THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS

OF

JOHN FOXE.

FOURTH EDITION: REVISED AND CORRECTED,

WITH APPENDICES, GLOSSARY, AND INDICES,

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ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

VOL. III.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK V.

CONTAINING

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.

RICHARD THE SECOND.

Richard II.

A. D. 1377.

AFTER king Edward III. succeeded his son's son, Richard II., being yet but young, of the age of eleven years; who, in the same year of his [grand]father's decease, with great pomp and solemnity was crowned at Westminster, A.D. 1377: who, following his [grand]father's steps, was no great disfavourer of the way and doctrine of Wickliff: albeit at the first beginning, partly through the iniquity of time, and partly through the pope's letters, he could not do that he would. Notwithstanding, something he did in that behalf; more perhaps than in the end he had thank for of the papists, as more (by the grace of Christ) shall appear. But as times do change, so changeth commonly the cause and state of men. The bishops now seeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whose old age all the government of the realm depended upon the duke of Lancaster; and now the said bishops again seeing the said duke, with the lord Percy, the lord marshal, to give over their offices, and to remain in their private houses without intermeddling, thought now the time to serve them to have some vantage against John Wickliff; who hitherto, under the protection of the aforesaid duke and lord marshal, had some rest and quiet.

The bishops take vantage of time.

Concerning the story of which Wickliff, I trust, gentle reader, it is not out of thy memory what went before (vol. ii. p. 801), how he being brought before the bishops, by the means of the duke and lord Henry Percy the council was interrupted and brake up before nine of the clock, by reason whereof Wickliff at that time escaped,

(1) Latin Edition 1559, p. 3. Ed. 1563, p. 89. Ed. 1570, p. 529. Ed. 1576, p. 425. Ed. 1583, p. 430. Ed. 1596, p. 396. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 490.—ED.

Richard II. A.D. 1377. without any further trouble. Who notwithstanding being by the bishops forbid to deal in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellows[1] going barefoot and in long frieze gowns, preaching diligently unto the people. Out of whose sermons these articles most chiefly at that time were collected.

See Appendix.

Articles collected out of Wickliff's Sermons.

The first articles collected out of Wickliff's sermons.

That the holy eucharist, after the consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but figurally.

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

Item, That the pope of Rome hath no more in the keys of the church, than hath any other within the order of priesthood.

Item, If God be, the lords temporal may lawfully and meritoriously take away their temporalties from the churchmen offending "habitualiter."

Item, If any temporal lord do know the church so offending, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take the temporalties from the same.

Item, That the gospel is a rule sufficient of itself to rule the life of every christian man here, without any other rule.

Item, That all other rules, under whose observances divers religious persons be governed, do add no more perfection to the gospel, than doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, That neither the pope, nor any other prelate of the church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors.

His conclusions condemned by the cardinals at Rome.

Beside these articles, divers other conclusions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings by the bishops of England, which they sent diligently to pope Gregory XI. at Rome; where the said articles being read and perused, were condemned for heretical and erroneous by twenty-three cardinals.

Wickliff called before the archbishop of Canterbury.

In the mean time the archbishop of Canterbury, sending forth his citations, as is aforesaid, called before him the said John Wickliff, in the presence of the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy; who, upon the declaration of the pope's letters made, bound him to silence, forbidding him to treat any more of those matters. But then, through the disturbance of the bishop of London, and the duke, and lord Percy, that matter was soon despatched, as hath been above recorded. And all this was done in the days and last year of king Edward III. and pope Gregory XI.

Wickliff commanded to keep silence by the bishops.

**Wickliff, albeit he was forced by the bishops and prelates to keep silence, yet could not so be suppressed, but that through the vehemency of the truth he burst out afterwards much more fiercely. For Wickliff, having obtained and gotten the goodwill and favour of certain noblemen, attempted again to stir up his doctrine amongst the common people. Then began the Pharisees again to swarm and gather together, with marvellous tragedies striving against the light of the gospel, which began to shine abroad; neither was the pope himself behind with his part, for he never ceased with his bulls and letters to stir up them, who otherwise, of their own accord, were but too furious and mad.*

A.D. 1377. Edmund Stafford brings the pope's bull.

Accordingly, that same year, which was the year of our Lord 1377, being the first year of king Richard II., the said pope Gregory,

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Edition of 1563, p. 90, and Latin Ed. p. 7.—Ed.

taking his time, after the death of king Edward sendeth his bull by the hands and means (peradventure) of one master Edmund Stafford, directed unto the university of Oxford, rebuking them sharply, imperiously, and like a pope, for suffering so long the doctrine of John Wickliff to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their catholic doctrine. Which bull when it came to be exhibited unto their hands by the pope's messenger aforesaid, the proctors and masters of the university, joining together in consultation, stood long in doubt, deliberating with themselves whether to receive the pope's bull with honour, or to refuse and reject it with shame.

Richard II. A.D. 1377.

The masters of Oxford doubt whether to receive or reject it.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the authors of this story whom I follow; what exclamations, what wonderings and marvels they make at these Oxford men, for so doubting at a matter so plain, so manifest of itself (as they say), whether the pope's bull sent to them from Rome was to be received or not; which thing to our monkish writers seemed then such a prodigious wonder, that they with blushing cheeks are fain to cut off the matter in the midst with silence.

See Appendix.

The copy of this wild bull, sent to them from the pope, was this:[1]

Gregory the Bishop, the Servant of God's Servants, to his well-beloved Sons, the Chancellor and University of Oxford, in the Diocese of Lincoln, Greeting and Apostolical Benediction.

The pope's mad bull sent to Oxford.

We are constrained both to marvel and lament, that you, who—considering the favours and privileges granted to your university of Oxford by the apostolic see, and your knowledge of the Scriptures, the wide ocean whereof (through the favour of the Lord) you so successfully explore—ought to be champions and defenders of the orthodox faith (without which there is no salvation of souls), through negligence and sloth on your part allow cockle to spring among the pure wheat in the field of your glorious university aforesaid, and (what is worse) to grow up; and take no means (as we were lately informed) for rooting out of the same; to the great blemishing of your fair name, the peril of your souls, the contempt of the Roman church, and the decay of the orthodox faith. And (what grieveth us still more bitterly) the increase of the said cockle is perceived and felt in Rome before it is in England, where (however) the means of extirpating it ought to be applied. It hath, in truth, been intimated to us by many trust-worthy persons (who are much grieved on the subject), that one John Wickliff, rector of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, professor of divinity (would that he were not rather a master of errors), hath gone to such a pitch of detestable folly, that he feareth not to teach, and publicly preach, or rather to vomit out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, certain erroneous and false propositions and conclusions, savouring even of heretical pravity, tending to weaken and overthrow the *status* of the whole church, and even the secular government. Some of these, with a change only in certain of the terms, seem to be identical with the perverse opinions and unlearned doctrine of Marsilius de Padua and John de Ghent of cursed memory, whose book was reprobated and condemned by our predecessor of happy memory, pope John XXII. These opinions, I say, he is circulating in the realm of England, so glorious for power and abundance of wealth, but still more so for the shining purity of its faith, and wont to produce men illustrious for their clear and sound knowledge of the scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, conspicuous for devotion, and bold defenders of the catholic faith; and some of Christ's flock he hath been defiling therewith, and misleading from the straight path of the sincere faith into the pit of perdition. Wherefore, being (as in duty bound) unwilling to connive at so deadly a pest, for which if not at

The pope complaineth of John Wickliff

(1) A new translation from the Latin in Walsingham, p. 200.—Ed.

Richard II. A.D. 1377.

once checked, yea, plucked up by the roots, it would be too late to apply a remedy when it had infected multitudes—we strictly charge and command your university by our apostolic letters, in virtue of your holy obedience, and on pain of forfeiting all the graces, indulgences, and privileges, ever granted to you and your society by the said see, that you never again permit conclusions and propositions to be asserted or propounded which bear unfavourably on good works and faith, yea, though the proposers of them may strive to defend them under some curious disguise of words or terms; and that by our authority you seize or cause to be seized the said John, and send him under trusty keeping to our venerable brethren the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, or either of them: and moreover that any recusants in the said university, subject to your jurisdiction (if such there be, which God forbid!) who may be infected with these errors, if they obstinately persist in them, that you do (as in duty bound) firmly and anxiously proceed to a like or other seizure and transmission of them, so that you may supply your lack of diligence, which hath been hitherto remiss as touching the premises, and may obtain beside the reward of the divine recompense, the favour and goodwill also of us and the see aforesaid. Given at St. Mary's the Greater, Rome, xi Cal. of June, and the seventh year of our pontificate. [May 22d, A.D. 1377.]

Here the wild bull striketh.

Beside this bull sent to the university of Oxford, the said pope Gregory directed, moreover, his letters the same time to the archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, and to the bishop of London, named William Courtney, with the conclusions of John Wickliff therein enclosed, commanding them, by virtue of those his letters apostolical, and straitly enjoining them, to cause the said John Wickliff to be apprehended, and cast in prison.[1]

Here is imprisoning, but no teaching.

(1) *Literæ apostolicæ directæ Archiepo. Cant' et Episcopo London' ad procedendum contra Magistrum Johannem Wycliff ratione conclusionum erroneorum per eum tentarum.* Ex Reg. Sudbury, fol. 45 b.—Ed.

See Appendix.

Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et episcopo Londoniensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Regnum Angliæ, gloriosum nempe potentia et abundantia facultatum, sed gloriosius pietate fidei, et sacræ paginæ claritate coruscum, consuevit viros producere divinarum scripturarum recta scientia præditos, maturitate graves, devotione præclaros, et pugiles fidei orthodoxæ, qui non solum proprios sed alienos populos documentis instruebant verissimis, et in mandatorum Domini semitam dirigebant: et, sicut ex effectu contingentium temporis antiqui colligitur, dicti regni præsules in specula solicitudinis positi, proprias excubias exercentes solicitè, non permittebant aliquid oriri erroneum quod posset inficere oves suas; sed si oriretur zizania ex inimici hominis inspersione, illam protinus evellebant; crescebatque assiduè purum triticum in dominicum horreum inferendum. Sed (proh dolor) nunc apparet, quòd in ipso regno, officio vigiles negligentia verò desides, non circueunt civitatem, dum hostes ingrediuntur in eam, animarum thesaurum preciocissimum prædaturi. Quorum latentes ingressus et patentes aggressus prius sentiuntur in Romæ, intercapedine longa remota, quàm eis in Anglia resistatur. Sane plurium fide dignorum significatione admodum dolenter audivimus, quòd Johannes Wyckliff, rector Ecclesiæ de Lutterworth Lincolniensis diœc. sacræ paginæ Professor, utinam non magister errorum, in illam detestabilem vesaniam dicitur temerè prorupisse, quòd nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas et falsas, in fide malè sonantes, quæ statum totius Ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare conantur, quarumque aliquæ, licet aliquibus mutatis terminis, sentire videntur perversas opiniones et doctrinam indoctam damnatæ memoriæ Marsilii de Padua et Johannis de Ganduno, quorum liber per fœlicis recordationis Johannem Papam XXII. prædecessorem nostrum reprobatus extitit et damnatus, non veretur in præfato regno asserere, dogmatizare, et publice prædicare, nonnullos Christi fideles eis maligne inficiens, ac à fide catholica (sine qua non est salus) faciens deviare: de quibus sic subortis, et non extirpatis, seu saltem eis nulla facta resistentia, quam sciamus, sed transactis seu toleratis conniventibus oculis, vos aliquique præsules Angliæ, cum debeatis esse columnæ Ecclesiæ dictæque fidei defensores attenti, sub quadam conniventia, tam negligenter transeundo, non immerito debetis rubore perfundi, verecundari, et in propriis conscientiis remorderi. Quare cum tam perniciosum malum, quod non præcisum seu radicitus extirpatum serpere posset in plurimos in animabus eorum (quod absit) lethali contagione necandos, nolumus (sicut nec debemus) sub dissimulatione transire, fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus receptis præsentibus vos vel alter vestrum de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum assertione, quarum copiam vobis mittimus sub Bulla nostra inclusam, vos secrete informantes, si inveniretis ita esse, præfatum Johannem faciatis authoritate nostra capi, et carceribus mancipari, ejusque confessionem super eisdem propositionibus seu conclusionibus recipere studeatis; ac ipsam confessionem, et quæcunque dictus Johannes dixerit seu scripserit super earundem propositionum et conclusionum inductione ac probatione, et quicquid feceritis in præmissis, sub vestris sigillis clausa et nemini revelata, nobis per fidelem nuncium transmissuri, eundemque Johannem sub fideli custodia teneatis in vinculis, donec a nobis super hoc aliud receperitis in mandatis: Contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compescendo; invocato ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii secularis. Non obstantibus felicis recordationis Bonifacii Papæ VIII. prædecessoris nostri constitutionibus, in quibus cavetur ne aliquis extra suam civitatem vel diœc., nisi in certis exceptis casibus, et in illis ultra unam dietam a fine suæ diœc. ad judicium evocetur; seu ne judices a sede apostolica deputati aliquos ultra unam dietam à fine suæ diœc. evocare præsumant; ac de duabus dietis in concilio generali; ac exemptionibus, et aliis privilegiis, constitutionibus, et literis apostolicis Prædicatorum, Minorum, et Heremitarum Sancti Augustini, et

Besides this bill or bull of the pope, sent unto the archbishop of Canterbury and to the bishop of London, bearing the date, eleventh Kalend. Jun. and the seventh year of the reign of the pope; I find, moreover, in the said story, two other letters[1] of the pope concerning the same matter, but differing in form, sent unto the same bishops, and all bearing the same date, both of the day, year, and month of the reign of the said pope Gregory; the one directing that in case Wickliff could not be found, he should be warned by public citation to appear before the pope at Rome within three months; the other exhorting the said bishops that the king and the nobles of England

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See Appendix.

Sanctæ Mariæ de monte Carmeli, et aliis quibuscunque mendicantium, vel aliis ordinibus et locis, aut specialibus personis, seu capitulis et conventibus ipsorum generalibus vel specialibus, quorumcunque tenorum existant; necnon statutis et consuetudinibus eorundem ordinum et locorum contrariis, per quæ effectus præsentium impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri, etiamsi de eis eorumque totis tenoribus ac de verbo ad verbum plena et expressa mentio in nostris literis sit habenda; seu si Johanni prædicto vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim à dicta sede sit indultum, quòd personaliter capi, aut quòd interdici, suspendi, vel excommunicari non possint per literas Apostolicas, non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum, de indulto hujusmodi mentionem. Dat. Romæ apud S. Mariam majorem xi Cal. Junii, pontificatûs nostri anno septimo.

(1) The following are the two letters to which Foxe alludes, taken from Wilkins's Concilia, tom. iii. pp. 117, 118, corrected in several instances from the copies in Walsingham, p. 201.—Ed.

Aliæ literæ apostolicæ ad citandum eum ad comparendum coram domino papa. Ex Reg. Sudbury, fol. 45, b.—"Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et episcopo Londonensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Nuper per nos, non sine gravi cordis turbatione, ex plurium fide dignorum significatione percepto, quòd Johannes Wycliff, rector ecclesiæ de Lutterworth, Lincolniensis diœcesis, sacræ paginæ professor, utinam non magister errorum, in eam detestabilem vesaniam temere proruperat, quòd nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas ac falsas, et male in fide sonantes, quæ statum totius ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare nituntur, quarumque aliquæ, licet quibusdam mutatis terminis, imitari videbantur perversas opiniones et doctrinam indoctam damnatæ memoriæ Marsilii de Padua et Johannis de Ganduna [Gandavo, Wals.] quorum liber per felicis recordationis Johannem papam XXII. prædecessorem nostrum reprobatus extitit et damnatus, non verebatur in regno Angliæ asserere, dogmatizare, et publice prædicare, illis nonnullos Christi fideles maligne inficiens ac a fide catholica (sine qua non est salus) faciens deviare—Nos attendentes, quòd tam perniciosum malum quod in plurimos serpere poterat, eorum animas lethali contagione necando, non debebamus, prout nec debemus, sub dissimulatione transire; vobis per alias nostras literas commisimus et mandavimus, ut vos vel alter vestrum de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum assertione, quarum copiam sub bulla nostra misimus interclusam, vos secreto informantes, si ita esse inveneritis, prædictum Johannem auctoritate nostra capi et carceribus mancipari faceretis, eumque sub bona custodia teneretis in vinculis, donec a nobis super hoc receperitis aliud in mandatis, prout in dictis literis plenius continetur. Considerantes utique, quòd præfatus Johannes hujusmodi captionem et carcerationem forte præsentiens, posset (quod absit) per fugæ vel latitationis præsidia dictum nostrum mandatum in gravissimum fidei detrimentum eludere; nos, ne tam damnabiles propositiones et conclusiones indiscussæ et earum temerarius assertor impunitus remaneant, in detrimentum gravissimum fidei prælibatæ, fraternitati vestræ per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus vos vel alter vestrum, per vos vel alium seu alios, præfatum Johannem, si per vos capi et carcerari non possit, per edictum publicum proponendum in studio Oxoniensi dictæ diœcesis, et aliis locis publicis, de quibus sit verisimilis conjectura quòd ad dicti Johannis notitiam pervenire valeat, et de quibus vobis expedire videatur, ex parte nostra peremptorie monere et citare curetis, quòd infra trium mensium spatium a die citationis hujusmodi in antea computandum, ubicunque tunc nos esse contigerit, compareat personaliter coram nobis, super propositionibus et conclusionibus hujusmodi responsurus ac dicturus, et facturus quicquid super eis duxerimus ordinandum, et ordo dictaverit rationis; prædicendo in hujusmodi citationis edicto, quòd, sive idem Johannes in hujusmodi termino comparuerit, sive non comparuerit, nos super præmissis, et contra eum, usque ad debitam condemnationem ipsius inclusive procedemus, prout ejus demerita exigent, ac nobis secundum Deum et conservationem dictæ fidei videbitur expedire. Volumus autem, et præsentium tenore statuimus, quòd prædicta citatio sic facta perinde præfatum Johannem aretet, ac si sibi personaliter insinuata et intimata fuisset; constitutione quacunque contraria non obstante. Diem vero citationis et formam, et quicquid feceritis in prædictis, nobis per vestras literas, vestris sigillis munitas, harum seriem continentes, fideliter et quam citius poteritis, intimare curetis. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem, 11 cal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno septimo." [A.D. 1377, the 51st Ed. III.]

