's hands or possession, and was also looked into by her husband, appears from three notes, written on the lower margins."

The probability is that the book had been borrowed by the illustrious sufferers, and other materials not being allowed, was made by them the means of communicating their last wishes and farewells to their friends. The first note is evidently addressed by Lord Guildford to his father-in-law : " Your loving and obedient son wisheth unto your grace long life in this world, with as much joy and comfort as ever I wished to myself ; and in the world to come joy everlasting. Your most humble son till his death, G. DUDELEY."

A few pages farther on is a note from Lady Jane, addressed to the Duke of Suffolk : " The Lord comfort your grace and that in His Word, wherein all His creatures only are to be comforted. And though it hath pleased God to take away two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech your grace, that you have lost them ; but trust that we, by leaving this mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I for my part, as I have honoured your grace in this life, will pray for you in another life. Your grace's most humble daughter, JANE DUDELEY."

Lady Jane also addressed Sir John Gage in the following words : " Forasmuch as you have desired so simple a woman to write in so worthy a book, good master lieutenant, therefore I shall, as a friend, desire you, and as a Christian require you, to call upon God to incline your heart to His laws, to quicken you in His way, and not to take the word of truth utterly out of your mouth. Live still to die, that by death you may purchase eternal life ; and remember how the end of Methusael, who, as we read in the Scriptures, was the longest liver that ever was of a man, died at the last. For, as the preacher saith, There is a time to be born, and a time to die ; and the day of

death is better than the day of our birth. Yours, as the Lord knoweth, as a friend, JANE DUDDELEY."

On the 11th of February she was, for the most part, occupied in religious exercises and meditations, but in the course of the evening she took up a New Testament in Greek, "in which, after she had read awhile, and closing the book, she found at the end of it some leaves of clean paper unwritten; which," says the author quoted, "as it were awakening and exciting her zeal to some good and charitable office, she took pen and ink, and on these waste leaves wrote a most learned and godly exhortation; which she had no sooner finished, than she closed up the book, and delivered it to one of her attendants, Mistress Tylney, or Mistress Ellen, desiring her to bear it to her sister, Lady Herbert, as the last token of her love and remembrance." It is as follows:—

"I have here sent you, good sister Catherine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly rimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the laws of the Lord; it is His testament and last will, which He bequeathed unto us wretches, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy; and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire to follow it, shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live, and learn you to die; it shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woful father's lands. For, as if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands, so if you apply diligently to this book, trying to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moth corrupt.

"Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you, by death, may purchase eternal life, or after your death enjoy the life purchased you by Christ's death. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon, if God call, the young goeth as the old; labour

always to learn to die. Deny the world, defy the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not ; be steady in faith, and yet presume not ; and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, with whom, even in death, there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest, when death cometh, and stealeth upon you like a thief in the night, you, with the evil servant be found sleeping, and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage.

“Seeing you have the name of a Christian, as near as you can, follow the steps of your Master, Christ, and take up your cross, lay your sins on His back, and always embrace Him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, find an immortal felicity, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of His grace to live in His fear, and to die in the true Christian faith, from the which, in God’s name, I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for hope of life nor for fear of death ; for if you will deny His truth for to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto Him, He will prolong your days to your comfort and His glory ; to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleases Him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your trust in God, who only must help you.”

After finishing this exhortation to her sister, she was not permitted to remain in peace, but was again assailed by two bishops and two learned doctors, striving with all their powers of eloquence and persuasion to induce her to recant, and die in the Romish faith. In this, however, they were, as before, totally unsuccessful ; and after two hours they left her, as they said, a lost and forsaken member.

The queen intended that Lady Jane and her husband

should suffer together on Tower-hill, but the council, fearful of the effect her appearance might have upon the people, ordered that she should suffer within the walls of the Tower. In the morning the Lord Guildford earnestly desired the officers that he might take his last farewell of her; which, though they willingly gave permission, yet upon notice, she advised the contrary, assuring him that such a meeting would rather add to his afflictions than increase the quiet wherewith they had prepared their souls for the stroke of death; that he demanded a lenitive, which would put fire into the wound, and that it was to be feared her presence would rather weaken than strengthen him; that he ought to take courage from his reason, and derive constancy from his own heart; that if his soul were not firm and settled, she could not settle it by her eyes, nor confirm it by her words; that he should do well to remit this interview to the other world; that there, indeed, friendships were happy, and unions indissoluble, and that theirs would be eternal, if their souls carried nothing with them of terrestrial, which might hinder them from rejoicing. All she would do was to give him a farewell out of a window, as he passed to the place of his dissolution, which he suffered on the scaffold on Tower-hill with much Christian meekness. His body was then carried back to the Tower in a cart. It is related that Lady Jane was then sitting in her chamber, but on hearing the rumbling of the cart she arose and went to the window, though entreated by her attendants not to do so. She beheld his remains, and said, "O Guildford, Guildford, the antepast is not so bitter that you have tasted, and that I shall soon taste, as to make my flesh tremble: it is nothing compared to the feast that you and I shall this day partake of in heaven."

She then sat down and wrote in her tablets three short sentences. The first was in Greek, and may be thus translated: "If his slain body shall give testimony against me before men, his blessed soul shall render an eternal proof of my innocence before God." She there adverted to her not having desired the crown. The second

sentence was in Latin : " The justice of men took away his body, but the Divine mercy has saved his soul." The third was in English : " If my fault deserved punishment, my youth and my imprudence were worthy of excuse. God and posterity will show me favour."

About an hour after she was led to the scaffold within the Tower. She was attended by Feckenham, but was observed not to give much heed to his discourses, keeping her eyes steadfastly fixed on a book of prayers which she had in her hand. After some short recollection, she saluted those who were present with a countenance perfectly composed ; then taking leave of Feckenham, she said, " God will abundantly requite you, good sir, for your humanity to me, though your discourses gave me more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching death." She exhibited a countenance gravely settled with modest and comely resolution, with no trace of fear or grief.

When she mounted upon the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout : " Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me ; but touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you good Christian people this day ;" and therewith she wrung her hands wherein she had her book. Then said she, " I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I do look to be saved, by no other means, but only by the mercy of God in the blood of His only Son Jesus Christ ; and I do confess that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, and loved myself and the world ; and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins ; and yet I thank God of His goodness that He has thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." Then kneeling down, she turned to Feckenham, saying, Shall I

say this psalm? and he said, Yea. Then said she the fifty-first psalm in English, in most devout manner, to the end; and then she stood up and gave her attendant, Mistress Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Master Brydges (Gage?) of the Tower, and then she untied her gown, and the executioner pressed upon her to help her off with it, but she desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, also her neckerchief, giving her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes.<sup>1</sup>

Then the executioner kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw, which doing she saw the block. Then she said, "I pray you dispatch me quickly." Then she kneeled down, saying, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" and the executioner said, "No, madam." Then tied she the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? Where is it? where is it?" One of the standers-by guiding her, she laid her head upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so finished her life.

That day was long after called "Black Monday," being the commencement of a week in which forty-seven persons were executed, and some of them quartered alive in the streets of London! This excessive severity excited general indignation, and Knox, in his bold and courageous manner, observed: "I find that Jezebel, that cursed idolatress, caused the blood of the prophets to be shed, and Naboth to be martyred unjustly, for his own vineyard. But I think she never erected half so many gallows in all Israel as Mary hath done in London alone." Bishop Gardiner had publicly advised the queen to proceed rigorously.

Such was the life and death of Lady Jane Grey. Although not condemned as a heretic, she was a protestant, a follower of Christ, and a martyr to the cause of truth.

<sup>1</sup> Her gloves were sent to Bullinger, as a memorial of his beloved correspondent.

*Here follows a certain effectual prayer, made by the Lady Jane in the time of her trouble.*

“O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flieth unto Thee only in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in Thee; and therefore I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto Thee, O merciful Saviour, craving Thy mercy and help, without which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty.

“Albeit it is expedient that, seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we are of Thy flock or no, and also know Thee and ourselves the better; yet Thou that saidst Thou wouldest not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now a miserable wretch, I beseech Thee, who with Solomon<sup>1</sup> do cry unto Thee, humbly desiring Thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down with adversity, lest I, being too full, should deny Thee, my God; or being too low brought, should despair, and blaspheme Thee, my Lord and Saviour.

“O merciful God! consider my misery, which is best known unto Thee, and be Thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require Thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power; but either be Thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear Thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was Thy right hand that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, who for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and

<sup>1</sup> Or Agur, Prov. xxx.

keep them in bondage. Let it, therefore, likewise seem good to Thy Fatherly goodness to deliver me, sorrowful wretch, for whom Thy Son Christ shed His precious blood on the cross, out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt Thou be absent? For ever? O Lord, hast Thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast Thou shut up Thy lovingkindness in displeasure? Wilt Thou be no more entreated? Is Thy mercy clean gone for ever, and Thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost Thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of Thy mercy, O God? Far be that from me. I am Thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus; give me grace, therefore, to tarry Thy leisure, and patiently to bear Thy works; assuredly knowing that as Thou canst, so Thou wilt deliver me, when it shall please Thee; nothing doubting or mistrusting Thy goodness towards me, for Thou knowest better what is good for me than I do. Therefore, do with me in all things what Thou wilt, and plague me what way Thou wilt; only in the mean time arm me, I beseech Thee, with Thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace; above all things taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is Thy most holy word; praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to Thy will, abiding Thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please Thee to send me; seeing such troubles are profitable for me; and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well, all that Thou doest. Hear me, O most merciful Father, for His sake, whom Thou wouldest should be a sacrifice for my sins; to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory. Amen."

## GEORGE WISHART.

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GEORGE WISHART was a brother of the laird of Pittarrow, in the county of Mearns, in Scotland. We do not learn when he first was led to embrace the truth, but it appears that he obtained a knowledge of the Greek language at Montrose, from a master lately brought from France by Erskine of Dun. Chisholm, bishop of Brechin, hearing that Wishart taught the Greek Testament, summoned him to answer to a charge of heresy, upon which he left Scotland. Such was the opposition of the papists in those days to the progress of scriptural truth, that we find one of them asserting that all who read the New Testament in the original became heretics, while those who studied Hebrew infallibly became Jews! After having visited the continent, he settled for a time at Cambridge. The following account of him during his residence at that University will interest the reader. It is preserved by Foxe from a communication to him by one of Wishart's pupils, named Emery Tylney.

"About the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the University of Cambridge one Master George Wishart, commonly called Master George of Bennet's College, who was a man of tall stature, bald-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best. Judged of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled, having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantle frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and

plain black hosen, coarse new canvas for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at the hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

“He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness, for his charity had never end—night, noon, nor day; he forbare one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw, coarse new canvas sheets, which when he changed he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured often heard him, and in one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice by good exhortation, amended them, and he went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! For in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry VIII. His learning no less sufficient than his desire, always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

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

“All this I testify, with my whole heart and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth I speak the truth, that the

simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed."

At this time the Reformation in Scotland had made some progress, although it was yet under a cloud, and its advocates subject to persecutions and death. Patrick Hamilton had been one of the first who taught the truth, and he was burned A.D. 1527, but the principles he inculcated, by the Divine blessing, had taken too deep root to be suppressed. Agreeably to the warning given to Beatoun by Lindsay, the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton seemed to have infected as many as it blew upon.<sup>1</sup>

Wishart left Cambridge in 1544, and returned to his own country, where he stayed some time at Montrose, but shortly afterwards left that place and came to Dundee. There he made considerable impression by his preaching, especially in a series of lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, which excited considerable alarm among the popish ecclesiastics, who perceived that their superstitious and idolatrous worship, as well as their spiritual domination, was in much danger unless he could be silenced. Their anxiety for maintaining their temporal privileges, and their unwillingness to promote the spiritual welfare of the people, appears from a reproof addressed by the Bishop of Dunkeld to Dean Thomas Forrest, who was afterwards burned for his adherence to the doctrines of truth. It was given in the following terms: "My joy (or beloved) Dean Thomas: I am informed that you preach the epistle or the gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the best cow nor the uppermost cloth from your parishioners, which is very prejudicial to other churchmen. Therefore, my joy Dean Thomas, I would that you took your cow and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do. Also, it is too much to preach every Sunday, for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. It is enough for you, when you find any good epistle or any good gospel, that setteth forth the

<sup>1</sup> In the treatise on faith and works, entitled *Patrick's Places*, printed in *The British Reformers*, the reader will find ample proof of the purity of the doctrines thus early diffused in Scotland.

liberty (privileges) of the holy church, to preach on that, and let the rest be." The cow and cloth here referred to were the best articles in a family, which the priests claimed as mortuary fees upon the death of the parent or master, thus adding to the privations of a poor widow and orphans already struggling with difficulties. Forrest referred the bishop to the Bible, assuring him that he could never find an evil epistle or gospel. The bishop replied, thanking God that he never knew what the Old and New Testament were! About the same period four men were hanged, whose crime was having eaten a goose on a fast day; and the wife of one of them was taken from her children, the youngest an infant at the breast, and drowned, for having partaken of the meal and refused to call upon the Virgin Mary! Such was the state of Scotland when the Reformation began.

At the instigation of Cardinal Beatoun, a principal magistrate of Dundee, named Robert Mill, charged Wishart, in the names of the queen and the governor, to cease from preaching there. This charge was given in public, just after Wishart had concluded one of his sermons. He remained silent for a short time, and then, with a sorrowful countenance said: "God is my witness, that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more dolorous to me than it is to yourselves, but I am assured, to refuse God's Word, and to chase from you His messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it: for God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation. With the hazard of my life I have remained among you; now ye yourselves refuse me, and I must leave my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth; but if unlooked-for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the first warning, He will visit you with fire and sword."

He then went into the west country, and preached at

Ayr with much faithfulness. Dunbar, then archbishop of Glasgow, being informed of the great resort to Wishart's sermons, came to Ayr to apprehend him, but first took possession of the church to prevent his preaching. The Earl of Glencairn, with others of the nobility, who had begun to throw off the yoke of popery, offered to replace Wishart in the pulpit, but he would not consent, and persuaded them to accompany him to the market-cross, where he preached with such success that some of his hearers who had been opponents of the truth were converted. Meanwhile the bishop's sermon was attended only by a few of the more aged and superstitious inhabitants, with his own retinue: his discourse, in effect, was only a promise that he would preach them a sermon at some future time!

On the next Lord's day Wishart was prevented by armed men from preaching in the church of Mauchline; the parishioners who were inclined to the Reformation would have driven them out by force, but he would not consent, saying: "Brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church; and Himself often preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places. The like word of peace God sends by me: the blood of none shall be shed this day for preaching it."

Then going into the fields he stood upon a bank, where he preached to the people above three hours; and God wrought so wonderfully by that sermon, that one of the most wicked men in all the country, Raulun, the laird of Shield, was converted by it, his eyes flowing with such abundance of tears that all men wondered at it.

Wishart continued to preach in Kyle for some weeks, when hearing that a pestilence had broken out in Dundee, he resolved to return thither. There he was with joy received by the godly. He chose the East-gate for the place of his preaching, so that the healthy were within, and the sick without the gate. His text was: *He sent His word, and healed them.* (Psalm cvii. 20.) He chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgments that ensue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the free-

dom of God's grace to all His people, and the happiness of those of His elect, whom He takes to Himself out of this miserable world. The hearts of his hearers were so raised by the Divine force of this discourse, as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who should then be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them. After this the plague almost ceased, though Wishart constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

When he took his leave of the people of Dundee, he said that God had almost put an end to that plague, and that he was now called to another place. He went from thence to Montrose, where he sometimes preached and administered the sacrament in both kinds, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer, in which he was so earnest, that night and day he frequently continued in it.

Before Wishart left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies as well as to the souls of those poor afflicted people, Cardinal Beatoun bribed a popish priest, called John Weighton, to slay him. One day, the sermon being ended and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a dagger in his hand under his gown. But Wishart having a sharp piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came down, said to him: "My friend, what would you have?" And immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest being terrified fell down upon his knees and confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried: "Deliver the traitor to us, or we will take him by force;" and they burst in at the gate. But Wishart, taking the priest in his arms, said: "Whatsoever hurts him shall hurt me; for he hath done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come." And so he appeased them, and saved the priest's life.

After his return to Montrose the cardinal again conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent as from his familiar friend, the Laird of Kinnier, in which he was desired with all possible speed to come, because he was taken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time the cardinal had provided sixty men armed, to lie in wait and murder Wishart as he passed that way.

The letter coming to Wishart's hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey, Wishart, accompanied by some honest men his friends, set forward; but suddenly stopping by the way, and musing a space, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause, to whom he said, "I will not go. I am forbidden of God. I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." Which doing, they made the discovery, and hastily returning, they told Mr. Wishart: whereupon he said, "I know I shall end my life by that bloodthirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

The time approaching when he should meet the west country gentlemen at Edinburgh, he took his leave and departed. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called James Watson, of Inner Goury. In the night time he got up, and went into a yard, which two men hearing, they privately followed him. He walked in an alley for some space, breathing forth many groans; then he fell upon his knees, and his groans increased; then he fell upon his face; when those that watched him heard him lamenting and praying: and thus he continued near an hour, when getting up he went to his bed again. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning and saw your gestures." Then he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you. I am

assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot."

When they heard this they fell a-weeping, saying, "This is small comfort to us." Then said he, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack, in despite of all enemies, the top-stone; neither will it be long before this be accomplished. Many shall not suffer after me, before the glory of God shall appear and triumph in despite of Satan. But, alas! if the people afterwards shall prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible will the plagues be that shall follow."

He then went forward upon his journey and came to Leith, but hearing nothing of those who were to meet with him, he kept himself retired for a day or two. He then grew pensive, and being asked the reason of it, he answered, "What do I differ from a dead man? Hitherto God hath used my labours for the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darkness, and now I lurk as a man ashamed to show his face." His friends perceived that his desire was to preach, whereupon they said to him, "It is most comfortable to us to hear you, but because we know the danger wherein you stand, we dare not desire it."

"But," said he, "if you dare hear, let God provide for me as best pleaseth Him;" and so it was concluded that the next day he should preach in Leith. His text was the parable of the sower, Matt. xiii. The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who were earnest professors of Jesus Christ, would not suffer him to stay at Leith, because the governor and the cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh, but took him along with them; and so he preached at Brunstone, Longniddry, and Ormiston. Then was he requested to preach at Inveresk, near Musselburgh, where he had a great congregation.

Among others that came to hear him preach, there were two grey-friars, who standing at the church door, whis-

pered to such as came in ; which Wishart observing, said to the people, " I pray you make room for these two men ; it may be they come to learn ;" and turning to them, he said, " Come near, for I assure you, you shall hear the word of truth which this day shall seal up to you either your salvation or damnation ;" and so he proceeded in his sermon, supposing that they would be quiet. But when he perceived that they still continued to disturb all the people that stood near them, he said to them the second time, with an angry countenance, " O ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men ; will ye neither hear God's truth yourselves, nor suffer others to hear it ? Depart, and take this for your portion ; God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this kingdom ; ye shall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." This he spake with much vehemency, and turning to the people, he said, " These men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger ;" and then he proceeded to the end of his sermon.

Being come to Haddington, his auditory was at first considerable, but the next day it decreased, which was thought to happen through the influence of the Earl of Bothwell, who was moved to oppose him at the instigation of the cardinal. Soon after, as he was going to church, he received a letter from the west-country gentlemen, and having read it, he called John Knox, who had diligently waited upon him since he came into Lothian, to whom he said, " That he was weary of the world, because he saw that men began to be weary of God ; for," said he, " the gentlemen of the west have sent me word that they cannot keep their meeting at Edinburgh." John Knox, wondering that he should enter into conference about these things immediately before his sermon, contrary to his custom, said to him, " Sir, sermon-time approaches ; I will leave you for the present to your meditations."

He then in his sermon spoke seriously on the greater readiness of people to attend vain plays than the preaching of the word of God, and gave warning that

Divine judgments must be expected to fall upon a place where such courses were pursued. After sermon he took his last farewell of his friends in Haddington. John Knox would have gone with him ; but he said, "Return to your children (his pupils), and God bless you : one is sufficient for one sacrifice." Then went he to the Laird of Ormiston's, with some others that accompanied him. After supper he had a comfortable discourse of God's love to His children ; then he appointed the fifty-first Psalm to be sung, and so retired to his chamber.

Before midnight the house was beset, and the Earl of Bothwell called for the laird of the house, and told him that it was in vain to resist, for the governor and the cardinal were within a mile, with a great power ; but if he would deliver Wishart to him, he would promise upon his honour that he should be safe, and that the cardinal should not hurt him. Wishart said, "Open the gates ; the will of God be done." Earl Bothwell then pledged himself in the most decided terms to protect Wishart from the cardinal and his other enemies, to set him at liberty, or bring him back to Ormiston. Only a few days, however, elapsed before Bothwell, tempted by the favours of the queen and the gold of the cardinal, gave up Wishart to Beatoun, who immediately proceeded against him, notwithstanding the regent refused to concur, upon the remonstrance of one of his counsellors, who boldly represented the cruelty and danger of thus persecuting the servants of God, and putting to death men who had no other crime laid to their charge than preaching the gospel of Christ.

Wishart was carried to St. Andrew's, where, on February 28th, 1546, he was brought before a synod of the Romish ecclesiastics, who proceeded against him upon their own authority. After a sermon had been preached, Wishart was put up into the pulpit to hear his charge ; and one Lauder, a priest, stood over against him, and read a scroll full of bitter accusations and curses, so that the ignorant people thought that the earth would have opened and swallowed up Wishart quick ; but he stood with great

patience, without moving or once changing his countenance. The priest having ended his curses, spat at Wishart's face, saying, "What answerest thou? thou runagate, traitor, thief," etc. Then Wishart fell upon his knees, making his prayer unto God, after which he said: "Many and horrible sayings unto me—a Christian man, many words abominable to hear, have ye spoken here this day; which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought a great abomination," etc. Then did he give them an account of his doctrine, answering every article, as far as they let him.

One extract will suffice to show that he stated scriptural truth. "I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine that they should leave the unsure way (of praying to and honouring saints), and follow the way which was taught us by our Master—Christ. He is our only Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God His Father. He is the Door by the which we must enter in—he that enters not in by this door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a robber. He is the Verity and Life—he that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire, yea, verily, he is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, which I have ever followed."

But they, without any regard to his sober and godly answers, presently condemned him to be burnt. After which sentence, he, falling upon his knees, said:—

"O immortal God, how long wilt Thou suffer the rage and great cruelty of the ungodly men to exercise their fury upon Thy servants, which do further Thy word in this world; whereas they, on the contrary, seek to destroy the truth, whereby Thou hast revealed Thyself to the world. O Lord, we know certainly that Thy true servants must needs suffer for Thy name's sake, persecutions, afflictions, and troubles in this present world; yet we desire that Thou wouldest preserve and defend Thy church which Thou hast chosen before the foundation of the world, and give Thy people grace to hear Thy word, and to be Thy true servants in this present life."

Then were the common people put out, the bishops not

desiring that they should hear the innocent man speak ; and so they sent him again to the castle for that night. In the castle came two friars to him, requiring him to make his confession to them ; to whom he said, " I will make no confession to you, but fetch me that man who preached even now, and I will speak with him." Then was the sub-prior sent for, with whom he conferred some time, till the sub-prior wept, who, going to the cardinal, with Wishart's concurrence, applied for permission to administer the sacrament to him. This was refused. Wishart spending the night in prayer, the next morning the captain of the castle, with some friends, asked him to break his fast with them. " Yea," said he, " very willingly, for I know you are honest men." He desired them to hear him a little ; and so discoursed to them about the Lord's Supper, His sufferings and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, laying aside all rancour and malice, as becomes the members of Jesus Christ, who continually intercedes for us with His Father. Afterwards he gave thanks, and blessing the bread and wine, gave it to every one, saying, " Eat this, remember that Christ died for us, and feed on it spiritually."

Presently came two executioners to him from the cardinal ; one put on him a black linen coat, the other brought him bags of powder, which they tied about several parts of his body ; and so they brought him forth to the place of execution, over against which place the castle windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet cushions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence were to feed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The cardinal, fearing lest Wishart should be rescued by his friends, caused all the ordnance in the castle to be bent against the place of his execution, and commanded his gunners to stand ready all the time of his burning. His hands bound behind his back, he was led forth. Some beggars asked alms of him, to whom he said, " My hands are bound wherewith I was wont to give you alms ; but the merciful Lord, who of His bounty

and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities both for your bodies and souls." Then two friars met him, persuading him to pray to our lady to mediate for him; to whom he meekly said, "Cease; tempt me not, I entreat you." And so with a rope about his neck, and a chain about his middle, he was led to the fire; then falling upon his knees, he thrice repeated, "O Thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me; Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into Thy holy hands." Then turning to the people, he said, "I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, be not offended at the Word of God, for the torments which you see prepared for me; but I exhort you that ye love the Word of God, your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the Word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort. I pray you also show my brethren and sisters, who have heard me oft before, that they cease not to learn the Word of God, which I taught them, according to the measure of grace given me, for no persecution or trouble in this world, which lasteth not; and show them that my doctrine was no wives' fables, after the constitutions made by men; and if I had taught men's doctrine, I should have had greater thanks from men. But for the Word's sake and true gospel, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my face; you shall not see me change my colour: this grim fire I fear not; and so I pray you to do, if any persecution come to you for the Word's sake, and not to fear them that slay the body, and have no power to hurt the soul."

Then he prayed for them who accused him, saying, "I beseech Thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have of any ignorance or of any evil mind forged lies of me. I forgive them with all my heart; I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly." Then turning to the people again, he

said, "I beseech you, brethren, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the Word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked errors, there shall shortly come upon them the wrath of God which they shall not escape." He added many other faithful words, taking no heed to the cruel torments prepared for him. Then the executioner, upon his knees, said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death." Wishart, calling him, kissed his cheek, saying, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee: my heart, do thine office." He was then tied to the stake, and the fire kindled.

The captain of the castle, coming near him, bade him be of good courage, and to beg for him the pardon of his sin; to whom Wishart said, "This fire torments my body, but no whit abates my spirits." And so his breath being stopped, by the executioner drawing the cord round his neck, he was consumed by the fire, near the castle of St. Andrew's, in the year 1546.

Shortly after the cardinal, having been slain by some favourers of the Reformation who were indignant at his political tyranny, as well as his religious persecutions, was hung from the window of the castle where he sat to witness the burning of Wishart, that the people might see that he was dead. The cardinal in his malicious haste to proceed against Wishart had exceeded the bounds of the law, by putting him to death merely on ecclesiastical authority. Several leading men united to execute what they considered was a just vengeance upon Beatoun, for his lawless conduct, considering that in the disorganised state of society which then existed, it was lawful for private individuals to take the execution of justice into their own hands, forgetting that Christians are taught to suffer, and not to revenge themselves, but to commit all to Him that judgeth righteously.

JOHN KNOX.

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JOHN KNOX was born in a suburb of Haddington, called Gifford Gate, in 1505. His family had been for some generations retainers of the great border chiefs, the Earls of Bothwell, and his father, a sturdy yeoman, was able to give him a liberal education. He afterwards studied at the University of St. Andrew's, where he made considerable progress under the tuition of John Major, an able divine, who had imbibed principles opposed to the pretensions of the papacy. Knox was ordained a priest in the Romish church at an earlier age than usual, and taught philosophy as a lecturer in the University. While thus employed he read the writings of several of the fathers, particularly Augustine and Jerome: by them he was directed to the study of the Scriptures, and by degrees was emancipated from the trammels of scholastic divinity. As he publicly advocated scriptural sentiments, he soon became an object of suspicion, and having quitted St. Andrew's, sentence was publicly passed against him as a heretic.

Knox was chiefly indebted to Wishart for instruction in the doctrines of the gospel, and a sketch of his life in connection with that of his instructor will show the difficulties the Reformation in Scotland encountered, and the means by which it was established. At that period the Reformers were openly persecuted, and Knox was soon sought for. He accompanied Wishart for some time, and only left that Reformer the night previous to his apprehension. Wishart obliged Knox to leave him and return to his pupils, who were the sons of Douglas of Long Niddrie and Cock-

burn of Ormiston. Knox was very attentive to the religious instruction of his charge, and contrived that the neighbourhood should benefit thereby. After concealing himself for some time, early in 1547 he took refuge in the castle of St. Andrew's, then held by the protestants. Here Knox was earnestly called to exercise the office of the ministry, which he undertook with much reluctance; but when he had entered upon the duties, he discharged them with much energy and faithfulness, in particular controverting the doctrines and principles of popery, denouncing the church of Rome as antichristian, so that many inhabitants, both of the town and castle, openly professed the protestant faith.

On the last day of July, 1547, the castle of St. Andrew's was surrendered to the French forces then in Scotland. The besiegers, however, engaged that the lives of all persons in the castle should be spared; also that they should be carried to France, and afterwards be conveyed to any other country they might prefer. On their arrival in France the capitulation was violated. At the instigation of the pope and the Romish clergy of Scotland, they were detained as prisoners. Knox, with some others, was sent to the galleys, where they were kept in chains, and treated with much severity. They were continually threatened with torture if they would not join in the popish worship, but they steadfastly refused. A finely painted wooden image of the Virgin being one day forced into the hands of a prisoner (probably Knox himself), he threw it into the water, saying, "Let our lady now save herself; she is light enough, let her learn to swim!"

The galleys cruised off the coast of Scotland during the summer of 1548, and Knox's health suffered much from severe treatment, but while lying in a fever, he still expressed his confidence that God would deliver them. Balfour, a fellow-prisoner, one day pointed out the coast between Dundee and St. Andrew's, asking if he knew it. Knox replied, "Yes, I know it well; I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public

to His glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till my tongue shall glorify His name in the same place." Such an event then appeared scarcely possible, but some years afterwards it was literally fulfilled. During this confinement his mind suffered much as well as his body, but he found relief in earnest supplication, and expressed his feelings at that period in his treatise on prayer. He also found opportunity to write a preface to Balnave's "Treatise on Justification," which work he divided into chapters, and added notes.<sup>1</sup>

In 1549 Knox was liberated, when he immediately went to England. Edward VI. was then upon the throne, and Cramner was most anxious to supply the realm with able preachers of the gospel, the want of whom was greatly felt. Knox was stationed at Berwick, and his labours were very successful. This gave umbrage to Tonsal, then bishop of Durham; that prelate had renounced the pope's supremacy, and was exceedingly moderate for a Romanist, yet he could not endure the doctrines taught by the Reformer. As Knox was sanctioned by the government, Tonsal could not prohibit him from preaching, but he listened to, and encouraged the enmity of the Romanists. Knox was in consequence called upon to defend his tenets, which he did publicly, when he completely silenced his adversaries.

In 1551 Knox was removed to Newcastle, when his opportunities for usefulness were extended, and in December of that year he was appointed one of the king's six chaplains in ordinary; two of whom in turn were to be at court and four absent, preaching in different parts of the kingdom. In this work Knox laboured indefatigably, frequently preaching every day in the week, besides having numerous conversations with the principal inhabitants of the places he visited. Various documents, noticed by Burnet and Strype, show the importance of his services, and the value

<sup>1</sup> This valuable specimen of the doctrine of the Scottish protestants is printed in *The British Reformers*.

placed upon them. His enemies, however, circulated many false and calumnious reports which he was obliged to answer before the council, by whom he was honourably acquitted, when he received fresh marks of the king's favour. Preferment was offered, but he declined it, and continued his itinerant labours, though frequently suffering from illness and debility, the effects of his imprisonment. He occasionally preached at court, where he discharged the duty of his office with the same bold, uncompromising fidelity as Latimer. In these labours Knox was employed when King Edward died. He foresaw the measures which were soon afterwards adopted, and forewarned the citizens of London what they must shortly expect. However, he preached in Buckinghamshire and in Kent till November, 1553, when he returned to London.

At this period Knox married a lady named Bowes, of a good northern family, to whom he had been engaged for a considerable time; and as the protestants were now in much danger he withdrew to Northumberland, where he continued to preach the gospel, even after the day on which the reformed worship was to cease. Three days subsequent to that period, he wrote thus in a letter: "I may not answer your places of Scripture, nor yet write the exposition of the sixth Psalm, for every day of this week must I preach if this wicked carcass will permit." But his enemies now sought for him; he found himself closely watched, and his friends urging him to withdraw, he embarked for France, and landed safely at Dieppe on January 28, 1554.

He spoke thus of his flight in a letter to his mother-in-law: "Some will ask, Why did I flee? Assuredly I cannot tell. But of one thing I am sure—the fear of death was not the chief cause of my fleeing. I trust that one cause has been to let me see that all had not a true heart to Christ Jesus, who in the day of rest and peace bare a fair face. . . . I would not bow my knee before that most abominable idol (the mass) for all the torments that earthly tyrants can devise, God so assisting me, as His

Holy Spirit now moves me to write unfeignedly. And albeit I have in the beginning of this battle appeared to play the faint-hearted and feeble soldier (the cause for which I remit to God), yet my prayer is that I may be restored to the battle again."

While at Dieppe, he wrote and sent to England an exposition of the sixth Psalm, and a letter addressed to the faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick, among whom he had laboured, admonishing them of the danger of forsaking true religion.

From thence Knox travelled to Switzerland: after visiting the different congregations in that country he returned to Dieppe, to obtain information respecting the state of England, hoping to be able to revisit Scotland. Finding this was impracticable he went back to Switzerland, and settled at Geneva, where he formed an intimate friendship with Calvin. During his banishment his afflicted brethren were ever present to his mind, and under the feelings their sufferings excited he wrote his "Admonition to England." Knox's enemies denounce this tract as manifesting undue bitterness of language. His expressions certainly are strong, but it must not be forgotten that he was speaking of Gardiner, Bonner, and Queen Mary, and their barbarous persecutions.

In November, 1554, he was called to undertake the charge of the congregation of British exiles then at Frankfurt. Disputes, however, shortly after arose, relative to the form of worship, when those who opposed Knox had recourse to a most unjustifiable measure to procure his removal. They laid before the magistrates some passages in his writings which reflected upon the emperor and Queen Mary, now daughter-in-law to that prince. These were represented as treasonable: the result was that the magistrates prohibited the Reformer from preaching, and advised him to leave the city. Knox retired to Geneva.

In August, 1555, Knox returned to Scotland, anxious to see his family; he was also induced to revisit his native

country, by learning that an increased disposition for Reformation was beginning to appear, which was promoted by some who had fled from England on account of religion. He conversed with his friends and some of the nobility, and urged them to separate from the Romish church. He even preached and administered the sacrament publicly. The papists summoned Knox to appear before a convention of the clergy, hoping to drive him from the country, but finding that he was resolved to attend, they discharged the summons upon some frivolous pretence. Knox, however, came to Edinburgh, and preached publicly both morning and afternoon for ten days, no one interrupting him. While thus employed he wrote to his mother-in-law: "May God, for Christ His Son's sake, grant me to be mindful that the sobs of my heart have not been in vain, nor neglected in the presence of his Majesty. Sweet were the death that should follow forty such days in Edinburgh as I have had there."

At the desire of some nobles he addressed a letter to the queen regent, urging her to countenance the Reformation, but she treated his counsel with contempt.

At this time Knox received an application from the English church at Geneva, requesting him to return and become their pastor. He complied, and proceeded thither in July, 1556, accompanied by his wife and mother-in-law. As soon as he had departed, the Romish clergy, who dared not to meet him face to face, condemned him as a heretic; and as his body was out of their reach, they caused his effigy to be burned at the cross of Edinburgh. Upon hearing of this, Knox drew up an "Appellation, with a Supplication and Exhortation," addressed to the nobility and commonalty of Scotland, in which he gave a summary of the doctrines he had taught during his late visit.

Knox abode at Geneva for nearly two years longer. This was the most quiet period of his life. The greatest cordiality existed between himself, his colleague, and the people under his charge. He also enjoyed the friendship of Calvin and the other Genevese ministers. During this

time he assisted several other exiles from England in preparing a new translation of the Bible. This is commonly called the Geneva Bible. Thirty editions of it were printed during the ensuing half century. It was at that period more used in private families than any other, and many strong testimonies have been given of its value.

The following extract of a letter written at this time to Mrs. Locke, a merchant's wife in London, shows that his mind was ever anxious to build up believers in their holy faith.

"The perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit, for salutations.

"As the hasty departing of the messengers made your letters, as you write, brief, so does it make mine to be imperfect and rude; for at night I received them, and I being to occupy the public place to-morrow, the messenger was to depart without any signification of my remembrance towards you, or else with these, though nothing to the purpose. Touching your troubles (spiritual I mean), fear not to be plain with me; and so faithfully as I would that God should distribute to me in my necessity, so will I endeavour myself to communicate with you what His Spirit teaches me within His most sacred Word. In the mean time I am assured that you are not destitute of His Holy Spirit, for it floweth, and giveth witness of itself in your grievous complaint and earnest prayer. Easy it is to think well of God, to pray and to promise to ourselves all good things of His, when His strength upholds us; but when He appears to leave us a little in our own weak corruption, and to show His face angry against sin, then to seek unto His promises, then to call upon His help, and to appeal to Him, as it were, that He declare Himself a true, merciful, and benign Father towards us, is the greatest glory that we can give unto Him. Yea, it is to overcome Him, and to be victor over Him by His own strength, which albeit we feel not in the present combat, no more than Jacob did in wrestling with the angel, yet shall we find the comfort of it when the storm is a little

assuaged: For how is it possible that we should call upon Him for help, whom we think armed to our destruction, except the secret power of His Holy Spirit moved us there-to? In such cases hypocrisy hath no place, but the sorely bruised heart pours forth anguish into the bosom of Him whom we confess only able to remedy us. But of this matter, alas! I may not now write."

In 1557 Knox received a letter from the Earl of Glencairn and others who desired to promote the Reformation in Scotland. They stated that the professors of the truth continued steadfast, while the papists declined in credit, and invited him to return to Scotland, where he would find many disposed to receive and support him with their lives and fortunes. Calvin and other friends advised Knox to comply with this call: he accordingly proceeded to Dieppe, where he received letters, stating that some had already repented of having sent the invitation. He wrote a reply, admonishing the leaders of the importance of their enterprise. But he was thus compelled to delay his journey. He passed some time in France, and then returned to Geneva, having first written some earnest and heart-searching epistles to his countrymen: indeed the letters of Knox appear to have had a very considerable influence in effecting the Reformation of Scotland. At this time, in consequence of the proceedings of Mary, queen of England, Knox wrote against females being entrusted with the government of nations; but that work, and the controversy which it occasioned, need not be here noticed.

The protestant nobility of Scotland again took courage. In December, 1557, they subscribed a bond of mutual assurance, and once more invited Knox to return. Their letters did not reach him till November, 1558, by which time they had formed congregations in many parts of the kingdom.

The popish clergy had resumed their persecutions, and burned an aged priest of good character, named Walter Mill, which excited universal horror, and stimulated the protestants to avow more openly their resolutions to

adhere to their faith. About this time Queen Mary of England died, and most of the English exiles prepared to return.

Knox now once more proceeded towards his native country: being refused permission to pass through England, he sailed for Scotland direct, and landed at Leith, in May, 1559. The Reformer arrived at a critical moment; the queen regent had summoned all the protestant preachers to appear before her at Stirling, to answer for their conduct. He resolved to join them, and found a large body of the laity assembled to conduct their preachers, but in a peaceable manner. The great body of the Reformers remained at Perth, sending one of their number to court. The queen pretended to be appeased, and authorised their deputy to assure them that she had stopped the trial; but when the day came the preachers were summoned, and outlawed for non-appearance!

The news of this treachery could not but incense the body of protestants,<sup>1</sup> many of whom had remained at Perth. On the day when the intelligence was received, Knox preached a sermon, in which he exposed the mass and image worship. Scarcely had he concluded, when a priest exhibited a rich altar-piece decked with images, and prepared to say mass. Some idle persons were loitering in the church, one of whom, a boy, expressed his disapprobation aloud. The priest struck him, and the boy threw a stone in return, which broke one of the images. This excited the bystanders, and in a few minutes the altar, the images, and all the trumpery, were broken and trampled under foot. A mob then assembled, composed of the lower classes, who, in defiance of the magistrates and reformed preachers, hastened to attack the other strongholds of superstition, and soon laid the monasteries in ruins. But so far from encouraging this attack, Knox exerted himself to the utmost to repress the tumult, which in fact promoted the views of the queen regent rather than those of the Reformers, as she was thereby enabled to

<sup>1</sup> About this time they were first called The Congregation.

excite many against the Reformation who hitherto had been indifferent upon the subject.

The nation was now roused, and several of the nobility determined to exert to the utmost the power they possessed under the feudal system, rather than allow the Reformation to be suppressed, and their country again to be enslaved beneath the yoke of superstition. It is unnecessary to enter minutely into the details of the proceedings which followed, during which Knox preached in the cathedral of St. Andrew's, agreeably to the confident hope he had expressed when a prisoner on board the galleys. The result of his visit to that city was the removal of images and pictures from the churches, and demolition of the monasteries: the example was speedily followed in other parts of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

While the lords of the congregation, as the protestant leaders were denominated, were able to maintain themselves in opposition to the regent, Knox visited the greater part of Scotland. The attention of the nation was roused; their eyes were open to the errors by which they had been deluded; and they panted for the word of life which they once had tasted. It soon, however, became apparent that foreign aid was necessary: application being made to England, assistance was given, and in July, 1560, a treaty was concluded, by which the French troops were sent home. No settlement of religion being stipulated for by this treaty, the result was, that as soon as the foreign aid had been withdrawn, and the popular feeling in favour of the Reformation left at liberty, the Romish formularies were everywhere discontinued.

Knox now resumed his situation as minister of Edin-

<sup>1</sup> Knox is related to have said, "That the best way to keep the rooks from returning was to pull down their nests!" Public documents show that the Reformers, both laity and clergy, desired to confine this destruction to "idolatrous houses," and that care was taken to remove the images, etc., from the churches without injury to the fabrics. This is stated in a letter written by Cecil at that time, and it appears that scarcely any churches or places for public worship were then destroyed, though *afterwards* many were suffered to fall into a dilapidated state from the internal troubles and other causes.

burgh. One of his first labours was to compose a protestant confession of faith, which being presented to the parliament, received public sanction, the Romish prelates suffering it to pass without opposition. Knox was also principally concerned in preparing the First Book of Discipline, and took an active part in the proceedings of the general assembly of the Scottish reformed church, then first summoned.

In December, 1560, Knox suffered a heavy loss by the death of his wife, whose affection and piety had been his solace and support in his painful exile; but public duties called for the Reformer's attention, and prevented him from dwelling upon his domestic sorrows. On the 19th of August, 1561, Queen Mary returned to Scotland, and assumed the government. She had been educated in France from the age of six years, and was the widow of Francis II., after whose untimely death her residence in that kingdom was no longer acceptable to those who directed the government, while the state of her paternal inheritance required her presence.

To attempt a particular delineation of the character and conduct of Mary, the queen of Scots, would be quite foreign to the design of these pages, but it is necessary to observe that her residence in France, and her close intimacy with the Guises, unfitted her for the discharge of the important duties she now had to fulfil. She was naturally of a violent temper, and had been too much habituated to flattery to endure contradiction patiently. The luxury and levities of the French court, in which she delighted, were completely opposed to the habits and manners of Scotland. Arbitrary, and blindly attached to the Romish religion, she could not endure the independence of the nobles, and the general preference for the Reformation evinced by her subjects. It is not surprising, that as these dispositions became manifest, she lost the affections of the nation at large. Open persecution for conscience' sake had been too frequent to render the principles and practice of the

Scottish queen, and her bigoted adherence to popery, a matter of indifference. The fires in which the martyrs had been burned were still fresh in the recollection of the Scottish nation; the same scenes were still exhibited in other countries. It has been very properly asked, What would have been the treatment a protestant queen would have received in those days, had she succeeded to the throne of a popish nation? Would she have been allowed to reign, even though she had not attempted to interfere with the religion of her subjects?

The prominent station occupied by Knox soon brought him into collision with the queen. Shortly after her arrival she sent for him to the palace, and brought grievous charges against him: to all these he replied with firmness and courage, and yet with respect.

Being asked what he thought of the queen, he said: "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and a hardened heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me; and this I say with a grieved heart, for the good I wish unto her, and by her to the church and state." Of the result of this conference Randolph, the English ambassador, wrote: "He (Knox) concluded so in the end with her, that he hath liberty to speak his conscience, and to give unto her such reverence as becometh the ministers of God unto the superior powers." Knox certainly endeavoured to unite both. Of the power with which he declared his mind, the ambassador speaks in the same letter to the English secretary of state. "Your honour exhorts us to stoutness: I assure you the voice of one man is able in an hour to put more life in us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears." Such stoutness was indeed needful in those days. Soon afterwards Knox was called to appear before the queen and her councillors, to answer for a sermon in which he had noticed, in severe terms, the massacre of Vassy, in France.<sup>1</sup> She reproved him sharply, but he denied the

<sup>1</sup> The attendants of the Duke of Guise, in March, 1562, attacked a protestant congregation while assembled for worship, and killed and wounded nearly three hundred of them, including women and children.

exaggerations falsely laid to his charge, and said he was willing to do anything to content her majesty which was consistent with his office. As he left the room, he heard some of the attendants say, with apparent surprise, "He is not afraid!" Knox promptly replied, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affright me? I have looked in the face of many angry men, yet have not been affrighted above measure."

The extent and importance of the labours of Knox at this time can only be appreciated by those who carefully examine the histories of that period. They were in many instances unavoidably mixed with proceedings of a secular nature. The queen had declared, she "hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass and catholic profession restored through the whole kingdom." The Romanists were encouraged to take up arms, and some of the clergy offered to dispute with the protestant ministers. The first who presented himself was Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel. A public disputation between this abbot and Knox took place in September, 1562, respecting the sacrifice of the mass. It is unnecessary to say the Reformer had the advantage. An account of the disputation was printed.

In the discharge of his public office, Knox felt it his duty to bear his testimony against the proposed marriage of the queen with Darnley. For this he was again called to answer, when he pleaded respectfully in his own defence, saying: "Out of the pulpit he thought few had occasion to be offended with him; but there he was not master of himself, but bound to obey Him who commanded him to speak plainly, and flatter no flesh on the face of the earth." The details of these and other occasions upon which Knox was brought before the queen and her council, will be found in his history. Her tears of disappointed passion, when unable to overawe her councillors, and induce them to condemn the Reformer, have afforded a copious theme for her advocates, by whom the conduct of Knox has been continually misre-

presented. The intrigues of the queen's party in the parliament continued to throw many obstacles in the way of the Reformation.

In March, 1564, Knox married the daughter of Lord Ochiltree, an amiable and excellent nobleman. She was an affectionate and attentive wife. In the following year the Earl of Murray and other Scottish nobles resorted to arms against the queen, but Knox took no part in their revolt. It was unsuccessful, and the leaders fled for refuge to England. The Reformer continued to discharge his usual duties, but having preached a sermon on the 19th August, 1565, at which the new king was present, Darnley took umbrage at part of the discourse, although Knox had made no particular application of it to him. The Reformer was taken from his bed the same afternoon, and carried before the privy council, where he defended what he had said, and caused his sermon to be printed. He was, however, forbidden to preach while the king and queen remained at Edinburgh, but as they left before the next Sabbath, Knox was allowed to continue his labours without interruption.

Early in 1566, danger to the protestants appeared near at hand. A messenger arrived from the Cardinal of Lorraine, with a copy of the league recently formed in France for the general extirpation of the protestants, to which the queen affixed her signature. She had concerted measures for the restoration of popery, and her preparations for the execution of her project were fully made; but these measures were blasted by Darnley's confederacy with some of the protestant nobles, and the assassination of Rizzio. There are no grounds for supposing that Knox was privy to that deed, although he did not censure it. The anger of the queen being greatly excited, Knox was recommended to withdraw from Edinburgh for a time, and he visited England.

During his absence, the occurrences which excluded Mary from the throne took place. The murder of Darnley, the queen's hasty marriage with Bothwell, and her

proceedings against the protestant nobles, excited the Scottish nation so fully against her, that she was speedily obliged to leave her capital. Her subsequent surrender and imprisonment are well known, although the criminal circumstances in her conduct which occasioned them are not always remembered.

About this time Knox returned. He preached at the coronation of the infant king, James VI., but objected to some of the ceremonies used on that occasion. He urged at this time that the queen should be judicially proceeded against for the personal crimes of which she was accused. The Earl of Murray being settled as regent, the protestant faith was firmly established. The work in which Knox's heart had so long been engaged, and in which he had so ardently laboured, was now completed, and the Reformer trusted that he should be released from public affairs. He hoped to spend the rest of his life in religious meditation, and in preparation for the event which his infirmities warned him to be at hand. But the partisans of Mary were not subdued—they resolved to murder the Regent Murray. He was assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had been spared by the regent when condemned and actually brought out for execution. This dreadful act excited much consternation. Many even of Murray's enemies lamented his loss, while those who had sheltered the murderer soon became anxious to free themselves from the imputation of having been accessory to a deed which some modern writers have attempted to justify!

The grief with which Knox was afflicted at this event deeply affected his health and spirits. In October, 1570, he had a stroke of apoplexy; from the effects of it he never fully recovered, although he was able to preach on the Lord's day mornings. Still, however, he manifested his ardent desire for the best interests of his country. Shortly afterwards he was placed in a critical situation, for the partisans of the queen obtained possession of Edinburgh. His life was now threatened, and attempts

were made to assassinate him, but they failed. His friends were obliged to watch his house at night, and a number of the inhabitants, with his colleague in the ministry, entreated him to remove to some place where he might be in greater safety. He at length consented, though much against his will, lest blood should be shed upon his account, as the queen's party gave many proofs of enmity towards him. A musket-ball had been fired into the room where he was sitting, which narrowly missed him; happily he had removed from the place where he usually sat.

Knox retired to St. Andrew's, where he continued to preach, although unable to walk to the pulpit without help, but when warmed by his subject, his weakness disappeared. The following description of his preaching is given by James Melville, who attended his ministry during this period. He says: "I heard him teach the prophecies of Daniel that summer, and the winter following. I had my pen and little book, and took away such things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text he was moderate for the space of half an hour, but when he entered on application, he made me so to thrill that I could not hold a pen to write. He was very weak; I saw him every day that he taught, go slowly and warily, with a furring of martins about his neck, a staff in the one hand, and good godly Richard Ballenden, his servant, holding up his other armpit, from the abbey to the parish church, and there, by the same Richard and another, lifted up to the pulpit, where he was obliged to lean at his first entrance; but before he had done his sermon he was so active and vigorous, that he was like to ding the pulpit in blads,<sup>1</sup> and fly out of it." The same writer also says: "Mr. Knox would sometimes come in and amuse himself in our college yard, and call us scholars unto him and bless us, and exhort us to know God and His work in our country, and stand by the good cause; to use our time

<sup>1</sup> "Beat the pulpit to pieces." (Melville's Diary, see M'Cric.) The diary of Richard Bannatyne (here called Ballenden) has been published, and contains much interesting information respecting that period.

well, and learn the good instructions and follow the good example of our masters."

Knox felt an ardent desire to be freed from the trials of this life. This he frequently expressed in his letters, and the dedication prefixed to "A Vindication of the Reformed Religion," published by him at this time, in answer to a jesuit named Tyrie, commences thus: "John Knox, the servant of Jesus Christ, now weary of the world, and daily looking for the dissolution of this my earthly tabernacle, to the faithful that God of His mercy shall appoint to fight after me."

He took his leave of the general assembly shortly after, in a letter transmitting certain matters for their consideration. The last public service he performed at their request was the examination of a sermon preached by a minister named Ferguson. To this he affixed his approval in these terms: "John Knox, with my dead hand but glad heart, praising God that of His mercy He leaves such light to His church in this desolation."

A cessation of arms having been agreed upon, the citizens of Edinburgh sent a deputation to St. Andrew's, requesting Knox to return and resume his ministry among them. He complied, and was received with much joy. Knox preached again in his own pulpit the last Sabbath in August, 1572, but his voice had become so weak, that scarcely half the congregation could hear him. He therefore requested that a smaller place might be provided for him; accordingly the Tolbooth church was selected. He there delivered to the people some homilies upon the sufferings of Christ, often expressing an ardent desire to finish his life preaching that doctrine.

The citizens had requested his advice in the selection of a minister to assist him, and after some consideration, James Lawson, sub-principal of King's College at Aberdeen, was appointed. Knox wrote to him the following letter, which describes his feelings at that period.

"Dear Brother,—Seeing God of His mercy, far above my expectation, hath called me once again to Edinburgh,

and yet I feel nature so decayed, and daily to decay, that I look not for a long continuance of my battle, I would gladly once discharge my conscience unto your bosom, and unto the bosom of others, in whom I think the fear of God remaineth. If I had the ability of body, I should not have put you to the pains to which I require you now, that is, once to visit me, that we may confer together of heavenly things; for in earth there is no stability except the kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fighting under the cross, to whose protection I heartily commit you. From Edinburgh, 7th of September, 1572. Haste, brother, or you will come too late."

Lawson came to Edinburgh, September the 15th, and preached on the Friday after, to the great satisfaction of the people, and he continued preaching till he was admitted to the charge of the ministry at Edinburgh. Knox preached in the Tolbooth as long as he had strength of body; but his health was greatly impaired by the news of the massacre of the protestants at Paris about this time.<sup>1</sup> It was brought to Edinburgh about the 12th of September, by Killigrew, ambassador from Queen Elizabeth. Knox mentioned the event in his next sermon, with a denunciation of God's vengeance thereon, which he desired the French ambassador, Monsieur La Croc, might be acquainted with. The denunciation was to this purport: "Sentence is pronounced in Scotland against that murderer, the king of France, and God's vengeance shall never depart from him nor his house; but his name shall remain an execration to posterity; and none that shall come of his loins shall enjoy that kingdom in peace and

<sup>1</sup> The massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which the Admiral de Coligni, and several chiefs of the French protestants, who had been inveigled to Paris by the artifices of Charles IX., were murdered. More than thirty thousand persons were cruelly put to death in a few days, and the streets of Paris literally ran with blood. A public thanksgiving was offered up at Rome on hearing of this massacre and medals were struck to commemorate it. Of this event De Thou, an historian who lived at that time, and who himself was a Romanist, says, "No similar instance of atrocity can be found in the annals of any nation, in all antiquity."

quietness, unless repentance prevent God's judgment." The ambassador being informed of this, applied to the regent and council, and complained that his master was called a traitor and murderer of his subjects, under a promise and trust; and desired that an edict might be published, prohibiting the subjects of Scotland from speaking anything to the dishonour of his master, especially the ministers in their sermons. This was declined by the council, and the ambassador was told that they could not hinder the ministers from speaking even against themselves.

On Sunday, November the 9th, in the year 1572, Knox admitted Lawson as his colleague and successor, but his voice was so weak that few could hear him. He declared the mutual duty between a minister and his flock; he praised God, who had given them one in his room, who was now unable to teach, and desired that God might augment his graces to him a thousandfold above that which he had, if it were His pleasure; and ended with pronouncing the blessing. He then came down from the pulpit, leaning upon his staff, and was accompanied by almost the whole assembly to his house. As he walked slowly down the street, it was crowded by people who waited till he had passed, as if they were conscious he would not again appear amongst them. The particulars which follow are chiefly from the life of Knox by Smeton, principal of the University of Glasgow.

From this day Knox hastened to his end. Upon the 11th he was seized with a violent cough and great pains of the body, breathing with more and more difficulty, till he breathed his last. When his friends advised him to send for some physicians, he consented with a smile, saying, "I would not either despise or neglect ordinary means; but of this I am certain, that God will shortly put an end to my warfare below."

The day after he ordered his servants to be paid their wages, whom, at the same time, he earnestly exhorted to walk in the fear of the Lord, and to live so as became

Christians educated in that family. His disorder growing worse and worse, he was forced to discontinue his ordinary method of reading, which used to be, every day, some chapters of the New Testament, and in the Old, particularly the Psalms, and some useful portion of ecclesiastical history. In the mean while he requested his wife, and Richard Bannatyne, his servant, who was always very dear to him for his remarkable piety, that they would take care to read to him every day while he lived the seventeenth chapter of St. John's gospel, one or other of the chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, which they punctually and diligently performed.

He was always especially fond of the book of Psalms, God having greatly blessed them to his soul. By them he was much comforted in life and strengthened in death. He also had some of Calvin's French sermons on the Ephesians read to him.

On the 14th he rose from his bed by seven o'clock, and being asked, Why, when he was so weak and sick, he would not rather choose to rest himself, he answered, thinking it was the Sabbath, "I have been this whole night taken up with the meditation of the resurrection of Jesus Christ my Lord, and would with joy get into the pulpit, that I might communicate to others the comfort I have inwardly enjoyed from reflecting on that blessed subject." So intent was he on the work of the Lord, even to his last breath, and when, for want of strength, he could scarcely be lifted out of bed by the assistance of two servants.

A few days after, on the 17th, he sent for all the ministers of the churches in Edinburgh, to whom, being assembled round his bed, he thus addressed himself: "That day is now at hand which I have so often and intensely longed for; in which, having finished my heavy labours, and gone through my various sorrows, I shall be dissolved and be with Christ. And I appeal to God, whom I have served in spirit in the gospel of His Son, that I have taught

nothing but the true and solid doctrines of His word : having been chiefly desirous, through the whole course of my ministry, to instruct the ignorant ; to edify and comfort believers ; to lift up and confirm, with the promises of grace, those who were weak, fearful, and doubting, through the fear of wrath and a sense of their sins ; and to beat down haughty rebellious sinners with the threatenings and terrors of the Lord.

“And although many have complained of my harshness in preaching, yet God knows that I did not thus deal out thunders and severity from hatred to the persons of any : though this I will acknowledge, that the sins in which they indulged themselves were the objects of my keenest hatred and displeasure ; still, however, keeping this as the one thing in view, that if it were possible I might gain over their souls to the Lord. My motive for speaking freely and plainly whatever the Lord gave me to say, without respect of persons, was nothing but reverence to that God who called me by His grace, and made me the dispenser of His Divine mysteries ; before whose tribunal I knew I must one day stand, to give account for, my discharge of that embassy which He had committed unto me ; and this had such a powerful effect, as to make me utter so boldly whatever the Lord put into my mouth, without respect of persons. Wherefore I profess, before God and His holy angels, that I have never made gain of His sacred word, never held back any of His counsel from my people ; never studied to please men, nor gave way to the corrupt affections or worldly interest of myself or others ; but have faithfully employed the talents committed to me for the good of the church over whom I was in the Lord. To the truth of this, my conscience bears testimony ; which is a comfort to me, notwithstanding the various slanders which some have cast upon me. And do ye, my dearest brethren in the faith and labour of Jesus, persist in the everlasting truths of His gospel. Look diligently to the flocks with whose oversight God hath entrusted you, and which He hath redeemed to Himself by the

blood of His Son. And do you, my brother Lawson, fight the good fight, and finish the work of God, to which you are called, with cheerfulness and confidence. May God shower down His blessing from on high, upon you and your several charges in this city, which, so long as they continue to hold fast those doctrines of truth which they have heard of me (God having made me a minister of it), the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail against. And beware of those who not only deny the king's authority, but have also forsaken the truth which they once professed. Against whom I denounce, that, unless they sincerely repent, and return to the good way which they have left, they shall one day miserably perish in soul and body. I would say more, but cannot, as I am scarcely able to draw my breath." With these words he dismissed them, they rejoicing at his constancy and earnestly praying for him. He was then visited by the chief nobility, among whom was Lord Morton, afterwards regent of the kingdom; as also by some pious ladies and many godly men.

Perceiving death to approach nearer and nearer, upon Friday, the 21st, he gave orders for his coffin to be made. After which he frequently spoke to this effect: "Come, Lord Jesus, sweetest Saviour, into Thy hands I commend my spirit. Look, I beseech Thee, with favour upon this church which Thou hast redeemed, and restore peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up pastors after Thine own heart, who may take care of Thy Church; and grant that we may learn, as well from the blessings as from the chastisements of Thy providence, to abhor sin, and love Thee with full purpose of heart." Then turning to those about him, he would say: "O serve the Lord with fear, and death will not be terrible. Yea, blessed and holy shall death be to those who have felt the power of the death of the only begotten Son of God."

Being asked whether he felt much pain, he replied: "I cannot look upon that as pain which brings on the end of mortality and trouble, and is the beginning of life."

On the 23rd, during the afternoon sermon, after lying quiet a considerable time, he exclaimed, "If any be present, let them come and see the work of God." His servant, thinking his death was at hand, sent to the church for some of his friends. When they came to his bedside he burst out into these rapturous expressions: "These two last nights I have been in meditation on the troubled state of the church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, despised of the world, but precious in the sight of God. I have called to God for her, and have committed her to her Head, Jesus Christ. I have fought against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, and have prevailed. I have been in heaven, and have possession. I have tasted of the heavenly joys where at present I am." He repeated the Lord's prayer and the apostles' creed, enlarging, as he went on, most sweetly and spiritually, upon each of the separate petitions and articles, to the great comfort and edification of them that stood by. Afterwards, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he cried out, "To Thee, Lord, do I commit myself. Thou knowest how intense my pains are, but I do not complain. Yea, Lord, if such be Thy will concerning me, I could be content to bear these pains for many years together, which in Thy just judgment Thou hast laid upon me. Only do Thou continue to enlighten my mind through Christ Jesus."

He passed that night in suffering, being somewhat worse than usual. The next day it was evident that his end drew near. The fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians being repeatedly read to him at his own desire, he exclaimed, "Oh, what sweet and heavenly consolation my Lord affords me from this blessed chapter!" adding, "Now for the last time I commend my soul, spirit, and body (touching three of his fingers as he spoke) into Thy hand, O Lord." But when one of his eyes became blind, and his speech began to fail, he cried faintly, "Turn to the seventeenth of St. John, and read it carefully, for there I cast my first anchor." When that was read he

rested a little, but soon began to utter very heavy groans and deep sighs, so that the bystanders plainly perceived he was grappling with some very great temptation. There was at this time present in the room one John Johnson, a holy man, and Robert Campbell, a great friend to the gospel, Mrs. Knox, and others; who, observing his agonies, thought him to be in the pains of death.

At length, however, contrary to their expectation, he recovered like one awaked from sleep; and being asked how he did, he answered, "Many have been my conflicts with Satan in the course of my frail life, and many the assaults which I have sustained; but that roaring lion never beset me so furiously and forcibly as now. Often has he set my sins in array before me; often has he tempted me to despair; and often strove to ensnare me with the enticements of the world; but I, being enabled to hew his snares in pieces with the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, he was not able to prevail against me. But now he has found out a new way. That crafty serpent has endeavoured to persuade me that because I have faithfully and successfully discharged my ministerial office, I am on that account deserving of eternal life and a happy immortality. But God was pleased to make me triumphant over this temptation also, by powerfully suggesting to my memory those texts, 'What hast thou that thou didst not receive?' And, 'By the grace of God I am what I am.' And, 'Not I, but the grace of God in me.' Being thus vanquished he left me. I thank my God, therefore, through Christ, who has vouchsafed me the victory; and I am persuaded that Satan will not be permitted to return or molest me any more in my passage to glory; but that I shall, without any pain of body or agony of soul, sweetly and peacefully exchange this wretched life for that blessed and immortal one which is through Christ Jesus."

He lay quiet for some hours till evening prayers were said, and being asked whether he could hear them distinctly, he answered, "Would to God you all heard them

with such ears, and perceived with the same mind as I am enabled to do ! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." About eleven o'clock he gave a deep sigh, and said, "Now it is come." Bannatyne then drew near the bed, and desired him to think upon the comfortable promises of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which he had so often declared to others; and perceiving he was speechless, requested him to give some sign, whereby they might know that he died in the steadfast belief and enjoyment of those gospel truths, and likewise of his comfortable assurance of a blissful immortality through Christ. On which, as if he had received fresh strength, he triumphantly lifted his hand toward heaven, and then quietly departed to the rest which remaineth for the people of God, on November 24, 1572, about eleven o'clock at night, without any convulsion or apparent suffering, but worn out with his extraordinary labours of body and mind.

He was interred on the 26th, in the churchyard of St. Giles's, the corpse being attended by several lords who were then at Edinburgh. The Earl of Morton, that day chosen regent, when Knox was laid in the grave, said : "There lies a man who in his life never feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For God's providence watched over him in a special manner, when his very life was sought."

The reader is now in possession of the principal circumstances in the life and character of the great Scottish Reformer, and he may judge how far the delineation which is given by many hostile historians is correct. The world cannot love the devoted active followers of Christ, and that Knox was one of them cannot be denied. It is not intended to represent him as faultless, but those circumstances in his conduct which have been most frequently enlarged upon by his enemies are mainly to be ascribed to the times in which he lived, and the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. With respect to his temper and language, we may apply to Knox what Seck-

endorf has said of Luther: "The assertions frequently made respecting him, show that the authors do not write a history, but a satire; and, according to the usual manner of sophists, would deduce most dreadful accusations from trifling and venial circumstances. But enough has been said respecting such charges, the grounds for which these censors think they have discovered in some free expressions; for neither the whole nor the greater part of the writings of the Reformer justify the imputation of excessive bitterness or freedom. Many words and much phraseology, which at this day would be accounted contumelious or objectionable, at that time were in common use, and could be uttered without impropriety, nor were the lighter expressions accounted incorrect."<sup>1</sup>

The public conduct of Knox cannot be fairly judged without full consideration of the condition of society in which his lot was cast. What would the timid, compromising, time-serving spirit so much admired in the present day have been able to effect in those times? Would it have done more than Erasmus performed in the days of Luther? And what would have been the state of religion now—as far as human judgment can see—if men of a less resolute temper had undertaken the work at the period of the Reformation?

To these observations the following extract from the able and interesting life of Knox, by Dr. M'Crie, may be added: "He thought only of advancing the glory of God, and promoting the welfare of his country. Intrepidity, a mind elevated above sordid views, indefatigable activity, and constancy which no disappointments could shake, eminently qualified him for the hazardous and difficult post which he occupied. His integrity was above the suspicion of corruption; his firmness equally proof against the solicitations of friends and the threats of enemies. The opinion which his countrymen entertained of his sagacity, as well as his honesty, is evident from the confidence which they reposed in him. The measures

<sup>1</sup> Seckendorf .iii. p. 643.

taken for advancing the Reformation were either adopted at his suggestion or submitted to his advice, and were as wisely planned as they were boldly executed.

“His ministerial functions were discharged with the greatest assiduity, fidelity, and fervour. No avocation or infirmity prevented him from appearing in the pulpit. Preaching was an employment in which he delighted, and for which he was qualified by an extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and the happy art of applying them in the most striking manner to the existing circumstances of the church and of his hearers. His powers of alarming the conscience and arousing the passions have been frequently mentioned; but he excelled also in offering up the consolations of the gospel, and calming the breasts of those who were agitated with a sense of their sins. When he discoursed of the griefs and joys, the conflicts and triumphs of genuine Christians, he declared what he himself had known and felt. The letters which he wrote to his familiar acquaintances breathe the most ardent piety. The religious meditations in which he spent his last sickness were not confined to that period of his life; they had been his habitual employment from the time that he was brought to the knowledge of the truth, and his solace amidst all the hardships and perils through which he passed.”

The devotional writings of Knox are not numerous, but the reader will regret that they are not more so: having been written under severe trials, both mental and bodily, they come from the heart, and powerfully appeal to it. They are republished in “*The British Reformers.*” The former collections of his writings only contained those pieces which more immediately related to his public life, so that hitherto the piety and Christian feeling of Knox have been comparatively little known.

The most striking feature in the character of Knox may be well expressed in the words of Regent Morton at his grave: “There lies a man who never feared the face of man.”

## JOHN BALE.

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JOHN BALE was born in 1495, at Cove, a small village near Dunwich, in Suffolk. At twelve years of age he entered the monastery of the Carmelites, at Norwich, and from thence went to Jesus College, in Cambridge. While a papist he was very zealous for that way of religion. He says: "I wandered in utter ignorance of mind both at Norwich and Cambridge, having no tutor or patron, till the Word of God showing forth, the churches began to return to the true fountain of true divinity. In which bright rising of the New Jerusalem, being not called by any monk or priest, but seriously stirred up by the illustrious the Lord Wentworth, as by that centurion who declared Christ to be the Son of God, I presently saw and acknowledged my own deformity; and immediately, through the Divine goodness, I was removed from a barren mountain, to the flowery and fertile valley of the gospel, where I found all things built, not on the sand, but on a solid rock."

He soon became an object of hatred to the Romish clergy, but was protected by Lord Cromwell. The confession of William Broman, accused of heresy in 1536, states, that "one Bale, a white (or Carmelite) friar, sometime prior of Doncaster, taught him about three years ago that Christ would dwell in no church that was made of lime and stones by men's hands, but only in heaven above and in men's hearts in earth." Strype also relates that Bale was a zealous decrifier of the papal supremacy and worship between 1530 and 1540; adding, "Sometimes we find him in the north, where Lee, the archbishop, im-

prisoned him, and sometimes in the south, where Stokesly, bishop of London, met with him. At Cromwell's death he thought it not safe for him to abide any longer in England, especially as persecution grew so hot upon the six articles; so he, with his wife and family, went beyond sea, and tarried in Germany eight years."

During Bale's abode on the continent he wrote several of his works, particularly respecting the martyrdom of Anne Askew. He says: "I have expelled myself for ever from mine own native country, kindred, friends, and acquaintance, which are the great delights of this life, and am well contented, for Jesus Christ's sake, and for the comfort of my brethren there, to suffer poverty, penury, abjection, reproof, and all that comes besides."

After Edward VI. had succeeded to the throne, Bale was recalled to England, and presented to the living of Bishop's Stoke, in Hampshire. In 1552 he was nominated to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. The circumstances attending this appointment are related by himself as follows:—

"Upon the 15th day of August, A.D. 1552, being the first day of my deliverance, as God would, from a dangerous ague, which had holden me long afore; in rejoicing that his majesty was come in progress to Southampton, which was five miles from my parsonage of Bishop's Stoke, within the same county, I took my horse about ten of the clock, for very weakness scarce able to sit on him, and so came thither. Betwixt two and three of the clock the same day I drew towards the place where his majesty was, and stood in the open street right against the gallery. Anon my friend, John Philpot, a gentleman, and one of the king's privy chamber, called unto him two more of his companions, who, in moving their heads towards me, showed me most friendly countenances. By one of these the king having information that I was there in the street, he marvelled thereof, for it had been told him a little afore that I was both dead and buried. With that his grace came to the window, and earnestly beheld me, a poor weak

creature, as though he had had upon me, so simple a subject, an earnest regard, or rather a very fatherly care.