Aliæ literæ apostolicæ pro eodem. Ex Reg. Sudbury, fol. 46, a.—"Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et episcopo Londonensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Super periculosis admodum erroribus quarundam detestabilium propositionum et conclusionum ad enervationem totius ecclesiastici status tendentium, quas, scriptas in schedula inclusa præsentibus, Johannes Wycliff, rector ecclesiæ de Lutterworth, Lincolniensis diœcesis, dictus theologiæ professor, asseritur tam impie quam temere suscitasse, plenius vobis scribimus per alias nostras patentes literas, quas cum præsentibus destinamus. Volumus igitur, et fraternitati vestræ mandamus, quatenus clarissimum in Christo filium nostrum Edwardum, regem Angliæ illustrem, et dilectos filios nobiles viros et natos dicti regis, ac delectam in Christo filiam nobilem mulierem principissam Acquitaniæ et Walliæ, aliosque magnates de Anglia, et consiliarios regis, per vos et alios magistros et peritos in sacra pagina non maculatos hujusmodi erroribus, sed in fide sinceros et fervidos, studeatis facere plenarie informari ac eis ostendi, quanta verecundia devoto regno Angliæ oriatur exinde; et quòd non solum sunt ipsæ conclusiones erroneæ in fide, sed, si bene advertatur, innuunt omnem destruere politiam; et requiratis eos strictissime, quòd ad extirpationem tantorum errorum, pro reverentia Dei et apostolicæ sedis et nostra, ipsorumque merito apud Deum et honore in seculo, tanquam catholici principes et pugiles dictæ fidei, omni, qua poterint, efficacia tribuant auxilium et favorem. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem, 11 cal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno septimo."

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should be admonished by them, not to give any credit to the said John Wickliff, or to his doctrine in any wise. Whereby it is to be supposed that the said pope either was very exquisite and solicitous about the matter, to have Wickliff to be apprehended, who wrote three divers letters to one person, and all in one day, about one business, or else that he did suspect the bearers thereof; the scruple whereof I leave to the judgment of the reader.

Three sundry letters of the pope to one person about one matter.

Furthermore, beside these letters written to the university, and to the bishops, he directeth also another epistle, bearing the same date, unto king Edward, as one of my stories saith; but as another saith, to king Richard, which soundeth more near the truth; forasmuch as in the seventh year of pope Gregory XI., which was A.D. 1378, king Edward was not alive.[1] The copy of his letter to the king here followeth:—

The Copy of the Epistle sent by the Bishop of Rome to Richard, King of England, to persecute John Wickliff.[2]

To his most dear son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious king of England, health, &c.

The realm of England, which the most High hath put under your governance, a realm glorious for its power and abundance of all things, but still more glorious for its piety and faith, and reflecting the brightness of the sacred page, hath been wont ever to produce men endued with a right understanding of the holy Scriptures, grave in years, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the catholic faith: the which have instructed by wholesome precepts not only their own people, but the people of other countries also, and have directed them into the path of God's commandments. But we have lately learned (to our great sorrow of heart) by the information of many trustworthy persons, that John Wickliff, rector of Lutterworth in the diocese of Lincoln, professor of divinity (would to God he were not rather a master of errors), hath run to such a detestable and abominable excess of folly, that he hath propounded and set forth certain conclusions full of errors, and containing manifest heresy, which tend to weaken and subvert the *status* of the whole church; some of which (albeit with a change in certain terms) seem to be identical with the perverse opinions and unlearned doctrine of Marsilius de Padua and John de Ghent, of cursed memory, whose book was reprobated and condemned by our predecessor of happy memory, pope John XXII.

Hitherto, gentle reader, thou hast heard how Wickliff was accused by the bishop. Now you shall also hear the pope's mighty reasons and arguments, by the which he did confute him to the king. It followeth:—

Whereas, therefore, our venerable brethren the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London have received a special commandment from us, by our authority to seize and commit to prison the aforesaid John, and to take and transmit to us his confession touching the said propositions or conclusions; and whereas they are known to need the favour and help of your highness in the prosecution of this business; therefore we request and earnestly entreat your majesty, who as well as your noble progenitors have been wont to be chief defenders of the catholic faith, whose quarrel is involved in the present affair, that for the reverence you owe to God, to the said faith, to the apostolic see, and to our own person, you would vouchsafe to lend your countenance and aid to the said archbishop and bishop, and all others who shall prosecute this matter, assured that, beside the praise of men, you will obtain a divine reward,

(1) Respecting an error here, see the Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Collated with the Latin in Walsingham, p. 204.—Ed.

and the increased goodwill of us and of the said see. Given at Rome, at St. Mary the Greater, the 11th Kal. of June, in the 7th year of our bishopric, A.D. 1377. *Richard II.* A. D. 1377.

*[1]These are the whole force and strength of the arguments with the which these apostolic bishops do defend the christian faith, by the which also they do persuade the whole world to the burning of their brethren, whom they, by a slanderous title and name, do call heretics, and we truly, contrariwise, most blessed martyrs. "We will, require, and command you"[2]—what reason is brought herein, but only that *will* standeth for *reason?* Whatsoever the pope doth once pronounce or speak, it is counted of such force and effect, that there is no man so hardy or stout, that dare once murmur against it. But they which do succeed in the apostles' room and place, ought to confer with their brethren with an apostolic spirit and meekness, considering with themselves (according to the counsel of the gospel) "of what spirit" and whose ministers they are: for whatsoever is lawful unto an extern judge, in a profane cause; or in time past hath been licensed unto tyrants amongst the heathen; or else, whatsoever was permitted unto the bishops of the old law, is not by-and-by fit and decent for the ministers of the New Testament, the which have received a far diverse and contrary spirit, even the spirit of him, which commanded them to learn of him to be humble and meek of heart. Wherefore it were very decent that these men (brag they never so much of the apostles' succession) do remember themselves, not only that they are ministers and servants, but also *whose* ministers they are; for, as Themistocles said, that he would not count him a cunning musician that kept neither number nor measure in his song; so likewise must these men think of themselves in the using of their function and office, that they frame themselves no other way, than according to the true harmony of the rule which they have professed. And albeit that Wickliff *had* been a most great and rank heretic, yet where did the pope learn to bind him in fetters, to lay him in prison, and with force and fire to oppress and persecute him,[3] when as yet he had confuted him by no probable argument, whose cause also, peradventure, he did not sufficiently know? And seeing that John Wickliff had written so many books in Latin, if they had seemed not consonant unto the truth, how worthy a thing had it been for the apostolic dignity, first to have communicated the matter with the man himself, or else to have debated the same (as far as had been lawful) amongst learned men. Truly it had been their office and duty, stoutly to subdue and overthrow errors by the Scriptures, and not by force: and, verily, to accuse him so rashly, to so noble and valiant a prince and king, not having any cause, which either they could not, or would not, bring and allege against him, it seemeth to be a kind of most strange and

The pope's reasons and arguments in confuting heresies.

(1) These passages in single asterisks, extending to page 11, are extracts from the Edition of 1563, pp. 89—91, and are translated from the Latin Edition of 1559, pp. 6, 7.—Ed.

(2) "Volumus, requirimus, et mandamus;" Latin Edition, p. 6; referring to the terms used in the preceding papal bulls.—Ed.

(3) This refers to the pope's commands in the letter cited above, p. 6, note (1). If Wickliff was never actually subjected to so severe a punishment, the reader is reminded that it was the gracious providence of God which preserved him from the misery of fetters, prisonhouses, and the stake, and not any leniency on the part of the pope of Rome. See the five papal letters just cited by Foxe, and others, to be found elsewhere, together with the decree for his exhumation and burning of his bones, in proof of what the pope would gladly have done with Wickliff had he possessed the power.—Ed.

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barbarous cruelty and lightness of men, impudently abusing the majesty of their prince.

And yet these men (whom nothing can once cause to blush or be ashamed) desire to be accounted the successors of the apostles; from whose manners and examples they do so much vary, and are as distant, as we are distant from India. St. Paul willeth, that after thou hast admonished or warned any heretic once or twice, if he do not amend, then to fly and eschew his company [Tit. iii. 10]. Which of the apostles, at any time, did cast a heretic in prison, were he never so obstinate, or bound him in fetters, either consumed him to ashes? as though the truth itself, and Christ, who is the author of truth, were not strong enough of themselves to reprove heretics, without they were holpen with bonds and torments. St. Paul, instructing the ecclesiastical pastor with apostolic precepts, amongst other things writeth thus to Timothy [2 Tim. ii. 24], "It is not meet for the servant of the Lord to fight and strive, but to show himself mild and gentle towards all men, ready to instruct, suffering evil, and with meekness teaching not only those which were seduced through error or ignorance, but also such as do resist, that God in time may give them repentance to know his truth." And again, writing unto Titus [i. 9], he saith that "he must be stout, or strong, to overcome those who resist and gainsay him:" but how? with sword, weapon, or torment? No! I think not; but with the armour and power of the Spirit, and with the word of God. For it is far different to fight with worldly princes, as touching their right, and to dispute in causes of religion, in the church of God. I confess, that according to St. Paul's word, we must eschew and fly a heretic; but it is one thing to eschew a heretic, and a clean contrary to kill an innocent, instead of a heretic. He that being once or twice admonished or warned, continueth still in his error, is worthy not only to be eschewed of all men, but also by strait imprisonment to be secluded from all good and honest company. But how shall I know that it is an error, without thou do allege better?

By what means the bishops do convince heretics.

From whence then is this example of barbarous cruelty sprung up or come into the christian hierarchy, that they will straight condemn to death, him, whom not only they have not overcome with any arguments, but also not once admonished, for no other cause but only that he seemeth unto them a heretic? wherefore, he that can so boldly pronounce or determine of other men's heresies, had need to be assuredly grounded as to what is the true sincerity of the faith; otherwise, if it were sufficient for every man, that which his own will and affection leadeth him unto, it were to be feared, lest as it happened unto the Jews in time past, the which when they would have crucified Christ as a deceiver, they crucified the very Son of God; so likewise may happen unto them in persecuting of heretics, that they themselves become the greatest heretics of all others. But now-a-days, there are many, whom either their nature, or cruelty, or folly, or some vain superstition, hath so moved or stirred up, that albeit they understand and see no more in these matters, than a poor blind man doth in colours; yet is it a world to see with how great boldness they will determine and pronounce against heretics. And yet, these are they which cannot fail, err, or be deceived[1]; neither is it lawful

The papists the greatest heretics themselves.

(1) "Atque interim hi sunt, qui falli, errare, atque decipi non possunt." Latin Edition, 1559, p. 19.—Ed.

for any man to examine their wills by the censure of any human judgment! O most miserable estate of the church! seeing that the whole state of christian people dependeth in the will (as it were in the beck) of any one man, that whatsoever doth either please or displease his blockish brain, it must be received and embraced of all men; and according thereunto, the whole religion to be applied and formed. What other thing is this, than to refer Christ's religion unto men's wills, and not men unto religion? But now we will leave to speak any more of the pope, and return unto Wickliff.*

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The articles included in the pope's letters, which he sent to the bishops and to the king against Wickliff, were these which in order do follow:—

The Conclusions of John Wickliff, exhibited in the Convocation of certain Bishops at Lambeth.[1]

See Appendix.

I. The whole human race concurring, without Christ, have not power simply [or, absolutely] to ordain that Peter and all his meiny[2] should rule over the world politically for ever [in perpetuum].

II. God cannot give civil dominion to any man for himself and his heirs for ever [in perpetuum].

III. Many charters of human invention, concerning perpetual civil inheritance for ever, are impossible.

IV. Every one existing [or, being] in grace justifying finally, not only hath a right unto, but in fact hath, all the things of God [or, not only hath a right unto the thing, but for his time hath by right a power over all the good things of God].[3]

V. A man can give dominion to his natural or adopted son,[4] whether that dominion be temporal or eternal, only ministerially.

VI. If God be, temporal lords can lawfully and meritoriously take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent church.[5]

VII. We know that it is not possible that the vicar of Christ, merely by his bulls, or by them together with his own will and consent, and that of his college of cardinals, can qualify or disqualify any man.

VIII. It is not possible that a man should be excommunicated to his damage, unless he be excommunicated first and principally by himself.

IX. Nobody ought to excommunicate, suspend, or interdict any one, or proceed to punish according to any ecclesiastical censure, except in the cause of God.[6]

X. Cursing or excommunication doth not bind, except in so far as it is used against an adversary of the law of Christ.

(1) The editor has substituted Lewis's translation of the following Articles (slightly altered) for Foxe's, which is not sufficiently close to the original. See the Latin in Wilkins and Walsingham.

(2) The original expression is "omne *genus* suum." A word is put in for *genus*, which Wickliff himself uses in his "de Prelatis," cited by Lewis, "the pope with his Meyne" (Lewis, p. 138); it occurs also in the title of one of his treatises "Of Antichrist and his meynee," mentioned by Dr. Todd in his introduction to Wickliff's Defence of Lollard Doctrines, p. xii. "Meiny" is derived from the French "*mesnie*," and means "*family, retinue, household, followers.*" See Nares, and Todd's Johnson.—Ed.

(3) This article in Walsingham reads thus,—"Nedum habet jus, sed in re habet omnia Dei:" but in the *second* explanation of his conclusions (Lewis, p. 319) this article reads, "nedum habet jus ad rem, sed pro suo tempore jus in rem super omnia bona Dei."

(4) Walsingham, at p. 205, (Ed. 1574) reads, "Tam naturali filio quàm *invitationis in schola Christi*," where Foxe seems to have read "*imitationis*;" but at p. 207, Walsingham reads "tam naturali filio invitationis;" and the second set of Conclusions and Explanations (Lewis, p. 320) reads "tam naturali filio quam filio imitationis."—Ed.

(5) "Si Deus est;" in Walsingham, p. 205, the "est" is wanting, but it is inserted at p. 207. "The church when delinquent;" see the Latin edition, p. 9, "Ecclesia delinquente." In the English editions, "the church when they do offend habitualiter." Between the sixth and the seventh conclusions, Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 123, gives another from the Sudbury Register—"Nunquid ecclesia est in tali statu vel non, non est meum discutere, sed dominorum temporalium examinare; et posito casu confidenter agere, et in pœna damnationis æternæ ejus temporalia auferre." This is also in Walsingham, p. 205, but not at p. 207; nor is it found in the Latin or in any English edition of Foxe; Lewis, p. 38, gives it thus: "Whether the church be in such a state or not, is not my business to examine, but the business of temporal lords; who, if they find it in such a state, are to act boldly, and on the penalty of damnation to take away its temporalties."—Ed.

(6) This article was thus expressed in the pope's schedule, according to Walsingham, p. 205, "Nemo ad sui deteriorationem excommunicatur, suspenditur, vel aliis censuris cruciatur, nisi in causa Dei;" but at p. 207 he gives it according to Foxe's translation.—Ed.

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XI. There is no power exemplified [or, granted] by Christ to his disciples,[1] of excommunicating a subject chiefly for denying any temporalties, but the contrary.

XII. The disciples of Christ have no power coactively [or, by civil coaction] to exact[2] temporalties by censure.

XIII. It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other christian pretend that he bindeth or looseth at any rate, he doth therefore actually bind or loose.

XIV. We ought to believe, that then only the vicar of Christ doth bind or loose, when he simply obeyeth the law of Christ.

XV. This ought to be universally believed, that every priest rightly ordained according to the law of grace hath a power, according to which he may minister all the sacraments *secundum speciem*, and, by consequence, may absolve him who hath confessed to him, and is contrite, from any sin.

See Appendix. XVI. It is lawful for kings, in cases limited by law, to take away the temporalties from churchmen who habitually abuse them.

XVII. If the pope, or temporal lords, or any other, shall have endowed the church with temporalties, it is lawful for them to take them away in certain cases, namely, when the doing so is by way of medicine to cure or prevent sins, and that, notwithstanding excommunication or any other church censure, since these endowments were not given but under a condition implied.