"In the very same instant, as I have been since that time credibly informed, his grace called unto him the lords of his most honourable council, so many as were then present, willing them to appoint me to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. Whereunto they all agreeably consented.

"Thus was I called, in a manner from death, to this office, without my expectation thereof. And thus have ye my vocation to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. I pass over my earnest refusal thereof, a month after that, on the king's majesty's return to Winchester; where, as I alleged (as I then thought) my lawful impediments, of poverty, age, and sickness, within the bishop's house there; but they were not accepted. Then resorted I to the court at London, within six weeks after, and had all things performed pertaining to my election and full confirmation, freely without any charge.

"On the 19th day of December I took my journey from Bishop's Stoke with my books and stuff towards Bristol, where I tarried twenty-six days for passage, and divers times preached in that worshipful city, at the instant desire of the citizens. Upon the 21st day of January we entered into the ship; I, my wife, and one servant; and, being but two nights and two days upon the sea, so merciful was the Lord unto us, we arrived most prosperously at Waterford in the coldest time of the year.

"In beholding the face and order of that city, I saw many abominable idolatries maintained by the priests for their worldly interests. The communion or supper of the Lord was there altogether used like a popish mass, with the old apish toys of antichrist, in bowings and beckonings, kneeling and knockings, the Lord's death, after St. Paul's doctrine, neither preached nor yet spoken of. There wailed they over the dead with prodigious howlings and patterings, as though their souls had not been quieted in Christ and redeemed by His passion, but that they must

come after and help to deliver them out of hell by their sorrowful sorceries. When I had beholden these heathenish behaviours, I said to a senator of that city, that I well perceived that Christ had there no bishop, neither yet the king's majesty of England any faithful officer of the mayor, in suffering such horrible blasphemies. The next day after I rode towards Dublin, where I found my companion, Hugh Goodacre, archbishop of Armagh elect, and my old friend, David Cooper, parson of Calan. Much people greatly rejoiced at our coming thither, thinking by our preachings the pope's superstitions would diminish, and true Christian religion increase."

Some difficulties were thrown in the way of the bishop's consecration by the papists, who wished that it should have been according to the Romish ritual; but Bale firmly opposing this, the ceremonial as lately directed by King Edward was used.

Bishop Bale endeavoured earnestly to fulfil the duties of his new charge, but met with much opposition from the papists. It is described by himself in his work entitled, "*The Vocation of John Bale to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland; his persecutions in the same, and his final deliverance,*" which presents a painful delineation of the state of Ireland at that period.

Bale proceeds: "Within two days after my consecration was I sick again, so that no man thought I should live, which malady held me till after Easter. Yet, in the mean time, I found a way to be brought to Kilkenny, where I preached every Sunday and holyday in Lent, till the Sunday after Easter was fully past, never feeling any manner of grief of my sickness for the time I was in the pulpit. Neither had I, for all that time space, any mind to call for any temporal profits, which was afterwards to my no small hindrance. From that day of my consecration I traded with myself, by all possibility, to set forth that doctrine which God charged His church with ever since the beginning; and thought therewith in my mind also, that I had rather that Etna should swallow

me up, than to maintain those ways in religion which might corrupt the same. For my daily desire is, in that everlasting school to behold the eternal Son of God, both here and after this life; and not only to see the fathers, prophets, and apostles therein, but also, for love of that doctrine, to enjoy their blessed fellowship hereafter.

“My first proceedings in that doing were these. I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the gospel of salvation. To acknowledge and believe that there is but one God; and Him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship. To confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other men’s prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in His alone, for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the Christian church, and helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number.

“I preached the gospel of the knowledge and right invocation of God; I maintained the political order by doctrine, and moved the commons always to obey their magistrates. But when I once sought to destroy the idolatries, and dissolve the hypocrites’ yokes, then followed angers, slanders, conspiracies, and, in the end, the slaughter of men. Much ado I had with the priests; for that I had said among other, that the white gods of their making, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped,<sup>1</sup> were no gods, but idols; and that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed, redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ. I added that their office, by Christ’s strait commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chanting, piping, and singing. Much were the priests offended also for that I, in my preachings, willed them to have wives of their own, and to leave their unshamefaced doings. But

<sup>1</sup> The consecrated wafers used in the communion.

hear what answer they made me always, yea, the most vicious men among them: 'What! should we marry,' said they, 'for half a year, and so lose our livings?' Think ye not that these men were inspired? or that they had knowledge of some secret mischief working in England? I, for my part, have not a little since that time marvelled when it hath fallen to my remembrance. Well, the truth is, I could never yet, by any godly or honest persuasion, bring any of them to marriage, neither yet cause them which were known for unshamefaced life to leave their abominable conduct, though I most earnestly laboured it.

"The Lord, therefore, of His mercy, send discipline with doctrine into His church. For doctrine without discipline, and restraint of vices, maketh dissolute hearers. And, on the other side, discipline without doctrine maketh either hypocrites or else desperate doers.

"In the week after Easter, when I had preached twelve sermons among them, and established the people, as I thought, in the doctrine of repentance and necessary belief of the gospel; in the true worshipping of one God, our eternal Father, and no more; and in that hope of one Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and no more; I departed from Kilkenny to another place of mine, five miles off, called Holme's Court, where I remained till the Ascension Day. In the mean time came sorrowful news unto me that M. Hugh Goodacre, the archbishop of Armagh, that godly preacher and virtuous learned man, was poisoned at Dublin, by procurement of certain priests of his diocese, for preaching God's verity, and rebuking their common vices. And letters by-and-by were directed unto me, by my special friends from thence, to be aware of the like in my diocese of Ossory, which made me more circumspect than I should have been.

"On the 25th of July the priests were as pleasantly disposed as might be, and went by heaps from tavern to tavern, to seek the best Rob Davie and Aqua Vitæ, which are their special drinks there. They caused all their cups

to be filled in with *Gaudeamus in dolio*, the mystery thereof only known to them, and at that time to none other else. Which was, that King Edward was dead, and that they were in hope to have up their masking masses again. As we have in St. John's Revelation, 'That they which dwell on the earth (as do our earthly-minded massmongers) should rejoice and be glad when God's true witnesses were once taken away, and should send gifts one to another for gladness, because they rebuked them of their wicked doings.' For ye must consider that the priests are commonly the first that receive such news. The next day following, a very wicked justice, called Thomas Hoth, with the Lord Mountgarret, resorted to the cathedral church, requiring to have a communion in the honour of St. Anne. The priests made him answer that I had forbidden that celebration, saving only upon the Sundays; as I had, indeed, for the abominable idolatries that I had seen therein. 'I discharge you,' saith he, 'of obedience to your bishop in this point, and command you to do as ye have done heretofore;'—which was, to make of Christ's holy communion an idolatrous mass, and to suffer it to serve for the dead, clean contrary to the Christian use of the same.

"Thus was the wicked justice not only a violator of Christ's institution, but also a contemner of his prince's earnest commandment, and a provoker of the people, by his ungracious example, to do the like. This could he do, with other mischiefs more, by his long being there by a whole month's space; but for murders, thefts, idolatries, and abominable licentiousness, wherewithal that nation abounded, for that time he sought no redress, neither appointed any correction. The priests thus rejoicing that the king was dead, and that they had been that day confirmed in their superstitious obstinacy, resorted to the aforesaid false justice the same night at supper, to gratify him with Rob Davie and Aqua Vitæ, for that he had been so friendly unto them, and that he

might still continue in the same. The next day after was the Lady Jane Guildford proclaimed their queen, with solemnity of processions, bonfires, and banquets; the said justice, as I was informed, sore blaming me for my absence that day; for, indeed, I much doubted that matter.

“So soon as it was there rumoured abroad that the king was departed from this life, the ruffians of that wild nation not only rebelled against the English captains, as their custom in such changes hath been always, chiefly no English deputy being within the land, but also they conspired the very deaths of so many English men and women as were left therein alive; minding, as they then stoutly boasted it, to have set up a king of their own. And, to cause their wild people to bear the more hate to our nation, very subtly, but yet falsely, they caused it to be noised over all that the young Earl of Ormond and Barnaby, the chief of Upper Ossory’s son, were both slain in the court at London. Upon this wily practice of mischief, they raged without order in all places, and assaulted the English forts everywhere. And at one of them, by a subtle train, they got out nine of our men, and slew them.

“On the 13th of August a gentlewoman, the wife of Matthew King, having a castle not far off, her husband then being at London, fled with her family and goods in carts towards the foresaid Kilkenny; and in the highway was spoiled of all, to her very petticoat, by the kerns and the gallowglasses of the fore-named chief of Upper Ossory, Michael Patrick, and of the Lord Mountgarret, who ought rather to have defended her. In this outrage she, after long conflict with those enemies, had four of her company slain, besides other mischiefs.

“On the 20th day of August was the Lady Mary, with us at Kilkenny, proclaimed Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that there could be devised of processions, musters, and disguisings, all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present.

What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre, in procession, it were too much to write!

"I told them earnestly, when they would have compelled me thereunto, that I was not Moses's minister, but Christ's; I desired them not to compel me to His denial, which is, St. Paul saith, in the repeating of Moses's sacraments and ceremonial shadows.<sup>1</sup> With that I took Christ's Testament in my hand, and went to the market cross, the people in great number following. There took I Romans xiii., declaring to them briefly what the authority was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the mean time the prelates had got two disguised priests, one to bear the mitre afore me, and another the crosier, making three procession pageants of one. The young men, in the forenoon, played a tragedy, of God's promises in the old law, at the market cross, with organ-playings and songs very aptly. In the afternoon again they played a comedy of Saint John Baptist's preachings, of Christ's baptizing, and of His temptation in the wilderness, to the small contentation of the priests and other papists there.<sup>2</sup>

"On the Thursday next following, which was St. Bartholomew's day, I preached again among them, because the prebendaries and other priests there had made their boasts that I should be compelled to recant all that I had preached afore; and, as I was entered into the pulpit, I took this saying of St. Paul for my theme: 'I am not ashamed of the gospel.' And why? 'For it is the power of God unto salvation, to all them that believe it.'<sup>3</sup> Then declared I unto them all that I had taught there since my first coming thither, the Justice

<sup>1</sup> Galatians v.

<sup>2</sup> The "mysteries," or scenic representations of passages from Scripture were very frequent in the Romish church. Bale, and some others, composed sacred dramas more according to the doctrines of truth, and without their blasphemous absurdities. Those here mentioned were written by Bale.

<sup>3</sup> Romans i. 16.

Hoth being present ; as, That our God was but one God, and ought alone to be worshipped ; and that our Christ was but one Christ, and ought alone to be trusted to for our redemption from sin. I earnestly charged the people to rest upon these two principles firmly, as they would answer it at the dreadful day, and not to suffer themselves to be led, by a contrarious doctrine of deceitful teachers, into any other belief from thenceforth. Also, concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, wherein they had been most prodigiously abused, through the unsatiable covetousness of the priests, I required them very reverently to take it, as a sacrament only of Christ's death, whereby we are redeemed, and made innocent members of His mystical body, and not to worship it as their god, as they had done, to the utter derogation of His heavenly honour. And, as I came in the usual prayer to remembrance of the dead, I willed them to give hearty thanks to God for their redemption in Christ, largely declaring that the souls of the righteous were in the hand of His mercy, without cruel torment, and that the priests, with all their masses and funeral exequies, could add nothing to their redemption if they had been otherwise bestowed.

"The same day I dined with the mayor of the town, whom they name their sovereign, called Robert Shea, a man sober, wise, and godly, which is a rare thing in that land. In the end of our dinner certain priests resorted, and began very hotly to dispute with me concerning their purgatory and suffrages for the dead. And as I had alleged the Scriptures proving Christ's sufficiency for the soul's discharge before God, without their dirty deservings, they brought forth, as seemed to them, contrary allegations, that there should appear no truth in those Scriptures. As St. Paul prophesied of them, That such as they were, should seek to turn the verity of God into a lie.<sup>1</sup> And when I had once deprehended them in that thievery, and agreed both our alleged Scriptures, to the maintenance of my first principle, to their manifest

<sup>1</sup> Romans i. 25.

reproach, I demanded of them what a Christian man's office was, when such a Scripture was uttered as neither man nor angel was able to deny any truth thereof? but they made me no answer. Then said I unto them, 'Ye have set me forth a new lesson, and taught me this day to know a good man from a hypocrite, and to discern a true Christian from a wicked papist. The good man,' said I, 'believeth a truth in the Scriptures, the hypocrite denieth it, the Christian embraceth it, the papist doubteth and disputeth against it, as the devil in the wilderness with Christ, when he sought by one Scripture to confound another.'

"The next day I departed from thence, and went home with my company to Holme's Court again. Where as I had knowledge, the next day following, that the priests of my diocese, specially one Sir Richard Routh, treasurer of the church of Kilkenny, and one Sir James Joyce, a familiar chaplain of mine, by the help of one Barnaby Bolgar, my next neighbour and my tenant, at the said Holme's Court, had hired certain kerns of the Lord Mountgarret and of the Baron of Upper Ossory, whom they knew to be most desperate thieves and murderers, to slay me. And I am in full belief that this was not without all their knowledge also; for so much as they were so desirous of my lands in divers quarters, and could neither obtain them by their own importunate suits, nor yet by the friendship of others.

"On the Thursday after, which was the last day of August, I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny, by procurement of Justice Hoth, blasphemously resumed again the whole papism, or heap of superstitions of the Bishop of Rome, to the utter contempt of Christ and His holy word, of the king and council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and politic order, without either statute or yet proclamation. They rung all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlement of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely, the justice himself being

therewith offended: they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy waterstock, cross, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously, all the town over, with *Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis*, and the rest of the Latin litany: they chattered it, they chanted it, with great noise and devotion; they banqueted all the day after.

“For they may now, from thenceforth, again deceive the people, as they did aforetime, with their Latin mumblings, and make merchandise of them.<sup>1</sup> They may make the witless sort believe that they can make every day new gods of their little white cakes, and that they can fetch their friends’ souls from flaming purgatory, if need be, with other great miracles else. They may now, without check, live in all evil life, as they have done always. I write not this without a cause; for why, there were some among them which boasted both of this and much more too vain to be told. And when they were demanded, How they would be discharged before God? they made answer that ear confession was able to burnish them again, and to make them as white as snow, though they thus offended ever so oft. And one of them, for example, was the drunken popish Bishop of Galway, who, besides these uncomely brags, furiously boasted in the house of one Martin, a faithful Italian and servant to the Earl of Ormond, and in other houses more, that the Bishop of Rome was the head supreme of the Christian church in earth, and should so be proclaimed in Ireland, the said Martin, as God’s true friend, rebuking him for it. The exercise of this bishop is none other but to gad from town to town over the English part, confirming young children for twopence a piece, without examination of their Christian belief, contrary to the Christian ordinances of England, and at night to drink Rob Davie and Aqua Vitæ.

“On the Friday next following, which was the 8th day of September, five of my household servants went out to

<sup>1</sup> 2 Peter ii.

make hay about half a mile off, betwixt eight and nine of the clock, after they had served God. And as they were come to the entrance of that meadow, the cruel murderers, to the number of more than a score, leaped out of their lurking bushes, with swords and with darts, and cowardly slew them all unarmed and unweaponed, without mercy. This did they, in their wicked fury, as it was reported, for that they had watched so long before, yea, a whole month space they say, and sped not of their purpose concerning me. They feloniously also robbed me of all my horses, and of all Master Cooper's horses, who that time sojourned with me for safeguard of his life, to the number of seven, driving them afore them. In the afternoon the good sovereign of Kilkenny resorted to me with a hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen, and so brought me that night to the town, the young men singing psalms and other godly songs all the way, in rejoyce of my deliverance.

"As we were come to the town, the people, in great number; stood on both sides of the way, both within the gates and without, with candles lighted in their hands, shouting out praises to God for delivering me from the hands of these murderers. The priests the next day, to colour their mischief, caused it to be noised all the country over, that it was by the hand of God that my servants were slain, for that they had broken, they said, the great holy day of our Lady's nativity.<sup>1</sup> But I would fain know what holy days those bloodthirsty hypocrites and malicious murderers kept, who had hired their cruel kerns to do that mischief?

"On the day next following, which was Saturday, in the afternoon, the treasurer, a man unlearned, and of vile life, resorted to me with a number of priests, to tempt me, like as Satan did Christ in the wilderness, saying that Satan to Christ offered stones, and that tempting treasurer both apples and wine. And as they

<sup>1</sup> The church of Rome teaches that holy days and saints' days are to be observed as strictly, or even more so, than the Lord's day.

had then compassed me in round about, the said treasurer proponed unto me that they were all fully minded to have solemn exequies for King Edward, lately departed, like as the queen's highness had had them in England. I asked them how that was? They made me answer, with a requiem mass and dirge. Then asked I of them again, 'Who should sing the mass?' And they answered me, that it was my bounden duty to do it, being their bishop. Then said I unto them, 'Massing is an office appointed of that antichrist, the Bishop of Rome, to whom I owe no obedience, neither will I owe him any so long as I shall live. But if ye will have me there to do that office, which Christ, the Son of God, hath earnestly commanded, which is to preach His holy gospel, I will do it with all my heart.'

"'No,' said they, 'we will have a solemn mass, for so had the queen.' Said I, 'Then must ye go seek out some other chaplain; for, truly, of all generations, I am no massmonger; for, of all occupations, methinks it is most foolish.'

"And after other words I asked once again, What profit they thought the king's soul to have of those funeral exequies? Then answered one of the priests, that God knew well enough what He had to do. 'Yet you must appoint him!' said I. 'If these poor suffrages be a way for him to heaven, and that he cannot go thither without them, ye are much to blame that ye have deferred them so long.' After a few words more they seemed content, and so departed.

"The next day came thither a proclamation that they which would hear masses should be suffered so to do, and they that would not should not be compelled. Thus that practice of blasphemy would not take at that time, as God would. And as I had continued there certain days, I chanced to hear many secret mutterings, that the priests would not so leave me, but were still conspiring my death. And, to declare a contemptuous change from religion to superstition again, the priests had suddenly set up all the

altars and images in the cathedral church. Beholding therefore so many inconveniences to ensue, and so many dangers toward, having also, which was worst of all, no English deputy or governor within the land to complain to for remedy, I shook the dust off my feet against those wicked priests, according to Christ's commandment.<sup>1</sup> The next day early, by help of friends, I conveyed myself away to the castle of Lechline, and so to the city of Dublin, where I, for a certain time, among friends remained."

Bale then relates his escape from Dublin, in a small trading vessel, but before they had lost sight of land he was taken by the pilot and commander of a Flemish vessel of war, who carried him on board their own ship, and robbed him of all his property. The Fleming was driven by adverse weather into St. Ives, in Cornwall, where an attempt was made to cause Bale to be suspected of treason. This failed, but after a further cruise of several days, the ship came to Dover, where he was again endangered by a false accusation. The captain was about to deliver him to the papists, but was prevailed upon, by Bale's offer of a sum of money, to proceed to Holland, where he obtained his liberty on payment of thirty pounds.

Bale then proceeded to Switzerland, where he continued to reside during the reign of Queen Mary. After her decease he returned to England. In January, 1560, he was appointed to a prebend in Canterbury cathedral. He died in that city, November, 1563, aged sixty-eight.

Bale was well skilled in divinity as well as in general learning, and was an able preacher. Previously to his conversion from popery, which appears to have taken place in 1529, he for some time taught the civil law at Cambridge. He was a voluminous writer; some of his pieces were written before he left the Romish church, but the greater part subsequently. The latter were chiefly controversial and personal; they bore heavily upon the papists, especially as he exposed the shameless lives of their ecclesiastics in the plainest terms. Their vices he

<sup>1</sup> Matthew x. 14.

attributes to the "idolatries" of their religion. With these he was well acquainted. Speaking of the papists, he says, "Yea, I ask God mercy a thousand times; I have been one of them myself."

Bale's principal work was his "Summary of the Illustrious Writers of Great Britain," in which he especially showed the errors and enormities of the church of Rome.

Bale's controversial and other smaller pieces must have had very considerable influence at that day. Their coarseness, which now disgusts the reader, was then hardly considered an objection. He was, as Strype observes, sharp and foul enough sometimes, when he had foul subjects to deal with, and such were indeed abundant in that day. The near view he had of these practices appears to have been the principal occasion of exciting his disgust to popery. It has been fairly observed that "he wrote with all the warmth of one who had escaped the flames." It is not surprising that many of those who never have seen or felt the fires should think such delineations too vivid.

## DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR.<sup>1</sup>

(From "*Foxe's Book of Martyrs.*")

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

In this town Dr. Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, was parson. Who at his first entering into his benefice did

<sup>1</sup> Strype, speaking of Dr. Taylor, says: "He was one of the chaplains of Archbishop Cranmer, and 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 Augustine's works, Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Eusebius, Origen, and divers other fathers. He professed the civil law, and had read over the canon law also. He was much employed in ecclesiastical affairs in the reign of Edward VI." Dr. Taylor was a native of Rothbury, in Northumberland; he was of the University of Cambridge, where the conversation of Dr. Turner, and the preaching of Latimer, proved to be the means of his conversion.

not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, who should gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure, and so that they may have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock; but, contrarily, he forsook the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, with whom he was in household, and made his personal abode among the people committed to his charge. Where he, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying, "Peter, lovest thou Me? Feed My lambs, feed My sheep, feed My sheep." This love of Christ so wrought in him that no Sunday nor holyday passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

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

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron, and diligent provider, insomuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them;<sup>1</sup> and he himself, besides the continual relief that they always found at his house, gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms box. His wife also was an honest,

<sup>1</sup> The poor laws had not then been enacted.

discreet, and sober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities described by St. Paul in a true bishop; good salt of the earth, savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men; a light in God's house set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow. Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward vi. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery unto His most blessed rest, the papists, who ever sembled and dissembled, both with King Henry and with King Edward his son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy, openly refusing all the good reformation made by the said two kings; and contrary to that which they had in these two kings' days preached, taught, written, and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by God's Word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, virtuous, and true religion.

In the beginning of this rage of antichrist, a certain petty gentleman, after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor, who had ever been a secret favourer of all Romish idolatry, conspired with one John Clerk to bring in the pope and his maumetry (idolatry) again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and Reformation made by King Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore the aforesaid Foster and Clerk hired one John Averth, parson of Aldham, a very money mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an open adulterer, a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to begin again the popish mass. To this purpose they builded up the altar with all haste possible, intending to bring in their mass again about Palm Monday. But this their device took no effect, for in the night the altar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it up again the second time, and set diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments, to play his popish pageant, whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

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

Then said Dr. Taylor: "Thou devil, who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ, to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" With that started up Foster, and with a furious countenance said to Dr. Taylor: "Thou traitor, what doest thou here, to hinder and disturb the queen's proceedings?" Dr. Taylor answered: "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this His flock, wherefore I have good authority to be here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid

hence, and not to presume here to poison Christ's flock with such popish idolatry."

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

Dr. Taylor answered: "I make no commotion, but it is you papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's Word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's Word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further, thou doest against the canon law, which commands that no mass be said but at a consecrate altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his saying of mass. Then started up John Clerk, and said: "Master Awerth, be not afraid, you have a superaltar.<sup>1</sup> Go forth with your business, man."

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him out of the church, and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Dr. Taylor's wife, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, kneeled down, and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said: "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury that this popish idolater this day doth to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors, for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw in great stones at the windows, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny; which practice the papists have ever used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the same that saith: "The law of unrighteousness is our strength; come, let us oppress the righteous without any fear!"

<sup>1</sup> A superaltar is a stone consecrated by the bishops, commonly of a foot long, which the papists carry instead of an altar when they say mass for money in gentlemen's houses.—*For.*

Within a day or two after this, Foster and Clerk made a complaint of Dr. Taylor to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor, who sent a letter missive to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this they were exceedingly sorry and grieved in mind; foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also that all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and that falsehood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole rout. His friends, I say, came to him, and earnestly counselled him to depart and fly, alleging and declaring unto him that he could neither be heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet look for justice or favour at the said chancellor's hands, who, as it was well known, was most fierce and cruel, but must needs, if he went up to him, wait for imprisonment and cruel death at his hands.

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

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

"Oh," said Dr. Taylor, "what will ye have me to do? I am now old, and have already lived too long, to see

these terrible and most wicked days. Do you fly, and do as your consciences lead you. I am fully determined, with God's grace, to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he doeth naught. God shall well hereafter raise up teachers of His people, who shall with much more diligence and fruit teach them than I have done. For God will not forsake His church, though now for a time He trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause. As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service as I may do now; nor shall I ever have so glorious a calling, as I now have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine, even from 'Christ's cross be my speed and St. Nicholas,'<sup>1</sup> unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies. Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me strength and His Holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings."

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him unto God; and he prepared himself to his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest, named Sir Richard Yeoman, who afterwards, for God's truth, was burnt at Norwich.<sup>2</sup>

But let us return to Dr. Taylor again, who being accompanied with a servant, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way, John Hull

<sup>1</sup> The horn-book or child's spelling alphabet. St. Nicholas was the patron saint of children; his picture was sometimes prefixed to their books. The words here referred to by Dr. Taylor were the usual invocation of children when commencing their learning.

<sup>2</sup> The narrative of Yeoman's sufferings as given by Foxe is very interesting. After travelling about as a pedler for some time, he returned to Hadley, where he was concealed in a chamber in the guildhall more than a year. Being discovered at length, he was condemned to the fire.

persuaded him very earnestly to flee, and proffered himself to go with him, and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him. But in no wise would Dr. Taylor consent or agree thereunto, but said: "Oh, John, shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock to this danger? Remember the good Shepherd, Christ, who not only fed His flock, but also died for His flock. Him must I follow, and with God's grace I will do so. Therefore, good John, pray for me, and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me, and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose."

Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Dr. Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then Lord Chancellor of England. This hath been one great abuse in England these many years, that such offices as have been of most importance and weight have commonly been committed to bishops and other spiritual men, whereby three mischiefs and inconveniences have happened in this realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ: the which three are these:—First. They have had small leisure to attend to their pastoral cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected, and left undone. Second. It hath also puffed up many bishops and other spiritual persons into such haughtiness and pride, that they have thought no nobleman in the realm worthy to be their equal and fellow. Third. Where they by this means knew the very secrets of princes, they being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, before the kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this realm and others, sometime to the destruction of princes, and sometime to the utter undoing of many commonwealths.

Now when Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to

his common custom, reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villainous reproaches ; all which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him : " My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man, and am come according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me."

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

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

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

Dr. Taylor answered : " Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions, and idolatries, which the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve ? Nay, God forbid ! Let the pope and his return to our Saviour Christ and His word, and thrust out of the churches such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him."

" I tell thee," said the Bishop of Winchester, " it was

Herod's oath, unlawful, and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept. Our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it."

Then said Dr. Taylor: "But you shall not be so discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to your liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can assail you, neither the pope nor none of his."

"I see," quoth the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool."

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

The bishop answered: "Ye are false, and liars all of you."

"Nay," quoth Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written, 'The mouth that lieth slayeth the soul.' And again, 'Lord God, Thou shalt destroy all that speak lies.' And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which you, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake."

"Thou art married," said the bishop.

"Yea," said Dr. Taylor, "that, I thank God, I am, and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony, and blessed be God that ordained matrimony."

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

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

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said:

"Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament (and he put off his cap), and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead."

Dr. Taylor answered: "Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ has instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do, and confess that Christ ordained the holy communion in remembrance of His death and passion, which when we keep according to His ordinance, we, through faith, eat the body of Christ, and drink His blood, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give God thanks for His merciful goodness showed to us, in that He gave His Son Christ unto the death for us."

"Thou sayest well," quoth the bishop. "It is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead."

Then answered Dr. Taylor: "Christ gave Himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that believe on Him. And this sacrifice our Saviour Christ offered in His own person, Himself, once for all, neither can any priest any more offer Him, nor do we need any more propitiatory sacrifice, and therefore I say with Chrysostom and all the doctors, 'Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving; and therefore the fathers call it Eucharistia, and none other sacrifice hath the church of God.'"

"It is true," quoth the bishop, "the sacrament is called Eucharist, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done."

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

Then kneeled Dr. Taylor down, and held up both his

hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank Thee; and from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord," deliver us: and God be praised for good King Edward."

So they carried him to prison, to the King's Bench, where he lay prisoner more than a year.

Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the Holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners and such as resorted to him to repentance and amendment of life.

In the prison he found the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, Mr. Bradford; so they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other. Insomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him to send him to that prison where he found such an angel of God to be in his company to comfort him.

After Dr. Taylor had lain in-prison awhile, he was cited to appear in the Arches at Bow church, to answer unto such matter as there should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him. Where, when he came, he strongly defended his marriage, affirming by the Scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency are bound on pain of damnation to marry. This did he so plainly prove, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him, but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice because he was married.

"You do me wrong then," said Dr. Taylor; and alleged many laws and constitutions, but all prevailed not; for he was again carried into prison, and his livings taken away and given to others.

After a year and a half, or thereabout, in which time the papists got certain old tyrannous laws, which were put down by King Henry VIII. and by King Edward, to be again revived by parliament; so that now they might

cite whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge them with what articles they pleased, and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them. When these laws were once established, they sent for Dr. Taylor, with certain other prisoners, who were again summoned before the chancellor and other commissioners, about the 22nd of January, 1555.

After that Dr. Taylor thus with great spirit and courage had answered for himself, they, perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wills and purpose, that is, to turn with them from Christ to antichrist, committed him thereupon to prison again.

On the last day of January, 1555, Dr. Taylor, and M. Bradford, and M. Sanders, were again called to appear before the bishops, and there were charged again with heresy and schism, and a determinate answer was required whether they would submit to the Roman bishop and abjure, or else they would proceed to their condemnation.

When they heard this they answered stoutly and boldly that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Roman antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy that He would call them to be worthy to suffer for His word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and immovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the bishops, "We doubt not but God, the righteous Judge, will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of antichrist, and your tyranny that ye now show against the flock of Christ." So was Dr. Taylor condemned and committed to the Clink, and the keepers charged straitly to keep him.

When the keeper brought him towards the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him, unto whom he said, "God be praised, good people, I am come away from

them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood." So was he bestowed in the Clink till it was toward night, and then he was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

When Dr. Taylor had laid in the Compter a few days a prisoner, Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as appertain to their massing mummery. He called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him, and at his coming the bishop said, "Master doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother holy church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Whereunto Master Taylor answered, "I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me I will not turn to antichrist." "Well," said the bishop, "I am come to degrade you; wherefore, put on these vestures." "No," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop. "I shall make thee ere I go." Quoth Dr. Taylor, "You shall not, by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not do it for him. So he willed another to put them on his back; and when Dr. Taylor was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands by his sides, walking up and down, and said, "How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys and toying trumpery?" So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the rest of such-like observances.

At the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier staff, the bishop's chaplain said, "My lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again." "Yea, by St. Peter will I," quoth Dr. Taylor, laughing at his fear. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my master's quarrel." So the bishop laid his curse upon him but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said, "Though you do curse me; yet God doth bless me. I have the witness

of my conscience that ye have done me wrong and violence ; and yet I pray God, if it be His will, forgive you. But 'from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us." And in going up to his chamber, he still said, "God deliver me from you, God deliver me from you." And when he came up he told Bradford that he had made the Bishop of London afraid : "For," said he, laughingly, "his chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier staff, for that I would strike again ; and," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed."

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son resorted to him, and were by the gentleness of the keepers permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons, and the keepers of the king's prisons ; that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their masters ; but the keepers of the king's prisons showed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might. So came Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him ; and at their coming in before supper, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany.

After supper, walking up and down, he gave God thanks for His grace, who had so called him and given him strength to abide by His holy word ; and turning to his son Thomas : "My dear son," said he, "Almighty God bless thee, and give thee His Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn His word, and constantly to stand by His truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living ; be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply to thy book. In any wise see thou be obedient to thy mother, love her, and serve her ; be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of wicked company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their wicked lusts and vain appetites. Flee from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remem-

bering that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is to be rich in alms; and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not, but provide for her according to thy power, and see that she lack nothing. For so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth, and prosperity: which I pray God to grant thee."

Then turning to his wife, he exhorted her to continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keeping herself undefiled from popish idolatries and superstitions. When he had thus said, they with weeping tears talked together, and kissed one the other; and he gave to his wife a book of the church service, set out by King Edward, which in the time of his imprisonment he daily used. And unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of the ecclesiastical histories; and in the end he wrote his testament and last farewell.

On the next morrow, after that Dr. Taylor had supped with his wife in the Compter, as is before expressed, which was the fifth day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came to the Compter by two of the clock in the morning, and brought forth Dr. Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watched all night within St. Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of fourteen years of age, who being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old, the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

Now, when the sheriff and his company came over against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father: mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?" for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, "Dear

wife, I am here," and stayed. The sheriff's men would have led him forth, but the sheriff said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife," and so they stayed. Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said: "Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and make thee His servant;" and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and His word, and keep you from idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland. I will with God's grace meet thee at Hadley."

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

Thus remained Dr. Taylor in the Woolsack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven of the clock. At which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him; and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut. At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr.

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

When they were come almost at Burntwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who before time had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met them; and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, "Master doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty," and came to him, and took him by the hand. "Soft, sir," said the sheriff, "he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him?" "I cry you mercy," said Arthur, "I knew not so much, and I thought it none offence to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, he bade him get him quickly away, and so they rode forth to Burntwood, where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man. Which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest the people should have heard them speak or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand steadfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one

that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen, three used Dr. Taylor friendly.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him, and said: "Good master doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering what loss is of such a one as ye might be if ye would. God hath given you great learning and wisdom, wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm.<sup>1</sup> Besides this, ye are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years; and without doubt, ye should in time to come be in as good reputation as ever you were, or rather better. For you are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning; and methinks it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. You should do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the universal church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will. Doubt you not but you shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon, which no doubt ye shall obtain. This counsel I give you, good master doctor, of a good heart and good will toward you; and thereupon I drink to you." In like manner said all

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Taylor had been employed repeatedly in public matters of importance.

the yeomen of the guard : " Upon that condition, master doctor, we will all drink to you."

When they had all drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he stayed a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last he thus said : " Master sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you of your good will. I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. " Yea, good master doctor," quoth the sheriff, " God's blessing on your heart ; hold you there still. It is the most comfortable word that we heard you speak yet. What ! should you cast away yourself in vain ? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it you shall find favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word. At the last, " Good master doctor," said the sheriff, " what meant you by this, that you said you think you have been deceived yourself, and think you shall deceive many in Hadley ?" " Would you know my meaning plainly ?" quoth he. " Yea," quoth the sheriff, " good master doctor, tell it us plainly."

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

When the sheriff and his company heard Dr. Taylor say so they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, who thus, without all fear, made but a jest at the cruel torment and death

now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation wholly disappointed. And in this appears what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperity; namely, that he should shortly die and feed worms in his grave; which meditation if all our bishops and spiritual men had used, they had not for a little worldly glory forsaken the word of God and truth which they in King Edward's days had preached and set forth; nor, to maintain the Bishop of Rome's authority, have committed so many to the fire.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who at Chelmsford was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lavenham, the sheriff stayed there two days, and thither a number of gentlemen and justices came, who were appointed to aid him. These gentlemen laboured Dr. Taylor very sorely, to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, "which," said they, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea, a bishopric if he would take it; but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand, in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon the sure and unmovable rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmovable to the end.

After two days the sheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley, and coming within two miles of Hadley, he had occasion to light off his horse; when he leapt and skipped once or twice, as men commonly do in dancing. "Why, master doctor," quoth the sheriff, "how do you now?" He answered: "Well, God be praised, good master sheriff. Never better, for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my father's house. But, master sheriff," said he, "shall not we go through Hadley?" "Yes," said the sheriff, "you shall go through Hadley." Then said he, "O, good Lord, I thank thee. I shall yet once, ere I die, see my flock, whom Thou, Lord, knowest I have most heartily loved and truly taught. Good Lord, bless them, and keep them steadfast in Thy word and truth."

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children; who when he saw Dr. Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "O dear father and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor; God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children." Such witness had the servant of God of his virtuous and charitable alms [given in his lifetime. For God would now that the poor should testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others that led him to death were wonderfully astonished at this; and the sheriff sorely rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the town and country. When they beheld him so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices, they cried, "Ah, there goeth our good shepherd from us, who so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Strengthen him, and comfort him." Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the sheriff and the catchpoles his men, that led him. Dr. Taylor said to the people: "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

Coming against the almshouses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money which remained of what good people had given him in time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison. The money that now remained he put in a glove, and gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And coming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt ready at their doors, as the others were, he asked, "Is the blind man and blind woman that dwelt here alive?" It was

answered, "Yea ; they are there within." Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took his leave of those for whom all his life he had a singular care and study. For it was his custom, once in a fortnight at the least, to call upon Sir Henry Doyle, and others the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the almshouses, and there to see how the poor lived ; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessities. The like did he also to other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and, where he found cause, rebuke the unruly, and what they lacked, that gave he after his power ; and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus showed he himself in all things an example to his flock ; and taught by his deed, what a treasure alms is to all such as cheerfully for Christ's sake do it.

At the last, coming to Aldham Common, and seeing a great multitude of people, he asked : "What place is this ? and what means it that so much people are gathered hither ?" It was answered : "It is Aldham Common, the place where you must suffer ; and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home," and so he lighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head. Now his hair was knotted evil favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head ; which cost Bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor ; Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee ; the Holy Ghost comfort thee ;" with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people ; but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

Then desired he license of the sheriff; but the sheriff denied it, and bade him remember his promise to the council.

“Well,” quoth Dr. Taylor, “promise must be kept.” What this promise was, it is unknown; but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council threatened they would cut their tongues out except they would promise that at their deaths they would keep silence and not speak to the people. Wherefore they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God, promised silence. For the papists feared much lest this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Christ’s ordinances to the popish traditions, should not quietly have been received, especially this burning of the preachers. They, measuring others’ minds by their own, feared a tumult or uproar, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings; or else, what they most feared, that the people should have been more confirmed by godly exhortations to stand steadfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks to God, who gave to His witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments; neither was there so much as any one man that once showed any sign of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience; which is to obey God more than men, and if need require it, to shed their own blood rather than to depart from God’s truth.

Dr. Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, “Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them.” Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud voice, “Good people, I have taught you nothing but God’s holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God’s blessed book, the holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with

my blood." With that word, Holmes, a yeoman of the guard, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a cudgel, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman who was among the people stepped in and prayed with him, but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses; notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so he stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and he continually prayed.

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

Then appointed he one Mullein of Carsey, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman; and Soyce, a very drunkard; and Warwike, who, in the commotion time in King Edward's days, lost one of his ears for his seditious talk; also one Robert King, a deviser of interludes (or a strolling player), there present. These four were appointed to set up the faggots and to make the fire, which they most diligently did. And this Warwike cruelly cast a faggot at him, which lighted upon his head, and brake his face, so that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, "O friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?" Furthermore, as Dr. Taylor was speaking and saying the psalm Miserere in English, Sir John Shelton struck him on the lips. "Ye knave," said he, "speak Latin: I will make thee." At the last they set to fire, and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into Thy hands." So stood he still,

without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halberd struck him on the head; then the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death. They that were present reported of him that they never saw in him any fear of death, but above all the rest who suffered, he showed himself merry and cheerful in his imprisonment, as well before his condemnation as after: he kept one countenance and like behaviour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of Master John Bradford, who was in the same prison and chamber with him.

The day following a sermon was preached at Hadley, by the popish priest of the town, in which he inveighed against the martyr with much scurrility and bitterness. He said: "Sure he died in damnable case, if he did not otherwise repent in the hour of pain." On Aldham Common a stone yet marks the place where the martyr suffered: on it is rudely engraved, "1555. D. Taylor in defending that was good. At this plas left his blode." A more costly and imposing monument was erected there in 1818.

## DR. JOHN HOOPER.

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JOHN HOOPER was born in Somersetshire, A.D. 1495, and entered at Merton College, Oxford, in 1514. It is thought that he afterwards became a Cistercian monk, but disliking the monastic life, he returned to Oxford, where, by the study of the Scriptures, with the perusal of some writings of the continental Reformers, he was induced to forsake the doctrines of popery. In a letter written by him to Bullinger, an extract from which has been preserved, by Hottinger, he states that some works of Zuinglius, and Bullinger's commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul, were principally instrumental to his conversion: these he studied day and night.

In the year 1539, when the act of the six articles was enforced, he withdrew to the continent, and was kindly received by Bullinger at Zurich. On the accession of King Edward VI., Hooper, who had married while abroad, returned to England with a desire to assist in the good work then going forward. He had a presentiment of the times which followed; for on taking leave of Bullinger, when that Reformer desired him to write to his friends in Switzerland, and not to forget them when raised to wealth and honours, Hooper assured him of his affectionate remembrance, adding: "I will write to you how it goeth with me. But the last news of all I shall not be able to write; for there (said he, taking Master Bullinger by the hand) where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of my being burned to ashes; and that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear it of me."

He returned to England in 1548, and preached for some time in London, often twice, and never less than once a day. Foxe says: "In his sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and the corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great flocks and companies came daily to hear him, insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching the church would be so full that none could enter farther than the doors. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable."

In May, 1550, he was nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, but was not consecrated till the following year. This delay was occasioned by some differences relative to the vestments and the oaths then used in the consecration of bishops.<sup>1</sup> During his residence on the continent Hooper adopted stricter views on these subjects than his brethren who remained at home, and he objected to some things as tending to superstition. Into the particulars of their differences it is unnecessary to enter. It is sufficient to state, that although Ridley and Cranmer were at variance with Hooper on these points, when the day of trouble came, we find them united as brethren in Christ.

The diocese of Worcester was afterwards united to that of Gloucester, and Hooper conducted himself in his charge in the most exemplary manner. Foxe says: "He employed his time with such diligence, as to be a spectacle (or pattern) to all bishops. So careful was he in his cure, that he left no pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better

<sup>1</sup> Hooper's objection to the oath was because it required him to swear by the saints; to this he objected, and the expression was struck out. With respect to the vestments, a compromise was effected. These oaths and vestments he noticed in his sermons on Jonah, before the king, and in 1551 an alteration for the better was effected.

occupied than he in his diocese among his flock, going about his towns and villages, in teaching and preaching to the people there. Although he bestowed the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for which, also, he spent his blood, yet there lacked no provision in him to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; so that you could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home or for his bishoplike doings abroad. For everywhere he kept one religion, in one uniform doctrine and integrity; so that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose you had entered some church or temple. In every corner there was some savour of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly roystering (turbulent behaviour), or idleness, no pomp at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard. As for the revenues of his bishoprics, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was at his house in Worcester, where in his common hall I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and set full of beggars and poor folk; and I, asking the servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's custom was to have to dinner a certain number of the poor folk of the city by course, who were served with wholesome meats; and when they were served, after having been examined by him or his deputies in the Lord's Prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments, he himself sat down to dinner, and not before."

On the accession of Queen Mary, Bishop Hooper was one of the first who were called before the council on account of their religion. Bonner and Gardiner were especially violent against him. As popery was not then restored by law, he was detained on a false plea of his being indebted to the queen. He has left the following account of the cruel treatment he experienced in the Fleet prison:—"The 1st of September, 1553, I was

committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden's fees; who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and so was I committed to close prison for one quarter of a year, in the tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then, by means of a good gentleman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, yet was not suffered to speak to any of my friends; but as soon as dinner and supper was done, had to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife fell out with me for the wicked mass, and thereupon the warden resorted to the Bishop of Winchester, and obtained leave to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed but a little pad of straw, and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until, by God's means, good people sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town-ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases. During which time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains, being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, 'Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.'<sup>1</sup> And amongst many other times, he did thus the 18th of October, 1553, as many can witness. I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees as

<sup>[1]</sup> About this time he wrote to a friend: "Imprisonment is painful, but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The prisons stink, but yet not so much as sweet houses where the fear and true honour of God is wanting. It were better so to be, and to have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked."

for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric, and since that I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons. The said warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him of all his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also the said warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine. I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my good living, friends, and comforts taken from me; the queen owing me, by just account, eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and gives nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any to come to me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy, saving God's help, but that I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

Foxe has given the particulars of Bishop Hooper's examinations before Gardiner and other popish bishops, in January, 1555. He was condemned on three separate grounds: first, for maintaining the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy; secondly, for defending the Scriptural doctrine respecting divorce, Matthew xix.; thirdly, for denying the carnal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and saying that the mass was an idol. After his condemnation he was taken by night to Newgate, and degraded by Bishop Bonner, and then ordered for execution.

The particulars of the last days of Bishop Hooper's life are minutely detailed by Foxe. It is one of the most affecting narratives in English history. He says: "On Monday, at night, the 4th of February, 1555, Bishop Hooper's keeper gave him an intimation that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereof he rejoiced

very much, praising God that He saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them, not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to His glory; and immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in readiness to ride when he should be called.

"The next day following, about four o'clock in the morning, before daylight, the keeper with others came and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written anything, and then he was led by the sheriffs of London from Newgate to a place not far from St. Dunstan's church, in Fleet-street, where six of the queen's guard were appointed to receive him, and carry him to Gloucester. The guard brought him to the Angel, where he broke his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the break of day he went to horse, and leapt cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he should not be known, and so took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester. By the way the guard always learned of him where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, and ever carried him to another inn.

"Upon the Thursday following he came to a town in his diocese called Cirencester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all the evil she could of Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, showed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears, confessing that she had often reported that if he were put to the trial he would not stand to his doctrine.

"After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock. A mile without the town much people were assembled, who cried and lamented his state, so that one of the guard rode hastily into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue

repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, but there was no man that gave any signification of any rescue and violence. So he was lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester, and that night, as he had done all the way, he ate his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly. After his first sleep, he continued in prayer until the morning, and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber, for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay, that there being alone he might pray and talk with God: so that the whole day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard allowed to speak with him, he employed in prayer.

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

"*H.* Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same.'

"*K.* But I am sorry to see you in this case; for, as I understand, you are come hither to die. But, alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good.'

"*H.* Indeed, it is true, Master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the truth that I have taught amongst you in this diocese and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet; but, alas! consider that death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet.

Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of His word, desiring you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers.'

"'K. Well, my lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and, therefore, I will take my leave of you; and I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child; and by your good instructions, whereas before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to forsake and detest the same.'

"'H. If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it; and if you have not, I pray God you may have it, and that you may continually live in His fear.'

"After these and many other words, the one took leave of the other; Kingston with bitter tears, Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At which departure Hooper told him that all the troubles he had sustained in prison had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

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

<sup>1</sup> The martyr's prayer for this poor blind boy was heard. His name was Drowry, and he was enabled to continue steadfast in the truth. In May, 1556, he was burned.

“After that another came in, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, who appeared to be sorry for Hooper’s trouble, saying, ‘Sir, I am sorry to see you thus.’

“‘To see me? why art thou sorry?’ said he.

“‘To see you,’ saith the other, ‘in this case. For I hear say you are come hither to die, for which I am sorry.’

“‘Be sorry for thyself, man,’ said Hooper, ‘and lament thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me, for Christ’s sake, is welcome.’

“The same night he was committed by the guard unto the sheriffs of Gloucester; who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Hooper’s lodgings, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom he spake on this manner:

“‘Master mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you and to the rest of your brethren that you have vouchsafed to take me a prisoner and a condemned man by the hand; whereby, to my rejoicing, it is apparent that your old love and friendship towards me are not altogether extinguished: and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the good king that is dead, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For which true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither, as I am sure you know, by the queen’s commandment, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, master sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my very friends (meaning the guards), at whose hands I have found as much favour and gentleness by the way hitherward as a prisoner could reasonably require, for the which I most heartily thank them—that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request to you is only that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end, and in the mean time I will be as obedient to you as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing,

hold up your finger and I have done. *For I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die; for it is well known I might have had my life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than to consent to the wicked papistical religion of the Bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen.'*

"These and such like words in effect used Master Hooper to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town called Northgate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him; declaring how quietly, mildly, and patiently he behaved himself in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined at length that he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house, and the sheriffs and the sergeants and other officers appointed to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go that night to bed betimes, saying that he had many things to remember. He did so at five of the clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be alone till the hour of execution.

"About eight o'clock came Sir John Bridges, Lord Shandois, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners, appointed to see execution done. At nine o'clock Hooper was willed to prepare himself to be in readiness, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he said, 'Master sheriffs, I am no

traitor, neither need you have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer; for if you had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all.'

"Afterwards, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of seven thousand, for it was market day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death, he spake unto those that were about him, saying: 'Alas! why are these people assembled and come together? Peradventure, they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past, but, alas! speech is prohibited me.'<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine out of the Word of God. Because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me.'

"So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs, as it were a lamb to the slaughter, in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal. For the grief of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way, being strictly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth; but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes toward heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew; and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that present.

"When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smiling he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm tree over against the college of priests, where he was wont to

<sup>1</sup> The Romish prelates had threatened Hooper and his companions that their tongues should be cut out, unless they promised not to address the people at the stake. The queen's letter directing the manner of his execution expressly ordered that he should not be suffered to speak.—See *Burnet*.

preach. The place round about the houses and the boughs of the trees were crowded with people, and in the chamber over the college gate stood the priests of the college. Then kneeled he down to prayer, forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said prayer, to make report thereof in time to come, pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom, who gave attentive ears unto the same ; which prayer he made upon the whole creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now, after he was somewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon, or at the least it was feigned to be his pardon, from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, ‘ If you love my soul, away with it.’ The box being taken away, the Lord Shandois said, ‘ Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly.’ Master Hooper said, ‘ Good, my lord ; I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers.’

“ Then said the Lord Shandois to Sir Edmund Bridges’s son, who gave ear to Master Hooper’s prayer at his request : ‘ Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray : if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly despatch him.’ While this talk was, there stepped forward one or two uncalled, who heard him speak these words :—

“ ‘ Lord, I am hell, but Thou art heaven : I am a swill, and a sink of sin, but Thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy, therefore, upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after Thy great mercy, and according to Thine inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven ; receive me to be partaker of Thy joys, where Thou sittest in equal glory with Thy Father. For well Thou knowest, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this Thy poor servant ; not for my sins and transgressions committed against Thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of Thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of Thy truth,

wherewith it did please Thee by Thy Holy Spirit to instruct me ; the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, being thereto called, I have set forth to Thy glory. And well seest Thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments are prepared for Thy creature ; such, Lord, as without Thy strength none is able to bear or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with man are possible with Thee. Therefore strengthen me of Thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rule of patience, or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to Thy glory.'

"When the mayor had espied these men, they were commanded away, and were not suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself for the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his clothing, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have been burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness, unto whose pleasures he very obediently submitted himself, and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and tied his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lord's Prayer with him, and to pray for him, who did so with tears during the time of his pains, he went up to the stake.

"Now when he was at the stake, three irons, made to bind him to the stake, were brought ; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them said : 'You have no need thus to trouble yourselves. For I doubt not but God will give me strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire without bands ; notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, though I have assured confidence in God's strength, I am content that you do as you shall think good.'

“ So the hoop of iron, prepared for his middle, was brought, which being made somewhat too short, for his belly was swollen with imprisonment, he shrank, and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened; and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he utterly refused them and would have none, saying, ‘ I am well assured I shall not trouble you.’

“ Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well seen, for he was both tall and stood also on a high stool, and beheld round about him; and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himself. By-and-by he that was appointed to make the fire came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. He asked why he should forgive him, saying that he never knew any offence he had committed against him. ‘ O sir!’ said the man, ‘ I am appointed to make the fire.’ ‘ Therein,’ said Hooper, ‘ thou dost nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee.’ Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and showed with his hand how the rest should be placed.

“ Commandment was then given that the fire should be set to, and so it was: but because there were as many green faggots as two horses could carry upon their backs,<sup>1</sup> it kindled not readily, and was a while also before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having strength in that place—it was also a lowering and cold morning—it blew the flames from him, so that he was but touched by the fire.

“ Some time after a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire was kindled with faggots, for there were no more

<sup>1</sup> There is reason to believe that the use of green faggots was ordered on this and some other occasions, to make the sufferings of the martyrs more severe and terrifying to the people.

reeds, and that burnt his lower parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did burn his hair and scorched his skin a little. In the time of this fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly, and not very loud, but as one without pain, 'O Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul.' After the second fire was spent, he wiped his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with a loud voice, 'For God's love, good people, let me have more fire.' And all this while his lower parts did burn; but the faggots were so few that the flames did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

"A third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the others; and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice: 'Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.' And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked with the other, until, by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

"Thus was he three-quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, patiently he bore the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards nor backwards, nor to any side; but having his lower part burnt, and his vitals destroyed, he died as quietly as a child in his bed!

"And now he reigns as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundations of the world: for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God!"

DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.  


DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY was born in the beginning of the sixteenth century, at Willemonstwick, a town in Northumberland, near the borders of Scotland. His father was the third son of an ancient and respectable family who had long resided in that county. After being educated at Newcastle-on-Tyne, he was removed to Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge, about the year 1518, just at the time when Luther's opposition to the pope's bulls respecting indulgences began to excite general attention. He applied studiously to acquire the learning then most in repute; and, as his biographer states, "his character at that time appears to have been that of an ingenious, virtuous, zealous papist."

After some years passed at Cambridge, Ridley visited France, and studied at the Universities of Paris and Louvain. On his return, about 1529, he pursued his theological studies with much earnestness, in particular committing to memory the greater part of the epistles in the original Greek. His mind appears to have been enlightened by the study of the Scriptures. In 1534 he took an active part in the public discussions relative to the pope's supremacy, and in 1537 Archbishop Cranmer appointed him one of his chaplains.

In 1538 Ridley was collated to the vicarage of Herne, in Kent, where the people for many miles round crowded to attend his preaching; and he diligently instructed his charge in the doctrines of the gospel, although, on the point of transubstantiation, he was not as yet fully emancipated from popish errors. When the act of the six

articles came out, Ridley bore public testimony against it, but being unmarried, and as yet in error as to the sacrament of the altar, he did not incur its penalties.

In October, 1540, Ridley was appointed to the mastership of Pembroke Hall, which was then remarked for the learning and scriptural knowledge of its members. In the following year he was nominated one of the prebendaries of Canterbury, where he preached so strongly against the abuses of popery, as to excite some of the ecclesiastics to accuse him of having offended against the laws then in force; but their malice was disappointed. He particularly contended that prayers should be made in a language the people could understand.

Ridley passed a great part of the year 1545 at Herne, when he was induced to examine more particularly respecting the sacrament, the arguments and sufferings of those who opposed the popish errors upon this subject having made a strong impression upon his mind. This investigation removed the error under which he had laboured; and, communicating his views to Cranmer, they examined the doctrines of the church of Rome as to transubstantiation, and those of the Lutheran church respecting consubstantiation. After a full examination of the Scriptures, and the writings of the fathers of the primitive church, they were enabled to discern the truths till then obscured and concealed from their view.

On the accession of Edward VI. Ridley was appointed one of the preachers at court, when he forwarded the Reformation to the utmost of his power. In 1547 he was made Bishop of Rochester; in 1549 we find him bearing a prominent part in a public disputation with the Romanists at Cambridge, on the subject of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

In April, 1550, Ridley was appointed to the see of London: this important office he discharged with much faithfulness, and in a very exemplary manner. He behaved with much kindness to Bonner, who was removed from that bishopric on account of his obstinate attach-

ment to popery, and was particularly careful that he should suffer as little pecuniary loss as possible from his removal. When at Fulham, he always, at dinner and supper, sent for Bonner's mother and sister, who resided near, and constantly placed the former at his right hand, alleviating her misfortunes to the utmost of his power.<sup>1</sup>

Foxe thus speaks of Ridley's discharge of his episcopal duties: "He so laboured and occupied himself in preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that a good child never was more loved by his dear parents than he was by his flock and diocese. Every Sunday and holy day he preached in some place or other, unless hindered by weighty business. To these sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he not only preached, but showed the same by his life as a shining light, in such pure order, that even his very adversaries could not reprove him in any one jot thereof." His ordinary course of life at that time is thus described by the same writer: "He, using all ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation. For early every morning, so soon as his apparel was upon him, he prayed on his knees half an hour, which being done, immediately he went to his study, if there came no other business to interrupt him, where he continued till ten o'clock, and then came to common prayer daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner,<sup>2</sup> where he talked little, and then it was sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as the cause required. The dinner being over, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts talking or playing at chess. That done, he returned to his study and continued there until five o'clock, unless suitors or busi-

<sup>1</sup> When Bonner was restored he acted in a very different manner, not only treating Ridley's relations with much harshness and severity, but even depriving them of property to which they were legally entitled, and endeavouring to procure the death of Ridley's brother-in-law.

<sup>2</sup> At that period it was usual for the nobility and gentry to dine at eleven o'clock.

ness abroad prevented. He then came to common prayer, which being finished, he went to supper. After supper he recreated himself an hour, and then returned to his study, continuing there till eleven o'clock, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose. When at Fulham, he read a lecture to his family every day at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts, and so going through all the epistles, giving a New Testament to every man that could read, and hiring them with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially Acts xiii. He often read to his household the 101st Psalm, being very careful over his family, that they might be an example of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but godliness and virtue reigned in his house, he feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

Much of Ridley's time, during the reign of Edward VI., was occupied in discharging the public duties of his office, which were neither few nor small. During the prevalence of a pestilential distemper in London, called the sweating sickness,<sup>1</sup> he continued to reside among his flock. In his pastoral duties he was ably assisted by Bradford and Grindal, two of his chaplains.

In the beginning of 1553 the king's health was evidently in a declining state, when by Ridley's means the noble foundation of Christ's Hospital and those of St. Bartholomew and Bridewell were established.

<sup>1</sup> The sweating sickness began in London, 9th July, and was most terrible July 12, 1551. People being in the best health, were suddenly taken, and dead in a few hours. This mortality fell chiefly on men of the best age, or between thirty and forty: few women or children or old men died thereof. Sleeping in the beginning was present death; for if they were suffered to sleep but half a quarter of an hour, they never spake after, nor had any knowledge, but when they woke fell into the pangs of death. Seven honest householders supped together, and before eight o'clock next morning six of them were dead. This sickness followed Englishmen as well in foreign countries as within this realm; wherefore this nation was much afraid of it, and for the time began to repent and remember God, but as the disease relented, the devotion decayed. The first week eight hundred persons died in London.—*Stowe's Annals*.

The particulars of the last days of Edward VI. and the brief reign of Lady Jane Grey are given elsewhere. Ridley does not appear to have taken a prominent part in those events, if we except a sermon preached by him at Paul's Cross, by order of the council, on one of the two Sundays between the death of King Edward and the entrance of Queen Mary into London. On that occasion he strongly urged the evils which must ensue from Mary's attachment to popery, if she obtained the crown. This was not forgotten by his enemies. As soon as Mary's authority was established, Ridley was committed to the Tower, and Bonner was again established as Bishop of London. Of the wide difference between his conduct and that of Ridley, both in private life and public affairs, the reader doubtless is fully aware.

Ridley continued in the Tower several months. During the greater part of the time he had Cranmer and Latimer for his fellow-prisoners: the result of their conferences will be found in the following pages. In April, 1554, these venerable fathers of the English church were sent to Oxford, to dispute publicly with a number of the Romish doctors on the subject of the mass and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The particulars of this disputation were recorded by Jewell. Ridley's knowledge of the Greek language, and his being versed in the writings of the fathers, enabled him to correct many attempts to pervert the meaning of the ancient writers.<sup>1</sup> After these disputations were concluded, the three bishops were condemned as heretics, when Ridley replied: "Although I be not of your company, yet I doubt not but that my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should have come by the course of nature."

They were not put to death at that time, but were closely confined at Oxford during the next eighteen months.

<sup>1</sup> Latimer was not so well skilled in Greek, having been far advanced in life before that language was much taught. Of this the Romanists took advantage, and when arguing with him, actually falsified a quotation from the New Testament!

Though kept from scenes of active usefulness, they were not idle. Latimer, weak and enfeebled through age, could do little but read his Testament ; and that, as he afterwards declared, he read over diligently seven times during his confinement. Cranmer reviewed and added to his writings on the sacrament. Ridley was strictly watched, deprived of most of his books, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper ; but he snatched every opportunity, and when his scanty supplies of materials for writing failed him, he cut the lead from his prison windows, and wrote in the margins of the few books he possessed. The following is from a letter written by him at this time :—

“ Brother Bradford,—I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers prisons suffer and bear patiently Christ’s cross for the maintenance of His gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein, I doubt not, but we are set to fight under Christ’s banner and His cross against our spiritual enemy the devil, and the old serpent, Satan ; methinks I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines, which he hath to impugn Christ’s verity, His gospel, His faith ; and the same two also are the most massy posts and most mighty pillars, whereby he maintains and upholds his satanical synagogue.

“ These two, sir, they are in my judgment—the one is false doctrine and idolatrous use of the Lord’s Supper ; and the other, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome. By these two, Satan seems to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom : by these two he drives down mightily, alas ! I fear me, the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisonous rotten posts he has so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ’s church, and of the catholic faith, that the serpent is able to deceive, if it were possible, even the elect of God.

“ Wherefore, John said not without great cause, if

any know not Satan's subtilties and the dangers thereof, I will wish him no other burden than to be laden withal. Sir, because these are his principal and main posts, whereupon stand all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God has given me, I have bent my artillery to shoot at the same. I know it is but little, God knows, that I can do, and my shot I know they value not. Yet will I not, God willing, cease to do the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of His name and the furtherance of Christ's gospel."

In his letters printed in "*The British Reformers*," the reader will find many interesting notices of this irksome period of Ridley's confinement. While in the Tower he had been more favourably treated than many others, but when the papists found he could not be wrought upon by all their blandishments, they changed their measures, and acted towards him with much severity.

In October, 1555, Ridley and his companions were condemned. His life was spared a fortnight longer, during which he wrote some farewell letters and admonitions. On the 15th of October he was degraded by the Romish commissioners, and the next morning he was led forth to the place where he and Latimer were to be burned. Ridley arrived there first. As soon as his fellow-sufferer came, Ridley kissed him, saying: "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." The latter was his experience. Dr. Smith preached a sermon, in which he asserted many falsities respecting the martyrs and their doctrines, to which Ridley wished to reply, but was not permitted. "Well," said he, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ and His known truth."

They were then fastened to the stake. Ridley lifted up his hands towards heaven, and prayed: "O heavenly Father, I give Thee most hearty thanks that Thou hast

called me to be a professor of Thee even unto death. I beseech Thee, Lord God, have mercy upon the realm of England, and deliver her from all her enemies." Ridley then addressed himself to Lord Williams, who was appointed to superintend the execution, and besought him to plead with the queen in behalf of his poor relatives, and others who were unlawfully deprived by Bonner of the leases they had agreed for with Ridley while he possessed the see of London.

The fire was lighted: when Ridley saw it flaming up towards him, he cried out with a loud voice, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. O Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer soon died, apparently with little or no pain; but on Ridley's side the fire was kept down, owing to the bad management of those that had built up the faggots, so that it only burned beneath. When Ridley felt this, he entreated them, for Christ's sake, to let the fire come to him. His brother-in-law, desiring to relieve his pain, but misunderstanding his wishes, heaped on more faggots, which kept the fire down still longer, and it burned all his lower parts without touching the upper. He repeated his desire to have the fire suffered to come unto him, and after his legs were consumed, the spectators saw one side of his body, shirt and all, untouched with the flame. But though the torment was indeed dreadful, "he was strengthened to abide it." He frequently exclaimed, "O Lord, have mercy upon me," and requested that they would let the fire come to him. At last he was understood. One of the bystanders pulled off the upper faggots—the flame arose, and when the tortured martyr saw the fire he leaned towards it. After the flame reached the gunpowder affixed to him, and it had exploded, he stirred no more; his legs being wholly consumed, the upper part of his body turned over the chain, and fell at Latimer's feet.—These horrifying details are given from Foxe, not needlessly to wound the reader's feelings, but for the striking picture they present of the constancy of this faithful martyr of Christ.

Contrast the last hours of Ridley with those of his cruel persecutor, Bishop Gardiner. On the day of Ridley and Latimer's martyrdom, he waited with impatience for the account of their burning. He delayed sitting down to his dinner till he received the desired intelligence. About four o'clock an express arrived with the welcome news, and Gardiner sat down to his meal. He "was not disappointed of his lust, but while the meat was yet in his mouth the heavy wrath of God came upon him." While at table he felt the first attacks of a mortal disease, the effect of vices in which he had long indulged; and though for some days afterwards he was able to go out and attend the parliament, his illness rapidly increased, until, as was stated by one of his contemporaries, he became so offensive "that it was scarcely possible to get any one to come near him." The sufferings of his mind were not less painful than those of his body. He frequently exclaimed, "I have sinned like Peter, but I have not wept like him." Dr. Day, the bishop of Chichester, seeing Gardiner's dreadful state, and knowing that the juggleries of popery could not afford any support at such an hour, endeavoured to comfort him with the offers of free justification through the blood of Christ made in the Scripture. Gardiner convinced, but not changed, showed the natural enmity of the heart of man against the doctrines of grace, exclaiming: "What, my lord, will you open that gap now? Then farewell all together. To me, and such other in my case, indeed you may speak it; but open this window to the people, and then farewell all together." He endured these torments longer than Ridley had suffered, lingering till the 13th of November, during which time it is recorded that "he spake little but blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with curses in his mouth, in terrible and unexpressible torments." What were Ridley's sufferings when compared with these? Surely every reader will exclaim: "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his;" though it were to glorify God in the fires.

## REV. JOHN BRADFORD.

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JOHN BRADFORD was born at Manchester about the year 1510. His parents gave him a good education. He was a hard student from his youth, and his skill in accounts procured him employment under Sir John Harrington, treasurer and paymaster of the English forces in France. The abilities he manifested in this situation obtained him considerable esteem, and, as Foxe expresses, "he continued certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this world, likely to have come forward, if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the world as many others." His office he resigned, apparently not being willing to connive at some abuses by which the king was defrauded to a considerable amount.

The precise nature of the transaction and Bradford's share in it are not clearly ascertained. His letters to Father Traves show that it was some transaction affecting his employer, and that he used every means in his power to induce Sir John Harrington to replace the amount. A letter from Father Traves to Bradford confirms this view, that it was a matter affecting his master more than himself, although Bradford seems to have been concerned in the transaction, and therefore not free from blame. That it was no act for his own advantage, further appears from his answer to Gardiner, when the latter asserted that Bradford had defrauded his master. In reply, he called upon any one to prove this, and desired him as lord chancellor, as chief justicer of England, to do justice upon them that slandered him.

But whatever were the circumstances, he could not rest satisfied till restitution was made. At one time he thought of making himself a bondman, and he seems to have sacrificed his patrimonial property towards attaining this object, which evidently worked most painfully on his mind. This transaction is generally supposed to be noticed in one of Latimer's searching sermons. The energetic appeals of that powerful preacher might have been the means of exciting a right feeling in Bradford, and it appears that he conferred with Latimer on the subject. It was not finally settled till after he had gone to Cambridge.

Bradford studied the law for a short period, but his heart was set upon a more spiritual calling. Foxe says: "The Lord which had elected him unto a better function, and preordained him to preach the gospel of Christ, in that hour of grace, which in His secret council he had appointed, called this His chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the same gospel of life. In which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith his effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then Bradford did forsake his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and after a just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him, and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of His holy word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the University of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge, his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge, and godly conversation, so pleased all men, that within one whole year after he had been there the University gave him a degree.

"Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall gave him a fellowship in their college; yea, that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes

exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To the which Bucer was wont to reply: 'If thou have not fine manchet bread,<sup>1</sup> yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee.' And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy bishop of London and glorious martyr of Christ, according to the order that then was in the church of England, called him to take the degree of a deacon. Which order, because it was not without some abuse, to which Bradford would not consent, the bishop yet perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to order him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained for him a license to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

"In this preaching office, by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify.<sup>2</sup> Sharply he opened and reprov'd sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life."

Sampson, another contemporary, testifies concerning Bradford: "After that God touched his heart with that effectual and holy calling, he sold his chains, rings, brooches, and jewels of gold, which before he used to wear, and bestowed the price of these, his former vanities, in the necessary relief of Christ's poor members, whom he could hear of, or find lying sick or pining in poverty." His earnestness in repentance is also noticed by Sampson, who speaks thus of his fervent and practical piety, and his constant communion with God in prayer:—

<sup>1</sup> The best wheaten bread.

<sup>2</sup> Bradford was for some time one of the six preachers appointed by King Edward to itinerate through the kingdom. His letters to Cambridge, London, and other places, show the earnestness with which he had laboured as a preacher.

“Without an inward exercise of prayer, our Bradford did not pray to his full contentation, as appeared by this. He used in the morning to go to the common prayer in the college where he was, and after that he used to make some prayer with his pupils in his chamber. But not content with this, he then repaired to his own exercise in prayer by himself, as one that had not yet prayed to his own mind, for he was wont to say to his familiars: ‘I have prayed with my pupils, but I have not yet prayed with myself.’ Let those secure men mark this well, which pray without touch of breast, as the Pharisees did, and so that they have said an ordinary prayer, or heard a common course of prayer, they think they have prayed well, and, as the term is, they have served God well; though they never feel sting for sin, taste of groaning, or broken heart, nor of the sweet saving health of Christ, thereby to be moved to offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving, nor change or renewing of mind, but as they came secure in sin and senseless, so they do depart without any change or affecting of the heart; which is even the cradle in which Satan rocketh the sinners of this age asleep, who think they do serve God in these cursory prayers, made only of custom; when their heart is as far from God as was the heart of the Pharisee. Let us learn by Bradford’s example to pray better, that is, with the heart, and not with the lips alone; as Cyprian saith: ‘Because God is the hearer of the heart, and not of the voice;’ that is, not of the voice alone without the heart, for that is but lip labour.

“Another of his exercises was this. He used to make unto himself a journal, in which he used to write all such notable things as either he did see or hear each day that passed; but whatsoever he did hear or see, he did so pen it, that a man might see in that book the signs of his smitten heart. For if he did see or hear any good in any man, by that sight he found and noted the want thereof in himself, and added a short prayer,

craving mercy and grace to amend. If he did hear or see any plague or misery, he noted it as a thing procured by his own sins, and still added: 'Lord, have mercy upon me.' He used in the same book to note such evil thoughts as did rise in him, as of envying the good of other men, thoughts of unthankfulness, of not considering God in His works, of hardness and insensibleness of heart, when he did see others moved and affected. And thus he made to himself, and of himself, a book of daily practices of repentance.