XVIII. An ecclesiastic, even the Roman pontiff himself, may lawfully be rebuked by their subjects for the benefit of the church, and be impleaded by both clergy and laity.[3]

The above letters, with these articles enclosed, being received from the pope, *the[4] bishop of Canterbury and other bishops took no little heart; for, being partly encouraged by them, and partly moved and pricked forward by their own fierceness and cruelty, it is to be marvelled at, with what boldness and stomach they did openly profess, before their provincial council,* that all manner respects of fear or favour set apart, no person, neither high nor low, should let them, neither would they be *seduced[5] by the entreaty of any man, neither by any manner threatenings or rewards; but that in the cause, they would follow straight and upright justice and equity, yea, albeit that danger of life should follow thereupon: surely a very good and noble promise, if they had determined this justice within his right bounds.*

The stout brags of the bishops over thrown.

But these so fierce brags and stout promise, with the subtle practices of these bishops, who thought themselves so sure before, the Lord, against whom no determination of man's counsel can prevail, by a small occasion did lightly confound and overthrow. For the day of the examination being come,[6] a certain personage of the prince's

Wicklif again called before them.

(1) So the Sudbury Register: Walsingham, p. 205, reads, "à Christo *vel* discipulis suis;" but at p. 208 he omits the "vel," and reads "concessa" for "exemplificata."—Ed.

(2) Walsingham, p. 205, (as well as the Sudbury Register,) reads "coactè exigere;" but at p. 208 he reads, "ad coactione civili exigendum."—Ed.

(3) Lewis observes, p. 46, "This conclusion or article was thus represented by the Council of Constance: 'People may, at their pleasure, correct their princes, when they do amiss.'"—Ed.

(4) and (5) These two passages are from Edition 1563, p. 90.—Ed.

(6) The following is the archbishop's summons of the council, taken from the Sudbury Register, fol. 46: it is given by Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 123, with several errors; and by Lewis from Walsingham: it is dated Dec. 18th, A.D. 1377, and names the 30th juridical day as the time, and St. Paul's as the place for the meeting. See on this subject the note in the Appendix on p. 4 suprà, and on vol. ii. p. 800.—Ed.

Simon, permissione divina, &c. et Willielmus, eadem permissione Londoniensis episcopus, delegati a sede apostolica cum illa clausula, 'quatenus vos duo, aut unus vestrum, ad infra scripta specialiter deputati,' dilecto filio venerabilique viro cancellario universitatis Oxoniæ, Lincolniensis diœcesis, ejusve locum tenenti, salutem in Domino et mandatis nostris, imo verius apostolicis, firmiter obedire. Litteras sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri, domini Gregorii divina providentia papæ XImi—super eo quòd Johannes Wicliff, sacræ paginæ professor, rectorque de Littelworth dictæ Lincolniensis diœcesis, in detestabilem vesaniam temerè prorumpens, nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas ac falsas et male in fide sonantes, quæ statum totius ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare nituntur, non verebatur asserere, dogmatizare, et publicè prædicare; illis nonnullos Christi fideles malignè inficiens, ac a fide catholica (sine qua non est salus) faciens deviare, ut in dictis literis apostolicis plenius est expressum—nos noveritis cum eâ qua decuit reverentiâ recepisse. Volentes igitur mandatis apostolicis parere pro viribus, ut tenemur, vobis in virtute obedientiæ qua dictæ sedi tenemini committimus et mandamus, firmiter injungentes,

court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewis Clifford, entering in among the bishops, commanded them that they should not proceed with any definitive sentence against John Wickliff. With which words all they were so amazed, and their combs so cut, that, as in the story is mentioned, they became so mute and speechless, as men having not one word in their mouth to answer.[1] And thus, by the wondrous work of God's providence, John Wickliff escaped the second time out of the bishops' hands, and was by them clearly dismissed upon his declaration made of his articles, as anon shall follow.

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Is again delivered from them.

Moreover, here is not to be passed over, how at the same time, and in the said chapel of the archbishop at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon John Wickliff, the historian, writing of the doing thereof, addeth these words, saying:[2] "I say, not only that the citizens of London, but also the vile abjects of the city, presumed to be so bold in the same chapel at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon John Wickliff, as both to entreat for him, and also to let and stop the same matter; trusting, as I suppose, upon the negligence which they saw before, in the bishops," &c.

Over and besides, here is not to be forgotten, how the said John Wickliff, the same time of his examination, offered and exhibited unto the bishops, in writing, a protestation, with a declaration or exposition of his own mind upon the said his articles, the effect whereof here followeth.[3]

The Protestation of John Wickliff.

See Appendix.

First of all, I publicly protest, as I have often before done, that I purpose and will with my whole heart, by the grace of God, to be an entire Christian, and as long as breath shall remain in me to profess and defend the law of Christ so far as I am able. And if through ignorance, or any other cause, I shall fail therein, I ask pardon of my God, and do now, as before, revoke and retract it, humbly submitting myself to the correction of holy mother church. And for-

quatenus receptis per vos præsentibus, evocatis ad hoc etiam per vos sacræ paginæ professoribus expertis, rectius et sanctius in fide catholica sentientibus, verbis sophisticalibus sive terminorum curiosa implicatione penitus prætermissis, de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum assertione, quarum copia inferius inseritur, vos secretè informantes, de omni eo quod in præmissis inveniretis et sentiretis literis vestris clausis et sigillo vestro sigillatis, clarè distinctè et apertè, in omnibus et per omnia, nos reddatis (ut convenit) certiores: Citetis insuper seu citari faciatis peremptoriè dictum Johannem, quòd tricesimo die juridico post citationem sibi factam in ecclesia Sancti Pauli, London, compareat personaliter coram nobis seu aliis subdelegatis nostris sive commissariis in hac parte, super conclusionibus et propositionibus hujusmodi responsurus et auditurus, ulteriusque facturus quicquid auctoritate apostolica fieri debeat in hac parte et ordo dictaverit rationis; prædicentes eidem, quòd sive comparuerit in termino prædicto sive non, ulterius contra eum procedetur, prout literæ apostolicæ in se exigunt et requirunt. Vobis insuper injungimus auctoritate prædictâ, quatenus literas apostolicas inpræsentiarum per nos vobis transmissas, sub pœnis in eisdem literis plenius expressatis, in omnibus et per omnia diligenter et fideliter exequamini, juxta vim, formam, et effectum earundem, certificantes nos aut dictos commissarios nostros seu subdelegatos, celerius quo fieri poterit, quid feceritis in præmissis per literas vestras patentes, harum et facti vestri seriem plenius continentes. Datæ apud Otteford xv Kalend. Januarii, A.D. 1377, et translationis nostri Simonis, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi supradicti, anno tertio. [Dec. 18th, A.D. 1377.] Wilkins misdates this letter "v Kal. Jan.," *i.e.* ten days later.—Ed.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) "Non dico cives tantum Londinenses, sed viles ipsius civitatis, se impudenter ingerere præsumpserunt in eandem capellam et verba facere pro eodem et istud negotium impedire, confisi, ut reor, de ipsorum præmissa negligentia prælatorum," &c. [Walsingham.]—Ed.

(3) The original Latin is in Walsingham. Lewis's translation, a little altered, is substituted for Foxe's.—Another Exposition, somewhat different from that in the text, is found in Walden's "Fasciculus zizaniorum Wiclevi," preserved in the Bodleian: this Bale states to have been presented by Wickliff to the parliament, which met April 5th; if so, it is posterior in date to that in the text; and certainly it exhibits less of scholastic peculiarity, as though intended for the perusal of the public: Lewis (p. 318) gives the original Latin from Arch. Seldeni, MSS. B. 10: Foxe gives a translation of it in his first edition (p. 91) of the 'Acts and Monuments,' where he observes, "it were to long in this place to rehearse all the conclusions of this boke, but for the rare and most singular utility and profit in them, gentle reader, I thought it not good to omit them, lest I should be thought more desirous of brevity than of profit." Foxe's translation, revised from the Latin in Lewis, is inserted in the Appendix.—These Expositions are most strangely represented by some writers as an evasion on Wicliff's part; on this point see the Appendix.—Ed.

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somuch as an opinion concerning the faith which I have taught in the schools and elsewhere hath been reported by children, and moreover hath been conveyed beyond sea by these children even to the court of Rome; therefore, lest Christians should be scandalized on my account, I wish to set down in writing my opinion for the which I am impeached, the which opinion I will defend even unto death, as I believe all Christians ought to do, but specially the bishop of Rome and the rest of the priests of the church. But I understand the conclusions after the sense and manner of speaking of the scripture and the holy doctors, the which [sense and manner of speaking] I am ready to expound; and if the conclusions shall then be found contrary to the faith, I am willing and most ready to revoke them.

An Exposition upon the Conclusions of John Wickliff, exhibited by him to the Bishops.

I. "The whole human race concurring, without Christ, have not power simply [or, absolutely] to ordain, that Peter," &c.

And it is plain that it is not in the power of men to hinder the coming of Christ to the final judgment, in the which we are bound to believe according to that article of the Creed, "From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." For after that, according to the faith delivered in Scripture, all human polity shall cease. But I understand political dominion, or civil secular government, to pertain to the laity who are actually living, on their pilgrimage, whilst they are absent from the Lord: for it is of such a political dominion that the philosophers speak. And although that which is *periodical* [or, terminable] is sometimes styled *perpetual* [or, *for ever*], yet because in holy Scripture, in the use of the church, and in the books of the philosophers, *perpetual* is plainly used commonly in the sense of *eternal*, I accordingly suppose the term to be taken here in that more famous signification; for thus the church singeth, "Glory be to God the Father, and to his only Son, with the Spirit the Paraclete, both now and *for ever* [in perpetuum]." And then the conclusion immediately followeth on the principles of the faith; since it is not in the power of men to appoint the pilgrimage of the church to be without end.

II. "God cannot give civil dominion to any man for himself and his heirs for ever [in perpetuum]."

By *civil dominion* I mean the same that I meant above by political dominion, and by *perpetual* [or, *for ever*] the same that I did before, as the Scripture understandeth the "*perpetual habitations*" in the state of blessedness. I have said, therefore, First, that God of his ordinary power cannot give man civil dominion for ever. I have said, Secondly, that it seemeth probable that God of his absolute power cannot give man such a dominion for ever, because he cannot, as it seemeth, always imprison his spouse on the way, nor for ever defer the ultimate completion of her blessedness.

III. "Many charters of human invention, concerning perpetual civil inheritance, are impossible."

This is an incident truth. For we ought not to reckon as catholic [canonizare] all the charters that are held by an unjust occupier. But if it were so determined by the faith of the church, occasion would be given to the chartered to trust in temporalties, and too much encouragement to petition for them. For as every truth is necessary, so every error may be supposed possible; as is plain by the testimony of Scripture, and of the holy doctors, who entreat of the necessity of things future.

IV. "Every one existing [or, being] in grace justifying finally,[1] not only hath a right unto, but in fact hath, all the things of God:" or, "hath not only a right unto the thing, but for his time hath by right a power over all the good things of God."

Here he speaketh only of the right of things in the country to come, not in this exile.

This is plain from Scripture; because the Truth Himself promiseth this to those citizens who enter into his joy (Matt. xxiv.); "Verily I say unto you, that he shall make him ruler over all his goods." For the right of the communion of saints in their own country is founded objectively on the universality of the good things of God.[2]

V. "A man can give dominion to his naturàl or adopted son, whether that dominion be temporal or eternal, only ministerially."

(1) "In gratia gratificante finaliter."—Ed.
(2) "Fundatur objective supra universitatem bonorum Dei."

This is plain from the fact, that every man ought to acknowledge himself in all his works an humble minister of God; as is evident from Scripture, "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ." Nay Christ himself so ministered, and taught his principal apostles so to minister. But in their own country the saints will give to their brethren the dominion of goods; as is plain from their mode of acting in the body, or their disposal of good things inferior by nature; according to that of Luke vi. "Good measure pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom."

VI. "If God is, temporal lords can lawfully and meritoriously take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent church."

This conclusion is correlative with the first article of the Creed, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." But I understand the word *can* as the Scripture doth, which granteth that God "*can* of stones raise up children unto Abraham." For, otherwise, all christian princes would be heretics. For the first conclusion on the argument is thus formed: If God is, he is almighty; and if so, he can prescribe to temporal lords so to take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent church; and if so, they can lawfully so take them away. *Ergo*, &c. Wherefore, in virtue of that principle, christian princes have ever put that opinion in practice. But God forbid that from thence it should be believed, that it was my meaning, that secular lords can lawfully take them away when and howsoever they please, or by their bare authority: but they may do it only by the authority of the church, and in cases and form limited by law.

VII. "We know that it is not possible, that the vicar of Christ, merely by his bulls, or by them together with his own will and consent, and that of his college [of cardinals], can qualify or disqualify any man."

This is plain from the catholic faith. Since it behoveth the Lord in every vicarious operation to maintain the primacy. Therefore, as in every qualifying of a subject, meetness and worthiness are required of the subject to be qualified, so in every disqualification there is first required a deserving from some demerit of the person to be disqualified; and, by consequence, such a qualifying or disqualifying is not made purely by the ministry of the vicar of Christ, but from above, from elsewhere [or, from some other].

VIII. "It is not possible, that a man should be excommunicated to his damage, unless he be excommunicated first and principally by himself."

This is plain; since such an excommunication must be originally founded on the sin of the party damaged. Whence Augustine in his 21st Sermon on the words of our Lord saith, "Do not thou misuse thyself, and man shall not get the better of thee." And to this day the faith of the church singeth, "No adversity shall do us any hurt, if iniquity do not prevail." To this eighth conclusion we add, that, notwithstanding, all excommunication is to be dreaded on many accounts, even although the excommunication of the church be to the humble excommunicate, not damnable, but wholesome.

IX. "No body ought to excommunicate, suspend, or interdict any one, or to proceed to punish according to any ecclesiastical censure, except in the cause of God."

This appeareth from the fact, that every just cause is the cause of God, to which point respect ought chiefly to be had. Nay, a love for the excommunicate ought to exceed the zeal or appetite of punishment, and the affection for any temporal things. Since, otherwise, even he that excommunicateth injureth himself. To this ninth conclusion we add, that it is agreeable thereto, that a prelate should excommunicate in human causes, but principally on the account that an injury is done to his God, as appeareth from [Decreti Pars II. Causa] xxiii. Quæst. 4, cap. 27. "inter querelas."

X. "Cursing or excommunication doth not bind, except so far as it is used against an adversary of the law of Christ."

This is plain, since it is God only that bindeth simply [or, absolutely] every one that is bound; who cannot excommunicate unless it be for a transgression of, or prevaricating with, his own law. To this tenth conclusion we add, that it is consonant thereto, that the ecclesiastical censure used against an adversary of a member of the church, doth bind secondarily, though not absolutely.

XI. "There is no power exemplified [or, granted] by Christ to his disciples, of excommunicating a subject [chiefly] for denying any temporalties, but on the contrary."

This is plain from the faith taught in Scripture, according to which we believe

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that God is to be loved above all things, and our neighbour and enemy more than all the temporalties of this world; and it is necessarily so, because the law of God is not contradictory to itself.

XII. "The disciples of Christ have no power to exact temporalties coactively by censures."

As is plain from Scripture (Luke xxii.), where Christ forbade his Apostles to reign civilly [or, to exercise any temporal dominion]: "The kings of the gentiles," saith he, "exercise lordship over them, but ye shall not be so." And in that sense the passage is expounded by St. Bernard, St. Chrysostom, and other saints. We add to this twelfth conclusion, that, notwithstanding, they may exact temporalties by ecclesiastical censures *accessoriè*, in vindication of their God.

XIII. "It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other Christian pretend that he bindeth or looseth at any rate, therefore he doth actually bind or loose."

The opposite of this would destroy the whole catholic faith. Since it importeth no less than blasphemy, to suppose any one to usurp such an absolute power of the Lord's. I add to this thirteenth conclusion, that I do not intend by this conclusion to derogate from the power of the pope or of any other prelate of the church, but do allow that they may, in virtue of the Head, bind and loose. But I understand the denied conditional as impossible in this sense; that it cannot be that the pope or any other prelate should pretend that he doth bind or loose at any rate [or, just as he will], unless he do in fact so bind and loose; and then he cannot be guilty of any fault [peccabilis].

XIV. "We ought to believe, that then only a priest of Christ doth bind or loose, when he simply obeyeth the law of Christ."

Because it is not lawful for him to bind or loose but in virtue of that law, and, by consequence, not unless it be in conformity to it.

XV. "This ought to be universally believed, that every priest rightly ordained according to the law of grace: hath a power, according to which he may minister all the sacraments *secundum speciem*, and, by consequence, may absolve him who has confessed to him, and is contrite, from any sin."

This is plain from the fact, that the priestly power is not more or less sufficient in its essence: notwithstanding, the powers of inferior priests are at one time reasonably restrained, and at other times relaxed to meet the exigences of the ministry. I add to this fifteenth conclusion, that, according to the doctors, every prelate hath a twofold power, viz. a power of order, and a power of jurisdiction or government; and that it is in reference to this last that they are prelates, viz. as being of a superior majesty and government.

XVI. "It is lawful for kings, in cases limited by law, to take away the temporalties from churchmen who habitually abuse them."

Power of all priests toward God equal.

This is plain from the fact, that temporal lords ought to depend more on spiritual alms, which bring forth greater plenty of fruit, than on alms for the necessities of the body; and that it may happen to be a work of spiritual alms to correct such clergymen as damage themselves both in soul and body, by withholding from them the temporalties. The case which the law putteth is, when the spiritual head [or, president] doth fail in punishing them, or that the faith of the clerk is to be corrected, as appeareth [Decreti Pars II. Causa] 16. Quæst. 7. "filiis," and [Decreti Pars I.] distinctio 40. "Si papa."

XVII. If the pope, or temporal lords, or any other, shall have endowed the church with temporalties, it is lawful for them to take them away in certain cases, viz. when the doing so is by way of medicine to cure or prevent sins, and that, notwithstanding excommunication or any other church censure: since these endowments were not given, but with a condition implied."

This is plain from the fact, that nothing ought to hinder a man from doing the principal works of charity necessarily, and that in every human action the condition of God's good pleasure is necessary to be understood, as in the civil law, "De Capitulis Conradi," c. 5, in fine collationis 10. We add to this seventeenth article, God forbid that by these words occasion should be given to the temporal lords to take away the goods of fortune to the detriment of the church.

XVIII. "An ecclesiastic, even the Roman pontiff, may be rebuked by their subjects, and, in case it is for the benefit of the church, be impleaded by both clergy and laity."

This is plain from the fact, that the pope himself (as is here supposed) is capable of sin, except the sin against the Holy Ghost; saving the sanctity, humility, and reverence, due to so worthy a Father. And since he is our peccable brother [or, liable to sin as well as we], he is subject to the law of brotherly reproof. And when, therefore, it is plain that the whole college of cardinals are remiss in correcting him for the necessary welfare of the church, it is evident that the rest of the body of the church, which, as it may chance, may chiefly be made up of the laity, may medicinally reprove him, and implead him, and reduce him to lead a better life. This possible case is handled dist. 40, "Si papa fuerit a fide devius." For as so great a lapse ought not to be supposed in the lord pope without manifest evidence, so it ought not to be supposed possible that when he doth fall he should be guilty of so great obstinacy, as not humbly to accept a cure from his superior with respect to God.' Wherefore many chronicles attest the facts of this conclusion. God forbid that truth should be condemned by the church of Christ, because it soundeth ill in the ears of sinners and ignorant persons: for then the whole faith of the Scripture would be liable to be condemned.

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Thus John Wickliff, in giving his exposition unto his aforesaid propositions and conclusions, as is above prefixed, through the favour and diligence of the Londoners either shifted off the bishops, or else satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and scaped clearly away, only being charged and commanded by the said bishops, that he should not teach or preach any such doctrine any more, for the offence of the lay people.

Thus this good man being escaped from the bishops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the church as he had begun; unto whom also, as it happened by the providence of God, this was a great help and stay, for that in the same year[1] the aforesaid pope Gregory XI., who was the stirrer up of all this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died. *[2] Whose death was not a little happy to Wickliff; for immediately after his decease there fell a great dissension between the Romish and the French pope,* and others succeeding them, one striving against another, that the schism thereof endured the space of thirty-nine years, until the time of the Council of Constance (A.D. 1417).[3]

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Death of pope Gregory XI.

A schism in Rome.

The occasioner of which schism first was pope Urban VI., who in the first beginning of his popedom was so proud and insolent to his cardinals and other (as to dukes, princes, and queens), and so set to advance his nephew and kindred, with injuries to other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers by little and little shrunk from him, and set up another French pope against him, named Clement VII., who reigned sixteen years; and after him Benedict XIII., who reigned twenty-three years. Again, of the contrary side, after Urban VI. succeeded Boniface IX., Innocent VII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., John XXIII. (A.D. 1410).[4]

As touching this pestilent and most miserable schism, it would require here another Iliad to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragical parts thereof; what trouble in the whole church;

(1) Gregory XI. died March 27th, A.D. 1378. L'Art de Vér. des Dates.—Ed.
(2) Edition of 1563, p. 95, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 12.—Ed.
(3) See Appendix.
(4)

POPES.		ANTIPOPES.	
Urban VI. ruled	11 yrs. 6 mo.	Clement ruled	16 yrs.
Boniface IX.	14 11	Benedict XIII.	23
Innocent VII.	2 0		
Gregory XII.	2 7		
Alexander V.	0 11		
John XXIII.	5 0		

Corrected by L'Art de Vér. des Dates.—Ed.

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what parts-taking in every country; what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelates taken by land and sea; what shedding of blood did follow thereof; how Otho, duke of Brunswick and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murdered; how Joan, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, his wife, who before had sent to pope Urban, besides other gifts at his coronation, forty thousand ducats in pure gold, after by the said Urban was committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled; what cardinals were racked, and miserably, without all mercy, tormented on gibbets to death; what slaughter of men, what battles were fought between the two popes, whereof five thousand on the one side were slain, beside the number of them who were taken prisoners; of the beheading of five cardinals together after long torments; and how the bishop of Aquila, being suspected of pope Urban for not riding faster with the pope, his horse being not good, was there slain by the pope's commandment, sending his soldiers unto him to slay him and cut him in pieces. All these things, with divers other acts of horrible cruelty happening in the time of this abominable schism, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by Theodricus Niemus,[1] who was near to the said pope Urban and present at all his doings, therefore, as a thing needless, I here pretermit; referring them who covet to be certified more amply herein, unto the three books of the said Theodric, above mentioned.

Was not here a jolly agreement?

See Appendix.

Jack Straw's rebellion.

About the same time also, about three years after, there fell a cruel dissension in England, between the common people and the nobility, the which did not a little disturb and trouble the commonwealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, was taken by the rustical and rude people, and was beheaded; in whose place after succeeded William Courtney, who was no less diligent than his predecessor had been before him, in doing his diligence to root out heretics. Notwithstanding, in the mean season, Wickliff's sect increased privily, and daily grew to greater force, until the time that William Berton, chancellor of Oxford, about A.D. 1381, had the whole rule of that university: who calling together eight monastical doctors, and four other, with the consent of the rest of his affinity putting the common seal of the university unto certain writings, he set forth an edict, declaring unto every man, and threatening them under a grievous penalty, that no man should be so hardy, hereafter to associate themselves with any of Wickliff's abettors or favourers: and unto Wickliff himself he threatened the greater excommunication and farther imprisonment, and to all his faùtors, unless that they after three-days' admonition or warning, canonical and peremptory (as they call it), did repent and amend.[2] The which thing when Wickliff understood, forsaking the pope and all the clergy, he thought to appeal unto the king's majesty;[3] but

Simon, the archbishop, beheaded.

A.D. 1381.

Edict against the Wickliffites.

(1) Theodoricus Niemus, "De Schismate."

(2) See the Appendix for the Process issued by William Berton, and infrà, p. 24.—Ed.

(3) A parliament being held at Westminster this year, the Wednesday next after St. John Port Latin, or May 7th, Wickliff, in prosecution of his appeal from the chancellor of Oxford's decree against him, presented his complaint to the king and them as follows, (cited by Lewis, p. 83, from MS. CCCC.): it is also both in Latin and English in the Cotton Collection.

Please it to our most noble and most worthy King Richard, King both of England and France, and to the noble Duke of Lancaster, and to other great men of the Rewme, both to Seculars and Men of holy Church, that ben gedred in the Parliament to there assent and meyntene the few Articles or Points that ben sett within this writing, and proved both by auctority and Reson; that Christen Faith and Christen Religion ben encreased, meyntened, and made stable. Sith our Lord

the duke of Lancaster coming between forbade him, that he should not hereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himself unto the censure and judgment of his ordinary. Whereby Wickliff being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waves, he was forced once again to make confession of his doctrine; in the which his confession, to avoid the rigour of things, he answered as is aforesaid, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and assuage the rigour of his enemies.[1]

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The next year after (A.D. 1382), by the commandment of William, archbishop of Canterbury, there was a convocation holden at London, whereat John Wickliff was also commanded to be present; but whether he there appeared personally or not, I find it not in story certainly affirmed.[2]

A.D. 1382.

Here is not to be passed over the great miracle of God's divine admonition or warning; for when as the archbishop and suffragans, with the other doctors of divinity and lawyers, with a great company of babbling friars and religious persons, were gathered together to consult as touching John Wickliff's books, and that whole sect; when as they were gathered together at the Black-Friars[3] in London to begin their business upon St. Dunstan's day, after dinner, about two of the clock, the very hour and instant that they should go forward with their business, a wonderful and terrible earthquake fell throughout all England:[4] whereupon divers of the suffragans, being feared by the strange and wonderful demonstration, doubting what it should mean, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpose. But the archbishop (as chief captain of that army, more rash and bold than wise) interpreting the chance which had happened clean contrary to another meaning or purpose, did confirm and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with

An earthquake, when Wickliff was examined.

Jesu Christ, very God and very man, is Head and Prelate of this Religion, and shed his precious Heart Blood and Water out of his Side on the Cross to make this Religion perfit and stable, and clene without Error.

First, That all Persons of what Kynne, private Sects or singular Religion made of sinful men, may fre-ely, without any letting or bodily Pain, leave that private Rule or new Religion founden of sinful Men, and stably hold the Rule of Jesu Christ, taken and given by Christ to his Apostles, as far more perfect than any such new Religion founden of sinful men.

Secondly, That those Men that unresonably and wrongfully have damned all this Counsell be amended of so great Error, and that their Error may be published to Men dwelling in the Rewme.

Thirdly, That both Tithes and Offrings ben given and paid and received by that Intent, to which Intent or End both God's Law and the Pope's Law ordained them to be paid and received; and that they be take away by the same Intent and Reson that both God's Law and the Pope's Law ordainen that they should be withdrawen.

Fourthly, That Christ's Teching and Belief of the Sacrament of his own Body, that is plainly taught by Christ and his Apostles in Gospels and Epistles, may be taught openly in Churches to Christen people; and the contrarie Teching and false Belief brought up by cursed Hypocrites and Hereticks and worldly Priests unkunning in God's Law.

(1) This is Walsingham's representation of the matter; but it is a calumny against Wickliff, into which Foxe, Wood, and others have been betrayed by their papal authority. happily we are able to confront with this account a very different one from the "Fasciculus" of Thomas Walden, given in the Appendix, which represents Wickliff as unmoved by friends or foes. In the Appendix is given from Knighton (col. 2649), another papal writer, the confession which Wickliff made on this occasion, and on which Lewis (p. 88) justly remarks, "One would wonder that ever this paper should by any that had seen it be reckoned a retractation of Dr. Wicliffe's, &c." It was moreover immediately attacked by the chancellor himself, and five others; and soon after Wickliff was expelled the university.—Ed.

(2) Wickliff is not mentioned in the archbishop's Register as present, whence we may conclude that he was not present. Wharton says that he was cited, but refused to appear, being advised by his friends that a plot was laid by the prelates to seize him on the road; and that his cause was undertaken by the chancellor of Oxford, the two proctors, and the greatest part of the senate, who, in a letter sealed with the university seal, sent to the court, gave him a great commendation for his learning, piety, and orthodox faith. (Appendix to Cave's Hist. Litt. art. "Joh. Wiclevus.")

(3) "Apud Dominicanos," Latin edition, p. 19: this is erroneously translated in Foxe's first English edition of 1563, p. 13, "Grey Friars," which has been retained in all succeeding editions.—Ed. *See Appendix.*

(4) Ex Chron. mon. Alban. [The Godstow Chronicle tells us, "that this earthquake was on the Wednesday before Whitsunday, [*i. e.* May 21st,] about one o'clock in the afternoon." See Lewis' Hist. p. 332.—Ed.]

Richard II. A.D. 1382.

fear, stoutly to proceed and go forward in their attempted enterprise who then discoursing Wickliff's articles, not according unto the sacred canons of the holy Scripture, but unto their own private affections and men's traditions, pronounced and gave sentence, that some of them were simply and plainly heretical, other some half erroneous, others irreligious, some seditious and not consonant to the church of Rome. *Besides[1] the earthquake aforesaid, there happened another strange and wonderful chance, sent by God, and no less to be marked than the other, if it be true, that was reported by John Huss's enemies. These enemies of his, amongst other principal points of his accusation, objected and laid this to his charge at the Council of Constance; that he should say openly unto the people as touching Wickliff, that at what time as a great number of religious men and doctors were gathered together in a certain church to dispute against Wickliff, suddenly, the door of the church was broken open with lightning, in such sort, that his enemies hardly escaped without hurt. This thing, albeit that it were objected against Huss by his adversaries (neither is it in the story of Wickliff, that I can find or know), yet, forsomuch as he did not deny the same, neither, if he so said, it seemeth that he would speak it without some ground or reason, I have not thought it good to leave it clean out of memory. Of like credit is this also, which is reported of Wickliff (which thing I do here write only of report), that when as Wickliff was lying very sick at London, certain friars came unto him to counsel him; and when they had babbled much unto him, as touching the catholic church, and of the acknowledging of his errors, and of the bishop of Rome; Wickliff, being moved with the foolishness and absurdity of their talk, with a stout stomach, setting himself upright in his bed, repeated this saying out of the Psalms, [cxviii. 17], "I shall not die, but I shall live, and declare the works of the Lord;" the which thing, if it be so true, as it is reported of some, it doth declare and show a great fervency and desire of the spirit in that man, passing and above the common state of our human nature and infirmity.[2]*

Determination upon the Articles of Wicliff.

See Appendix.

The causes alleged of the archbishop, William Courtney, for the conventing together of the aforesaid council, with the time and place thereof, and the articles of John Wickliff condemned therein, here follow underwritten, truly copied out of the archbishop's own registers.[3]

Process of Archbishop Courtney respecting Heresy.

Be it remembered, that—whereas, as well among the nobles as the commons of the realm of England, a rumor had spread of certain conclusions heretical and erroneous, and repugnant to the determinations of the church, and which tend to overthrow the *status* of the whole church and of our province of Canterbury, and likewise the tranquillity of the realm, being preached in divers places of our said province generally, commonly, and publicly—We William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate

(1) For this passage, see edition 1563, pp. 95, 96; also the Latin Edition, 1559, p. 13.—Ed.

(2) In Lewis's History, p. 64, another version of this story is given, which has been repeated by many writers on the reformers, to the rejection of this more sober account from Foxe's own pen. The point of difference in Lewis's History, quoted from Bale, p. 469, is this: "Dr. Wickliff immediately recovering strength, called his servants to him, and ordered them to raise him a little on his pillows, which when they had done, he said with a loud voice, 'I shall not die, but live and declare the evil deeds of the friars;' on which the doctors, &c. departed from him in confusion, and Dr. Wickliff recovered."—Ed

(3) See the Appendix.

of the apostolic see, being desirous to be certified of these matters, and to execute the duty of our office, did assemble together certain fellow-brethren, our suffragans, and others a great many, doctors and bachelors of divinity and of the canon and civil law, whom we believed to be the most famous and skilful men and of the soundest judgment in religion in all the realm, whose names hereunder follow. And on the 17th day, in the year of our Lord 1382, the same being assembled in a certain chamber within the precincts of the priory of the Preaching Friars at London, the said conclusions (the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth) having been publicly propounded and distinctly and clearly read before us and our aforesaid fellow-brethren then and there personally present, we burdened our fellow-brethren and the doctors and bachelors aforesaid, on the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as they would answer before the most High Judge in the day of judgment, that they should severally tell us their opinion touching the said conclusions. *Richard II.* A.D. 1382.

Certain of Wickliff's conclusions pronounced to be heretical, others erroneous.

And at length, after deliberation had upon the premises, our fellow-brethren the bishops, and the doctors and bachelors aforesaid, being re-assembled before us on the 21st day of the same month in the chamber aforesaid, the said conclusions being a second time read and clearly set forth, it was declared, with the common consent of us all, that some of the said conclusions are heretical, and others erroneous and contrary to the determination of the church, as hereafter shall more fully appear. And forsomuch as by sufficient information we find, that the said conclusions have been, as is premised, preached in many places of our said province, and that divers persons have held and maintained the same, and be of heresy vehemently and notoriously suspected, we have instituted the processes—as well general as special—which are underwritten.

See Appendix.

The articles of John Wickliff here above specified, whereof some ten were by these friars condemned as heretical, the rest as erroneous, here in order follow, and are these: although it may be thought, that some of them were made worse by their sinister collecting than he meant them in his own works and writings.

The Articles of John Wickliff condemned as Heretical.

1. That the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.
2. That the accidents do not remain without the subject in the same sacrament, after consecration.
3. That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar identically, truly, and really, in his proper corporal person.
4. That if a bishop or a priest be in mortal sin, he doth not ordain, consecrate, nor baptize.[1]
5. That if a man be duly contrite, all exterior confession is to him superfluous and invalid.
6. That God ought to obey the devil.[2]
7. That it hath no foundation in the gospel, that Christ did ordain the mass.
8. That if the pope be a reprobate and an evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power over the faithful of Christ given to him by any, unless it be by Cæsar [or, except peradventure it be given him by the emperor].
9. That after Urban VI. none other is to be received for pope, but that Christendom ought to live after the manner of the Greeks under its own laws.
10. That it is against the sacred Scripture, that ecclesiastical persons should have any temporal possessions.[3]

The other Articles of John Wickliff, condemned as Erroneous.

11. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he first know him to be excommunicate of God.