"Besides this, they which were familiär with him might see how he, being in their company, used to fall often into a sudden and deep meditation, in which he would sit with fixed countenance and spirit moved, yet speaking nothing a good space; and sometimes in this silent sitting, plenty of tears would trickle down his cheeks; sometimes he would sit in it, and come out of it, with a smiling countenance. Oftentimes have I sat at dinner and supper with him in the house of that godly harbourer of many preachers and servants of the Lord Jesus, Master Elsyng, when, either by occasion of talk had, or of some view of God's benefits present, or some inward cogitation and thought of his own, he hath fallen into these deep cogitations, and he would tell me in the end such discourses of them, that I did perceive that sometimes his tears trickled out of his eyes, as well for joy as for sorrow. Neither was he only such a practiser of repentance in himself, but a continual provoker of others thereunto; not only in public preaching, but also in private conference and company. For, in all companies where he did come, he would freely reprove any sin and misbehaviour which appeared in any person, especially swearers, filthy talkers, and popish praters. Such never departed out of his company unreprieved; and this he did with such a Divine grace and Christian majesty, that ever he stopped the mouths of the gain-sayers; for he spake with power, and yet so sweetly, that they might see their evil to be evil, and hurtful unto

them, and understand that it was good indeed to the which he laboured to draw them in God."

Bradford's zeal and activity as a preacher of the gospel rendered him very obnoxious to the papists; and his popularity in the city of London, though he was always most faithful in reproving sin, made them the more anxious to silence and remove him. To accomplish this, as Foxe well observes, because they had no just cause, they took occasion to do him injury for such an act as, among Turks and infidels, would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with favour accepted as it deserved.

The act was this. Immediately after the accession of Queen Mary, Bourne, afterwards bishop of Bath, a papist, preached at Paul's Cross, when he spoke so reproachfully of the late king, so justified Bonner, and said so much in favour of popery, that the people were indignant, and a tumult ensued. A dagger was hurled at the preacher, who shrunk back, and entreated Bradford, who stood near him, to come forward and speak to the people. Bradford addressed them, and sharply reproving their conduct, prevailed upon them to desist. Having obtained a respite, he and Rogers assisted the mayor and sheriffs in conducting the trembling preacher into the Grammar School, Bradford following Bourne, and sheltering him with his own person. Many pressed after them, loudly expressing their regret that such a character should be so protected. One gentleman who had made a direct attack upon Bourne, said to Bradford, "Thou savest him that will help to burn thee!" The same Sunday afternoon, Bradford preached at Bow church, and sharply reprov'd the people for their proceedings.

Such conduct ought to have procured Bradford favour from the queen, but he was one of the most eminent of the protestant divines, and against them every opportunity was to be taken. Three days after, on August 16, 1553, Bradford was summoned before the council, and

committed to the Tower on a charge of seditious conduct, shown while protecting Bourne! The people's having listened to his rebukes, was alleged as a proof that he had excited them to tumult!

Foxe thus speaks of Bradford's imprisonment: "He was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of the which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase him liberty of body, till by death, which he suffered for Christ's cause, he obtained the heavenly liberty of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him. From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark, and after his condemnation he was sent to the Compter, in the Poultry, in London, in the which two places, for the time he remained prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him; where also the sacrament was often ministered, and through his means, the keepers so well did bear with him, such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it, and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his keepers, that at his desire, in an evening, when prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark, he had license, upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper, to visit one that was sick, lying by the Steel Yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned unto his prison again, rather being before his hour than breaking his fidelity; so constant was he in word and in deed.

"Of person he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint, sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the

night, and in his bed till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was not in gaming or other pastime, but only in honest company and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the board, and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate what he had to his fellow prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pickpurses, and such others that were with him in prison where he lay, on the other side; unto whom he would give godly exhortation to learn the amendment of their lives by their troubles, and after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

“While he was in the King’s Bench, and Saunders in the Marshalsea, both prisoners, at the back of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would, so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles; and the said Bradford was so trusted with his keeper, and had such liberty, that there was no day but that he might have easily escaped away, if he would, but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the summer time, while he was in the King’s Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant’s house of his acquaintance, and a horse and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in readiness that should ride with him, but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

“One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him whilst he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom Bradford made answer, as not caring whether he went out or no; but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide in England secretly, teaching the people as time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way. He was had in so great reverence and admiration

with all good men, that a multitude which never knew him but by fame greatly lamented his death; yea, and a number also of the papists themselves wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any prisoner with him, but by his company he greatly profited, as all they will yet witness, and have confessed of him no less, to the glory of God, whose society he frequented. One special thing is this.

“Bishop Farrar being prisoner in the King’s Bench, was vehemently urged by the papists in the end of Lent to receive the sacrament at Easter in one kind, who after much persuading, yielded to them, and promised so to do. Then, so it happened by God’s providence, on the Easter even, the day before he should have done it, was Bradford brought to the King’s Bench, prisoner; where the Lord making him His instrument, Bradford only was the mean that the said Bishop Farrar revoked his promise and word, and would never after yield to be spotted with the papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy servant of His. Such an instrument was he in God’s church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious jewel, and God’s true messenger.”

A few other particulars relative to Bradford’s imprisonment may be added. When in the Tower, it was so full of prisoners, that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford were all thrust into one chamber. They gladly endured the inconvenience on account of the opportunity it afforded of enjoying sweet intercourse together, thus establishing one another. There they read over the New Testament together, with great deliberation, studying to see if there were any passages which savoured the popish doctrine of the corporeal presence. But, as Strype observes, after all, they could find no presence but a spiritual, nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But they found in that book that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good, and that God required no other.

After his removal to the King's Bench, he long enjoyed the liberty related by Foxe, but towards the close of the time he was more strictly imprisoned, chiefly at the instance of Dr. Story; and the keeper was threatened with death if he allowed any to speak with Bradford.

During this imprisonment an intention was formed of sending Bradford and others to Cambridge, to be publicly disputed with by the papists. This design being laid aside, the prisoners made a declaration, in which they all plainly set forth the proceedings which had been urged forward against the Reformation, and offered to maintain publicly the doctrines they professed.

While Bradford was in prison, he did much service to the cause of Christ, especially by his letters. When the plans of the papists were sufficiently matured, he was one of the first brought forward for judgment. He was examined before Gardiner, Bonner, and others, in January, 1555, and condemned to the stake. His examinations are preserved by Foxe, and exhibit the unshrinking fidelity of the martyr to the truth; but the artifices of the papists confined them almost wholly to the subjects of the pope's supremacy and the sacrament of the altar, so that they have little interest for the general reader. During these examinations, a testimony to the effects of Bradford's writings was given. Secretary Bourne said: "Yea, it was reported this parliament time, by the Earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and by exhorting those that have come to him in religion, than ever he did, when he was abroad, by preaching." It is added: "All which divers of the council affirmed." At the close of the first examination, being urged to submit himself, and receive mercy, he answered, "Mercy, with God's mercy, should be welcome, but otherwise he would none." In the course of these examinations, Bradford's conduct at Paul's Cross was adverted to, when he appealed to Bishop Bourne, who sat among his judges! In these examinations he conducted himself with meekness, yet with firmness.

Fuller well says: "All men observed the malice and

cruelty of his enemies, how they first committed him without law, and then, after a year and a half imprisonment, made one that took away his life. He denied, indeed, the pope's authority over the church of England, and so had his judges done but the year before."

After receiving sentence of condemnation, Bradford was conducted to the Poultry Compter. His conduct in that prison has been already described. There he remained till the beginning of July, during which time he was harassed by repeated disputations with the Romanists. Bonner, bishop of London, the Bishop of Chichester, the Archbishop of York, two Spanish friars, one of whom was the king's confessor, with Harpsfield, Weston, Harding, Pendleton, and others, came to him from day to day. The substance of their disputations is preserved by Foxe. In answer to an observation of the Bishop of Chichester, "he is a heretic, and so none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the church," Bradford emphatically said: "O my Lord, will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith (wherein I take the unity of Christ's church to consist), although in some points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definition, yet he shall be saved." "Yea," exclaimed the bishops, "is this your divinity?" The substance of these disputations shows that Bradford was well grounded in the argumentative learning then necessary, as well as in scriptural knowledge.

At the latter end of the month of June, the hour of suffering drew near. The particulars are thus related by Foxe:—

"The night before Bradford was had to Newgate, he was troubled in his sleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter-gate, and how the next day, being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield, as indeed it

came to pass accordingly. He, being vexed so often with these dreams, about three of the clock in the morning waked him that lay with him, and told him what he was troubled withal. Then, after a little talk, Master Bradford rose out of the bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and prayer. At dinner, according to his accustomed manner, he did eat his meat, and was very merry, nobody being with him from morning till night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeness of sin in that time.

"In the afternoon, they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost breathless, said, 'Oh, Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news.' 'What is that?' said he. 'Marry,' quoth she, 'to-morrow you must be burned, and your chain is now a buying, and soor you must go to Newgate.' With that M. Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, 'I thank God for it. I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof.' And so thanking her for her gentleness, he departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him, and when he came thither, went secretly himself alone a long time and prayed. Which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things, what he would have done; and after they had spent the afternoon till night in such things, came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom he spent all the evening in prayer, and other good exercises, so wonderfully, that it was marvelous to see and hear."

"A little before he went out of the Compter he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with such tears, and spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also, when he shifted himself with a clean shirt, that was

made for his burning by one Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend, he made such a prayer of the wedding garment, that some of those that were present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned him to the wall, and prayed vehemently that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for His Christ's sake. Then, being beneath in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, with weeping tears.

"They carried him to Newgate about twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad. Contrary to their expectation in that behalf, there was in Cheapside and other places, between the Compter and Newgate, a great multitude of people that came to see him, who most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears, and he again, as gently, bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. Now, whether it were a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were devised of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noise there was over night about the city, that Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it should be greatly known to any. In which rumour many heads had divers minds, some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause thereof. Others thought that it was rather because the papists judged Bradford's death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their kingdom. So some thought one thing, and some another, that no just

conjecture of the cause could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected; for the next day, at the hour of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many, being in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could have warning of his death, being so great a number, in so short a time, unless it were by the singular providence of Almighty God.

"Well, this took not effect as the people thought, for that morning it was nine of the clock before Bradford was brought into Smithfield. In going through Newgate thitherward, he spied a friend of his whom he loved, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and pulled him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet nightcap, also his handkerchief, with other things besides. After a little secret talk with him, as they parted, immediately came a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beswick, who as soon as he had taken the said Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London, called Woodroffe, came with his staff and brake the said Roger's head, that the blood ran about his shoulders. Which Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother and the rest of his friends, and to get him to some surgeon; so they departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not seen at any man's burning, for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those which stood about the stake.

"When they came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Bradford lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and a young man, John Leaf,<sup>1</sup> on the other side,

<sup>1</sup> John Leaf was apprentice to a tallow chandler, about twenty years of age, and was burned for refusing to believe the popish doctrine concerning the sacrament. Foxe says: "It is reported of the said John Leaf, by one that was in the Compter the same time, and saw the thing, that after his examinations before the bishop, when two bills

they lay on their faces, praying to themselves the space of a minute. Then one of the sheriffs said to M. Bradford: 'Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great.'

"At that word they both stood up upon their feet; and then Bradford took a faggot in his hand and kissed it, and likewise the stake. When he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment. 'For,' said he, 'I have nothing else to give him; and besides that he is a poor man.' And the sheriff said he should have it. Forthwith Bradford put off his raiment, and went to the stake, and holding up his hands and casting his countenance to heaven, he said thus: 'O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins! Beware of idolatry, beware of the false antichrists, take heed they do not deceive you.' And as he was speaking these words the sheriff bade to tie his hands if he would not be quiet. 'O master sheriff,' said Bradford, 'I am quiet. God forgive you this, master sheriff.' And one of the officers, who made the fire, hearing Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said: 'If you have no better learning than that you are but a fool, and were best to hold your peace.' To the which words Bradford gave no answer, but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him, and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said: 'Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night,' and so spake no more words that any man did hear, but embracing the reeds, said thus: 'Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it.' Thus they both ended their mortal lives,

were sent unto him in the Compter in Bread-street, the one containing a recantation, the other his confession, to know to which of them he would put his hand to, first hearing the bill of recantation read unto him, because he could not read nor write himself, he refused it. And when the other was read unto him, which he well liked of, instead of a pen he took a pin, and so pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said bill, willing the reader thereof to show the bishop that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already."

without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize that they had long run at ; to the which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen."

Such was the end of John Bradford, concerning whom Ridley, whose chaplain he was, bore the following testimony: "He was a man by whom God hath and doth work wonders in setting forth His Word." The papists were so sensible of his worth, that they took more pains to bring him over to their doctrines than any other.

His long protracted confinement was rendered a blessing to the church of Christ, and affords a striking instance how God overruleth the wrath of man, causing it to praise Him. Had he not been thus secluded from public services, he could hardly have been more useful among the people at large, as appears from the testimony of the papists respecting his letters; and certainly some of the most valuable statements of the doctrines of the British Reformers would have been wanting to succeeding generations. In his letters and tracts he, being dead, yet speaketh, and many a weary and heavy-laden soul has blessed God for the writings of John Bradford. They often present more of the genuine truths of the gospel in a single page than is contained in whole volumes of later divines. Foxe well observes: "They show how godly he occupied his time when a prisoner; what special zeal he bore to the state of Christ's church; what care he had to perform his office; how earnestly he admonished all men; how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, and how fruitfully he confirmed them whom he had taught." They plainly evidence the deep abhorrence of sin felt by the writer, and his sense of the Divine mercy which had been imparted to him. In connection with this it may be related, that when he saw malefactors going to execution, he would say: "There goes John Bradford, but for the grace of God!"

Nor was his testimony only in writing or in words. As

Fuller beautifully says: "He endured the flame as a fresh gale of wind in a hot summer's day, without any reluctance; confirming by his death the truth of that doctrine which he had so diligently and powerfully preached during his life."

In "The British Reformers" the reader will find a large collection of Bradford's letters. The following may be inserted in this place, as it is not printed among them. It is from a manuscript in the British Museum.

*"Bradford, in the King's Bench, to a Lady.*

"JESUS IS GOD WITH US.

"The grace of God the Father, and the wisdom of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and strength of the Holy Ghost, confirm you in the love of the truth to the end. Amen. I have much rejoiced, perceiving your ladyship's earnest zeal towards the gospel of Christ, specially in these troublesome days, in the which the verity is deadly persecuted. Blessed be God, that hath given you so bold a spirit that you are not ashamed of His gospel, which is a plain token that you are the very elect child of God, if you hold fast to the end this godly confession. But this you cannot do unless you are content to suffer such persecutions as commonly do follow the same; for, as St. Peter teacheth us, it is not only given us to believe, but also to suffer for the same. Christ and the cross do go together, and joy doth follow affliction, the which our Saviour in the gospel hath signified unto us, saying that we must, through many troubles, enter into the kingdom of heaven. The dear disciples of Christ would fain have overskipped the same, and been placed at His right hand and at His left; but it would not be granted before they had tasted of the cup which He should drink of. We are very far inferiors unto them in all good things, but if we be like unto them in suffering, we shall assuredly be partakers of their glory. There is no outward thing in the world that doth more assure us of the favour of God and of everlasting life than persecution for the righteousness of God's Word;

and therefore St. Paul, to the Galatians, saith in his troubles, that he carried the marks of our Saviour Jesus Christ in his body. Oh, how desirable a thing is it for the servant to be like to his master ! Oh, how glorious a thing is the cross that purchaseth eternal bliss ! Verily we are not worthy to carry the cross of Christ ; the Lord for His mercy sake make us worthy, that we may esteem it as the chiefest handfast (pledge) of our joy. If we consider what is prepared for us in the same, there is nothing in the world that we shall rather desire ; for as St. Paul witnesseth, ‘The momentary lightness of afflictions doth bring forth an eternal weight of glory.’ Why then should we shrink ? Why now should we be afraid ? since by the cross which is offered us, the kingdom of God approacheth nigher unto us. Now, as Christ said, ‘The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and such as are violent do take the same.’ The Lord loveth no cowards in His cause ; for such as are faint-hearted in the Lord are excluded the kingdom of heaven in the Apocalypse.

“Antichrist, which now by the will of God doth rage for the trial of our faith, doth nothing else but procure us a ready horse to bring us unto heaven. But you perhaps do think this horse to be too hot for your riding, and that you are not able to sit him, he is so terrible and so fiery. Yet, good madam, if you ride him with the snaffle of patience, and in your hand hold forth the buckler of faith, you shall be able to abide all his outrageous courses and flaming flings. Moses saw God in a fiery bush. Elias the prophet was carried to heaven in a fiery chariot. God maketh His angels a flame of fire. Yea, God Himself is a consuming fire. Wherefore then shall we be afraid to pass unto God through fire, since it is His angel sent unto us to bring us to our eternal inheritance, in the which we are made approved gold for the Lord’s household. The fire to us that are faithful is nothing so terrible as it is to the unfaithful ; for we know that it shall have no further force in us than is the good pleasure of God that we shall be able to bear. For he hath promised a good success

unto us in the very midst of our troubles, so that we shall not be further tempted than our God will be assistant with us.

“ Let us not mistrust the help of God to be present with us in our necessities, since that He hath promised by the mouth of the prophet David to be present with us in our trouble, and that He will speedily deliver us out of the same, and glorify us. Let us cast our care upon God, and He will comfort us. We are His creatures, and we must be content to set forth His glory, by such ways as He doth appoint, and not after our wills. He is our Lord, and we ought humbly to submit our necks to that yoke which He hath appointed us to bear. We may not appoint God our end, but we must be content with that end as He doth now offer us ; to the which, if we are obedient, we shall reach the inheritance of His obedient children. But if we murmur, grudge, or are afraid of His prescribed ways, we shall exclude ourselves from everlasting life. Like as the children of Israel did when God had delivered them out of the miserable servitude of Egypt, and appointed to have brought them into the land of promise ; who, contrary to the Lord’s calling, being afraid of the terrible giants which they heard to be dwellers in the same land, murmured against God, and would have turned back again for fear into Egypt. Whereby they were forty years afflicted in the wilderness, and entered not into that land of behest (promise), but perished through their murmuring infidelity. Let us beware that we lose not our heavenly inheritance by like transgression, if we do not willingly take up that cross which God now hath prepared for us. Let us not go about to choose what kind of cross we list, but being content with that which is offered by the will of God, be it never so terrible or cruel, let us pray that we may have patience and strength to show ourselves faithful in the fire ; rejoicing that God giveth us any occasion to glorify His holy name, and to declare our faithful service we owe unto Him. He were to be counted no faithful subject who of his sovereign being appointed to

serve one way, would indent to serve another way; neither were he worthy to be taken for a true servant who, having his manner of service appointed by his master, doth withdraw himself from doing the same, and doth otherwise serve at his own pleasure. If we cannot but think this an evident disobedient frowardness of man to man, worthy great punishment, what shall we think of man's wilful declining, murmuring, and grudging, from fleshly precepts, the faithful prescribed service of our everlasting King and mighty Lord, Master, Defender, and Nurser. Oh, what unthankful creatures are we, so little to regard our Creator! Oh, faithless hearts that do fear man more than God, that are content to serve man above God. Oh, blindness of eyes that do more readily behold the earth than heaven! May they look for heaven that are more willing to serve the world, though that which men do seek they shall find, and according to that which they follow reward shall be! Everybody shall receive after the works of his own hand. If we now labour with Christ, we shall be rewarded with Christ. If we serve Him faithfully after the talents of our vocation, according to His gospel, we shall enter into the joy of our Lord and Master. Now, at noon-day, the good husbandman calleth us to work in His vineyard; to the which calling, if we are obedient, and are content to suffer the heat and fervent burning of the day, we shall have the penny of eternal life, and the which otherwise forsaking this calling we are like to lose. If I should all the days of my life devise a ready and a certain way for you to go unto heaven, there is none so ready and so certain as this is—to take up your cross and to follow Christ. This is a hard word to the Capernaitans, and to such as are worldly affected: but that which is impossible to the flesh and to man, is possible unto God. For it is the Spirit of God which doth help our infirmities, by whom we are able to mortify affections of the body, and are made strong against all the fiery darts of the devil and of the world. The mean to attain this spirit is to follow the counsel of David, saying, 'Forget thou the

people and the house of thy father, and the king shall be desirous of thy beauty.' Therefore, dearly beloved M——, walk in the Spirit, and conform not yourself to the fashion of the world, neither do after the concupiscence of the flesh; for he that will be a friend of the world is become an enemy to God. We are bound to offer our bodies a lively, holy, and acceptable sacrifice unto God. Now have we good opportunity so to do. The Lord make us willing and glad priests to offer this our reasonable service, which we owe unto God. For this cause are we all called of St. Peter both priests and kings; priests to the end we should sacrifice our bodies to God, kings because we should subdue our affections and rule our bodies. To this point we can be content for man's pleasures, or for a small reward to venture our life, the which being once lost, no man can restore again, neither redeem by any price, and cannot be content to do the like at God's holy will, who, though we are dead can give us life, and reward us with eternal felicity.

"What is he who being under the cross does not leap for joy, knowing that he shall pass from death to life, from misery to bliss, from temporal delights to eternal joys, from shame to glory, from worldly commodities to everlasting possessions in heaven, if he doubt not of God's promise, or 'say in his heart, There is no God,' as the wicked do. The Lord's Spirit doth flee by from all feigned things, as it is written in the first of the Book of Wisdom. And, therefore, our Saviour commandeth all true believers, in the gospel of St. John, to worship God in spirit and in verity. So that in no wise we may worship God in the papistical synagogue under falsity and idolatry. The Lord grant you faith as effectual as the grain of mustard seed, so that ye may grow through the sincere moisture of good works unto a great tree in the Lord, that the birds of the air may build their nests in your branches. That is, such as are weak, unstable, and wavering in the faith, may, seeing your constant faith and godly conversation, be won unto the faith. So must our light shine that it may be

seen of all men, for God hath not kindled the light of His gospel in us that we should hide it under a bushel, but that we should set the same upon a candlestick, that it might give light to as many as list to behold it. Therefore Solomon compareth a good person's life unto a bright light, which groweth unto the perfectness of the day. Still the Scripture exhorteth us to grow in faith, and to be perfect, that is, with St. Paul, to go forward and to forget those things which we have through knowledge cast behind us, and never to take them again. For as Christ saith in the gospel, 'He that hath put his hand to the plough, and looketh backward, is not meet for the kingdom of God.' The Lord grant that we never look back again, for if we do, our last fall will be worse than the first. It is good for you in these evil days to have continually before your eyes the philosophy of a Christian man, which is, to acknowledge God to be merciful, wise, just, and omnipotent. That He is merciful, He giveth us freely by faith the remission of our sins. By His wisdom God trieth our faith, through adversity, that apparent faith may be known as well to ourselves as to the world, to His glory. That God is just, we are assured according to His promise He will not suffer us to be tempted above that we shall be able to bear ; and in that God is omnipotent, we may be certain that He will turn our evil which we suffer to good, our shame to glory, our sorrow to joy, our death to life. These things, madam, if in fervent prayer and continual reading of the Scriptures, you do well weigh, you shall fear neither faggot, neither fire, nor sword, nor halter; but in the midst of them rejoice that you are Christ's disciple, who doth exercise our faith by this same. God deliver you out of all temptations, that you never be overthrown of any.

"Written by a captive in Christ, in the King's Bench."

## JOHN JEWELL.

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JOHN JEWELL was born May 24th, 1522, at Buden, in the parish of Berry Nerber, in the north of Devonshire. His father was of an ancient family, but not wealthy; and having ten children, John, the youngest son, was indebted in early life to some benevolent friends for the assistance which enabled him to pursue his studies. He received the rudiments of education at several schools; in the last of these, Barnstaple, he had for his school-fellow Harding, afterwards his most zealous and bitter antagonist.

Jewell was of an amiable disposition: at an early age he gave indications of great talent, and an earnest desire for knowledge. When thirteen, he was entered at Merton College, in Oxford, where his first tutor was a Mr. Burrey, "a man meanly learned, and somewhat tainted with popery." This tutor having another pupil, committed Jewell to the care of Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich, then of Merton College, "who being desirous, with all other wholesome learning, to season his tender years with pure religion, took occasion often before him to dispute with Burrey about controverted points; and intending to compare the translations of the Bible by Coverdale and Tyndale, gave him Tyndale's to read, himself overlooking Coverdale's." Thus he early brought his pupil to a close acquaintance with the Scriptures. During this collation, Parkhurst observed such indication of talent in Jewell, that he exclaimed, "Surely, Paul's Cross will one day ring of this boy," a presage which was fully realised in the event.

While Jewell was at Merton College, the plague broke out at Oxford, in consequence of which he removed to Croxham, where, by lodging in a low damp room, and pursuing his studies in the night with too much ardour, he caught a cold, which settled in his limbs, and affected him with a lameness that attended him to the grave. In August, 1539, by the interest of his friends, he was removed to Corpus Christi College, where he met with encouragement, but also experienced the effects of envy from some of his fellows, who often suppressed his exercises, substituting others more resembling their own. In October, 1540, Jewell took his first degree with very great applause. He studied with increased vigour, beginning at four in the morning, and continuing till ten at night, needing some person to remind him of his necessary food. His reputation for learning was such, that Parkhurst committed his own son to the care of his former pupil for a time, till Serles, vicar of St. Peter's, Oxford, a zealous enemy to all innovation, succeeded in separating them. We are told that he was alarmed at Jewell's design to instruct his pupil in Greek, the study of which was then considered almost a certain proof of heresy. The college appointed Jewell reader of humanity and rhetoric, which duty he discharged with much ability; but his example taught far more than any precept. He read many ancient authors, and was accustomed to write something every day, often saying: "Men acquired learning more by frequently exercising their pens than by reading many books." He endeavoured to express himself with fluency, neatness, and force of argument, rather than by flowery expressions or well turned periods. "His only recreations from study were studious," his time being spent either in giving instruction, disputations, or in meditating upon what he had learned.

In 1544, Jewell commenced master of arts, the expense being defrayed by Parkhurst, who then held the valuable rectory of Cleve, in Gloucestershire, and often invited Jewell and other scholars to his house, where he entertained them

liberally, and seldom dismissed them without presents. One time especially he came into their chamber early in the morning, and seizing their purses, said, "What money, I wonder, have these miserable beggarly Oxonians?" Finding them "pitifully lean and empty, he stuffed them with money till they became both fat and weighty."

After the accession of Edward VI. the Reformation proceeded more regularly, and with greater rapidity. Peter Martyr was invited from Germany, and settled as professor of divinity at Oxford. Jewell profited much by this appointment, and with the help of short hand characters, which he invented, was able to take down nearly the whole of the lectures. In May, 1549, Martyr was interrupted in his lectures by Dr. Smith, a bigoted papist. A tumult arose, when Martyr challenged Smith to a regular public disputation. Smith, however, fled to Scotland, but other popish doctors accepted the challenge, and a sharp disputation ensued respecting the Lord's Supper. It was conducted with some regularity; being committed to writing by Jewell, it was afterwards published.

In 1551, Jewell took his degree of bachelor of divinity, when he preached a Latin sermon, from 1 Peter iv. 11, "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God." At this time he accepted a small living near Oxford, called Sunningwell, more from a desire to do good than for the salary, which was but small. He walked thither once a fortnight on foot, though, from his lameness, with some difficulty. He also preached publicly and privately, both in his own college and in the University. His abilities now procured him many friends, one of whom named Curtop, a fellow of his own college, allowed him forty shillings a year, then a considerable sum. Another person named Chambers, who was intrusted with the distribution of moneys collected in London to assist poor scholars, allowed him six pounds a year for the purchase of books.

These "halcyon days of peace" were soon terminated.

Jewell was one of the first who felt the effects of the accession of Queen Mary, being expelled from his college by the fellows upon their own authority, before the laws were passed for the restoration of popery. The charges against him were—1. That he was a follower of Peter Martyr. 2. That he had preached contrary to popery. 3. That he had taken orders according to the recent laws, which, however, still remained in force. The principal offence in reality appears to have been a refusal to be present at the mass. That Jewell's character and conduct were blameless, appears from the testimony of Morwen, the president of the college, who said: "I should love thee, Jewell, if thou wert not a Zuinglian. In thy faith I hold thee a heretic, but surely in thy life thou art an angel! Thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran!" A stronger commendation cannot be desired. It is probable that some personal feeling occasioned this prompt expulsion of Jewell. Dr. Morwen and two of the fellows had been suspended and imprisoned for a short time in 1552, by order of the council, for not using the protestant service book. During their suspension Jewell was appointed to govern the college.

Jewell was now reduced to poverty and distress, but for a time found shelter in Broadgate Hall, where many scholars resorted to him, and the society by which he had been expelled began to lament his loss. Of this they were reminded by Dr. Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, who when the dean bragged that their college alone had kept their treasure and Romish ornaments during the late reigns, told them they had done so indeed, but they had lost a *jewel* far more precious than any they had preserved.

By the influence of some friends, Jewell was appointed orator to the University. In this capacity he was soon after called to write a congratulatory address to the new queen. In expressing it, he imitated the sentiments of the Roman senators on the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius.<sup>1</sup> He managed this with much ability,

<sup>1</sup> Skilfully uniting congratulations with expressions of regret.

alluding also to the queen's promise to the men of Norfolk and Suffolk, that she would not change the religion established by the late king. It is recorded that while Jewell was reciting this address to Dr. Tresham, the vice-chancellor, the great bell of Christ Church, which the latter had caused to be recast, and had christened a few days before, according to the popish ritual, by the name of Mary, began to toll. Hearing this call to his beloved mass, the doctor exclaimed, "O delicate and sweet harmony, O beautiful Mary, how musically she sounds, how strangely she pleases my ears!" and Jewell's pen was forced to give place to the tinkling of this new lady.<sup>1</sup> Jewell about this time was one of the notaries appointed to assist Cranmer at his trial.

In these difficulties, Jewell went on foot to Cleve, to obtain Parkhurst's advice and assistance, but found he had left the country on the restoration of the mass. Poor Jewell was forced to return to Oxford, almost dead from the fatigue of a long journey on foot in bitter cold and snowy weather.

In a letter to his former tutor, dated 22nd October, he writes: "Parkhurst, what shall I now write to you, or rather why should I be silent? I have now for a considerable time desired to know what you are doing, what you have done, and where you are. Although Cleve be taken from you, and all other matters are changed, yet I trust that your mind can neither be taken away nor changed."

Jewell's adversaries now combined to effect his destruction. Marshall, dean of Christ Church, who had changed his religion twice already, and did so again afterwards, felt Jewell's conduct to be a reproof to himself, and by the newly-appointed inquisitors sent a list of popish doctrines, to which he was commanded to subscribe, upon pain of suffering the penalties of heresy. Jewell, "brought into

<sup>1</sup> We learn from Foxe, that among other inducements to persuade his students to return to popery, Tresham promised them a valuable set of popish vestments, and "the lady bell of Bampton, which should make the sweetest ring in England."

such straits, having no other counsellors in this heavy encounter than horror without and frailty within" being allowed no time or opportunity to consult his friends or to consider the subject, took the pen, and saying, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" hastily subscribed his name in St. Mary's church. But this did not mitigate the rage of his enemies. They knew his affection for Peter Martyr, and would be satisfied by nothing but his life. Jewell's case was now most lamentable; friends forsook him on account of his sinful compliance, while enemies pursued him like a wounded deer. In a critical moment he resolved to flee for his life. This resolution was taken just in time. Had he remained in Oxford another night he would not have been suffered to escape, or had he followed the direct road to London, he would have been overtaken and brought back! But missing the road, the pursuers were disappointed. He was found by Augustine Bernher, Latimer's faithful friend and attendant, lying upon the ground, almost dead with vexation, weariness, and cold. Bernher conveyed him to Mrs. Warcup, who was a zealous friend to the protestants, and to whom several letters of the martyrs are addressed. She entertained Jewell for a time, and then had him conducted in safety to London, where he lay concealed until he escaped to the continent by the assistance of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

Jewell arrived in safety at Frankfort, where he found several of his former friends, and other protestant exiles, who received him with much kindness. They rejoiced at his coming, which was unlooked for on account of his subscription to the doctrines of popery. They advised him publicly to confess his error: this he did openly before the congregation on the next Lord's day, after preaching a most excellent sermon, saying, "It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart, that made my weak hand commit this wickedness." Having uttered these words with many tears, Jewell offered up a fervent prayer to God Almighty for His pardon, and afterwards

besought the forgiveness of the church. All present were deeply affected, and ever afterwards esteemed him the more for his ingenuous repentance.

His biographer observes: "It is an easy thing for those who were never tried to censure the frailty of those who have truckled for some time under the shock of a mighty temptation; but let such remember St. Paul's advice, 'Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.' This great man's fall shall ever be my lesson, and if this glistening jewel were thus clouded and foiled, God be merciful to me a sinner."

Jewell had not been long at Frankfort when he was invited by Peter Martyr to come to him at Strasburg. Martyr was then settled there, having with some difficulty obtained permission to withdraw to the continent. Many at Oxford desired to proceed against him, but he had been invited to England upon the public faith. The restoration of popery pained Martyr very deeply. Hearing the students called to mass, and the tinkling of the sacring bell used in that service, he exclaimed, with a sigh, "That little bell overturns all my instructions." Four years afterwards the remains of Martyr's wife were taken from the grave by order of Cardinal Pole, at the procurement of Dr. Marshall, and buried in a dunghill!<sup>1</sup>

Martyr felt much esteem for Jewell, and persuaded him to come to Strasburg as an inmate in his family. Jewell was serviceable in the preparation of Martyr's comment on the Book of Judges, and was accustomed to read every day from the fathers, particularly Augustine, with whose works they both were much delighted. Grindal, Ponet, Sandys, and other eminent English protestant divines, then resided at Strasburg.

At this time Martyr was invited by the senate of Zurich to fill the office of Hebrew professor and expositor of Scripture. He was accompanied by Jewell, who found Pilking-

<sup>1</sup> After the accession of Queen Elizabeth they were restored to a more honourable place of sepulture, and mixed with the remains of St. Frideswide, that if popery were again restored, they might be secure from insult.

ton and several other exiled countrymen residing there. These exiles experienced a kinder reception among the Helvetian divines than among the Lutherans. The painful disputes respecting the sacrament had so embittered the minds of the latter, that they treated the English exiles with much harshness, notwithstanding the interference of Melancthon in their favour. Those in Switzerland were chiefly supported by some London merchants, till Gardiner discovered their benefactors, whom he fined and punished, threatening that he would soon "make the exiles eat their fingers' ends for hunger." This fate was, however, averted by the liberality of those who had afforded them protection. During the four years of his exile, Jewell studied diligently, and consoled his companions; often saying, that while their brethren at home endured such bitter tortures and horrid martyrdoms, they could not reasonably expect to be at ease; but concluding always: "These things will not last for an age." When the troubles arose at Frankfort respecting the use of the English liturgy, Jewell endeavoured to promote peace, though without success.

Queen Mary died on the 17th November, 1558, when Jewell and other exiles hastened home. On their arrival they found affairs in much disorder, but tending rapidly to a revival of the Reformation.