(1) Id est, "indigne hæc facit," exponit Joan. Huss. [Lat. Ed. p. 26.—Ed.]
(2) This article is either slanderously reported, or else can hardly be defended. [This sixth article is inserted from the Latin Edition, p. 26, "Deus debet obedire diabolo," to which our author attaches a side-note, "Calumniam sapit." It is also referred infrà, p. 32. See Appendix.—Ed.]
(3) He meaneth church goods not to be so peculiar to ministers, but that they may be taken away if they so deserve.

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12. That he who doth so excommunicate, is thereby himself either a heretic or excommunicated.

13. That a prelate or bishop excommunicating a cleric who hath appealed to the king or the council of the realm, in so doing is a traitor to the king and the realm.

14. That they who leave off to preach or hear the word of God or the gospel preached, for fear of such excommunication, are already excommunicate, and in the day of judgment shall be counted traitors to God.

15. That it is lawful for any deacon or presbyter to preach the word of God, without the authority or license of the apostolic see or any other of its catholics.[1] *See Appendix.*

16. That a man is no civil lord, nor bishop, nor prelate, as long as he is in mortal sin.[2]

17. Also, that temporal lords may at will take away their temporal goods from churches habitually delinquent.[3]

18. That tithes are pure almose, and that parishioners may for the offences of their curates detain them, and bestow them on others at pleasure; and that tenants [populares] may correct delinquent landlords [dominos] at will.

19. Also, that special prayers, applied to any one person by prelates or religious men, do no more profit the same person, than general prayers would, *cæteris paribus*, profit him.

20. That whosoever doth give any almose unto friars, or to any friar that preacheth, is excommunicate; as also is he that taketh.

21. Moreover, in that any man doth enter into any private religion whatsoever, he is thereby made more unapt and unable to observe the commandments of God.

22. That holy men, who have instituted any private religions whatsoever (as well of seculars having possessions, as of begging friars who have none), in so instituting did err.

23. That religious men living in private religions are not of the christian religion.

24. That friars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

Names of the jurors to whom they were referred.

The names of the jurors were these:—Eight bishops: William of Canterbury, William of Winchester, John of Durham, Thomas of Exeter, John of Hereford, Ralph of Sarum, Thomas of Rochester, and friar William Bottlesham, bishop Nanetensis. Doctors of civil and canon law, fourteen: John Appelby, dean of St. Paul's; John Waltham, canon of York; Thomas Baketon, archdeacon of London; Nicholas Chaddesdene, Ralph Gregrisyow, Thomas Stowe, John Blawnchard, William Rocoumbe, John Lydeford, John Welbourne; William Flaynburgh, Adam de Mottrum, licentiate in the Decrees; Thomas Braundon, John Prophet, rector of Hadesham in Kent, the pope's public notary. Three Preaching friars of London: William Syward, prior, John Parys, John Langley. Four Minorites: William Folvyle, Hugh Karlel, Roger Fryseby, Thomas Bernwell. Augustine friars, four: Thomas Ayshbourne, John Bankyn, Robert Waldeby, John Horninton. Carmelites, four: Robert Glanvile, William Dys, John Lovey, John Kyningham. And Monks, two: John Wells, monk of Ramsey, John Bloxham, warden of Merton Hall, Oxford. Bachelors of divinity, six: Robert Humbleton, William Pickweth, John Lyndlowe, Dominicans; Ralph Wych, Franciscan; John Chiseldene, John Toniston, Carmelites.

**When these conclusions were thus condemned in the council of the earthquake (as Wickliff called it), it was given forth in command-

(1) "Hunc articulum explanat et emo..it Joan. Huss." Lat. Ed. p. 26.—Ed.

(2) This article, peradventure, was not so straitly meant of him as it was gathered of them, as is aforesaid.

(3) This article expoundeth the 10th article above. ["Forte adversarii depravant articulum." See the Latin Edition, p. 26.—Ed.]

(4) From the edition of 1563, p. 97, and the Latin Edition, 1559, p. 14. Foxe, however, there says that the archbishop's "mandate was sent to Robert Rygge, that by his means the condemnation of the conclusions should be published throughout the whole university." But the fact is, that *this* mandate was sent first to Peter Stokes May 28th, and then to the bishop of London May 30th: and *another* mandate was sent to Rygge, dated May 30th, to assist Stokes in the publication of the sentence (See infrà, p. 25, note (3)). The mandate *now* sent to Stokes is given by Lewis (p. 371) from MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. ii. fol. 155; it is also found in Walden's 'Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevi,' fol. 63 b, apud Bodleianum; and is the same *mutatis mutandis* as that sent to the bishop of London, of which a translation is given in the text: it opens thus:—"Willielmus, permissione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et apostolicæ

ment unto friar Peter Stokes, a Carmelite, at Oxford, and unto the bishop of London, that by their means the condemnation of the conclusions should be published throughout the university and the whole province,* in form as followeth :— *Richard II.* A.D. 1382.

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

See Appendix.

William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to our reverend brother, by the grace of God bishop of London, greeting, and brotherly love in the Lord. The prelates of churches ought so much the more vigilantly to intend the keeping of the Lord's flock committed unto them, by how much the more they know that wolves, dressed up in sheep's clothing, be fraudulently going about to worry and scatter the sheep. Truly, by continual cry and bruited fame (which it grieveth us to relate) it is come to our hearing, that although, by the canonical sanctions, no man, being forbidden or not sent, ought to usurp to himself the office of preaching, publickly or privily, without the authority of the apostolic see or of the bishop of the place; yet notwithstanding, certain, being sons of perdition under the veil of great sanctity, are brought into such a doating mind, that they take upon them authority to preach, and are not afraid to affirm, and teach, and generally, commonly, and publicly to preach, as well in the churches as in the streets, and also in many other profane places of our said province, certain propositions and conclusions hereunder recited, both heretical, erroneous, and false, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the determinations of holy church, which threaten to subvert the whole *status* of the same, and of our province of Canterbury, and to weaken and destroy the tranquillity of the realm; who also infect therewith very many good christians, causing them lamentably to err from the catholic faith, without which there is no salvation.

We therefore—considering that so pernicious a mischief as this is, which may creep amongst many, with its deadly contagion slaying their souls, we ought not to suffer and by dissimulation to pass over, lest their blood be required at our hands, but wishing as much as is permitted us from above to extirpate the same—with the counsel and assent of many of our brethren and suffragans, we convoked divers doctors of divinity and professors of the canon and civil law and other clerks, the best learned within the realm, and of the soundest judgment in the catholic faith, to give their opinions and judgments concerning the aforesaid conclusions. But, forsomuch as the said conclusions and assertions having been in the presence of us and our fellow-brethren and the other convocates openly expounded and diligently examined, it was in the end found and unanimously declared, that some of those conclusions were heretical, and some of them erroneous and repugnant to the determinations of the church, as they are hereunder described; we charge and command your brotherhood, and in virtue of holy obedience firmly enjoin you, to enjoin all and singular our brethren the suffragans of our church of Canterbury, with all the speed you possibly can, as we do hereby enjoin them and each of them and yourself, that every of them, in their own cathedral churches, and in the other churches of their cities and dioceses, do admonish and warn; and that you in your own church, and the other churches of your city and diocese, do admonish and warn; as we, by the tenor of these presents, do admonish and straitly warn; once, twice, and thrice, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition, canonical and peremptory, another day—That no man henceforth, of what estate or condition soever, do hold, teach, preach, or defend the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, or any one else of whom there is any doubt; nor that he hear or hearken to any one preaching the said heresies or errors, or any of them; nor that he favour or adhere to him, either publicly or privily; but that immediately

Had ye tried them by the truth you should have found them otherwise.

sedis legatus, dilecto in Christo filio fratri Petro Stokys, sacræ paginæ professori, ordinis Carmelitarum, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Ecclesiarum prælati circa gregis Domini sibi commissi, &c. (usque ad, 'ferimus in his scriptis.'") Then follow the heretical and erroneous conclusions; after which the letter concludes thus :—"In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum nostrum privatum duximus apponendum Dat. in Manerio nostro de Otteford, 28° die mensis Maii, A.D. 1382, et nostræ translationis anno primo."—Ed.

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he shun and avoid him, as he would avoid a serpent putting forth pestiferous poison; under pain of the greater curse: the which against all and singular who shall be rebellious in this behalf, and shall not regard our monitions, after that those three days be past which are assigned for the canonical monition, their delay, fault, and offence committed so requiring, we do hereby pronounce, for then as for now, and do command to be fulminated, both by every one of our fellow-brethren and suffragans in their cities and dioceses, and by you in your city and diocese, so much as belongeth both to you and to them.

He that killeth you, shall think he doth God good service.

And furthermore, we for our part will and command our aforesaid fellow-brethren, all and singular, through you, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, and likewise exhort you, that as, according to the institution of the sacred canons, they be in their respective cities and dioceses inquisitors of heretical pravity, and you also in your city and diocese be the like inquisitor of heretical pravity, that of such presumptions they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to the duty of your office) do proceed effectually against the same, to the honour and praise of His name that was crucified, and for the preservation of the orthodox faith.[1]

Given at our manor of Otteford, the last day but one of May, in the year of our Lord MCCCLXXXII. and the first of our translation.

MATTERS INCIDENT OF ROBERT RYGGE, CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD, NICHOLAS HEREFORD, AND PHILIP REPPYNGDON, WITH OTHER.[2]

See Appendix.

The chancellor the same time in Oxford was Master Robert Rygge; *[3]who, as it seemeth, inclining and favouring Wickliff's part, as much as he could or durst, providing for the defence of the truth, many times dissembled and cloked certain matters, and oftentimes (as opportunity would serve) preferred and holpe forward the cause of the gospel, which was then in great danger. But when the time was come, that there must needs be sermons made unto the people, he committed the whole doings thereof to such as he knew to be most addict and greatest favourers of John Wickliff.* The two proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dish; who then, as far as they durst, favoured the cause of John Wickliff and that side. Insomuch that the same time and year, which was A.D. 1382, when certain public sermons should be appointed customably at the feast of the Ascension and of Corpus Christi to be preached in the cloister of St. Frideswide (now called Christ's Church), before the people, by the chancellor aforesaid and the proctors, the doings hereof the chancellor aforesaid and proctors had committed to Philip Reppyngdon and Nicholas Hereford, so that Hereford should preach on the Ascension-day, and Reppyngdon on Corpus Christi-day.

Hereford preaching on the Ascension day, defendeth Wickliff. [May 15, A.D. 1382.]

First Hereford beginning, was noted to defend John Wickliff openly, to be a faithful, good, and innocent man; for the which no small ado with outcries was among the friars. This Hereford, after he had long favoured and maintained Wickliff's part, grew first in suspicion amongst the enemies of the truth; for as soon as he began somewhat liberally and freely to pronounce and utter any thing which tended to the defence of Wickliff, by-and-by the Carmelites and all the orders of religion were in his top, and laid not a few heresies unto his charge, the which they had strained here and there out of his sermons, and had compiled together in a certain form by the hands of certain notaries, through the industry and diligence of one Peter Stokes, a Carmelite, a kind of people prone and ready to all kind of mischief,

(1) Yea, rather, for the honour of your pope, and the destruction of christian faith.
(2) See the Appendix. (3) Edition 1563, p. 97, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 14.—Ed.

uproars, debate, and dissension, *[1]as though they were born and provided only for that purpose, utterly unprofitable and nothing worth for any thing else. Much like thing do divers writers (such as entreat of the properties of beasts) write of the nature of certain spiders; that whatsoever pleasant juice is in herbs, they suck it out, and convert it into poison. But these cowled merchants in this behalf do pass all the spiders, for whatsoever is worst and most pestilent in a man, that do they hunt out and seek for, and with their teeth even, as it were, gnaw it out; and of the opinions which be good, and agreeable with verity, they do make schisms and heresies. Such is the aptness of art, when nature helpeth thereunto.* After this, the feast of Corpus Christi drew near, upon which day it was looked for that Reppyngdon should preach. This man was a canon of Leicester, and had before taken his first degree unto doctorship; who preaching the same time at Brackley,[2] for the same sermon he became first suspected and hated of the pharisaical brood of the friars; but, through the great and notable dexterity of his wit which all men did behold and see in him, accompanied with like modesty and honesty, he did so overcome, or at least assuage, this cruelty and persecution which was towards him, that shortly after, by the consent of the whole fellowship, he was admitted doctor; who as soon as he had taken it upon him, by-and-by he stepped forth in the schools, and began immediately to show forth and utter that which he had long hidden and dissembled, protesting openly that in all moral matters he would defend Wicliff; but as touching the sacrament, he would as yet hold his peace, until such time as the Lord should otherwise illuminate the hearts and minds of the clergy.

Richard II A. D. 1382.

See Appendix.

Reppyngdon canon of Leicester, afterwards bishop of Lincoln.

Commenceth doctor.

Now the day of Corpus Christi aforesaid approaching near, when the friars understood that this man should preach shortly, these Babylonians fearing lest that he would scarce civilly or gently rub the galls of their religion, convented with the archbishop of Canterbury, that the same day, a little before Philip should preach, Wickliff's conclusions, which were privately condemned, should be openly defamed in the presence of the whole university; the doing of which matter was committed to Peter Stokes, friar, standard-bearer and chief champion of that side against Wickliff, as is before declared.

Reppyngdon preacheth in defence of Wickliff on Corpus Christi day. [Thursday, June 5th.]

Peter Stokes, standard-bearer to the Papists.

There were also letters sent unto the chancellor, that he should help and aid him in the publishing of the same conclusions.[3]

(1) Edition 1563, p. 101. and Latin Edition, p. 19.—Ed. (2) See the Appendix.

(3) The following is the letter, as transcribed from Walden's 'Fasciculus.' See Appendix.—Ed.

Litera quam misit archiepiscopus cancellario Oxon., ut assisteret fratri Petro Stokys in publicatione ejusdem commissionis sub hac forma.

In Christo fili, miramur non modicum et turbamur, quod, cum ille Magister Nicolaus Herforde super prædicationibus et doctrina hæreticarum et erronearum conclusionum notoriè reddatur suspectus, sicut nos vobis aliàs retulisse meminimus, extunc vos sibi adeo favorabilem [*sic* M.S.] exhibuistis, ut excellenciorem et digniorem anni sermonem in Universitate vestra vobis et cancellario qui pro tempore fuit deputatum, ut nostis, ass gnaretis eidem Nicolao absque difficultate qualibet inibi prædicandum. Vobis ergo consulimus et hortamur in visceribus Jesu Christi quod talibus nullum de cætero præsumatis impartiri favorem, ne ipsorum secta et numero unus esse videamini, et exinde contra vos officii vestri debitum nos oporteat exercere: Quoniam adversus hujusmodi præsumptorum audaciam dominus noster Rex et Proceres regni in processus nostri subsidium nobis et suffraganeis nostris sic promiserunt assistere, quod per Dei gratiam diucius non regnabunt. Et ut talium præsumptorum consortia et opiniones erroneas abhorrere dicamini [*sic* MS. pro **dicamini**], dilecto filio meo fratri Petro Stokys sacræ paginæ professori ordinis Carmelitarum in publicatione literarum nostrarum sibi contra conclusiones hujusmodi directarum pro defencione catholicæ fidei viriliter adhærere curetis, et literas illas in scholis theologicis Universitatis prædictæ per Bedellum illius facultatis in proxima lectura inibi facienda absque diminutione quacunque faciatis effectualiter publicari, nobis illico rescribentes quid feceritis in hac parte. Scriptum in manerio nostro de Otteforde penultimo die Maii. Semper in Christo Valete."—Ed.

Richard II. A. D. 1382.

Robert Rygge[1] (as we have said before) was chancellor at that time, who (albeit privily) with all labour and diligence that he might, endeavoured himself to prefer the gospel. Who having received the archbishop's letters and perceived the malicious and wicked enterprise of the Carmelite, was wonderfully moved against him, and falling out with him and his like (not without cause) for perturbing and troubling the state of the university, said, that by them and their means the privileges and liberties of the university were enerved and weakened, affirming also, that neither the bishop nor the archbishop had any rule or power over that university, nor should not have, in the determination of any heresies. And afterward taking deliberation, calling together the proctors, with other regents and non-regents, he did openly say and affirm, that he would by no means assist or help the Carmelite in his doings or enterprise.

See Appendix.

These things thus done and finished, Reppyngdon at the hour appointed proceeded to his sermon; in the which sermon, among many other things, he was reported to have uttered these sayings, or to this effect:

Notes on the sermon of Rappyngton.

"That the pope or bishops ought not to be recommended *[2]and prayed for in sermons before* temporal lords."

Also, "That in all moral matters he would defend Master Wickliff as a true catholic doctor."

Moreover, "That the duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would, that all such should be received under his protection;" besides many things more, which touched the praise and defence of Wickliff.

And finally, in concluding his sermon, he dismissed the people with this sentence; "I will," said he, "in the speculative doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the altar, keep silence and hold my peace, until such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the clergy.

When the sermon was done, Reppyngdon entered into St. Frideswide's church, accompanied with many of his friends, who, as the enemies surmised, were privily weaponed under their garments, if need had been. Friar Stokes, the Carmelite aforesaid, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept himself within the sanctuary of the church, not daring as then to put out his head. The chancellor and Reppyngdon, friendly saluting one another in the church-porch, sent away the people, and so departed every man home to his own house. There was not a little joy throughout the whole university for that sermon; but in the mean time, the unquiet and busy Carmelite slept[3] not this matter. For first, by his letters he declared the whole order of the matter unto the archbishop, exag-

The university rejoiceth.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 101, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 19.—Ed.

(2) In the first Edition of Foxe, p. 97, and the Latin, 1559, p. 14, the notes on Reppyngdon's sermon slightly vary from later editions. They are as follow: "First, Whoso doth recommend the pope or bishops above the temporal lords, doeth contrary and against the holy Scripture. Secondly, That Master Wickliff is a true catholic doctor. Thirdly, That Wickliff never determined or talked otherwise, as touching the matter of the sacrament of the altar, than according to the mind and intent of the whole universal church of God. Fourthly, That his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar is most true." At p. 102 of the same edition, the first note is thus stated: "That temporal lords ought to be recommended and prayed for in sermons before the pope or any bishops." Whence the words in the text between asterisks are inserted. The corresponding words in the Latin Edition, p. 19, are these: "Dominos temporales debere prius recommendari in sermonibus quàm papam vel episcopos."—Ed.

(3) "Nec interim conquiescit irrequietus Carmelita." Latin Edition, p. 19.—Ed.

gerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his help and aid, pretermitting nothing whereby to move and stir up the archbishop's mind, who of his own nature was as hot as a toast (as they say), and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his own accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto; pouring oil into the burning flame. *[1] The archbishop hearing this, was moved and angered, and calling together the whole convocation, commanded Rygge, the chancellor, and the proctors, John Huntman and Walter Dish, to be sent for, with one Master Brightwell, against whom he would attempt and lay certain suspicions, or rather evidences,[2] to convict them for taking Wickliff's part.*

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See Appendix.

But besides all this, the Tuesday after,[3] with a fierce and bold courage the said friar, breathing out threatenings and heresies against them, took the way unto the schools, minding there to prove, that the pope and the bishops ought to be prayed for before the lords temporal. Whiles this friar was thus occupied in the schools, he was mocked and derided of all men, and the same day he was sent for by the archbishop to London; whom, immediately after, the chancellor and Brightwell followed up,[4] to purge and clear themselves and their adherents from the accusations of this friar Peter. *[1] They at first denied, and by excusing themselves with fair words and doubtful sentences went about to slip their heads out of the collar.* At length, they being examined upon Wickliff's Conclusions that were condemned, they did all consent that they were worthily condemned. The chancellor being afterwards accused for the contempt of the archbishop's letters, when as he perceived and saw that no excuse would prevail, to avoid that danger, humbling himself upon his knees, he desired pardon; the which when he had now again (albeit very hardly) obtained by the help of the bishop of Winchester, he was sent away again with certain commandments and suspensions of heretics; *[1] and under this condition, that so soon as he was returned home, making inquisition throughout the university, he should put to silence all such as he found to be the favourers of Wickliff, Hereford, Reppyngdon, Ashton, and Bedman; and that he should also publish, in the head church of the university, all Wickliff's Conclusions to be condemned, and that all other, whosoever he took or found to be an adherent unto Wickliff's sect or faction, that he should either put them to their purgation, or cause them to abjure; unto whom when the chancellor answered again, that he durst not do it for fear of death, "What!" said the archbishop, "is Oxford such a nestler and favourer of heresies, that the catholic truth cannot be published?"

Whether the lords were to be prayed for before the bishops. The friar derided in the schools.

Hereby it appeareth (to note here by the way concerning this university) that Oxford amongst all other schools and universities that I hear of, was the first and most forward in setting forth and maintaining the truth of all this christian religion and doctrine, which now, through the operation of Christ, is spread so far and wide abroad. Wherefore, as this university of Oxford may worthily challenge the first praise hereof, under the Lord, amongst all other christian schools, so is it to be wished of the Lord, that the said university now will show herself no less fervent and studious in re-

(1) See Edition of 1563, p. 97, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 15.—Ed. (2) See Appendix
(3) June 10th See Appendix.—Ed. (4) Wednesday, June 11th.—Ed.

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taining or defending the same, which she so fervently set forth in the beginning.*

For confirmation of the foregoing history hereunder follow —

The Process and Commandments aforesaid, taken out of the Archbishop's Register.[1]

Item, on the twelfth day of June, A.D. 1382, in the chamber of the friars preachers, master Robert Rygge, chancellor of the university of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, professors of divinity, being appointed the same day and place by the reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury, appeared before him in the presence of the reverend father in Christ, lord William, by the grace of God bishop of Winchester, and divers doctors and bachelors of divinity and of the canon and civil law, whose names are under recited. And first, the said chancellor, by the lord archbishop of Canterbury being examined what his opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions, publicly affirmed and declared that certain of those conclusions were heretical, and certain erroneous, as the other doctors and clerks before mentioned had declared. And then immediately next after him, the aforesaid Thomas Brightwell was examined, who, upon some of the conclusions at first somewhat staggered, but, in the end, being by the said archbishop diligently examined upon the same, did affirm and repute the same to be heretical and erroneous, as the aforesaid chancellor had done. Another bachelor of divinity also there was, named ...., who stammered at some of those conclusions, but in the end he affirmed that his opinion therein was, as was the judgment of the aforesaid chancellor and Thomas Brightwell, as is above declared. Whereupon the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, willing to let and hinder the peril of such heresies and errors, delivered unto the aforesaid chancellor, there being publicly read, his letters-patent to be executed, the tenor whereof in these words doth follow.

A Letter of William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Chancellor of Oxford, against Wickliff and his Adherents.

William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the chancellor of the university of Oxford, greeting, grace, and benediction The prelates of the church ought so much the more vigilantly to intend the keeping of the Lord's flock committed to them, by how much the more they know that wolves, dressed up in sheep's clothing, be fraudulently going about to worry and scatter the sheep. Truly, by continual cry and bruited fame (as it grieveth us to relate) it is come to our ears, &c. [as far as the words " as hereunder are described " in the archbishop's mandate, p. 23, l. 43.] We charge, therefore, and command, and firmly enjoin you, that in the church of the blessed Mary in Oxford, on those days when accustomably the sermon is made there, as also in the schools of the said university on the days when the lectures be read, ye publish, and cause by others to be published, to the clergy and people, as well in the vulgar as in the Latin tongue, plainly, clearly, and without any curious implications of terms, that the said heretical and erroneous conclusions, so repugnant to the determination of holy church, have been (as is aforesaid) and are condemned; the which conclusions we also declare by these our letters to be condemned: And, furthermore, that you forbid and canonically admonish, and cause to be forbidden and admonished, as we by the tenor of these presents do forbid and admonish once, twice, thrice, and that peremptorily, that none hereafter hold, teach, preach, or defend, the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them, either in the schools or out of them, even under any sophistical cavillations: nor that any admit to preach, or hear or hearken to, John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Rappyngdon (canon regular), John Ashton, or Lawrence Bedeman, who be vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresy, or any other whatsoever so suspected or defamed; nor either publicly or privately aid or fautor them, but immediately shun and avoid the same as a serpent putting forth pestiferous poison.

And furthermore, we suspend the said suspected persons from every scholastic act, till such time as they shall purge their innocence before us in this behalf;

(1) See the Appendix.

and we enjoin that you denounce the same to have been and to be by us suspended, and that ye cause inquiry to be made faithfully and diligently through all the halls of the said university for all their fautors; and that when you shall have intelligence of their names and persons, ye compell them all and singular by ecclesiastical censures and other pains canonical, to abjure these their excesses, under pain of the greater curse, which against all and singular who shall rebel and disobey our monitions, their fault, deceit, and offence so requiring, after the third monition (which we deem canonical in this behalf), we now as well as then do hereby pronounce, specially reserving to ourselves the absolution of all and singular who shall incur (which God forbid) this sentence sent forth by us. And we exhort you, chancellor, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, that you henceforth labour to the uttermost of your power, that, if there be any of the clergy and people within your jurisdiction who have erred from the catholic faith, they may be recovered from their error, to the laud and honour of His name that was crucified, and the preservation of the orthodox faith. And our will is further, that of what you shall do in the premises, and of the manner and form of your process to be made in this behalf, you do, when required thereto on our part, plainly and distinctly certify us by your letters patent, having the tenor hereof. *Richard II.* A. D. 1382.

Given at our manor of Lambeth, under our private seal, the twelfth day of June, A.D. 1382, and in the first year of our translation.

The conclusions and articles here mentioned in this letter are above prefixed;[1] of which some were condemned for heretical, some for erroneous.

After this, the same day and place, the aforesaid lord archbishop of Canterbury delivered his letters monitory to the aforesaid chancellor of Oxford, for the repressing of this doctrine; which still notwithstanding, both then, and yet to this day (God be praised), doth remain: the copy of his monition to the chancellor here, out of his own register, followeth. *See Appendix.*

The Monition of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, unto the aforesaid Chancellor of Oxford.

In the name of God, Amen. Whereas we William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, did, with the consent of our suffragans, cause to be assembled certain clerics, secular and regular, of the university of general study at Oxford, within our province of Canterbury, and others who are sound in the catholic faith, to inform us touching and upon certain heretical and erroneous conclusions generally and commonly preached and published in divers places of our province of Canterbury, to the subverting of the whole church and our said province; and whereas, after full deliberation had upon the same, by the unanimous sentence of us and our said suffragans and the other convocates, it was declared, that some of those conclusions are heretical, and some erroneous and notoriously repugnant to the determination of the church, and have been and are condemned by the church, which also in addition we declare to be so condemned: and whereas we have learned from the testimony of trustworthy persons, and from experience of the fact, that thou, master Robert Rygge, chancellor of the university aforesaid, hast somewhat inclined and dost still incline to the aforesaid conclusions so condemned, whom therefore in this behalf we hold suspected of an intention by your crafty contrivances *de facto* to annoy in many ways the said clerics who were so summoned, and others who (as in duty bound) adhere to and favour us in the matter, and on that very pretext: Therefore, we admonish thee, master Robert, the chancellor aforesaid, once, twice, and thrice, and peremptorily, that thou do not grieve, let, or molest, judicially or extra-judicially, publicly or privily, the aforesaid clerics, secular or regular, or such as favour them in the premises, in their scholastic acts, or on any other occasion whatever, neither cause or procure, directly or indirectly, by yourself or any one else, that they be so grieved, let, or molested, neither

(1) See supra, p. 21.—Ed.

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permit as far as in you lieth that they be so grieved; and that you permit no one henceforth in the university aforesaid to hold, teach preach, or defend the heresies and errors aforesaid, or any of them, in the schools or out of them; and that you do not admit to preach John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Rappyngdon (canon regular), John Ashton, or Laurence Bedman, who are notoriously suspected of heresy, or any one else so suspected or diffamed, but suspend them from every scholastic act, until they have purged their innocence in this behalf before us, under pain of the greater excommunication, which against thy person, if you shall not with effect obey these our monitions, thy fault, deceit, and offence in this behalf so requiring, after the said warning (which in this behalf we deem canonical), we do now as then and then as now, pronounce hereby; specially reserving to ourselves the absolution from this extreme excommunication if it should happen thee (which God forbid) to incur the same.

[1] But to the story again. The next day the matter was declared unto the council by the archbishop, whereby the chancellor received a new commandment from the king's council, that with all diligence he should execute the archbishop's injunction. With these commandments he returned home.[2]

First causers of this trouble.

Then began the hatred on either part somewhat to appear and show; and specially all men were offended and in the tops of the friars and religious men, unto[3] whom whatsoever trouble or mischief was raised up, they did impute it, as to the authors and causers of the same. *[1]And, in my mind, not without cause, for what trouble or business hath there ever been, where men of religion have not been the ringleaders, both in city, town, and country: in all places they creep, in all matters they meddle. And as in Christ's time none were more against him than they who professed most sanctimony, so now amongst all sorts of men none more against true religion than they who most professed religion;* amongst whom there was one Henry Crompe, a monk Cistercian, a well learned divine, who afterward was accused by the bishops of heresy. He at that time was openly suspended[4] by the chancellor, because in his lectures he called the heretics "Lollards," from his acts (as they term them in the schools).[5] Then he, coming by and by up to London, made his complaint unto the archbishop and to the king's council. *[1]Whereupon the chancellor and the proctors were again sent for in the king's and the council's name.* Whereupon he obtained a decree of the king's council, by virtue whereof he, returning again to the university, was to be released and restored to his former state; and afterward a letter of the king himself, the words of which letter hereafter follow.[6]

See Appendix.

Henry Crompe, an accuser of others, after accused himself, of heresy.

Mention was made (as you heard) a little before, how Master Rygge, chancellor of Oxford, coming up with Master Brightwell to the archbishop of Canterbury, was there straitly examined of the conclusions of Wickliff; where he, notwithstanding, through the help of the bishop of Winchester obtained pardon, and was sent away again with commandments and charges to seek out all the favourers of John Wickliff. This commandment being received, Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon, being privily warned by the said chancellor,

Hereford and Reppyngdon fly to the duke of Lancaster.

(1) From edition 1563, p. 97, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 15.—Ed.
(2) The chancellor reached Oxford by Saturday June 14th. See Appendix.—Ed.
(3) All the editions, but that of 1563, read "upon."—Ed.
(4) All the editions but that of 1563 read erroneously "suspected."—Ed.
(5) "Ab actibus suis (ut cum scholis loquar) publicè suspenditur per cancellarium." Lat. ed. p. 15.—Ed.
(6) See infrà, p. 43.—Ed.

in the mean season conveyed them out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster for succour and help;[1] *[2]but, the bishop's riders were at hand (as it were serpents lying in wait), to bite Christ by the heel; unto whom the duke showed himself at the first somewhat sharp;* but whether for fear or for what cause else, I cannot say, *[2]overcome by the bishop's adherents,* in the end he forsook his poor and miserable clients. *[2]Who being put back from him, they were sent unto the censure of the archbishop, as the proverb saith—from the hall to the kitchen.*[3]

Examination of Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppyngdon, and John Ashton.[4]

See Appendix.

The eighteenth day of the month and year aforesaid (A.D. 1382), in the chamber of the preaching friars aforementioned, before the aforesaid archbishop, in the presence of divers doctors and bachelors of divinity, and of the canon and civil law, whose names are underwritten, appeared master Nicholas Hereford, master Philip Rappyngdon, canon regular, doctors of divinity, and John Ashton, bachelor of divinity; who, after a corporal oath taken to show their judgment upon the conclusions aforesaid, were examined severally, each one by himself, before the archbishop; when the said Nicholas and Philip there required a longer day to deliberate upon the conclusions aforesaid, and to give their answer unto the same in writing, and also required to have a copy of the said conclusions to be delivered unto them, the which copy, the said Nicholas and Philip, being openly read unto them, received. Also[5] the aforesaid master John Ashton like wise was examined, and judicially admonished by the said archbishop, by virtue of his oath, that he, setting aside all sophistical words and subtleties, should fully and plainly say his mind upon the conclusions aforesaid. And being asked, moreover, by the said archbishop, whether he would have a further day to deliberate upon his answers, as the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip had before, he said expressly that he would not, but would answer presently to those conclusions; and so for final answer said, as concerning all these conclusions (containing them all together), that his judgment was in this behalf to hold his peace. Wherefore the aforesaid archbishop, reputing the said John herein to be suspected, admonished him in form of words as followeth: "We admonish thee, John Ashton, whom we repute to be notoriously defamed and suspected of heresy, the first, the second, and third time, that in our province of Canterbury hereafter thou do not preach publicly or privately without our special license, under pain of the greater curse, which we denounce here by these presents against thy person, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then." And consequently, forasmuch as the said John, being asked of the archbishop, confessed that he had heard before of the publication of the archbishop's mandate, wherein was inhibited that no person prohibited or not sent should preach hereafter, the aforesaid archbishop assigned to him the Friday next following, which was the twentieth day of the same month, after dinner, to appear before him either at Lambeth, or in the same place, to say for himself wherefore he might not be pronounced a heretic, and for such an one be denounced through his whole province. Also the said archbishop assigned to the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip the said day and place, to answer peremptorily and to speak fully and plainly to the conclusions aforesaid, all sophistication of words and disputation set apart.

John Ashton examined.

Answer of John Ashton.

Ashton admonished again to appear

The names of the friars that sat upon them.—Friars Preachers, seven: Thomas Bernewell, William Suyard, William Pickworth, Thomas Whatelye, Lawrence Grenham, John Leigh, John Hakett. Carmelites three: Walter Dysshe, John Kynyngham, John Loveye. Augustine friar: Thomas Aysbourne, doctor.

(1) On Monday, June 16th. See Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Edition of 1563, p. 102, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 20.—Ed.
(3) Ibid. p. 98, and the Latin, p. 20, where the proverb in Latin is "ab equis ad asinos." This happened on Tuesday, June 17th. See Appendix.—Ed.
(4) Ex. Regist. [Wilkins's Conc. tom. iii. p. 160; whence the text has been corrected and improved in several particulars.—Ed.]
(5) Wilkins. iii. p. 161.—Ed.

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On the twentieth day aforesaid of the said month of June, the year and place above prefixed, before the aforesaid archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, in the presence of divers doctors of divinity, and lawyers both civil and canon, personally appeared master Nicholas Hereford and master Philip Reppyngdon, bachelors of divinity, and John Ashton, master of arts. Where the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, being required by the archbishop to answer and say fully and plainly their judgment upon the conclusions prefixed (for which purpose the said archbishop had assigned to the said Nicholas and Philip the same term), did exhibit to the said archbishop, there judicially sitting, certain answers in writing contained, after the manner of indenture. The tenor of which indenture, containing the aforesaid conclusions unto them moved as afore, followeth in these words:

Hereford and Reppyngdon appear.