Without entering minutely into the history of that period, it may be stated that during the life of her sister Elizabeth had conformed outwardly to the Romish religion; but her attachment to the protestant faith was so well known, that several attempts had been made by the bigoted Romanists to procure her death. She was preserved chiefly by the interference of King Philip, actuated by political considerations. The tidings of Mary's death and the accession of Elizabeth were received with general demonstrations of joy. On her approach to London she was met by the Romish bishops, and received them with courtesy, excepting Bonner, from whom she turned with disgust. Elizabeth's situation was difficult. In natural

disposition she resembled her father in many points, and would have been unwilling to submit to the usurpations of the popedom, even if the fate of her mother, and her own sufferings from the papists, had not been sufficient to excite a deep abhorrence of popery. But her feelings on the subject of religion were different from those of her pious brother. Elizabeth's judgment gave preference to the reformed faith, but she does not appear to have experienced that change of heart which he manifested. Her views, therefore, were not so simple, nor her proceedings so decided as the real followers of the truth desired. She had a strong feeling in favour of many points of a ceremonial nature maintained by the church of Rome, and might have favoured its principles still more, had not the pope used very violent language on being informed of her accession. He told the English resident at Rome that England was a dependence upon the Romish see; that, being illegitimate, Elizabeth could not succeed to the crown; that she deserved no favour from him; but if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer the matter wholly to him, he would act with fatherly affection, and would be as favourable as the dignity of the apostolic see permitted! Elizabeth and her counsellors immediately broke off all intercourse with the court of Rome. In this affair, as in the papal proceedings towards Henry VIII., the Reformation was facilitated by the conduct of the pontiffs themselves. Neither Elizabeth nor her father could brook the papal usurpations.

The persecutions were stopped immediately after the accession of Elizabeth, and the prisoners in confinement were speedily released. The exiles soon began to arrive, their brethren who had remained concealed came forward, the doctrines of truth were again publicly set forth. But as the Romanists did not willingly relinquish their power, much confusion prevailed. To prevent evil consequences, silence was imposed for a short time upon the divines of both parties, and some of the most bigoted papists, who endeavoured to excite tumults, were imprisoned. The Refor-

mation now proceeded under the direction of the queen and parliament; the authority of the pope was renounced; the persecuting statutes were repealed; protestantism again became the religion of the land, for which succeeding generations are indebted to Elizabeth as the instrument. Many circumstances made it easier for her to pursue a different course; and though she cannot be delineated as a follower of Christ, there is much cause for thankfulness that she was a protestant upon principle. As such, she afforded protection to the Reformers, and was raised up to be "a nursing" mother to the protestant churches of England.

For farther general details of the English Reformation, the reader must be referred to the histories of that period. Many events, however, are noticed in a valuable collection of letters from Jewell to Martyr and other continental Reformers, preserved at Zurich. These were printed by Burnet, from authenticated copies, sent to him by the public authorities of that city. Some account of this correspondence may be here introduced, as the letters present a lively delineation of the difficulties with which the Reformers had to contend in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and exhibit Jewell's sentiments and views upon many points.

In a letter written by Jewell, January 26th, 1559, while on his journey homewards, he states that Sandys and others had arrived in England, where they were well received by the new queen, and that several bishoprics were void.<sup>1</sup> He mentions Bishop White's funeral sermon for Queen Mary, from the text, "I praised the dead more than the living," and says he had therein represented that it would be a good deed to kill the exiles. The queen had prohibited both parties from preaching, which some accounted for because at the time there was only one protestant preacher in London; others said that it was to prevent disputes about ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> Several Romish bishops died about the same time as Queen Mary.

He adds: "Whatever it be, I wish that our people may not proceed with too much prudence and policy in the cause of God.

On March the 20th, Jewell writes that he arrived in England on the fifty-seventh day after he left Zurich, which appears to have been about the middle of January. He had not found matters in so good a state as he expected. As yet the pope's authority was not cast off; as yet true religion was not restored; masses were still said; the Romish bishops displayed the same pomp and insolence, and were a great hindrance to the Reformation. The queen openly favoured the protestants, but was deterred from any innovations by the leaders of her council and the Spanish ambassador: however, she proceeded with prudence, courage, and piety, though slower than they could wish. A public disputation was to be held between the leading protestant clergy and the papists, in which the former intended to maintain that it is contrary to the Word of God for the public prayers and administration of the sacrament to be in a tongue unknown to the people. He mentions that the queen spoke with much esteem of Martyr, and read his letters repeatedly with much pleasure.

On Friday, 31st of March, the disputation was held. It had been previously settled that all the arguments should be in writing. This the Romanists evaded; and being permitted to state their reasons orally, Dr. Cole spoke at considerable length, with much vehemence and gesticulation, and was continually prompted by his associates. Dr. Horne, afterwards bishop of Winchester, then read the document he had prepared on the part of the protestants; it was temperate, able, and convincing. The conference was then adjourned till the following Monday, when the Romanists desired again to go over the subject already discussed, and did everything in their power to cause irritation and delay. They refused to proceed in the regular course which had been agreed, and finally broke up the conference. By this

conduct they much injured their cause in the estimation of the public.

On the 6th of April, Jewell sent Martyr an account of this public disputation, full particulars of which are given by Foxe. Jewell was one of the persons appointed to take a part in the discussion, and earnestly desired that such conferences might be continued, in order that the truth should clearly appear. He describes Dr. Cole as reproaching the protestants in the most abusive manner. The subject first in dispute was respecting prayers in an unknown tongue. With much solemnity, Cole asserted that the apostles had divided their work into the eastern and western churches. The first, he said, was assigned to Peter and Paul, who directed that all belonging to the Roman church, that is nearly the whole of Europe, should be taught in Latin. The eastern churches were assigned to the other apostles, and there all was to be taught in Greek. He was not afraid to urge one of the most obnoxious dogmas of popery, declaring that it was not expedient that the people should understand the public worship. Ignorance, he said, was the mother of real piety !

On April the 28th, Jewell wrote again to his beloved friend. He speaks of the earnestness with which the bishops contended in support of popery, whereby the progress of truth was delayed, and the cause of religion hindered. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, had openly contended in parliament that the Nazarites, the prophets, the apostles, and Christ Himself, were monks ! There was a design for seizing the bishops' manors, and endowing them instead with the impropriations formerly belonging to the monasteries. Schools, and matters connected with learning, were neglected. Some much desired to unite more closely with the Lutherans ; but they had exhibited their articles of religion and doctrine to the queen, and had not in the least departed from the Strasburg confession.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or the Tetrapolitan Confession.

The painful feelings under which Jewell wrote these letters, doubtless were rendered more severe by the earnestness with which Romish principles had been defended in the House of Commons during the session of parliament, which terminated by dissolution on the 8th of May. It is true that much was effected towards the re-establishment of the Reformation, but not without considerable difficulty. The unblushing effrontery with which the Romish members justified their proceedings considerably injured their cause. Among others, Dr. Story openly avowed the active part he had taken in persecuting the protestants, expressing his regret that he had not done much more! He told the house that he threw a faggot at the face of one of the martyrs, whom he called Earwigs, when singing a psalm at the stake at Uxbridge, and set a bush of thorns under his feet. He added, that he saw nothing to be ashamed or sorry for, but that it grieved him they had laboured only about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root. By this, it was well known, he meant the queen herself! In the convocation, also, strong efforts were made to support the Romish faith.

On May the 15th, after the dissolution of the parliament, the bishops were summoned to attend the council, and admonished to obey the acts recently passed. On this occasion Archbishop Heath reminded the queen of her sister's submission to the see of Rome, and her engagement, in consequence, to suppress heresy; from which he asserted Elizabeth could not recede. Queen Elizabeth made a memorable and spirited reply, which is given by Strype from the authority of Sir Henry Sidney. She told the papal prelates that as Joshua declared, "I and my house will serve the Lord," so she and her realm were determined to serve Him, adding a full declaration of her firm resolve not to submit to the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome. This much encouraged the supporters of the Reformation, and justifies Jewell's statements respecting the queen. The Romish bishops

shortly after were deprived, but were suffered to live in retirement. Even Bonner was only imprisoned in the Marshalsea, where he lived till his death in 1569, abhorred and execrated by all good men, but indulging in gluttony and libertinism. The popular indignation at his cruelties was so great, that his body was committed to the grave by night, lest his remains should be insulted by some whose friends or relatives he had caused to be burned.

In one of his letters Jewell writes that Bonner, when imprisoned in the Tower, addressed some criminals also confined there, as "friends and neighbours," upon which one of them called him a beast, and told him to go to the place he deserved, and find his friends there; adding: "I killed but one man, upon a provocation, and do truly repent of it; but you have killed many holy persons, of all sorts, without any provocation from them, and are hardened in your impenitence."

Of the whole number of the Romish clergy in England, fourteen bishops, thirty-four other dignitaries, fifteen heads of colleges, and less than two hundred priests and other ecclesiastics, refused their assent to the measures of Reformation; the rest all complied, at least outwardly. The few monastic establishments which had been restored were now broken up. The Spanish ambassador obtained permission to transfer the inmates of three of them to the continent, where they afterwards assisted the conspirators against Elizabeth. On the 21st of June the English liturgy was again restored. Shortly after the vacant sees were filled by protestants.

On his arrival in England, Jewell was received by Nicholas Culverwell, a citizen of London, residing in Thames-street, with whom he abode three months. The Lord Williams, of Thame, being ill, then sent for him, and with him he stayed some time, during which he probably visited Oxford.

On May 22nd Jewell wrote to Bullinger. He was encouraged by the queen's recent proceedings, and says: "That you exhort us to proceed with activity and courage is a

spur not only acceptable, but also almost necessary. For we now have to do, not only with adversaries, but also with friends who fell from us in late years, and united with the enemy, and who now oppose us much more strongly and obstinately." The Spaniards had much corrupted the morals of the nation, but the protestant clergy did and would do what they could. God would bless their efforts, and give increase, but as yet they hardly appeared to be returned from exile. He adds: "We have a prudent and pious queen who favours us. Religion is restored to the same state as in King Edward's time; to which I doubt not your letters and exhortations, and those of your state, have much contributed." He then mentions that the queen did not wish to be styled or addressed as head of the English church. He laments the state to which the Universities had been brought. At Oxford there were hardly two persons of their sentiments; Soto and the other Spanish friar had so completely rooted up all that Martyr had so well planted. It seemed scarcely possible that such devastation could have been made in so short a period. He adds: "Wherefore, although it would give me great pleasure to see in England even a dog belonging to Zurich, I cannot at this time wish you to send your young people to us, either for learning or religion, unless you desire to have them returned wicked and barbarians."

Lord Russell was exerting himself to promote religion. He was sensible of the kindness the exiles had experienced at Zurich, and anxiously inquired how he could send their benefactors a grateful acknowledgment. Jewell replied that nothing would be more acceptable to them than for his lordship studiously to endeavour to propagate Christ's religion, which Lord Russell promised to do.

In another letter, written about the same period, Jewell laments the indifference of the protestants when compared with the recent zeal of the papists. He says: "Christ was then expelled by His enemies; He is now kept out by His friends." He regretted the queen's retaining a crucifix in her chapel.

In August, 1559, he wrote with better expectations. The queen was well animated, the people everywhere "thirsting for religion." He was about to commence a visitation of the western counties. In this letter he also mentions the probability of his being appointed Bishop of Salisbury. The visitation here referred to was general throughout England; its objects were the reforming many abuses which still remained, and promoting the knowledge of true religion.

From this visitation Jewell returned on the 1st of November, and wrote to Martyr the day following. He says: "We found everywhere the minds of the people well inclined towards religion, even where least expected. The manner in which the harvest and forests of superstition sprung up in the dark Marian days is beyond belief. We found everywhere superstitious relics of saints, the nails with which in their folly they believe Christ was fastened, and I know not how many pieces of the holy cross! The number of witches and sorcerers is increased everywhere. The cathedrals are mere dens of robbers; or any worse or fouler appellation may be given them. If there be any obstinate malice, it is among the priests, those especially who were formerly of our opinions." Many such ministers were deprived. He adds: "The papal army has fallen almost of itself; unless help be wanting, we cannot be apprehensive as to religion." On the same day he wrote to another correspondent, who had congratulated him on his appointment. He says that as yet he was only nominated, and expresses his hope that the bishops would be pastors, labourers, and watchmen. To promote this, the larger revenues were to be reduced, so that they would not be expected to live with such pomp as formerly, but might have more leisure to attend to Christ's flock.

On the 5th of November he wrote again, lamenting the earnestness of some about certain rituals and vestments, which he wishes were prohibited. He regrets the little care taken with respect to education. There was much

talk that Martyr would again be invited over, but Jewell feared that the Saxon or Lutheran influence would prevail.

On the 16th of the same month he wrote in a more gloomy strain. Differences had begun to prevail on the subject of ceremonials. He says that foolish ceremonies still abounded. The silver crucifix remained in the queen's chapel.<sup>1</sup> The Universities, Oxford especially, where Martyr had taught, still lay desolate, without piety, without religion, without teachers, or any attempt to promote literature. Many persons desired that Martyr should come over; Jewell wished it, but such was the uncertain, fluctuating, unstable, "island-like" state of affairs, that he would rather hear of Martyr's safety at a distance, than see him present and in danger. At that time the state of political affairs was very threatening, an invasion from France being expected.

After his return from the visitation, Jewell was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury. He had not sought this promotion. Being deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of the office, he often repeated the words, "He that desireth a bishopric desireth a work."<sup>2</sup> "And surely," adds his biographer, "if ever to any, to him his bishopric was a continual 'work' of ruling and governing; not merely by the pastoral staff of his jurisdiction in his consistory, but also in the court of men's consciences, by the golden sceptre of God's Word preached." He found his diocese in a most disordered state. The revenues had been so miserably impoverished by the conduct of his popish predecessor, Bishop Capon, that he complained he could not have the assistance he needed. "There was never a good living left him that would maintain a learned man. For the Capon has devoured all; because he hath either given away or sold all the ecclesiastical dignities and livings." The additional labour which in consequence fell upon Jewell hastened him to the grave.

<sup>1</sup> This crucifix occasioned many apprehensions to the Reformers.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Timothy iii. 1.

His next letter to Martyr is dated 4th February, 1560. The controversy about crucifixes was very bitter. Many good men were inclined to favour them. The following day there was to be a conference on the subject. He expected not to be a bishop when he wrote again, being informed that none would be allowed to retain that office who did not consent to crucifixes being set up in all the churches.

March the 5th, Jewell wrote that a change appeared visible among the people. This had been much promoted by inviting the congregations to sing psalms in public worship, according to the plan generally adopted upon the continent. It began at one church in London, St. Antholin's, and the example was soon adopted in others. At Paul's Cross sometimes there were six thousand persons singing together. The Romish priests were become objects of derision, and the popish bishops were called executioners to their faces.

From the time of the conference being broken off by the Romanists, Jewell had been anxious publicly to expose the errors of popery, and in November, 1559, he preached at Paul's Cross, when he boldly attacked the pretensions of the Romish church respecting the antiquity of its doctrines. He spoke against these claims in a manner which even many protestants apprehended he would hardly be able to support. But Jewell well knew the ground he had taken. On the Sunday before Easter, March 30, 1560, he again preached at Paul's Cross, to an immense congregation. His text was 1 Cor. xi. 23: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread," etc., when he referred to his former sermon, and repeated his arguments, complaining that although many had spoken against them in private, no scholar had come forward to meet him publicly. He summed up by giving his adversaries a challenge in twenty-seven particulars, which he had a short time previously stated in a sermon at court. They are as follows:—

“If any learned man of our adversaries, or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor, or father, or general council, or holy Scripture, or any one example in the primitive church during the first six hundred years, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved—1. That there was at any time private masses in the world. 2. Or that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind. 3. Or that the people had their common prayer in a strange tongue that the people understood not. 4. Or that the Bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church. 5. Or that the people were then taught to believe that Christ’s body is really, substantially, corporeally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament. 6. Or that His body is or may be in a thousand places or more at one time. 7. Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head. 8. Or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour. 9. Or that the sacrament was then, or ought to be hanged up under a canopy. 10. Or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remained only the accidents and shows, without the substance of bread and wine. 11. Or that then the priest divided the sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received, himself, alone. 12. Or that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ’s body, had therefore been adjudged for an heretic. 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in the same church in one day. 14. Or that images were then set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them. 15. Or that the lay people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue. 16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, or in private to himself. 17. Or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto His Father. 18. Or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another, as

they do. 19. Or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by the means of the mass. 20. Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that the mass, *ex opere operato* (that is, even for that it is said and done), is able to remove any part of our sin. 21. Or that any Christian man called the sacrament his Lord and God. 22. Or that the people were then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the accidents of bread and wine remain there without corruption. 23. Or that a mouse or any other worm or beast may eat the body of Christ (for so some of our adversaries have said and taught). 24. Or that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the word *hoc* pointed not to the bread, but to an *individuum vagum* (or an unascertained quality), as some of them say. 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or shows of bread and wine are the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself. 26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it. 27. Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience. The conclusion is, that I shall then be content to hold and subscribe."

This sermon gave a most severe blow to the popish religion in England. Popery was generally odious for the barbarous cruelties so recently committed by the professors of that faith upon persons of all ranks, however excellent in character, who had differed from the church of Rome during the late reign, but its claims to antiquity, although unfounded, were still credited by many. These claims Bishop Jewell now disputed, and a memorable controversy ensued.

"This challenge," says his biographer, "being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the English papists both at home and abroad, but none more than such of our fugitives as had retired to Louvain, Douay, or St. Omers, in the Low-Country provinces belonging to the King of Spain. The business was first agitated by

the exchange of friendly letters betwixt Bishop Jewell and Dr. Henry Cole, the late dean of St. Paul's; more violence followed in a book of Rastal's, who first appeared in the lists against the challenger, followed by Dorman and Marshall, who severally took up the argument to as little purpose, the first being well beaten by Nowel and the last by Calfhill; but these were only preparatory skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the reverend challenger himself and Dr. John Harding, one of the divines of Louvain, and the most learned of the college. The combatants were born in the same county, bred up in the same grammar-school, and studied in the same University; both were zealous protestants in the time of King Edward, and both relapsed to popery in the time of Queen Mary—Jewell for fear, and Harding upon hope of favour and preferment by it. Jewell's fall may be compared to that of St. Peter, which was short and sudden, he rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than he was before; but Harding's was like to that of the other Simon, premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again to his former standing, so much was there within him of the gall of bitterness. Some former differences had been between them in the church of Salisbury, whereof the one was prebendary and the other bishop, occasioned by the bishop's visitation of that cathedral, in which Harding had the worst, and it was a presage of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter."

Harding's first work in answer to this challenge was printed in 1564. Jewell replied again to Harding in 1565, to which Harding wrote a rejoinder in 1566, and another in 1567. The bishop made a further reply in 1567, showing how abundantly he was able to make good his challenge. Several others zealously wrote against Jewell's book besides those already mentioned. Saunders discoursed upon some detached passages, and Stapleton wrote a great volume upon Jewell's marginal notes. Harding's lan-

guage often was abusive. In a letter written to Jewell in 1565, he thus writes:—"Make ye not ministers of tag and rag for the Spirit's sake? Clap me not they the bare Bible on the desk, and preach thereupon after their own sense?" But such expressions are as nothing compared with much of his railing against Jewell and the Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

Another and more important branch of this controversy arose from a work which will ever remain as one of the records of the English Reformation. In the year 1562, Bishop Jewell published "*The Apology of the Church of England*," in Latin, which was sent forth with the queen's authority, and by the advice of some of the bishops, as a public confession of the Catholic and Christian faith of the English church, and to give an account of the reasons of our departure from the see of Rome. Also as an answer to the calumnies which were raised against the English church and nation, for not submitting to the pretended general council of Trent, then sitting. This apology being published during the time of the last meeting of the council of Trent, it was read there and seriously considered. Great threats were made that it should be answered; and accordingly two learned bishops, one a Spaniard and the other an Italian, undertook the task, but neither of them proceeded therein.

The book rapidly spread into all the countries in Europe, and was much applauded. It found a passage into Rome itself, and was translated into the German, Italian, French, Spanish, and Dutch languages, and into Greek. It was translated into English by the Lady Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord-keeper of the great seal of England.

<sup>1</sup> During the reign of Edward VI. Harding was chaplain in the family of the Duke of Suffolk, and very zealous against popery. Previously to the accession of Queen Mary, he earnestly exhorted a congregation in London to continue steadfast in the truth if persecution should arise. But he quickly recanted, and a letter addressed to him by Lady Jane Grey still remains a testimony against him. The triumph of popery was short, but Harding preferred adhering to his new principles rather than to become an outcast from both parties. He retired to Louvain, where he prepared replies to Bishop Jewell's challenge and apology.

The "Apology" well deserves the character Humphrey has given of it. His words are these: "It is so drawn, that the first part of it is an illustration, and as it were a paraphrase of the twelve articles of the Christian faith (or creed); the second is a short and solid confutation of whatever is objected against the English church. If the order be considered, nothing can be better arranged; if the perspicuity, nothing can be more clear; if the style, nothing more terse; if the words, nothing more select; if the arguments, nothing stronger."

Bishop Jewell was especially encouraged to publish this apology by Peter Martyr, with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time when in exile. Martyr lived to see the book which he so much desired: he died at Zurich, on the twelfth day of November following, after he had expressed his esteem of this work. In 1564, the University of Oxford conferred upon Jewell, though absent, the degree of doctor of divinity; and certainly he well deserved to have that extraordinary respect and honour shown him, who was so eminently employed in the service and defence of the church.

The apology engaged Harding's attention even earlier than the challenge. In 1564 he printed what he called a confutation of Jewell's book, a defence of which the bishop forthwith began, and it was finished on the 27th of October, 1567, as appears from the epistle to Harding at the conclusion.

It may be further remarked, that this apology was accounted as the public confession of the Catholic and Christian faith of all Englishmen. It shows their agreement in doctrine with the other reformed churches, and is printed as such in the "Harmony and Sylloge of the Confessions." Although the work of one person, it was referred to by English protestants as a public summary and statement of their doctrines.

We now have to notice Bishop Jewell's epistle respecting the council of Trent. The conduct of Pope Paul iv. has been already mentioned. He was succeeded by

Pius IV., who determined to try gentler methods. He sent an abbot, named Parapaglia, with courteous letters and directions to make large offers to the queen if she would be reconciled to the see of Rome. If she would have yielded the supremacy, the pope would have given way on other points. Elizabeth was not inclined to listen to any such proposals; the question had been already decided, and the pope's authority rejected. She would not suffer Parapaglia even to land in England. A similar refusal was given in the following year to a nuncio sent by the pope to invite Elizabeth and the English bishops to the council of Trent. The Emperor Ferdinand also in vain exhorted the queen to return to "the old religion," as he termed the doctrines of popery. Scipio, a native of Venice, having heard of the nuncio's ill success, wrote to Jewell, whom he had known when in exile, complaining of the neglect shown by England towards the council. Jewell well knew how little the council of Trent resembled the general councils of the early centuries, and replied so ably, exposing the proceedings of that assembly, that no Romanist attempted an answer.

Another subject connected with the English Reformation, and in which Jewell took considerable interest, must now be noticed. By the commencement of 1561, the Reformation was said to be brought back to the same state as in the latter years of King Edward. For a more minute description, Strype refers to the account of the former period written by Ridley.<sup>1</sup> Burnet, however, considers that it had rather retrograded, and certainly on some heads the errors of popery were not so decidedly pointed out, and the more zealous protestants had cause for dissatisfaction. There evidently had been a desire to avoid giving offence to the Romanists; some expressions in the litany had been omitted, from a desire to retain them in conformity, and this succeeded to a great extent, till the pope absolutely forbade them to continue to worship with protestants. But the queen on new year's day

<sup>1</sup> See Ridley's last farewell in *The British Reformers*.

took occasion to express her detestation of Romish pictures and images of saints, by a severe rebuke to the Dean of St. Paul's, who had caused a new prayer-book, with beautiful engravings and pictures, to be laid for her majesty's use. It is not improbable that Elizabeth, aware that many of the Reformers were dissatisfied with her for not having proceeded far enough in the work of reformation, took the opportunity to express her disapproval of Romish superstitions. Strype relates the good effects of this public rebuke. The clergy and churchwardens of the parishes in and about London caused all paintings that seemed Romish and idolatrous to be washed from the church walls, and suitable texts taken from the holy Scriptures to be written in their stead.

In January, 1562, a memorable convocation assembled. The thirty-nine articles were agreed to, and unanimously decreed. Then followed a discussion respecting certain rites and ceremonies. On the 13th of February, six articles were proposed to the lower house of convocation. 1. That only the Sundays and principal feasts of Christ should be kept as holydays. 2. That the minister in time of prayer turn his face to the people and read distinctly.<sup>1</sup> 3. That it should be optional whether the cross in baptism should be used. 4. That kneeling at the sacrament might be left to the discretion of the ordinaries within their respective jurisdictions. 5. That it be sufficient for the minister in time of saying Divine service, and ministering of the sacraments, to use a surplice, but that no minister should say service, or minister the sacraments, unless in a comely garment or habit. 6. That the use of organs be removed. Forty-three persons approved these articles, who with proxies made fifty-eight votes; those who opposed were thirty-five persons, making with proxies fifty-nine votes, consequently the articles were rejected. Those who opposed were unwilling that any

<sup>1</sup> This was particularly opposed to the practice of the Romish mass, where the officiating priest is rather a performer before the assembly present, than a leader and director of their devotions.

changes should be made in the rites and appointments of King Edward's liturgy. The fourth article was particularly debated. Among the approvers of these articles were some of the most distinguished divines of the English church.

Various other suggestions were made by the lower house of convocation, but although these requests were not considerable, much importance was attached to them, and they were not acceded to.

The want of sufficient ministers was so much felt, that persons were selected from the laity to read the service and the homilies, and to promote the welfare of parishes where they officiated, till "learned ministers" should be placed there. Orders for their guidance were drawn up and signed by several of the bishops; among them was Bishop Jewell.<sup>1</sup> Dean Nowell's catechism was allowed for the use of schools, as a brief summary of the doctrine owned and professed in the reformed church of England. Some acts were also prepared for the due observance of public worship and the Lord's day. The proceedings of this convocation induced several leading ecclesiastics to be more strict in their requirements of conformity, while the rejection of all the propositions of those who now began to be distinguished by the honourable appellation of puritans, excited considerable dissatisfaction, and serious differences speedily prevailed. But to pursue these details would lead us from the more immediate subject of these papers.<sup>2</sup>

That Jewell disapproved the conduct of the prevailing

<sup>1</sup> The papists endeavoured to cast a reproach upon the Reformation by alleging the secular occupations of these teachers. Calhill well replied: "Grant that the inferior sort of our ministers were such as these men in spite imagine—such as came from the shop, from the forge, from the wherry, from the loom—should ye not find more sincerity and learning in them than in all the rabble of popish chaplains, their mass-mongers, and their soul-priests? I lament that there are not as many good preachers as parishes. I am sorry that some so unskilful are preferred, but I never saw a simple reader admitted into our church, but in the time of popery you should have found in every diocese forty Sir Johns (Romish priests) in every respect worse."

<sup>2</sup> The reader may be referred to Strype's *Annals* and Neal's *History of the Puritans*.

party is evident from his writings, while from the same authority we find he considered that their opponents went too far. He was, however, too fully occupied to take any prominent part in these discussions; while his Christian and kindly feelings rendered him unwilling to join in the harsh measures then adopted. It certainly appears that the line of conduct pursued by the leading protestant clergy in the reign of Elizabeth evidently tended to reduce every sort of public or social worship of God to one precise form of expression.<sup>1</sup> In this they adopted a different course from that which the church of Rome had hitherto pursued, which allowed the use of various formularies. Every religious order had its peculiar rites and services, and even now the Romish authorised books contain a considerable variety of offices of devotion. Had more latitude in matters professedly indifferent been allowed to some of the most valuable men amongst the Reformers, such as Coverdale, Foxe, Turner, and others, spiritual religion doubtless would have been promoted.

Another letter written by Jewell to Martyr, on the 7th of February, 1562, deserves attention. Speaking of the temporising course adopted by some who were in authority on the continent, and of their inclination to the Interim,<sup>2</sup> he adds: "Now that the perfect light of the gospel has burst forth, the vestiges of former errors, with the rubbish and even the dust which remained, should as much as possible be taken away. How I wish that we could have obtained this with respect to the linen stole. For in doctrines we have gone to the quick, and are not a nail's breadth from you therein."<sup>3</sup> The Marian bishops were

<sup>1</sup> This appears the more evident from the disuse into which the protestant primer then began to fall. The primer is a small work containing prayers and devotional pieces suited for various occasions. It had been reformed in the reign of Edward VI., but after the accession of Elizabeth began to be laid aside, although it contained many valuable prayers suited for social and private use.

<sup>2</sup> A formulary of doctrines set forth by the imperial authority, in the vain hope of reconciling protestantism and popery.

<sup>3</sup> Strype says: "The first bishops that were made, and who were but newly returned out of exile, as Cox, Grindal, Horne, Sandys, Jewell, Parkhurst, Bentham, upon their first return, before they entered upon

then in the Tower: he speaks of them as a contumacious and untamable race, only to be restrained by force. He mentions his "Apology" as lately published. He adds that the queen had determined not to send any one to the council of Trent, and speaks of a design to publish the reasons why none attended from England. He says that in his opinion, at that time no good could be promoted by those assemblies, nor would God make use of such means to diffuse the gospel. He also adverts to the affairs of Scotland, then a subject of much importance to England, on account of the uncertainty respecting the succession to the English throne.

Martyr died in the same year, and but few of Jewell's letters to the other Reformers appear. He was now deeply occupied by his laborious writings and in the care of his diocese. The differences at home continued and increased. They are noticed by Jewell in his letters to Bullinger.

But Jewell was not unmindful of his former friends at Zurich. He continued to correspond with them, and Strype mentions that in the year 1565, having received from Bullinger a copy of his comment upon Daniel, and

their ministry, laboured all they could against receiving into the church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside. But they could not obtain it from the queen and parliament, and the habits were enacted. Then they consulted together what to do, being in some doubt whether to enter upon their functions. But they concluded unanimously not to desert their ministry for some rites, which, as they considered, were but few, and not evil in themselves, especially since the doctrine of the gospel remained pure and entire. And in this counsel, which they had at first taken, they continued still well satisfied; and also upon consideration that by filling these rooms in the church they might keep out Lutherans, and such as were suspected papists; which was an argument the learned foreigners, their friends, suggested to them."

Beza, however, considered that the evil was greater than the Swiss divines apprehended. In a letter to Bullinger he says that he thought "that the business had been about caps, and such external matters, but he afterwards understood that the controversy was much different." He urged that Gualther should be sent by the divines at Zurich, personally to sue the queen and the bishops to remedy these evils. The Swiss divines did indeed interpose by letters, several of which are given by Strype and Burnet, and although their advice was not followed by either party, their interference probably was in some degree beneficial.

a work upon Joshua, from Lavater, he sent them a present of twenty crowns, to be disposed of as they thought fit. He also sent annually the same sum to Julius, who had been Martyr's friend and assistant. Soon afterwards many foreigners, exiles for religion, took shelter in this country, and were assisted by Jewell and others.

In a letter to Bullinger, dated January, 1566, Jewell attributes his less frequent correspondence to his numerous occupations, particularly controversies with foreign enemies, with whom he had to contend almost alone. The refugees at Louvain in particular wrote most bitterly against himself. He then enters more minutely into the history of these controversies, as already given. The distance of their respective dioceses had so separated him from some of his former fellow exiles, that he had not seen them for three years.

In another letter, dated February, 1566, he thus expresses himself: "The contention respecting the ecclesiastical linen garment is not yet at rest. It disturbs weak minds not a little. And I wish that all, even the slightest vestiges of popery could be removed from the churches, and much more from the minds of all men. But at this time the queen cannot bear any change with respect to religion." Elizabeth's situation was one of great political difficulty. The pope had openly denounced her as a heretic, the Romanists in England were engaging in conspiracies against her life, and she was very apprehensive of evil consequences from any measures which should displease that large number of her subjects who were not disposed to adopt the views either of the papists or the puritans. In the following month Jewell wrote again to Bullinger respecting some points to be noticed in his "Defence of the Apology."

In another letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, February 26, 1667, he mentions that the Romish divines of Louvain were very clamorous, and that, he knew not why, they all attacked him, so that while engaged in answering them he must not be accounted idle. He then speaks of the

debates respecting the succession, which caused much discussion, and adds: "As to religion, the matter respecting vestments excites considerable disturbances. It is certain that the queen will not give way. Some of our brethren, indeed, contend respecting this matter as if all our religion turned upon that one point. So that they prefer to renounce their offices, and to leave the churches vacant, rather than to depart a very little from their opinions. Nor are they willing to be influenced by your writings, or those of Gualther, or other pious men. Let us, however, thank God that He has not suffered us to be agitated at this time by more important discussions. One only of our number, the Bishop of Gloucester (Cheyney), openly and boldly declares his approbation of the Lutheran opinions respecting the eucharist."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to Jewell's controversies with the Romanists already mentioned, his attention about this time was engaged by the bull of Pope Pius v. lately sent into England, in which a curse was pronounced against the queen, her authority declared null and void, her subjects absolved from their allegiance, and exhorted to rise in rebellion against her. Jewell replied to these doctrines in a series of sermons preached in his cathedral, the substance of which was printed under the title of "A View of a Seditious Bull," etc. This bull plainly showed to Elizabeth that she could not hope to reign in England but as a protestant queen, unless she would submit to all the doctrines of the church of Rome. The efforts of the papal court were directed to place a popish sovereign on the English throne, and the English papists were divided into two parties. One of these followed the papal man-

<sup>1</sup> Some of the English Jesuits afterwards assumed the character of puritan ministers, that they might promote these differences. One, named Heath, a Jesuit, was detected by a letter which he dropped while preaching in Rochester cathedral, in 1568. Amongst his papers was found a license from the pope to preach what doctrine the Jesuits pleased, for the dividing of protestants. He was brother to Heath, archbishop of York in the reign of Queen Mary, and after preaching in various parts of England for six years, had applied to the Dean of Rochester for preferment, who gave him his turn of preaching in the cathedral.

dates as blindly as any of the nations on the continent; the other admitted the secular jurisdiction of their sovereign, independent of papal authority.<sup>1</sup>

Jewell's last public labours appear to have been in the convocation which met in the spring of 1571. It was then ordered that the book of articles agreed upon in 1562 should be subscribed by all the clergy, and that the articles now again approved should be printed under the superintendence of Bishop Jewell. In this year also he preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he referred to the ceremonies and state of the church, and blamed the spirit in which some among the separatists acted. He mentioned this sermon when on his death-bed.

His life now drew near to its close. He was naturally of a spare and thin habit of body, which he wore still farther by his labours in study, writing, preaching, and travelling. He thus apparently hastened his death before he was fifty years of age.

Bishop Jewell appears to have had a presentiment of his approaching departure. In the year 1570, in his letters to the Bishop of Norwich, after he had certified him of the death of Dr. Alley, bishop of Exeter, he added these words, "And I must follow him:" and in another letter he said: "I would to God we might meet and talk together; but now it is too late, it makes not much matter; I hope we shall see one the other in heaven. Flux, flux, that is, in the German tongue, quick, quick, make haste; if you make any delay, I shall prevent you."

The following account of the last days of Bishop Jewell is given by his biographer:—"The supernatural motions of God's Spirit within him in the end became,

<sup>1</sup> These proceedings of the pope caused insurrections of the Romanists, and continual conspiracies against Elizabeth during the remainder of her reign, which led to severe enactments against popish recusants and the missionaries sent to England from Rome to advocate these treasonable doctrines. It has been justly observed by Townsend, that "When the bull of deposition can be called a religious action, then may the self-defence of Elizabeth be denominated persecution—then only may the defenders of the bull be justly said to suffer for religion."

as it were, naturally more effectual in the conclusion, and the last endeavours of grace in him were most vehement. For after his return from a conference at London he began a new and more severe visitation through his whole diocese than ever before, correcting the vices of the clergy and laity more sharply, enjoining them in some places tasks of holy tracts to be learned by heart, conferring orders more circumspectly, and preaching oftener.

“By which restless labour and watchful cares he brought his feeble body so low, that as he rode to preach at Lacock, in Wiltshire, a gentleman friendly admonished him to return home for his health and strength’s sake; saying that such straining his body in riding and preaching, he being so exceedingly weak and ill affected, might bring him in danger of his life; assuring him that it was better the people should want one sermon, than be altogether deprived of such a preacher. To whom he replied, ‘It becometh best a bishop to die preaching in the pulpit;’ seriously thinking upon the comfortable eulogy of his Master, ‘Happy art thou, My servant, if, when I come, I find thee so doing.’ Wherefore, that he might not deceive the people’s expectation, he ascended the pulpit; and now nothing but spirit, his flesh being pined away and exhausted, read his text out of the fifth to the Galatians, ‘Walk in the spirit;’ and with much pains he made an end of it.

“Presently after his sermon, his disease growing more upon him, forced him to take to his bed, and to think of his dissolution as now not far off. In the beginning of his extreme fits he made his will, considering therein his brother and his friends with some kind remembrances, but bestowing the rest more liberally upon his servants, scholars, and the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, nature with all her forces being able no longer to hold fight with the disease, shrinking and failing, he called all his household about him, and, after an exposition of the Lord’s prayer, thus began his sweet song:—

“ ‘ I see I am now to go the way of all flesh, and I feel the arrows of death already fastened in my body ; wherefore I am desirous, in few words, while yet my most merciful God vouchsafeth me the use of my tongue, to speak unto you all. It was my prayer always unto Almighty God, since I had any understanding, that I might honour His name with the sacrifice of my flesh, and confirm His truth with the oblation of this my body unto death in the defence thereof ; which, seeing He hath not granted me in this, yet I somewhat rejoice and solace myself that it is worn away and exhausted in the labours of my holy calling. For while I visit the people of God, God, my God, hath visited me. With Mr. Harding, who provoked me first, I have contended in my writings, not to detract from his credit and estimation, nor to my knowledge to patronize any error, nor to gain the vain applause of the world, but, according to my poor ability, to do my best services to God and His church. My last sermon at Paul’s Cross, and conference about the ceremonies and state of our church, were not to please any man living, nor to grieve any of my brethren who are of a contrary opinion, but only to this end, that neither part might prejudice the other, and that the love of God might be shed in the hearts of all the brethren, through the Spirit that is given us. And I beseech Almighty God, of His infinite mercy, to convert or confound the head of all these evils, and ringleader of all rebellions, disorders, and schism, the Bishop of Rome, who, where-soever he setteth foot, soweth seeds of strife and contention. I beseech Him also long to preserve the queen’s majesty, to direct and protect her council, to maintain and increase godly pastors, and to grant to His whole church unity and godly peace. Also, I beseech you all that are about me, and all others whom I ever offended, to forgive me. And now that my hour is at hand, and all my moisture dried up, I most earnestly desire of you all this last duty of love, to pray for me, and to help me with the ardency of your affection, when you perceive

me, through the infirmity of my flesh, to languish and wax cold in my prayers. Hitherto I have taught you and many others; now the time is come wherein I may, and desire to be taught and strengthened by every one of you."

"Having thus spoken, and something more to the like purpose, with much pain and interruption, he desired them to sing the 71st Psalm, which begins thus: 'In thee, O Lord, I put my trust, let me never be confounded;' himself joining, as well as he could, with them; and when they recited those words, 'Thou art my hope, O Lord God, my trust even from my youth,' he added, 'Thou only wast my whole hope;' and as they went forward saying, 'Cast me not off in time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth me; yea even to mine old age, and grey head, forsake me not, O God;' he made this application to himself: 'He is an old man; he is truly grey-headed, and his strength faileth him, who lieth on his death-bed.' To which he added other thick and short prayers, as it were pulses, so moved by the power of God's Spirit, saying: 'Lord, take from me my spirit; Lord, now let Thy servant depart in peace. Break off all delays; suffer Thy servant to come unto Thee; command him to be with Thee; Lord, receive my spirit.'

"Here, when one of those who stood by prayed with tears that, if it might stand with God's good pleasure, He would restore him to former health, Jewell, overhearing him, turned his eyes, as it were offended, and spake to him in the words of Ambrose: 'I have not lived so that I am ashamed to live longer; neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me; Christ is my righteousness. Father, let Thy will be done; Thy will, I say, and not my will, which is imperfect and depraved. O Lord, confound me not. This is my to-day; this day quickly let me come unto Thee; this day let me see the Lord Jesus.'

"With these words the door was shut by the base sound of the grinding, and the daughters of singing were

abased, the silver cord lengthened no more; the golden ewer was cracked, and the pitcher broken at the well; yet the keepers, though with much trembling, stood erect, and they that looked out of the windows, though dark, yet were fixed towards heaven, till after a few fervent, inward prayers of devotion, and sighs of longing desire, the soul returned to God that gave it.<sup>1</sup> M. Ridley, the steward of his house, shut his eyes in the year of our Lord 1571, September 22, about three of the clock in the afternoon, when he was almost fifty years of age.

“Such was the life and death of Bishop Jewell, a most worthy trumpet of Christ’s glorious gospel. What now remains but that we mournfully complain, in the words of Jerome, concerning the death of Fabiola: ‘The spouse of Christ hath lost a most precious jewel.’ Or rather, because he shined so bright in divine virtues, both in his life and death, we are to rejoice for his happy translation. This jewel is not lost, which Christ hath taken from off the ring of His spouse, which is His church, and set it in a crown of purest gold upon her head, which is Himself the Saviour of His elect, where He shineth in glory for evermore. Lord, adorn and enrich continually Thy church with such JEWELS; deck her cheeks with rows of such rubies, and her neck with chains; make her borders of gold, with studs of silver. Amen.”

Some other particulars respecting Bishop Jewell will be read with interest.

His memory was raised by art to the highest pitch of human possibility; for he could repeat faithfully anything he had penned, as he had penned it, after once reading. By art his memory was made so firm in keeping things committed unto it, that he was wont to say that if he were to make a premeditated speech before a thousand auditors, shouting or fighting all the while, yet he could say all that he had provided to speak.

And so quick also was he in receiving, that when Parkhurst proposed unto him many barbarous and hard names

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastes xii.

out of a calendar, and Hooper forty strange words, Welsh, Irish, and outlandish terms, he, after once or twice reading at the most, and short meditating, repeated them all by heart, backward and forward. What is yet more strange, when the Lord-keeper Bacon, before the Bishop of Norwich and others, at his own table, read only unto him the last clause of ten lines in Erasmus's paraphrase, confused and dismembered of set purpose; he sitting silent for a while, and covering his face with his hand, on the sudden rehearsed all those broken parcels of sentences, the right way and the contrary, without any stay or stumbling.

He professed to teach others this skill, and taught it to his tutor Parkhurst, beyond the sea, insomuch that, spending but one hour in the day in it, in a very short time he learned all the gospels backward and forward, by the benefit of this artificial memory, setting his places and images in clue. Jewell placed a high value on the "Institutions" of Calvin, which he was accustomed to recommend to his friends: by industrious application, he had it almost entirely by heart.

Though his memory was so great and so improved, yet he would not entirely rely upon it, but entered in common-place books whatever he thought he might afterwards have occasion to use; which, as the author of his life informs us, were many in number and great in quantity, being a vast treasure of learning and a rich repository of knowledge, into which he had collected sacred, profane, poetic, philosophic, and divine notes of all sorts; and all these he had again reduced into a small piece or two, which were a kind of general indices. These he made use of at all times when he was to speak or write anything; but they were drawn up in characters for brevity, and thereby so obscure that they were not of any use after his death to any other person. And besides these, he always kept a diary, in which he entered whatever he heard or saw that was remarkable; which once a year he perused, and extracted whatever was most important.

From hence it came to pass that when Harding, in their great controversy, abounded only in words, Jewell overwhelmed him with a cloud of witnesses and citations out of the ancient fathers, councils, and church historians; confirming every thing with so great a number of incontestable authorities, that Harding durst never after pretend to make a second perfect and full answer.

Bishop Jewell was an excellent Grecian, and not unacquainted with Italian. Latin he wrote and spoke with such elegance, politeness, purity, and fluency, that it might very well have been taken for his mother tongue. He was also wont to declaim extempore to himself in Latin as he walked in the woods of Shotover, or other secluded places. And when Lady Bacon wrote him a letter in Greek, he replied in the same language. He was excellently read in all the Greek poets, orators, and historians, especially in the ecclesiastical historians. His learning also was much improved by his exile.

He was of a pleasant, cheerful humour, extremely civil and obliging to all; but withal of great gravity, and of such strict probity and virtue that he extorted from his bitterest enemies a confession that he lived the life of an angel. Though he was lame, yet till he became a bishop he travelled for the most part on foot, both at home and beyond the seas. He was contented in every condition, and endeavoured to make all others so, by telling them, when he was in exile, that neither would their calamity last an age, neither was it reasonable they should bear no share of the cross of Christ, when their brethren in England fared so much worse.

He was so extremely grateful to all that had done him good, that when he could not express his gratitude to Mr. Bowen his schoolmaster, he paid it to his name, and did good to all so called, for his sake, though they were not related to him.

Bishop Jewell was a most laborious preacher, always travelling about his diocese, and preaching wherever he came. He laboured to speak to the apprehensions of the

people, hating all light, trifling discourses and phrases in the house of God, as beneath the dignity of that sacred place.<sup>1</sup> Yet he was careful in the choice of his words, and endeavoured to move the affections of his auditory by pathetic and zealous applications, avoiding all highflown expressions, and using a grave and sedate rather than a sweet way of speaking.

He was a man of great moderation, as appears by his letter to Dr. Parkhurst, when bishop of Norwich. "Let your chancellor," said he, "be harder, but you easier; let him wound, but do you heal; let him lance, do you plaster; wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity; one man may move more with an engine than six with the force of their hands." And accordingly he would often sit in his own consistory with his chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining causes, not thinking it safe to commit all to the sole care and fidelity of his chancellor and officials. But though as a justice of peace he often sat in the courts of quarter sessions, yet there he very rarely interposed, except his judgment was desired concerning some scruple of religion, or some such like difficulty. So exact was his care not to entangle himself with secular affairs, and yet not to be wanting to his duty in any case.

He was extremely careful of the revenues of the church, not caring whom he offended to preserve it from being impoverished, in an age when the greatest men, finding the queen not over liberal to her courtiers and servants, too often paid themselves out of the church patrimony for the services they had done the crown, till they ruined some bishoprics entirely, and left others so very poor, that they were scarcely able to maintain a prelate. A courtier having obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury, and intending to let it to another lay person for his best advantage, acquainted Bishop Jewell with the conditions between them, and some lawyer's opinion about them.

<sup>1</sup> A very affected style began to prevail about that time, by which sense was frequently sacrificed to sound.

To which the bishop replied: "What your lawyers may answer I know not, but for my part, to my power, I will take care that my church shall sustain no loss whilst I live."

Though he came to a bishopric miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found means to exercise a prodigious liberality and hospitality. For the first, his great expense in the building a fair library for his cathedral church, may be an instance. This his successor, Dr. Gheast, furnished with books.

His doors stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send charitable relief to prisoners. Nor did he confine his bounty to Englishmen only, but was liberal to foreigners, and especially to those of Zurich, and the friends of Peter Martyr. Perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his house several poor lads, whom he brought up in learning. He took much delight to hear them dispute points of grammar-learning in Latin at his table when he was at his meal, improving them and pleasing himself at the same time. Besides these he maintained in the University several young students, and when they came to visit him, rarely dismissed them without liberal gratuities. Among these was the famous Richard Hooker, his countryman, whose parents being poor, he must have been bound apprentice to a trade but for the bounty of this good bishop, who allowed a yearly pension towards his maintenance, nearly seven years before he was fit for the University. In the year 1567, he appointed him to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then president of Corpus Christi College, who, according to his promise to the bishop, provided him a tutor, and a clerk's place in that college; which, with a contribution from his uncle John Hooker, and the continued pension of his patron the bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence.

In the last year of the bishop's life, Hooker making this his patron a visit at his palace, the good bishop made

him and a companion he had with him dine at his own table, which Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude, when he saw his mother and friends, to whom he was then travelling on foot. The bishop, when he parted with him, gave him good counsel and his blessing, but forgot to give him money, which when he bethought himself of he sent a servant to call him back again, and then told him: "I sent for you, Richard, to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God, with much ease." And presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled many parts of Germany. He then went on and said: "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you are honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats which I charge you to deliver to your mother. Tell her I send her a bishop's blessing with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. If you bring my horse back to me I will give you ten more to carry you on foot to the college; and so God bless you, good Richard." Not long after this the good bishop died, but before his death he effectually recommended Hooker to Sandys, then bishop of London and afterwards archbishop of York.

Jewell had collected an excellent library of books of all sorts, not excepting the most impertinent of the popish authors. Here he spent the greatest and the best part of his time, rarely appearing abroad, especially in a morning, till eight o'clock, so that till that time it was not easy to speak with him; when commonly he ate some slight thing for the support of his thin body, and then, if no business diverted him, retired to his study again till dinner.

He maintained a plentiful but sober table, and though at it he ate very little himself, yet he took care his guests might be well supplièd, entertaining them in the mean time with much pleasant and useful discourse, telling and hearing any kind of innocent and diverting stories. For though he was a man most exact, both in piety and virtue,

yet he was not of a morose, sullen, unsociable temper, and his hospitality was equally bestowed both upon foreigners and Englishmen. After dinner he heard causes, if any came in, and dispatched any business that belonged to him, though he would sometimes do this at dinner also; and answered any questions, and very often arbitrated and composed differences betwixt his people, who knowing his great wisdom and integrity, very often referred themselves to him as the sole arbitrator, whereby they met with speedy, impartial, and unchargeable justice. At nine at night he called all his servants about him, examined how they had spent their time that day, commended some and reproved others, as occasion served, and then closed the day with prayers, as he began it.

After this he commonly went to his study again, and from thence to bed, his gentlemen reading some part of an author to him, to compose his mind, and then committing himself to his God and Saviour, he betook himself to his rest.

Jewell's principal writings have been noticed in the preceding pages. In the present day we cannot form an adequate idea of the importance of his controversial works against the papists at that period, when the whole of Europe was agitated by warfare, caused by the intrigues of the papacy and promoted by the industrious defence of its principles. His work, "*The Defence of the Apology*," in particular, should be studied by all who wish to become acquainted with this important subject. A copy of that work was ordered by Queen Elizabeth, King James I., Charles I., and four archbishops, to be chained in every parish church, with a large Bible, and Foxe's "*Acts and Monuments*," so that the people might read them at all convenient times.

JOHN FOXE.

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JOHN FOXE was born at Boston in Licolnshire, A.D. 1517, the year when Luther began publicly to oppose the errors of popery in Germany. While very young his father died, and his mother married again. He remained under the care of his father-in-law till the age of sixteen, when he was entered of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, where Dr. Nowell, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, was his chamber-fellow. There Foxe studied with much assiduity, and showed his abilities, especially in Latin poetry. In 1538 he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and of master in 1543, which year he was chosen fellow of Magdalen College. From early youth Foxe had been strongly attached to popish superstitions, but was ever remarkable for a moral life. He strongly opposed the doctrine of justification by faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ, thinking himself secure enough by the imaginary merits of his own self-denial, penances, alms-deeds, and strict attention to the rites of the church.

But he was not permitted long to remain in this state. He was naturally of an inquiring disposition. By such a character the gross impositions then common in the Romish church could not long be approved. His son states he had often heard his father affirm that the first matter which occasioned him to search respecting popish doctrine was, perceiving divers things, in their own nature most repugnant to one another, thrust upon men at one time both to be believed—as that the same man might be superior in matters of faith, and yet his life and manners inferior to all the world beside.

He now began to study ecclesiastical history, both ancient and modern ; to consider the reasons for the increase and decline of the church—what causes promoted the first, and what errors occasioned the latter ; diligently examining controversies which had sprung up.

Foxe was an indefatigable student. When his mind was bent to any subject, he pursued it with uncommon ardour and patient perseverance. By the time he was thirty years of age he had read the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers, the disputations of the schoolmen, the acts of the councils, and decrees of the consistories. These, but especially a thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures in the original tongues, led him to discern the errors of popery, and to seek the only way of salvation.

This change appears to have taken place about the time when Foxe removed to Magdalen College. His son relates : “ By the report of some who were fellow-students with him, he used, besides his day’s exercises, to bestow whole nights at his study, or not to betake himself to rest till very late. Near the college was a grove, where, for the pleasantness of the place, the students used to walk, and spend some hours in recreation. This place, and the dead time of night, Master Foxe chose, with the solemnity of darkness and solitude, to confirm his mind, which, as a newly enlisted soldier, trembled at the guilt of a new imagination.” To forsake the errors of popery then was no light affair. It involved many dangers : the loss of friends and preferment, nay, death itself might be reckoned the consequence.

The son proceeds : “ How many nights he watched in these solitary walks, what combats and wrestlings he suffered within himself, how many heavy sighs, sobs, and tears he poured forth with his prayers to Almighty God, I had rather be spared, lest it savour of ostentation.

“ But of necessity it was to be remembered, because from thence sprang the first suspicion of his alienated affections. For no sooner was the fame spread of his nightly retirements, but the more understanding sort,

out of their own wisdom, others according as they stood inclined towards him, interpreted all to the worse sense. At length some were employed who, under pretence to admonish him, might observe his walks, and pry into his words and actions. These wanted not others to aggravate the facts. Why should he not come to church so often as he had been accustomed? Why should he shun the company of his equals, and refuse to recreate himself in his accustomed manner?"

Having thus fallen under suspicion of heresy, and his singular openness and sincerity disdaining to attempt any hypocritical concealment, Foxe was removed from his fellowship, or found it advisable to resign and leave Oxford. But further troubles awaited him. The profession of the gospel at that time usually excited those discordant feelings in families spoken of by our Lord (Matt. x. 34-36). When the rage of bigotry was stirred up, it often proceeded to the most unwarrantable lengths. It did so in this case. The father-in-law of Foxe, enraged at the change of his views, and knowing that one reputed a heretic then had no remedy against injustice, withheld his patrimony.

The events recorded of the history of the next few years in the life of Foxe are not very clearly arranged as to dates, but it appears that, being driven from his natural home, he found a refuge in the family of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, Warwickshire,<sup>1</sup> by whom he was employed as tutor. During his abode there he married the daughter of a citizen of Coventry. His departure from this situation was hastened by the inquiries which the papists began to make into private families. For a time he seems to have found shelter with his wife's father, and also with his mother's second husband, but the assistance rendered him was small. His son states that by these means he kept himself concealed,

<sup>1</sup> It was probably one of his pupils who had to deal with the youthful escapade of Shakespeare, and was subsequently held up to derision by the great dramatist.

but that he always forbore to speak of this part of his story, not wishing to notice the lack of kindness from his relatives as their conduct deserved.

About the end of the reign of Henry VIII., or the commencement of that of Edward VI., Foxe removed to London. The rage of persecution was then abated, but having no regular employment, his scanty means were soon exhausted. His biographer relates a singular incident which befell him at this time. "As Master Foxe one day sat in Paul's church,<sup>1</sup> spent with long fasting, his countenance thin and eyes hollow, after the ghastful manner of dying men, every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have seen before ; who sitting by him and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer ; adding that he knew not how great were the misfortunes which oppressed him, but suspected it was no light calamity. He should, therefore, accept in good part from his countryman that small gift which courtesy enforced him to offer ; he should go and make much of himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life ; adding that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood." Foxe never could learn to whom he was indebted for this relief, though he earnestly endeavoured to ascertain. Some believed that the bearer was sent by persons who were anxious for the welfare of Foxe. However that might be, in a few days he was invited to reside with the Duchess of Richmond, to become tutor to the grandsons of the Duke of Norfolk, then a

<sup>1</sup> The body of St. Paul's church at that period, and long after, was the daily resort of great numbers of people, especially of those who had business to transact or were in search of employment. Crowds of idlers of every description were also seen there, and the buzz of conversation, according to the description given by contemporary writers, seems to have exceeded that of the Royal Exchange when fullest at the present day. "He is as well known as the middle walk in Paul's," was a common proverb. A description of London by Lupton in the following century, contains an allusion to "the dinnerless pedestrians" who frequented St. Paul's church, in the hope of finding some one who would invite them to a dinner.

prisoner in the Tower. With this family Foxe lived at Ryegate till after the death of Edward vi., having under his charge Thomas, afterwards duke of Norfolk, Henry, afterwards earl of Northampton, and Jane, countess of Westmoreland, all of whom made considerable progress under his tuition. Herein was a remarkable instance of the interference of Divine providence. The old Duke of Norfolk was a papist, but the duchess of Richmond, the aunt to the late Earl of Surrey, was favourably inclined to the truth. During his residence at Ryegate, Foxe did not confine his labours to the family wherein he was tutor. On June 24th, 1550, he received ordination from Bishop Ridley; at that time he was living with the Duchess of Suffolk. From a dedication to the translation of his "Christ Triumphant" by Richard Day, afterwards himself minister of Ryegate, it appears that Foxe preached the Gospel in that neighbourhood, and was instrumental to the removal of popish idolatries.

That any one instrumental to such a work should have been patronised by the ducal family of Norfolk is surprising, but we may remember that the Reformation was then countenanced by authority, and the family appear to have entertained a strong personal regard for Foxe.

An undeniable proof of this regard was manifested soon after the accession of Queen Mary. The measures in progress for the restoration of popery and the persecution of the protestants caused Foxe to think of following his friends into exile, but the young duke was unwilling that Foxe should leave him, thinking his honour was concerned to protect his tutor. Foxe knew this proceeded from sincere feelings of regard, and said it was indeed for the duke's honour so to act, but it was his duty to take care that the duke should not be involved in trouble on his account. The matter did not remain long in suspense. One so active against image worship, in the diocese of Gardiner, could not escape the notice of that bigoted papist, who was intimate with the family, and several times requested to see the tutor. His designs were suspected.

The old duke died September, 1554, and had been succeeded by his grandson, the pupil of Foxe, who being anxious for the safety of his preceptor, made excuses to keep him from the sight of Gardiner. But one day Foxe, not knowing Gardiner was at the house, entered the room. On seeing the bishop he quickly withdrew. Gardiner inquired who that was: the duke said it was his physician, who being newly come from the University, was somewhat uncourtly. "I like his countenance and aspect well," said the bishop, "and when occasion shall be, will make use of him." The duke knew what that occasion would be, and concluded it was no longer safe for Foxe to remain in England. He sent a servant to Ipswich to hire a bark, while a retreat was provided for Foxe, accompanied by his wife, at a farmer's house near the sea-shore, till all was ready. They had scarcely put to sea when a contrary wind arose. After beating about the next night and the following day, in the evening they regained the port they had left. As soon as Foxe landed, he was informed that a pursuivant from the Bishop of Winchester had searched the farmer's house for him, but after following him to the port, and finding the vessel was out of sight, he had departed. Upon this Foxe took horse and left the town, but returning in the night he persuaded the pilot again to set sail, and after a rough passage of two days was landed safely at Nieuport in Flanders. "An evident argument," as Samuel Foxe observes, "of the certain course of Providence, and the uncertainty of all human forecast."

From Nieuport Foxe proceeded to Antwerp, and from thence to Basle, where at that time many of the English refugees were kindly received. The city of Basle was celebrated for superiority in the art of printing. Foxe and some of his countrymen found employment in correcting the press, and other literary labours connected therewith.

Here Foxe engaged with Oporinus, a celebrated printer, to whom he presented the first sketch of his history of the

church. It was written in Latin, and accompanied by a letter to Oporinus, in which he desired to be received into his service, and that Oporinus would vouchsafe to be his learned patron, under whom he might pursue his studies, being one that would be content with a small salary; and if he would employ him there, or at Strasburg, or at some University, which latter he would prefer, "either," added he, "I will be destitute of all things, or, by the help of Christ, I will cause that all men of literature shall know how much they are indebted to the name and to the press of Oporinus."

While employed as corrector of the press, Foxe continued his studies. He especially laboured at his great work on ecclesiastical history, which he compiled at first in Latin. Several publications containing parts of it were set forth by him. He wrote an earnest address to the nobility of England, beseeching them to desist from the cruelties then practised towards the protestants. He also translated Cranmer's answer to Gardiner on the sacrament. The printing of this was begun in 1557, but upon consideration it was thought more advisable to stop the progress of the work, on account of the bitterness with which the sacramental controversy at that time raged in Germany and Switzerland. In a letter to Peter Martyr, Foxe complains much of the difficulty he experienced from the studied obscurity of Gardiner's style.

In this work, Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, gave Foxe considerable assistance, also in the more important labour of his "Martyrology." Grindal then resided principally at Strasburg, and was able to maintain a constant correspondence with England, by which means he obtained many accounts of the examinations and sufferings of the martyrs. These he conveyed to Foxe, to arrange and insert in his work. Many letters which passed between them are extant; they show, as Strype observes, "a most tender regard to truth, and suspending upon common reports and relations brought over, till more satisfactory evidence came from good hands." With one letter

Grindal sent Foxe two dollars, from the moneys remitted out of England to assist in supporting the exiles. Foxe was also assisted and encouraged by Aylmer, tutor to Lady Jane Grey, afterwards Bishop of London, and by other English divines.

Foxe was engaged in more painful transactions while on the continent, namely, the disputes which arose among the exiles respecting certain matters of ecclesiastical discipline and the use of the English liturgy. The particulars of these differences need not be entered into here; they are to be found in the work entitled the "Troubles of Frankfort," and in Strype.

Foxe deeply regretted the lengths to which matters proceeded. In a letter to Peter Martyr, written from Frankfort, he says that these disputes had made them unfruitful nearly the whole winter; he attributes much to the youth and inexperience of some who engaged in the controversies. "I have discovered what otherwise I could not have believed, how much bitterness is to be found among those whom continual acquaintance with the sacred volume ought to render gentle, and incline to all kindness. As far as in me lies, I persuade parties to concord." After stating the substance of the advice he had given, he adds: "Our last anchor is cast upon Christ Himself, who for His mercy's sake will deign to turn our hearts to those things which make for peace and real tranquillity." His main endeavour was to be a peacemaker, and to persuade both parties to concord. In this he appears to have partly prevailed, so far as to induce them to debate the matter more mildly by letter and conference. He also urged Peter Martyr to settle at Frankfort, as lecturer on divinity to the English, which might induce them to collect there.

Part of a letter<sup>1</sup> written by Foxe about this period, to a

<sup>1</sup> This fragment of a letter is among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. It does not show to whom the letter was addressed, but as it was to a person and his wife, who are described as setting honours at naught for the sake of religion, it may have been the Hon. Robert Bertie and his wife the Duchess of Suffolk, whose escape is narrated by Foxe in the *Acts and Monuments*.

person and his wife that left England during the reign of Queen Mary, is as follows:—

“The grace of God in Jesus Christ, which aideth, governeth, and conducteth all such in truth as put their confidence in Him, be multiplied upon you and your virtuous yokefellow; that as by the holy institution of the Lord ye are called to be one flesh, so, by faith you being one in mind, may, in the unity of Christ’s spirit, like true yokefellows, bear the cross with patience, and follow our guide and fore-leader, Christ Jesus. Amen.

“When I understood, by your friendly letters sent to my brother, what our good God and most sweet Father hath done for you and other members of His mystical body, in delivering you out of that miserable land, from the danger of idolatry and fearful company of Herodians; I was compelled, with a glad heart, to render unto His Divine Majesty most humble thanks, beseeching Him that, as He hath delivered you from their contagious venom and deathly sting with a safe conscience, so He will vouchsafe to protect and preserve it still undefiled. To forsake your country, to despise your commodities at home, to contemn riches, and to set naught by honours which the whole world hath in great veneration, for the love of the sweet gospel of Christ, are not works of the flesh, but the most assured fruits of the Holy Ghost, and undeceivable arguments of your regeneration, or new birth, whereby God certifieth you that ye are justified in Him, and sealed to eternal life. And therefore ye have great cause to be thankful; first, that He hath chosen you to life, and secondly, that He hath given you His Holy Spirit, which hath altered and changed you into a new creature, working in you through the Word such a mind, that these things are not painful but pleasant unto you. Again, to be delivered from the bondage of conscience, from the ——.”

The labours of Foxe while in exile were very severe. His son speaks of him “as having been inured to hardness from his youth; therefore labour, and what to others

seemed the greatest misery, to suffer want, to sit up late, and to keep hard diet, gave him no concern." He adds: "This may appear strange to many who remember Master Foxe to have been all his life long but a slender-bodied man, and in his elder years somewhat sickly. But let no man compare his old age, worn out and eaten up with cares, and even by the course of nature ruinous, with the flourishing prime of his youth, which by so many of his works appears to have been most healthful."

The time for the deliverance of England at length came. Queen Mary died in November, 1558. Of this event Foxe had a remarkable preintimation. On the day previous to that of her decease he was preaching to his fellow exiles at Basle, when he told them to be of good comfort, for the time drew near when they should be restored to their own country; adding, that he told them this, being warned of God to do so. Some of the elder divines reprov'd Foxe for speaking thus, but the event showed that he was justified. Aylmer was among the persons present on this occasion.

Most of the exiles hastened home, but Foxe remained at Basle till the following year: this delay seems to have been partly caused by the difficulty of removing his family, a wife and two children, in his low circumstances; and having a regular employment, he was unwilling to quit it until there appeared a good prospect of matters being settled at home. Also, during a part of the time he was engaged in superintending the early Latin edition of his "*Acts and Monuments*." Grindal and Sampson considered this his best course. The former, when setting out for England on the 19th of December, 1558, wrote to Foxe that he had better, for a short time, suspend the further preparation of the great work he had in hand, as additional materials would now come to light.

Foxe rejoiced at the important change. He was the author of an elegant Latin address to Queen Elizabeth, printed at Basle, by Oporinus, in 1559, where, in the name of the German nation, the queen is congratulated

on her accession to the throne ; and after speaking of the refuge afforded to the English exiles on the continent, good counsel is given to her majesty and her court," with good advice to the preachers. Foxe also wrote and printed a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, his former pupil, full of excellent counsel relative to the hopeful prospect of religion, and congratulated him on his own good fortune in the recovery of his title and estates.

We find, however, that Foxe had returned to London in October, 1559 ; and from a Latin letter he then wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, printed by Strype, the copy of which is still extant among the Foxian manuscripts in the British Museum, and which is printed in the "*British Reformers*," he evidently was in the same distressed state with many of his brethren. From this letter it would appear that it was as yet hardly safe for men of rank to notice the poor exiles. He says:—

"I have so often written to your highness, that I am ashamed to trouble you with more letters. Yet I so well know the ingenuous kindness of your disposition, that I am persuaded there would be no necessity for my petition, if will only was needful. But perhaps these times present impediments, hindering you from sending to us, and me from venturing to urge my requests to you. I cannot think that it is from forgetfulness of us, or from any undue feelings of your own importance, that for so long a period you have not sent assistance to us. But whatever may be the cause why your liberality has thus ceased, this I know, my beloved Thomas, that it is most easy for you, possessing such abundance of all things, to impart some small pension to us from your large expenditure. More earnest entreaties would be needful where there was less disposition to confer benefits, but you always appeared more ready to bestow of your own accord than on account of the prayers of others. And I think that my disposition is well known to you, as so averse to importunate craving, that I would sooner perish with hunger. That I have not yet dedicated any work to you, has proceeded

rather from fear of endangering you than from my own will, as, if God permit, you shall perceive. Concerning religion, I need not admonish you where the truth stands; God grant that you may stand manfully with the truth. Have respect thereunto in the first place, and if at this juncture you cannot help Christ, let no mortal ever prevail on you to be an adversary against Him in anything, for at length He will prevail, though all should oppose. You will do wisely if you employ that time in the reading of the Scriptures which others bestow on pomps and pastimes of the court."

The duke's reply, dated 30th of October, 1559, also written in Latin, was as follows: "I have received your letters, my excellent preceptor, from whence I learn your affection towards me, and prize it highly. If the return of my servants had not preceded my letters, you should have been with me long since. For I wrote to them that they should so provide you with all things, that you might speedily come to me, and this would have been done had they not returned sooner than I expected. Now, since I shall myself soon be in London, I would that you should await me there, when, as I desire and as I ought, I shall look to you. In the mean time farewell. To my right loving schoolmaster, John Foxe."

The duke appears to have fulfilled his promises: he took Foxe into his house in London, where the martyrologist resided for some time, probably till the duke was involved in troubles from those secret negotiations with Mary queen of Scots, which brought him to the scaffold in 1572. Foxe and Nowell attended him at the place of execution, where he confessed that he had acted contrary to his duty and allegiance. The duke had been suspected of an inclination to popery: this he disavowed, and at the solemn hour of his departure he expressly declared: "As touching my religion, I have been suspected to be a papist. I must confess that divers of my familiar friends, and divers of my servants and officers under me, were papists. But what meaning I had in it, God, who

seeth above, knoweth it. For myself, God is my witness, I have always been a protestant, and never did allow of their blind and fond ceremonies. And now, before God and you all, I utterly renounce the pope and his popedom, which I have always done, and will do to my life's end. And as to that which is the chiefest point of our belief—I believe and trust to be saved by faith in Jesus Christ only, and by none other means. For if I did, I should be greatly deceived at this instant.”

There is every reason to believe that the duke was opposed to popery, even so far as to be inclined to favour the Puritans. He cared anxiously for the religious education of his children, as appears from an epistle of Dering and Hansby, two of his chaplains, prefixed to a book of prayers composed for their use, by his command. He was at that time one of the most powerful noblemen in England, and in high favour with Queen Elizabeth. These things render his attachment to Mary queen of Scots the more extraordinary; but the influence of many of his near kinsmen, who were bigoted papists, probably assisted this infatuation towards that accomplished but infamous woman.

Queen Elizabeth was very unwilling that the duke should suffer: she caused him to be respited for several months, but the state of political affairs, and the designs of the papists against her, caused her counsellors to be urgent in pressing his execution. Foxe had faithfully warned the duke of the dangers which were likely to result from this correspondence, as appears by a letter from him to his former pupil,<sup>1</sup> extant in the British Museum. The duke left Foxe a small pension.

Richard Day, son of the printer, speaks thus of the shelter afforded to Foxe by the duke: “When he returned he found succour from his most bounteous, most charitable, and most princely lord, who gave him free and present entertainment, and dwelling for him and his, at his manor-place of Christ’s Church by Aldgate. From that his

<sup>1</sup> Dissuading him from marrying Mary queen of Scots.

house he travelled weekly every Monday to the printing house of John Day. In that, my father's house, many days and years and infinite sums of money were spent to consummate his 'English Monuments' and other excellent works in English and Latin."

These writings will be noticed on a future page, but the important results to Foxe himself, from his intimate connection with John Day, and the still more important influence on the cause of truth and the gospel, require a distinct notice of that extraordinary printer, whose proceedings were exceedingly beneficial in forwarding the English Reformation.