The Protestation[1] of Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon, with their Articles and Answers to the same.

We protest here as before, publicly, in these presents, that we intend to be humble and faithful children to the church and holy Scripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the church. And if it shall chance us at any time, which God forbid, to swerve from this our intention, we submit ourselves humbly to the correction of our reverend father, the lord archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England; and of all others who have interest to correct such swervers. This protestation premised, thus we answer to the conclusions aforesaid.

Articles, with the answer.

1. "That the substance of material bread and wine remaineth in the sacrament of the altar after consecration."

After any sense contrary to the Decretal[2] beginning "Firmiter credimus," we grant that is heresy.

2. "That the accidents do not remain without the subject after consecration of the sacrament."

After any sense contrary to the Decretal[3] "Cum Marthæ," we grant that it is heresy.

3. "That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar the self same, truly, and really, in his proper corporal person."

Although this conclusion, as the words stand, sound to be probable and intelligible, yet in any sense contrary to the Decretal[4] in the Clementines, "Si Dominum," we grant that it is heresy. And, briefly, concerning this whole matter of the sacrament of the altar, as touching also all other things, we profess that we will, both in word and sense, hold with the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy church, and sayings of the holy doctors.

See Appendix.

4. "Obstinately to affirm that it hath no foundation in the gospel, that Christ ordained the mass."—We grant that it is heresy.

5. "That God ought to obey the devil."

In this sense, that God in his own person or essence ought to obey the devil with the obedience of necessity, we grant that it is heresy.

6. "If a man be duly contrite, that all external confession is to him superfluous and unprofitable."—We grant that it is heresy.

7. "If the pope be a reprobate, and an evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power over the faithful of Christ given to him by any, unless it be by Cæsar."—We grant that it is heresy.

8. "That after pope Urban VI. none is to be received for pope; but that we ought to live after the manner of the Grecians, under our own laws."—We grant that it is heresy.

9. To say "that it is against the holy Scripture for ecclesiastical persons to have temporal possessions."—If obstinacy be joined withal, we grant that it is heresy.

10. "That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man, unless he know him before to be excommunicate of God."—We grant that it is an error; understand-

(1) Wilkins, iii. p. 161. Foxe, by mistake, adds the name of John Ashton to this heading whereas he would not answer.—Ed.
(2) Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. 1. cap. 1.—Ed.
(3) Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. iii. tit. 41. cap. 6.—Ed.
(4) Clementin. lib. iii. tit. 16.—Ed.

ing this knowledge to mean an experimental knowledge; so that herewith may stand the decree[1] of the church, 11 q. 3, "Nemo Episcoporum." *Richard II.* A.D. 1382.

11. "That he who doth so excommunicate, is thereby an heretic, or excommunicate."—After any sense agreeing to the other before, we grant it to be an error.

12. "That a prelate excommunicating a clerk, who appealeth to the king or council of the realm, in so doing is a traitor to God, the king, and the realm."—We grant it is an error.

13. "That they who leave off to preach, or to hear the word of God and the gospel preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate and in the day of judgment shall be counted traitors to God."—Understanding this conclusion universally, so as Scripture and laws do understand such indefinite propositions, we grant it is an error.

14. To affirm "that it is lawful for any deacon or priest to preach the word of God without the authority of the see apostolic, or catholic bishop, or of any other whose authority he knoweth sufficient."—We grant it is an error.

15. To affirm "that there is no civil lord, no bishop, nor prelate, while he is in mortal sin."—We grant it is an error.

16. "That temporal lords may, at their pleasure, take away the temporal goods from churches offending '*habitualiter*.'"—Understanding this after this sense, that they may so take away temporal goods of the churches, without the cases limited in the laws of the church and kingdoms, we grant it is an error.

17. "That the vulgar people may correct the lords offending, at their pleasure."—Understanding by this word "may" that they may do it by the law, we grant it is an error, because subjects have no power over their lords.

18. "That tithes be pure alms, and that parishioners may, for the offences of their curates, detain the same, and bestow them to others at their pleasure."—Understanding by this word "may" (as before) to be "may by the law," we grant it is an error.

19. "That special prayers, applied to any one person by prelates or religious men, do no more profit the same than general prayers, if there be no let by the way to make them unlike."—Understanding this conclusion universally negatively, and understanding by 'special prayers' the prayers made upon special devotion, and 'general prayers' of general devotion; then after this sense, that no such special prayers, applied to any one person by special orators, do profit more specially the said person than general prayers do, which are made of the same and for the same persons, we grant it is an error.

20. "That he that giveth alms to the friars, or to any friar that preacheth, is excommunicate, as also is he that taketh."—Understanding this proposition universally or conditionally, as is aforesaid, we grant it to be an error.

21. "That whoso entereth into any private religion whatsoever, is thereby made more unapt and unmeet to obey the commandments of God."—We grant it is an error.

22. "That such holy men as did institute any private religions whatsoever, as well of seculars having possessions, as of friars having none, in so instituting did sin."—Understanding this reduplicatively or universally, we grant it is an error, after this sense, that what saints soever did institute private religion, instituting the said religion upon that consideration as they did, did sin.

23. "That religious men, living in private religions, be not of the religion of Christ."—Understanding the proposition universally, as is aforesaid, we grant it is an error.

24. "That friars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging."—Understanding this proposition universally, as before, we grant it is an error.

These things have we spoken, reverend father and lord, in all humility, under your gracious supportation and benign correction, according to our abilities and slender capacities, for this present (the honour of God, the verity of our belief, and safe conscience always in all points reserved); more humbly yet beseeching you, that, if it should seem unto your excellency and discretion that we should have spoken otherwise either in substance or in manner, your gracious fatherhood would vouchsafe to inform us as your sons by the sacred Scriptures, by the determinations of the church, or authorities of the holy doctors; and, doubtless, with most ready wills and obedient minds we will consent unto

(1) Decreti Pars ii. Causa xi. quæst. iii. cap 41.—Ed.

Richard II. A.D. 1382.

your more wholesome doctrine. May it therefore please your most reverend fatherhood, according to the accustomed manner of your benignity, favourably to accept these our words and sayings, forasmuch as the aforesaid conclusions were never commonly by us either in the schools asserted, or else in sermons publicly preached.

When all these answers were made unto the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, the said Nicholas and Philip, for that they answered not unto the sense and words of the first conclusion expressly, but to the sense contrary to the Decretal "Firmiter credimus," were there judicially examined what that sense was, but they would not express the same. Then was it demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the part of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same material bread "in numero," which before the consecration is laid upon the altar, remain in its proper substance and nature after the consecration in the sacrament of the altar; and likewise of the wine. To[1] this sense the said Nicholas and Philip answered, that for that time they could say no more therein, than that they had already answered, as was afore alleged, in the writing. And for that unto the sense and words of the second conclusion they answered not fully and expressly, but to the sense contrary to the Decretal "Cum Marthæ," being asked what that sense was, they would not express the same. Therefore it was demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the part of the said lord of Canterbury, whether those corporal accidences which formally were in the bread and wine before the consecration of them, after the consecration were in the same bread and wine, or else were subjected in any other substance. To this sense they answered, that better to answer than before in the writing they already had, for that time they could not. To the meaning also and words of the third conclusion, for that they answered not plainly and expressly, but to the sense contrary to the Decretal in the Clementines "Si Dominum," being asked what that sense was, they would not declare the same. Wherefore it was then demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the part of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same body of Christ, which was assumpted of the Virgin, be in the sacrament of the altar "secundum seipsum," even as he is really in carnal substance, proper essence, and nature. To this sense they answered, that for that time they could say no more than that they had said, as was before specified in the writing.

Furthermore, to the sense and text of the sixth conclusion for that they answered not fully and expressly, being asked whether God ought any manner of obedience to the devil or not, they said, "Yea, as the obedience of love, because he loveth him, and punisheth him as he ought." And that God ought so to obey the devil, they offered to prove to any one, on pain of being burnt.[2]

To the eleventh conclusion for that they answered not expressly, being asked whether a prelate might excommunicate any man being in a state of grace, they said, "Yea."

See Appendix. Unto the nineteenth conclusion for that they answered not fully, simply, and expressly, being demanded whether special or general prayers did most profit and were of greater force, they would not say but that special.

Unto the last conclusion for that they answered neither simply, nor expressly, and being demanded particularly, whether any friar were bound to get his living with his manual labour, so that it might not be lawful for them to live by begging, they would make no answer at all.

Judgments of the doctors upon these articles. After that, the aforesaid lord archbishop of Canterbury demanded of all the aforesaid doctors, what their judgment was touching the answers that were made upon all and singular such conclusions; all which doctors and every of them severally said, that all the answers, given unto the first, second, third, and sixth conclusions (as is before recited) were insufficient, heretical, and subtle; and that all the answers made specially to the nineteenth and last conclusions, as is above mentioned, were insufficient, erroneous, and perverse. Whereupon, the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, considering the said answers to be insuf-

(1) Wilkins, p. 163.—Ed.

(2) The Register speaks here in the singular number, as if only one of them had made this challenge: "Et ad probandum quòd Deus debet taliter obedire diabolo, obtulit se sub pœnâ incendii ad quemcunque."—Ed.

ficient, heretical, subtle, erroneous, and perverse, according as the said doctors did likewise consider (as is aforesaid), admonished the said Nicholas and Philip sufficiently under this form of words:— *Richard II.* A. D. 1382.

Monition of the Archbishop to Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon.

Admonition and citation of the archbishop, against the examinants.

The name of Christ being called upon, we William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, and through our whole province of Canterbury inquisitor of heretical pravity, seeing that you Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon, professors of divinity, having this day and place assigned you by your own express consent and our prefixion, peremptorily to answer and to say fully and plainly your opinion touching those conclusions whereunto we do refer you (all subtle, and sophistical, or logical words set apart), being thereunto sworn, admonished, and commanded, without any reasonable or legitimate cause, neither have been willing, nor are willing, nay rather have contemptuously refused and still dost refuse, to answer to some of those conclusions before us judicially, according to our monition and commandment aforesaid, but have answered unto some of them heretically, and to other some erroneously and not fully; we fully admonish you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that you and each of you, fully and plainly (all subtle, sophistical, or logical words set apart) answer unto the same conclusions, and that after the sense and meaning by us limited, under the pain that otherwise such conclusions be held as by you confessed, and that you be held as convicted touching the same conclusions.

Which admonition being made and done, for that the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip would make none other answer, the said lord archbishop of Canterbury concluded that business, prefixing and assigning unto the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip the same day se'nnight, that is to say, until the twenty-seventh day of the same month, that then they should appear before the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, wheresoever within the same his province of Canterbury he should then fortune to be, to hear his decree that should be made in that behalf. This done, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury monished and cited lawfully and sufficiently John Ashton, under the tenor of these words following.

See Appendix.

Another day assigned for them to appear.

Monition of the Archbishop to John Ashton.

The name of Christ being called upon, we William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, legate of the apostolic see, and through our whole province of Canterbury inquisitor of heretical pravity, seeing that thou John Ashton, master of arts and scholar in divinity, otherwise appearing before us judicially, hast been corporally sworn on the book to speak the plain verity touching those conclusions, to the which we do refer thee, and the which we have caused to be delivered to thee; as also hast been otherwise by us admonished and commanded in this behalf, and hast this day and place by our prefixion for a peremptory term, to propone reasonable cause (if thou hast any) wherefore thou oughtest not to be pronounced a heretic; we do lawfully and fully monish and cite thee, the first, second, and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou fully and plainly (all subtle, sophistical, or logical words set apart) do answer unto the same conclusions, under the pain that such conclusions be held to have been on thy part confessed, and that thou be held as convicted touching the said conclusions.

John Ashton separately examined.

Which monition being thus premised, the said archbishop read the first conclusion, and of the said John inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein? and bade him hereupon say his mind, according to the aforesaid monition. Then the aforesaid John Ashton, being often required by the archbishop, that he would answer in the Latin tongue to those questions which were demanded of him, because of the lay people that stood about him; he, crying out in the English tongue, uttered frivolous and opprobrious contumelies to move and excite the people against the said archbishop, as it should seem.[1] Neither did he unto the first conclusion, nor unto any of these other conclusions, effectually and pertinently seem to them to answer, but rather by subtleties and shifts,

The archbishop and his friars avoid the English tongue for fear of the people.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

Richard II. A.D. 1382.

saying oftentimes and expressly, as a layman might say, that it was sufficient for him to believe as holy church believed.[1] Then the said archbishop examined him upon the first conclusion touching the sacrament of the altar; whether that after the words of consecration there remaineth material bread, particular bread, or universal bread? He said the matter passed his understanding, and therefore said, he would in that form and manner answer, and otherwise not: but amongst other things, he spake in deriding wise unto the said archbishop against this word "material," saying, "You may put that in your purse, if you have any." Whereupon the said archbishop, calling that an unwise and foolish answer, as the rest of the doctors did (of whom mention was made before), the rather for that he was a clerk and a graduate in the schools, farther proceeded against the said John Ashton in this wise.

Whether material bread remain in the sacrament.

The Sentence pronounced on John Ashton.

And seeing that thou John Ashton, monished and commanded by us, as is aforesaid, after thine oath taken, without any reasonable or legitimate cause, neither wouldst, nor yet wilt, but refusedst, and yet dost refuse contemptuously, to answer unto these conclusions before us judicially, according to our monition and commandment aforesaid, we do hold all such conclusions to be by thee confessed; and thee the aforesaid Dominus John, as touching those conclusions, which by us, with the deliberation of certain prelates our suffragans, and divers of doctors of divinity, and other wise men in the law, according to the canonical sanctions have been condemned as savouring of heresy and heretical and declared to be such, we pronounce and sententially declare to have been, and to be still, a heretic. And as touching the other conclusions, by us heretofore reputed erroneous and for erroneous condemned, we do pronounce and declare sententially by these our writings, that thou hast erred, and dost err.

Ashton declared a heretic.

Upon the same twentieth day of June, in the year and place above recited, the aforesaid lord of Canterbury being desirous, as he asserted, to be informed by Thomas Hilman, bachelor of divinity, there being present, and somewhat favouring the said master John Ashton, what his judgment and opinion was, touching the aforesaid conclusions, prefixed and assigned unto the said Thomas (for that time demanding the same deliberation and day) that day se'nnigth, that is to say, the twenty-seventh of the said month, to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, wheresoever within his said province of Canterbury he should then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his judgment and opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions.[2]

Thomas Hilman suspected of favouring Ashton.

Time given to Hilman to answer.

The names of friars and doctors assistant at the examination aforesaid.—Masters in divinity, ten, viz.: of Friars Preachers; bishop Nanetensis, John Langley, William Syward: of Friars Carmelite; John Kynyngham, John Lovey. Peter Stokes, Walter Dys: of Friars Augustine; Thomas Ayshbourne, Bankine of London, Robert Waldeby.—Doctors of civil law, six, viz.; Master John Barnet, Master Thomas Baketon, Master John Blaunchard, Master John Shillyngford, Master John Lydeford, Master Thomas Southam.

June 27.

The Friday next following, that is to say, the twenty-seventh of June, A.D. 1382, the aforesaid Master Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman, appeared before the said archbishop and lord inquisitor of Canterbury in the chapel of his manor of Otford, in the diocese of Canterbury, there sitting on his tribunal seat. To whom the said archbishop of Canterbury said, that for because at that time he had not the presence and assistance of the doctors in divinity and of the canon and civil law, he continued[3] the said business touching the said Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, in the same state wherein then it was, till Tuesday next and immediately ensuing, that is to say, the first day of July, the year of our Lord aforesaid; and prefixed unto the said Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman, the same day to appear before him, wheresoever within his province of Canterbury he should then chance to be, to do that which upon the said twenty-seventh day they were purposed to do, together or apart.[4]

(1) "Dicens frequentius et expressè, sicut laicus, quòd sufficeret sibi credere sicut etiam sancta credit ecclesia."—Wilkins, p. 164. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

(3) "Continuavit," adjourned.—Ed.

(4) See infrà, p. 40, for the continuation of the Process.—Ed.

The archbishop, yet not contented with this, doth, moreover, by all means possible solicit the king to join withal the power of his temporal sword; for that he well perceived, that hitherto as yet the popish clergy had no authority sufficient, by any public law or statute of this land, to proceed unto death against any person whatsoever in case of religion, but only by the usurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome. Where note, gentle reader, for thy better understanding, the practice of the Romish prelates in seeking the king's help to further their bloody purpose against the good saints of God; which king being but young and under years of ripe judgment, partly induced, or rather seduced, by importune suit of the aforesaid archbishop, partly, also, either for fear of the bishops (for kings cannot always do in their realms what they will), or else, perhaps, enticed by some hope of subsidy to be gathered by the clergy, was contented to adjoin his private assent, such as it was, to the setting down of an ordinance, which was indeed the very first law that is to be found made against religion and the professors thereof, bearing the name of an Act made in the parliament holden at Westminster in the fifth year of Richard II.; where, among sundry other statutes then published, and yet remaining in the printed books of statutes, this supposed statute is to be found (cap. 5. et ultimo) as followeth:—

Richard II. A. D. 1382.