John Day was a native of Suffolk, and commenced business as a printer in London, probably in 1547. About 1549 he removed to Aldersgate, where, as Stow relates, he built much upon the wall of the city towards St. Ann's church. He had also shops for the sale of his books in other parts of the town, particularly at the little conduit which was in Cheapside, just at the end of Paternoster-row. During the reign of Edward VI. his press was actively employed in printing the Scriptures and many writings of the British Reformers. Herein he showed his zeal against popery, even then at considerable hazard to himself.<sup>1</sup> When Queen Mary came to the throne, Day's labours of course were suspended. He appears to have spent this reign partly as a prisoner in Newgate, partly as an exile, and partly in retirement, employing himself in bringing his art to greater perfection. He was the first printer in the Saxon character, and much improved English typography. His books in particular display a great

<sup>1</sup> In the commencement of this reign, Day printed Luke's poetical dialogue between John Boon and Master Person, written against the popish sacrament, and exposing the ignorance and superstition of the priests. The papists made such representations of this book that the mayor sent for Day, and was about to treat him with severity, when Underhill, one of the king's guard, came to the mayor upon business. The mayor kept Underhill to dinner, when speaking about the book, the latter told him it was a good book, that he had a copy, and there were many others in the court. He gave it the mayor, who being thus better informed of the contents, allowed poor Day, then sitting at a sideboard, to return home instead of committing him to prison.

variety of devices of wood and metal. After the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Day resumed his operations with increased activity. The catalogue of books printed by him include the most extensive and valuable publications of that period in general literature and science, as well as history and theology. Many of them were costly and splendid specimens of typography. The unceasing kindness and attention Day received from Archbishop Parker, is decisive evidence to his character and abilities. For many of the most important and valuable publications of this period, especially those of Hollinshed, Foxe, Becon, and Tyndale, we are indebted to this printer, whose enterprising spirit was united with earnest desire to diffuse gospel light and truth. The list of books printed by Day, as given by Ames and Herbert, contains almost all the valuable literature of that age. Day possessed in Foxe an invaluable assistant to edit the principal works he published, while Foxe had in Day a printer anxious to encourage his exertions to the utmost.

Strype relates that Day found himself the object of envy to his fraternity, who hindered as far as they could the sale of his books. In 1572 he had a considerable quantity on hand, whereupon his friends procured for him the lease of a small shop to be set up near the west end of St. Paul's cathedral. But, as Strype proceeds, "his brethren the booksellers envied him, and by their interest got the mayor and aldermen to forbid him from setting it up, though they had nothing to do there but by power." Upon this the archbishop interceded with the lord treasurer for the queen's letters, that Day might go forward with his building, whereby he said his honour would deserve well of Christ's church and of the prince and state. The archbishop also urged that the privy council had lately written to him and the other ecclesiastical commissioners, to help Day, perhaps in vending his books and in encouraging the clergy to buy them.

After this Day seems to have continued his exertions with success till his death in 1584. If much of the pro-

gress of the Reformation is to be attributed to the art of printing, Day must not be forgotten as one to whom we are deeply indebted for the right application of that invaluable discovery in our own land.

Part of the early period after Foxe's return to England seems to have been passed at Norwich, where his son Samuel was born in 1560. The friendship of Parkhurst, then bishop of that see, doubtless occasioned his residence there. It is, however, but too evident that for some time after his return Foxe remained in a very destitute condition. When Humphrey, his fellow collegian, was appointed president of Magdalen College, Foxe began a congratulatory letter to him, which, however, he cancelled, probably from unwillingness to describe his own wants, or to address any one in a tone of levity on such a subject. He there called Humphrey to account for leaving "their mendicant order." He says: "Are you not ashamed of being such a fugitive? You ought to have taken example of greater constancy by me, who still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition as when I first returned to England from Germany;" about two years before.

From the time of his return to England, Foxe requires our attention in various characters. The first and principal is as the hard student—the author, translator, and editor of numerous works printed by Day, some of which have been already mentioned. To this he gave himself up in a manner which with most men would have absorbed all their time and attention. After he left the Duke of Norfolk's house he resided nearer to his printer, as appears from many letters yet extant, addressed to "Master John Foxe, at his house in Grubbe-street," or as "dwelling with Master Daye, the printer at Aldersgate." The extent of his labours is shown by the number of his works; their effects are well described by his son, and should serve as a warning to those who are tempted to overstrain their mental powers by studious application. "In a student, the mind, when it is overstrained, stoppeth not at

weariness or pain, but rather proceedeth to the ruin of that whereon even the life of men dependeth. For in the evils of the mind, he who is once tired, cannot by giving over his work for a while, or abating some part of his diligence in labour, recover again his former strength, nor overcome the discommodities he shall thereby endure, though with ever so great abundance of other contentments. The truth of this was by M. Foxe's example confirmed, who, when he had for many years left no time free from thought of his study, either not at all, or not seasonably affording himself what nature required, was at length brought to that pass, that his natural liveliness and vigour being spent, neither friends nor kindred could by sight remember him. By this means he first fell into that withered leanness of body in which many afterwards saw him, never again returning to that pleasing and cheerful countenance which he had before; but when he would by no means be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours, or to lay aside his study to recreate himself, the signs thereof did likewise remain."

The studies to which Foxe thus earnestly applied, did not, however, prevent him from fulfilling the public duties of the ministry. The regard and esteem felt for him by many persons then in power, would have been exerted to procure him preferment in the church, but he accepted none, saving a prebend at Salisbury, to which he was appointed in 1564, after some endeavours had been made to obtain him one at Norwich with his fellow exile, Bishop Parkhurst. He objected to some of the canons and ceremonies retained by the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs under Queen Elizabeth, as savouring too much of popery, and this disqualified him from accepting any parochial charge.<sup>1</sup> We are told that Archbishop Parker summoned Foxe to subscribe, hoping that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance

<sup>1</sup> It is said that he was rector of Cripplegate for a short time, but resigned it on account of the subscription to the canons, and that he held a prebend at Durham for a year.

to conformity. Foxe, as a reply, took from his pocket the New Testament in Greek, and holding it up, said, "To this I will subscribe." He said that he had nothing in the church but a prebend at Salisbury, adding, "And if you take it away from me, much good may it do you." But he was permitted to retain it. His fellow-sufferers, however different their opinions on those subjects might be, did not desire to deprive such a man of his humble-preferment.<sup>1</sup> Neither was he silenced; we find him continuing to preach, and that on public occasions. This led to his powerful discourse on Christ crucified, preached at Paul's Cross in 1570, and afterwards enlarged for the press. Two Latin letters addressed to Bishop Grindal, among the Foxian papers in the British Museum, appear to relate to this discourse.

In the first letter he inquires, "Who could have instigated Grindal thus to think of crucifying him at Paul's Cross?" After urging his own incapacity, and many like excuses, he adds: "Also in fairness consider how unequally this will press upon me, when, as I believe, there never yet was ass or mule so weighed down, and overdone by carrying burdens, as I have long been by literary labours; every day investigating and drawing forth the contents of writers, reading copies, and reading them again, and putting together materials which may be of public benefit to the church. By these labours I am almost worn out, not to speak of ill health and want of books. Yet amidst all these labours and defects which I have narrated, I am summoned to St. Paul's Cross, that celebrated spot, where, like an ape among cardinals, I shall be received with derision, or driven away by the hisses of the auditory!"

The second letter is as follows: "Yesterday, when too

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Parker gave Foxe a dispensation to eat flesh in Lent, on account of his health. In the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, orders were issued to enforce the observance of fish diet at that season, and on every Wednesday through the year. This popish custom was not retained on account of religion, but from an idea of its beneficial effects on the fisheries, which induced Secretary Cecil to encourage the plan very warmly.

late, I heard that your servant had been with Day, the printer. Had I seen him, perhaps I might have sent a different answer from the present. But although I saw him not, I now see there are friends who by no means will suffer me to refuse what by all means I had determined to deny; I find they will not rest till they have thrust me forward, most unwillingly, at Paul's Cross. By every means, by entreaties, threats, upbraidings, they urge, press, and solicit me. What is more painful, they pretend you are displeased with my last letter. In addition, they solemnly adjure me in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ—this indeed, more than all besides, induces me not to refuse. Pray for me again and again. I entreat you, beloved prelate, who have laid this burden upon me, help me to sustain it. And I cannot but express a pleasing surprise that in your letters, where by virtue of your authority this burden is laid upon me, your piety has kindly suggested a subject—that I preach Christ Jesus and Him crucified. May the Lord Jesus, crucified for us, keep your mind in perfect humility amidst the honours of your calling, and with that humility of mind may He also preserve you in your present dignity, for the lasting welfare of His church."

Foxe's views relative to the differences just noticed may be stated from his "Letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners concerning the present Controversies." He says: "The more earnestly I desire the peace and tranquillity of the church, the more am I tortured by these internal differences of opinion and controversies, arisen I know not whence. Yet, had they sprung from unavoidable causes, they would have troubled me less. But while from light matters occasions are drawn for grievous contentions, and we agitate unnecessary questions, not only is the fruit of brotherly communion lost, but the forces of our enemies are strengthened, to whom this our quarrel exhibits a joyful spectacle.

"How much preferable would it be, that uniting our strength, we should do the work of Christ and diffuse

His faith as widely as possible in the minds of the faithful, contending with the sworn enemies of our salvation rather than with friends of the faith! I know that much remains to be done among us if we seek for a perfect church. But herein we should imitate prudent physicians, whose first care is that the body live, then that it should flourish as well as possible. But we, by a misplaced anxiety, while we strive so earnestly to bring the church to a most perfect rule of Reformation, do indeed, by our contentions, cause that it is scarcely to be perceived, or at best very deformed. For what church can be discerned when we have peace neither with friends nor enemies? What peace with God we can have, things plainly enough declare. Atheism prevails, lust is unpunished, avarice overcomes, benefices are bought and sold, priests are cold—would that they were cold indeed! The pulpits are silenced. Christ's sheep are fleeced, not fed; His harvest is despised. That it is so may be learned from the labourers themselves, who are either few in number, or for the most part are those who sedulously care for the things which are their own, while scarcely any one thinks seriously respecting Christ." Foxe then urges the necessity of attending to the more important points of religion, and when these are settled, to build thereon, if it is desirable, those things which pertain to outward Reformation, but if this might not be, still not to excite any schism. It had been well for the church had all been as thoroughly imbued with the spirit of peace as Jewell and Foxe.

The kindness and moderation of Foxe's disposition further appears from his letter to the queen in behalf of two Hollanders, who were condemned, in 1575, to be burned for doctrines held to be contrary to the Christian faith. This was a painful instance that the persecuting spirit of popery was not yet eradicated from the minds of those who had shaken off the papal yoke, and that the right principles of religious toleration were not correctly understood. Foxe does not appear to have had

clear views on this subject, but like Luther, he could not approve the putting men to death for matters of opinion. He was very unwilling that the fires of Smithfield should be rekindled; he pleaded earnestly with the queen that the cruel practices introduced by the popes might be laid aside, and that if punishment must be inflicted, it should not affect life.

But his supplications were of no avail. Though the queen continually called him "her father Foxe," yet she refused his request. Strange to say, this proceeding arose mainly from mistaken anxiety to vindicate the protestant churches in the eyes of papists from the imputation of fostering principles alleged to be heretical! Political reasons, and the dangers by which the government was then surrounded, also doubtless had their share in this matter, which, however, can neither be excused nor palliated. But the advocates of popery never can point to this painful event as a blemish in the history of the protestant churches while history exposes their own conduct.

In reference to the public life of Foxe, it should be mentioned that his intimacy with the highest and most honoured men of the day appears from his correspondence. Among these may be enumerated Cecil Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, the Duke of Bedford, Sir Francis Drake, many of the nobility and gentry, Archbishops Grindal and Parker, Aylmer, bishop of London, Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, Pilkington, Lever, and all the leading ecclesiastics of that day. Nor was he less esteemed by Sir Thomas Gresham and the citizens of London. We find him also in correspondence with Bullinger, Martyr, and other foreign Reformers. By the influence of these friends he might easily have attained preferment.

We have to notice Foxe in another point of view. His son states that he was "one for his friendliness useful, by a natural inclination to be useful to others. By good advice, comfortable persuasions, or a charitable hand, he

relieved the wants or satisfied the desires of innumerable persons, whereupon no man's house was in those times thronged with more clients than his. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common persons of all degrees, and almost all for the same cause—to seek some salve for a wounded conscience.”

Herein the labours of Foxe were abundant, and exceedingly blessed. Some interesting proofs are yet extant among his papers in the British Museum, where we find a letter to him “from one under temptations to blaspheme, requesting counsel,” with other remains, either of letters addressed to him, or rough drafts of his replies to those who, weary and heavy laden, sought advice from him, and whom he pointed to that rest which is in Christ Jesus.

Nor were his efforts wanting in behalf of others: there is the draft of a letter to a noble person, exhorting him to forgive his wife, with others which show how ready he was on all occasions to promote peace and good will. It is indeed interesting to see the grave historian, the undaunted champion of the protestant faith, one who was engaged in severe studies to an extent whereby most would have been overwhelmed, ever prompt to discharge all the private offices of kindness which came before him, yet with strictest secrecy, so as to avoid all unnecessary exposure of private affairs. A few specimens are given in the “British Reformers:” the following is so characteristic of this feature in Foxe, and so valuable for the counsel it gives upon a most important subject, that its insertion will not be considered unsuitable. It is to a gentlewoman, recommending a friend of his:—

“As your discreet circumspection is not unprovided of sufficient counsel what you have best to do in your own affairs, to yourself best known, to me nothing appertaining; so neither do I enterprise so boldly to write to you, as having any need to be advertised by others. Yet, notwithstanding, forsomuch as we are so willed by the apostle to exhort one another, I trust you will not be offended if

I shall write unto you, by way of persuasion, in the behalf of a certain godly gentleman and dear friend of mine. The same gentleman, I mean, whom you did see not long ago with me at the Moultons, whose sincere integrity, virtuous life, mild and soft conditions, staid and settled discretion, his amiable lovingness, loved of all men that know him, with no less singular affection working in his heart, especially toward you, if they were so well known to you as they are to me, and others which have experience of him, I should not need to bestow this labour herein, either in exhorting of you or commending of him; you would soon understand yourself what ye had to do best for yourself.

“But because the party as yet, as unacquainted, is not so well known unto you, to the intent, therefore, by report of others ye should not want some intelligence hereof, I thought thus much to write in his behalf, who neither writeth for himself, neither is privy, I assure you, of my writing for him; testifying to you simply what I do think, and not only what I think myself, but hear also testified by some others which know you both better than I do, that if the favour of your mind could be no less inclined to him than the Lord hath wrought in his heart toward you, verily it is supposed a meeter match could not be formed for you, nor wished unto you, all things on both parts considered, both that I know of you and know by him. Thus much have I signified to you what I thought, and know of him to be true. You, for your part, do what you think good; better in my mind ye cannot do than to counsel in this matter with the Lord, who, as He hath ordained marriage between man and wife, so giveth husbands as He pleaseth. Neither am I ignorant but there may be that come to you with greater offers, which indeed might be something for you to hearken to, if your case stood in any such need of worldly goods; but now you having enough, and, blessed be God, abundance, what can you desire more now than a quiet life with that which God hath sent you? And let the offers be ever so great,

ye shall find at length, true godliness, joined with staid temperance, more fitter for your condition, as it standeth, than greater superfluity of worldly substance. And furthermore, when all your counters shall be cast, ye shall prove it true, and so count with yourself, that a hundred pounds by year, with thrifty and prudent guiding, will go further at the year's end than five or six hundreds with wasteful spending. I say no more, but as I said, I repeat again, you are wise enough, ye know herein what ye have to do. The Lord Almighty, Disposer of all things, direct your ways and counsels to that which best shall be to your quietness and commodity, for Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen. JOHN FOXE."

A letter written by Foxe to the magistrates of the city of London during a time of pestilence, shows the Christian courage with which he continued to assist the needy when others had forsaken their duties; also the influence which he possessed, and the laudable manner wherein he exercised it, while it illustrates his desire to alleviate the sufferings of the poor.

Nor was Foxe unmindful that, when in exile, he had received much kindness from the followers of Christ in foreign parts. Accordingly, after his return, he was ever ready to assist those who took refuge in England from persecutions at home. By his request the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Martyr, urging him again to shelter himself in England.

Foxe appears to have entered into cases of deep distress with the same ardent faith and spirit of prayer as Elijah and Elisha of old when pleading for the bereaved parents who had ministered unto them. He was not, like those prophets, made the means of working miraculous cures, but he was enabled to show that the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, and the gracious purposes of the Lord seem to have been revealed unto him in an unusual manner.

We may here refer to the account of his life by his son, who, describing the manner in which he sat loose to

the world, says "that he ever showed a deliberate and resolved contempt of all things which are in greatest esteem among men, and especially of pleasures, which gave him great ability to perform with commendation whatsoever he took in hand; for that things which were in themselves innocent, grow hurtful when they are over-valued and pursued with avaricious desire. He never declined the friendship of illustrious personages; not to gain honour to himself, but because his commendation would thereby be more acceptable when used on behalf of others. The money which rich men sometimes offered him he accepted, returning it back to the poor." After other remarks, the biographer proceeds: "The cause wherefore he thought all other things so contemptible, especially as it arose not from disdain nor from sluggishness of mind, was only the love of God, wherewith his mind was so filled, and so much delighted, that he left no room, nor any affection free for other pleasures, of his own accord separating himself from the fashions of the world and devoting himself only to this care. Like one who had found an invaluable treasure, he bent his eyes and mind upon this only, neither hoping nor expecting anything besides, but resolved to make this the scope of all his wishes and desires. They who observed him saw his mind steadfastly fixed upon God, and that he spoke and did many things beyond the opinion of ordinary good men, both in comforting the afflicted and in terrifying those who were stubborn."

His son then relates two instances, one in reference to Lady Anne Heneage, who being sick of a violent fever, when the disease had so far increased that the physicians pronounced it deadly, Master Foxe was called to be present at her ending, whose counsel and fidelity she had often made use of in regard to her soul's health. After Foxe had performed what he came for, he added: "Well have you done, and according to your duty, to prepare yourself for all events; but know this from me, that of this sickness you shall not die." Sir Moyle Finch, her son-in-law, called

Foxe aside, and said he could not but wonder that he should thus presume to determine the end of the disease, contrary to the opinion of the physicians, and by so doing he would bring the sick woman, hitherto undismayed, to an impatience of dying. That he should indeed rejoice if his mother-in-law were likely to live, but if her death were near, it befitted not Foxe to dissemble it, who especially ought to provide for the good of her soul, and that he feared his untimely words might destroy men's opinion of his truth and modesty. Foxe replied that he desired not to hinder others from thinking of him as they pleased, but that, concerning the lady, his full belief was, it seemed good to God that she should recover of the disease, and that he said no more than was commanded of him. The lady recovered.

The other was the case of Mistress Honiwood, an honourable matron, who had long followed the truth, and who, in the days of Queen Mary, used to visit the prisons, and comfort and relieve the distressed confessors. Afterwards she was under most distressing fears and doubts respecting the salvation of her soul: her sorrow was such that she sunk in despair. Her health became affected; she appeared to be in a deep consumption, even on the brink of the grave. In this state she had been for twenty years, and neither physicians nor divines were able to benefit her, either as to her body or her soul. At length she sent for Foxe. They who went with him, said that they never entered a more sorrowful or afflicted house. Several friends, relatives, and servants sat by the sick woman, some on seats, some on the chamber floor, not weeping as in a common case of sorrow, but absolutely silent, as though their tears were all spent, scarcely noticing any that entered. The sick woman lay upon her bed, apparently near her end, faintly breathing forth a few words, which were in effect a desire to end her days. Foxe did not attempt the ordinary methods of consolation, but prayed earnestly, pleading the faithfulness of God's promises, and Christ's sufferings. This course he pursued

for some days, though with but little effect. At length he told her that she should not only recover from that disease, but also live to a great age, and what was far better, that she had an interest in Christ, and should go to heaven. She, moved at his words, and earnestly beholding him, exclaimed that she should surely be damned; adding, "As well might you say that if I should throw this glass against the wall, I might expect that it should not be broken in pieces." And immediately she dashed down a Venice glass<sup>1</sup> she had in her hand. It struck a chest, from whence it fell to the ground, without receiving the smallest injury. The event proved according to the words of Foxe. Mrs. Honiwood, who was then sixty years of age, recovered, and lived till she was ninety, in peace and comfort, being able to reckon up three hundred and sixty-seven descendants.

Samuel Foxe refers to a person alive when he wrote this in 1641, who had been present at the above conversation, and says he could relate other similar accounts, but declined doing so, as those who could have witnessed their truth were dead.

In reference to these and some similar circumstances, he observes that he does not presume to attempt any explanation, "whether it was that the mind, by how much the purer, and more sublime it is, seeth so much the further; or whether there is some hidden cause why God may be pleased sometimes to declare His purposes by men, not speaking out of their own knowledge, but as they are moved."

A few anecdotes of Foxe may be given, illustrative of his character. One day he met a woman he knew, who, showing him a book she carried, said: "See you not that I am going to a sermon." He answered: "If you will be ruled by me, go home, for you will do little good to-day at church." Whereupon she asked when he

<sup>1</sup> A slight sort of drinking glass made at Venice. At Mark's Hall, near Coggeshall, an ancient seat of the Honiwood family, the glass thrown down by Mrs. Honiwood is preserved, and a place pointed out as the spot where it fell.

would counsel her to go? "Then," replied he, "when you tell no one beforehand."

A gentleman dining with Foxe, spoke very freely against the Earl of Leicester, whose conduct was much canvassed. Foxe commanded a certain cup to be filled with wine, and brought to him. "This cup," said he, "was given me by the Earl of Leicester." The gentleman immediately ceased. This is characteristic of Foxe's quiet but effectual method of repressing what was wrong, without exciting needless debate.

A young man, inclined to be too forward in company, said, that while studying the old authors, he saw no reason why men should so greatly admire them. Foxe observed: "No marvel indeed; for if you could conceive the reason you would admire them yourself."

One having inquired whether he recollected a certain poor man whom he used to relieve. "Yes," answered Foxe, "I remember him well. And I willingly forget lords and ladies, to remember such as he."

At another time, when leaving the palace of Aylmer, bishop of London, a company of poor people begged of him importunately. Foxe, having no money, returned to the bishop, and asked the loan of five pounds, which was readily granted; then going forth, he distributed it among that retinue, by which, as Fuller observes, he ever might be traced. Some months after Aylmer asked Foxe for the money he had borrowed. "I have laid it out for you," was the answer, "and paid it where you owed it, to the poor people who were at your gate." Far from being offended, Aylmer thanked Foxe.

His course of life during his later years is thus described by his son: "Spending the day at home in conference with those who resorted to him, frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those who were not able themselves to come to him, he both fulfilled that, which by the courtesy of his own disposition was enjoined him, and neglected not the performance of that duty which the office of his ministry imposed on him.

The little time which was left free to his own disposal, he bestowed not in sleeping or taking pleasure, but in prayer or study; in both which he always retired to some private place, or made use of the silence of night for secrecy, unless sometimes the vehement groans, mingled with his prayers, being heard by some near the place, gave notice how earnest he was in his devotions. For at no time of the night could any man come to find his labours ended, but often hath the next morning's light seen the last of his night's care despatched."

Yet Foxe was no ascetic. His voluntary abstinence from the ensnaring pleasures of life has been mentioned, but as he knew that this victory was not obtained in his own strength, so he desired that the fruits thereof might appear to the glory of his Master. We learn "that he frequented the tables of his friends, not for his pleasure sake, being of a spare diet, but both in courtesy to keep them company, and lest any should think that he was not defended against the pleasures of the table by his own moderation. So did he behave himself in those things that are followed by delights, that none of those who were commonly in his company can remember any speech or action of his that showed desire of them." Although his presence might tend to prevent improper excesses, we have no reason to suppose him averse to proper and Christian cheerfulness. Many passages in his writings show that he was naturally of a cheerful turn of mind, and pleased with lively sayings, although far from unchristian levity. He desired by experience in Christian warfare to increase his own strength, and to give to others an example of fortitude.

The correspondence of Foxe in the latter part of his life shows that his circumstances remained very limited. In a letter written to his son Samuel, he says that the letters which his son had addressed to a bishop had been sent, but without effect, adding: "The twenty shillings you received by Gellebrand were from your mother, not from the bishop. This she is willing that you should know, lest

you should rely upon human help, which is of small avail. It is best to seek for aid from Him who feedeth the young sparrows, and imparts food unto all flesh. Call upon Him in truth, and fix all your hopes upon Him."

The occasion of this letter seems to have been as follows. His son Samuel, who was fellow of Magdalen College, had travelled beyond seas without permission from his father or the college. On his return he was charged with an inclination to popery, which, though without foundation, induced the members of his college, then inclining to strict discipline, to expel him.

Foxe addressed a bishop in behalf of his son, whom he did not defend as faultless, but urged that he was dismissed without previous admonition, or any cause being assigned, and the harshness of this proceeding rather arose from internal dissensions in the college, and opposition to their president, than to freedom from faults greater than those they censured in his son. The letter is penned in a very able manner; he speaks in moving terms of his own age and poverty. We find that Samuel Foxe was afterwards restored to his office.<sup>1</sup>

We may here again notice that Foxe always from his deep poverty was abundant in liberality to the poor. His son says: "So far was he from thirsting after honour, riches, applause, or any outward good, that he would at no time suffer the care of his private estate to enter into his mind, much less that it should, by taking thought for his household affairs, be overcome or drawn aside. Being often asked why he had no more regard to the straitness of his own estate, it being the first precept of charity to begin at home; his answer was, that God by His covenant had the charge of his affairs, who well knew both what was fit for him, and when to bestow it; and since God had never yet failed him, when could he begin

<sup>1</sup> It is related of Samuel Foxe, that on his return from the continent he presented himself to his father in a foreign and somewhat fantastical garb. "Who are you!" said Foxe. "Sir, I am your son Samuel." The reply was, "O my son, what enemy of thine hath taught thee so much vanity?"

to doubt of Him, without manifest ingratitude?" His son testifies that he showed pity to all sorts of men in distress, though he does not confirm what was reported, that Foxe often gave away even his clothes and household stuff. He considered that it was not likely his father should proceed so far, as by the liberality of others, who made him their almoner, he wanted not means to relieve those in necessity. The sums thus intrusted to him appear to have been considerable, and were applied most faithfully.

One of the latest circumstances recorded of Foxe is, that he declared his conviction, as being taught of God, that the Spanish Armada would be unsuccessful. The mind of the martyrologist must have been deeply anxious respecting the event of an expedition which, if it had succeeded, would have renewed the scenes exhibited during the reign of Queen Mary.

The particulars of his death, which took place April 18th, 1587, are thus recorded by his son Samuel:—"Ere he had quite passed through his seventieth year, he died, not through any known disease, but through much age. Yet did he foresee the time of his departure, nor would suffer his sons, notwithstanding he entirely loved them, to be present at his death, but forbad the one to be sent for, and despatched the other on a journey three days before he died; only sending for them when he knew that whatever haste they made they would be too late. Perhaps he thought them unable to bear so very heavy a spectacle, or would not have his own mind troubled at that time with anything that might move him to desire life. Which to me and my brother was most grievous, that thereby we could neither come to close his eyes, nor to receive his last blessing and exhortations, nor to satisfy our minds with that last sight of him. We could with more patience have endured to see the approaches of his death drawing on, than have lost so good an example how to die.

"Upon the report of his death the whole city lamented, honouring the small funeral that was made for him with the concourse of as great a multitude of people, and in

the same fashion of mourning, as if each had buried his own father or brother."

His two sons Samuel and Simeon lived to advanced age, were men of learning, and esteemed in their day.

His son Samuel observes: "All his virtues were fenced about as with a bulwark, by a singular modesty and integrity of life, which suffered not anything to enter into his manners, or to break forth into his actions, without first diligently examining whether it might beseeem him or not. Having this always before him, if at any time, by human frailty, aught within began to be shaken, he quickly forsook it, before the matter proceeded." He says: "I write of a life bearing continually true and solid fruits; a life passed over without noise, of modesty at home and abroad, of continual charity, contempt of the world, and thirst after heavenly things; of unwearied labours, and all actions so performed as might be exemplary or beneficial to others."

The chief debt of gratitude to Foxe, both from his contemporaries and from posterity, is for his writings. Among these, "*The Acts and Monuments of the Church*" is the most important, both as to the extent of labour bestowed on the work, and the unspeakable usefulness resulting from it. This work Foxe commenced when at Basle; the first sketch was printed in 1554. An enlarged compilation in Latin was printed also at Basle in 1559 and in 1563. This contained but a small part of his full design, which was to show the whole history of the church of Christ, especially the rise and progress of the English Reformation, as well as to record therein the persecutions and sufferings of the English church in his own day. Many supplied him with materials, and on his return home he devoted himself principally to this great work, continuing to prepare it in English by the advice of Bishop Grindal, who took much interest in promoting it. The facts which Foxe chiefly wished to note were recent; the examinations and letters of the martyrs were furnished to him from authentic sources;

and the bishops' records, which contained many documents of the greatest importance, were open to him. All these he carefully examined personally, transcribing them himself.

In 1563, eleven years from the commencement of his labours, he had proceeded with his work sufficiently to publish it under the title of "Acts and Monuments of these latter and perilous days, touching matters of the church; wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish prelates, especially in this realm of England and Scotland, from the year of our Lord one thousand unto the time now present. Gathered and collected according to the true copies and writings certificatory, as well of the parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the bishops' registers, which were the doers thereof." Strype says: "Herein Foxe hath done exquisite service to the protestant cause, in showing from abundance of ancient books, records, registers, and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of popes and papalins, and the stout oppositions made by learned and good men, in all ages and in all countries, against them, and especially under King Henry and Queen Mary, here in England; preserving to us the memories of those holy men and women, those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths, willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and His gospel, and for refusing to comply with popish doctrines and superstitions." Strype bears testimony to the "infinite pains" Foxe took in compiling this work, and in searching of registers, and in the enlargement of the several editions in his life time. So full and perfect an exposure of the persecutions of popery never was made, as of those which took place in the reign of Queen Mary.

The church of Rome has usually been able to conceal its deeds of darkness in some degree, or for some time. But in this instance the broad light of day broke in at once

upon the recesses of its dungeons and the archives of its tribunals. Strype says: "Great was the expectation of the book in England before it came abroad. The papists then scurrilously styled it 'Foxe's Golden Legend.' When it first appeared, there was extraordinary fretting and fuming at it through all quarters of England, and even to Louvain. The papists charged it with lies, and said there was much falsehood in it; but indeed they said this, because they were afraid it should betray their cruelty and their lies." This ever has been the practice of that corrupt church, and the unblushing effrontery with which its advocates impute the charge of falsehood, has too often been successful with those who are ignorant of the depths of iniquity it has manifested.

Strype adds: "Foxe was an indefatigable searcher into old registers, and left them as he found them, after he had made his collections and transcriptions out of them, many whereof I have seen and do possess. And it was his interest that they should remain to be seen by posterity; therefore we frequently find references to them in the margins of his book. Many have diligently compared his books with registers and council books, and have always found him faithful. As he hath been found most diligent, so most strictly true and faithful in his transcriptions. And this I myself in part have found."

But a considerable portion of Foxe's work necessarily rested upon the relation of living witnesses. These he has generally mentioned by name, and a great part are men whose characters are so well established as to place them above any imputations. Many of course were persons of inferior rank, but surely we are not to consider that as any ground for a charge of want of veracity. Some errors and mistakes there doubtless were, but far less than could be expected in a work of such magnitude. These Foxe took every pains to correct, travelling to considerable distances to ascertain real facts where doubts were alleged, and without hesitation inserting in his subsequent editions any corrections which appeared needful

And as many of the persons alluded to were living when his work appeared, unusual advantages were afforded, and several letters still extant prove his own anxiety, and that of his friends to correct any errors. Strype has given particulars, which show how unfounded several of the charges of the papists were; and when the reader examines those upon which Romish writers, as well ancient as modern, have laid most stress, he will be surprised to find they are only matters of small importance, and still more at the unblushing effrontery with which oft-refuted charges are still repeated.<sup>1</sup>

We may here quote Dr. Wordsworth, who has himself examined many of the ancient records used by Foxe. He says in the preface to his ecclesiastical biography: "These writings (of the papists) have not proved, and it never will be proved, that John Foxe is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all historians. We know too much of the strength of Foxe's book, and of the weakness of those of his adversaries, to be further moved by such censures than to charge them with falsehood. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Foxe's melancholy narrative on a rock which cannot be shaken."

Neal, in his "History of the Puritans," says: "No book ever gave such a mortal wound to popery as this. It was dedicated to the queen, and was in such high reputation that it was ordered to be set up in churches, where it raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that religion which had shed so much innocent blood." Brook observes, in his "Lives of the Puritans," that the

<sup>1</sup> Two may be noticed, which are found in the writings of two of the most distinguished modern Romanists of England. One repeats the allegation that the woman whose new-born infant was burned at Guernsey was unmarried, although Foxe in his later editions mentioned the name of the minister by whom she had been married, who was then living in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, and refers the reader to him. The other, noticing the case of Hunne, strangled in prison by the officers of the popish prelate of London, calls it "the legend of Hunne," though Foxe's narrative is from legal documents, proceedings in the courts of law, and parliamentary records.

weight of all the objections offered in contempt of the Foxian martyrs, are as nothing to overthrow so solid and immovable a fabric. "The Acts and Monuments" of the martyrs have long been, they still remain, and will always continue substantial pillars of the protestant church; of more force than many volumes of bare arguments, to withstand the tide of popery, and like a pharos, should be lighted up in every age, as a solemn warning to all posterity.

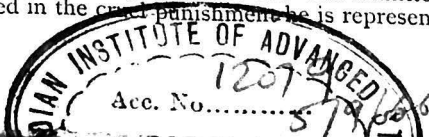
No history ever has been so strictly and severely tried as the "Acts and Monuments" of John Foxe, and no work of human composition ever stood the test of severe scrutiny with equal credit and advantage. Every pains was taken to make it public, a copy was ordered to be set up in every parish church throughout England, with Jewell's "Defence of the Apology," and the large English Bible, for the use of all people, excepting in times of divine service, till Laud ordered the writings of these Reformers to be taken away, as they did not countenance some of his views. But even now the well-worn remains of these volumes are sometimes found in village churches, undeniable proofs that the history of those times was subjected in the fullest manner to be examined by the people among whom the circumstances related had occurred only a few years before.<sup>1</sup>

This work was reprinted in 1570, with several corrections and numerous additions, also commencing from "the primitive time." Other additions and corrections were made in subsequent editions printed in 1576 and 1583, during the lifetime of Foxe, and subsequent to his decease, in 1596, 1610, 1632, 1641, and 1684.<sup>2</sup>

The other writings of Foxe are enumerated in "The British Reformers." In which volume are also printed

<sup>1</sup> By the canons of the convocation held A.D. 1571, all dignitaries were to have a copy in their families; one was to be placed in every college and hall in the Universities.

<sup>2</sup> The value of the early editions is increased by the circumstance that many of the wood engravings contained portraits of the principal characters of that day. Bonner saw and admitted his own likeness, and gloried in the cruel punishment he is represented as inflicting.



several of his writings, particularly his treatise on Justification, in answer to Osorio, a Jesuit.

To conclude, Foxe was a most valuable coadjutor in the great work of the English Reformation. He may be considered as the last of the venerable body of British Reformers, and also as connecting them with their immediate successors, the puritans and other eminent divines of the latter part of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries. He was not only a principal stone in the edifice, but also the cement whereby the other stones have become firmly united together; and it is impossible to have examined the various documents requisite for the present account of his life, without being impressed by the excellences of his character, and deeply feeling the inestimable value of John Foxe.

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