Hitherto no law to burn any man for religion.

The king circumvented by the archbishop.

First law practised by the clergy, for imprisoning professors of religion.

A Private Statute made by the Clergy, without Consent or Knowledge of the Commons.

See Appendix.

Item, Forasmuch as it is openly known that there be divers evil persons within the realm, going from county to county, and from town to town, in certain habits, under dissimulation of great holiness, and without the license of the ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authority, preaching daily, not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places where a great congregation of people is, divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great emblemishing of the christian faith and destruction of the laws and of the estate of holy church, to the great peril of the souls of the people and of all the realm of England, as more plainly is found and sufficiently proved before the reverend father in God the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops and other prelates, masters of divinity, and doctors of canon and of civil law, and a great part of the clergy of the said realm, specially assembled for this cause; which persons do also preach divers matters of slander, to engender discord and dissension betwixt divers estates of the said realm, as well spiritual as temporal, in exciting of the people, to the great peril of all the realm: which preachers, being cited or summoned before the ordinaries of the places, there to answer of that whereof they be impeached, will not obey to their summons and commandments, nor care not for their monitions nor the censures of holy church, but expressly despise them; and moreover, by their subtle and ingenious words do draw the people to hear their sermons, and do maintain them in their errors by strong hand and by great routs: it is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the king's commissions be made and directed to the sheriffs, and other ministers of our sovereign lord the king, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelates thereof to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and also their fautors, maintainers, and abettors, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justify themselves according to reason and the law of holy church. And the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times that he by the prelates, or any of them, shall be certified and thereto required, as is aforesaid. [Teste Rege apud Westm. 26 Maii, anno regni Regis R. II. 5.][1]

This statute was repealed afterwards by the commons.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

Richard II. A.D. 1382.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE AFORESAID SUPPOSED STATUTE, AND OF THE INVALIDITY THEREOF.

Which supposed statute, forasmuch as it was the principal ground whereupon proceeded all the persecution of that time, it is, therefore, not impertinent to examine the same more particularly; whereby shall appear, that as the same was fraudulently and unduly devised by the prelates only, so was it in like manner most injuriously and unorderly executed by them. For, immediately upon the publishing of this law, without further warrant either from the king or his council, commissions under the great seal of England were made in this form: "Richard, by the grace of God," &c. (as the Act shows, p. 541); "Witness myself at Westminster, the twenty-sixth day of June, in the sixth year of our reign;" without more words of warrant underwritten, such as in like cases are both usual and requisite; viz. "per ipsum regem," "per regem et concilium," or "per breve de privato sigillo:" all or any of which words being utterly wanting in this place, as may be seen in the king's records of that time, it must, therefore, be done either by warrant of this aforesaid statute, or else without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that whereas the said statute appointed the commissions to be directed to the sheriff, or other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons learned, for the arresting of such persons; the said commissions are directed to the archbishop and his suffragans, being, as it appeareth, parties in the case, authorizing them, further, without either the words or reasonable meaning of the said statute, to imprison them in their own houses, or where else pleased them.

No usual words of warrant affixed to this commission.

Besides also, what manner of law this was, by whom devised, and by what authority the same was first made and established, judge by that which followeth, viz.—

In the Utas of St. Michael[1] next following, at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the sixth year of the said king, among sundry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this form:—

An Extract from the Petition of the Commons for repealing the aforesaid Statute.[2]

Item, the commons pray, That, whereas a statute was made the last parliament in these words—"It is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the king's commissions be directed to the sheriffs and other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons, after and according to the certificates of the prelates thereof to be made unto the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and their fautors, maintainers, and abettors, and them to hold in arrest and strong prison, until they will justify themselves according to reason and the law of holy church; and the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times that he shall be by the prelates or any of them certified and thereto required, as is aforesaid:"—the which statute was never assented to nor granted by the Commons; but whatsoever was moved therein was without their assent: That the said statute be therefore annulled. For it was never any wise their intent to be justified to the prelates, nor to bind their successors to be so, more than their ancestors have been in times past: whereunto was answered, "Yl pleist au roy;" that is, "the king is pleased."

The statute repealed.

(1) The "Utas," or octaves, meant the eighth (inclusive) day succeeding any given term or feast. As Michaelmas Day falls on September 29th, "the Utas of St. Michael" would fall on October 6th. —Ed.

(2) The original French is printed in Cotton's Abridgment, vol. iii. p. 141, 6 Rich. II. Pars I. cap. 53; with which Foxe's translation has been collated, and revised.—Ed.

Hereby notwithstanding the former unjust law of the fifth of Rich. II. was repealed, and the fraud of the framers thereof sufficiently discovered, yet such means was there made by the prelates, that this act of repeal was never published, nor ever sithence imprinted with the rest of the statutes of that parliament: insomuch as the said repeal being concealed, like commissions[1] and other process were made from time to time by virtue of the said bastard statute, as well during all the reign of this king, as ever sithence, against the professors of religion; as shall hereafter, by the grace of God, appear in the second year of king Henry IV., where the clergy pursued the like practice.[2]

Richard II. A.D. 1382. The king ratifieth the repeal.

And now again to the story of our Oxford divines, and of the archbishop; to whom the king writeth his letters-patent, first to the archbishop, then to the chancellor of Oxford, in form as followeth:— *See Appendix.*

The King's Letters-patent to the Archbishop, against the Favourers of Wickliff.

A.D. 1382. Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. By the petition of the reverend father in God William, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England, exhibited unto us, we fully understand, that divers conclusions, contrary to sound doctrine and notoriously redounding to the subversion of the catholic faith, of the holy church, and of his province of Canterbury, in divers places within the province aforesaid have been openly and publicly although damnably preached: of the which conclusions, some as heresies, other some as errors, after good and mature deliberation first therein had, and by common counsel of the said archbishop and his suffragans and many doctors in divinity, and other clerks learned in the holy Scriptures, have been sententially condemned and wholesomely declared to be so. Whereupon, the said archbishop having made his supplication unto us, that for the coercion and due castigation of such as would henceforth of an obstinate mind preach or maintain the aforesaid conclusions, we would vouchsafe to put to the arm of our royal power—We, moved (as in duty bound) by zeal for the catholic faith, whereof we be and will be on all occasions the defender, and unwilling to allow that any such heresies or errors should spring up within the limits of our dominion, do give and grant special authority and license by the tenor of these presents unto the aforesaid archbishop and his suffragans, to arrest and imprison, either in their own prisons or any other if they please, all and every such person and persons, as shall either privily or apertly preach or maintain the said conclusions so condemned; and the same persons, so imprisoned, to detain there till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of such erroneous and heretical pravities; or till it shall be by us and our council touching such arrests otherwise provided: further charging and enjoining all and singular our liege-men, ministers, and subjects, of what state or condition soever they be, upon their fidelity and allegiance wherein they stand bound to us, that by no means they either favour, counsel, or help the maintainers or preachers of the said conclusions so condemned, or their fautors, on pain of forfeiture of all that ever they have; but that they rather obey and humbly attend upon the said archbishop, his suffragans, and ministers, in the execution of these presents; so that due and open publication may be made against the aforesaid conclusions and their maintainers without any perturbation, as for the defence and preservation of the catholic faith shall be thought most requisite to be done. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters-patent to be made.

Witness our self, at Westminster, the twenty-sixth day of June, and sixth year of our reign.[3]

(1) See for example the Royal Commission to the Bishop of Hereford infrà, p. 195.—Ed.

(2) See the Appendix.

(3) Foxe dates this "16th June, the 6th year of our reign," which would throw it forward into the next year, A.D. 1383: he gives the true date at p. 38. If Hereford and Reppyngdon were aware of this letter having been just issued, it will quite account for their absconding between June 27th and July 1st.—Ed.

Richard II.

A.D. 1382.

Further Process against Hereford and Reppyngdon.

The Tuesday[1] being come, the aforesaid archbishop, in the chapter-house of his church at Canterbury, before the hour of nine, with the doctors whose names are under contained, and other clerks a great multitude, expected the aforesaid Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, long time by the beadle calling them and looking after them; who, nevertheless, appeared not: wherefore, he continued the aforesaid business in the pristine state till two of the clock after dinner the same day; at which hour the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, having assistants the doctors and clerks under recited, examined the aforesaid Master Thomas Hilman, then and there judicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions; who, at them, and the meaning of them, somewhat stammering, at last, to all and singular the same conclusions then to him read and expounded thus answered: "I suppose and judge all and singular those conclusions lately condemned by my lord of Canterbury that now is, together with the counsel and consent of his clerks, to be heretical and erroneous, even as the same my lord of Canterbury, and other doctors of divinity, and of the canon and civil law, by common consent and counsel have supposed and thought. And the same, being for heresies and errors, as before is said, condemned, I do, as much as in me is, condemn; protesting that I will hold and affirm the contrary of those conclusions, and in the same faith live and die."

Answer of Hilman.

Then the said archbishop of Canterbury, then and there sitting on his tribunal seat,[2] pronouncing the said masters Nicholas and Philip, long in court called before and tarried for and yet not appearing, guilty of contumacy and disobedience, excommunicated them for the penalty of this their contumacy, in tenor of these words following:

Hereford and Reppyngdon excommunicated.

The Sentence of Excommunication passed upon Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon.

We William, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, and through our whole province of Canterbury inquisitor of heretical pravity, do pronounce Master Nicholas Hereford and Master Philip Reppyngdon, professors of divinity, having this day and place by our prefixion appointed to hear our decree in this business of heretical pravity, being in court by our beadle called and long tarried for, and yet not appearing, contumacious persons; and for the penalty of this their contumacy we do excommunicate them, and both of them, by these presents.

The names of the doctors and friars, assistant at this sitting, were these.—Masters in divinity, nine, viz.: of seculars; Master William Blankpayne, Master William Berton: of Friars Carmelite; Robert Yvory, provincial, John Kynnyngham, Philip Loveye: of Friars Minor; William Barnewell, John Ryddene: Friar Preacher, William Bruscumbe: Friar Augustine, John Courte: Bachelors in divinity, three, viz.; Stephen Patrington, John Tompston, John Reppys, Carmelites.

Against this blind excommunication of the said archbishop the parties excommunicate commenced and exhibited their appeal unto the bishop of Rome; which appeal of theirs, as insufficient, or rather to him unpleasant, the said archbishop utterly rejected[3] (as might oftentimes overcometh right), proceeding in his preconceived excom-

(1)) See suprà, p. 36.—Ed. (2) "Pro tribunali sedens." Wilkins, p. 164.—Ed.

(3) As appears by the following citation from the Register, printed in Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 165. "In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Willielmus, permissione divina Cant. archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, quandam appellationem prætensam cujus tenor inferius continetur, per magistros Nicolaum Hereford et Philippum de Reppyngdon canonicum regularem monasterii beatæ Mariæ de pratis Leycestr. Lincoln. diœc. professores sacræ paginæ se dicentes et eorum quilibet, et nonnullis gravaminibus prætensis per nos eis et eorum cuilibet, ut asserunt, et asserit eorum quilibet, licet minus veraciter, illatis: ad sedem apostolicam et dominum nostrum papam interpositam, ad quam nos referimus et pro hic inserta habere volumus, in valvis ecclesiæ cathredalis London. necnon ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de arcubus London. publicè appositam et affixam, infra tempus juris ad dand. apostolos, notorie existentem frivolam et ex frivolis falsisque ac falso fabricatis et confictis malitiose conceptam, necnon errorem juris in se manifestum continentem, reputamus, et eam ideo refutamus, et eidem non deferimus, et hanc responsionem prædictis magistris Nicolao et Philippo et eorum cuilibet damus loco apostolorum in valvis dictarum ecclesiarum et locis aliis publicè affigendam. In cujus dationis apostolorum testimonium, sigillum nostrum præsentibus duximus apponend. Dat. Lond. duodecimo die mensis Julii, anno Domini M.CCC.LXXXII. et nostræ translationis anno primo."—Ed.

munication against them, and writing, moreover, his letters to him that should preach next at Paul's Cross, to denounce and to publish openly the said Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon to be excommunicate, for not appearing at their term assigned; which was dated the thirteenth day of July: *Richard II.* A. D. 1382.

The denouncing of the Excommunication against Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon.

William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, &c., to our beloved son in Christ, whosoever he be, that this instant Sunday shall preach the word of God at St. Paul's Cross in London, health, grace, and benediction. Forsomuch as to Master Nicholas Hereford, and Master Philip Reppyngdon, canon regular of the monastery of St. Mary at Leicester, doctors of divinity, and of heretical pravity vehemently suspected, after certain answers not fully but impertinently made, as also heretically and erroneously, touching certain heretical and erroneous conclusions, in divers places of our said province commonly, generally, and publicly preached and taught, we prefixed a certain competent day and place for them, judicially appearing before us, to do and to receive peremptorily in that behalf what thing soever the quality of that business should move us unto; and that we did for their contumacy in not appearing before us at the said day and place judicially excommunicate them, as right therein required: we, by these presents, charge and command you, firmly enjoining you, that on the same Sunday, when the largest multitude of people shall have gathered together to hear your sermon, in the place aforesaid you publicly and solemnly denounce the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, holding up the cross, and lighting up candles, and then throwing the same down upon the ground, to have been and still to be so excommunicated by us.—Fare ye well.

Given at our manor house at Lambeth, the thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1382, and the first of our translation.

July 12th, A. D. 1382. Excommunication to be denounced at Paul's Cross.

This archbishop, moreover, the said year, in the month and on the day aforesaid, sent also another letter to Master Rygge, the chancellor of Oxford, straitly enjoining and charging him, not only to denounce the said sentence of excommunication, and to give out public citation against them, but also to make diligent search and inquisition through all Oxford for them, to have them apprehended and sent up to him, personally before him to appear at a certain day prescribed for the same; requiring, moreover, by him to be certified again what he had done in the premises.

Another letter of the archbishop to the chancellor of Oxford. *See Appendix*

Mandate of the Archbishop to the Chancellor of Oxford against the said Nicholas and Philip.

William, by divine permission, &c., to our well beloved son Master Robert Rygge, chancellor of the university of Oxford, health, &c. Forsomuch as we prefixed a competent day and place to Master Nicholas Hereford, and Master Philip Reppyngdon, &c. [see the preceding letter, as far as the words "as right therein required"]: we therefore straitly charge and command you, firmly enjoining you, that you publicly and solemnly denounce in the church of St. Mary at Oxford, and in the schools of the university, the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip to have been and still to be by us excommunicated; and further that you cite, or cause to be cited, peremptorily the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, that they and each of them appear before us within fifteen days after the date of such citation, wheresoever within our said province of Canterbury it shall fortune us then to be; to hear and see how we mean to proceed against them and each of them, concerning the said heretical and erroneous conclusions, according to the form of the retroactions used in this behalf, and the quality of the business: and that of the day of the receipt of these presents, and of the manner and form of your citation; and whether the said Nicholas and Philip, or either of them, have been apprehended by personal citation, or whether they or either of them

Richard II. A.D. 1382.

have absconded to avoid such apprehension; as of every thing else, which in this behalf you shall think meet to be done; between this and the feast of St. Laurence you clearly certify us by your letters patent, containing the effect of these things.—Fare ye well.

Given at our manor of Lambeth, the thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1382, and the first of our translation.

A.D. 1382. July 13.

The young king also, moved by the unquiet importunity of the archbishop, sendeth, moreover, a special letter to the chancellor and proctors of the university of Oxford, wherein, under a pretended zeal of the defence of christian faith, he straitly and sharply enjoineth and assigneth them, for the utter abolishing of those conclusions and opinions, to make a general inquisition through the whole university, for all whom they know or judge to be suspected of the doctrine of John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppyngdon, John Ashton, and such others; or to be maintainers, receivers, and defenders of the aforesaid parties or their conclusions, in any manner of way; to the intent that they, being so apprehended through their diligent search, may be within seven days of their admonitions expulsed the university, and cited up to the archbishop of Canterbury, before him to appear and to stand to their answers: willing, moreover, and commanding the said chancellor and proctors, with other regents their assisters, that if any person or persons in any house, hall, or college, or in any other place, shall be found to have any of their books or treatises compiled by the said John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, &c., they will cause without delay the said person or persons, with their books, to be arrested and attached, and presented within one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the aforesaid archbishop, upon their faith and allegiance, as they will avoid the forfeiture of all and singular the liberties and privileges to the university appertaining; and that they will be obedient to the archbishop aforesaid in the ordering hereof, and all other his injunctions to be obeyed in all things lawful and honest. Giving, moreover, in these his letters charge and commandment to the sheriff, mayor, bailiffs, and others, the inhabitants of Oxford, to be assistant and attendant unto the aforesaid chancellor and proctors, touching the execution of the premises, bearing the date of July 13th, A.D. 1382.

See Appendix.

The contents of a sharp letter of king Richard sent to Oxford, against Wickliff and his fellows.

Persons, with their books, to be arrested.

The King's Letters-patent to the Chancellor and Proctors of Oxford.

Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to the chancellor and the proctors of the university of Oxford who now be, or for the time being shall be, greeting. Being wholesomely moved and induced by zeal for the christian faith, whereof we be and always will be defenders, and having a great desire to repress, and by condign punishment to restrain, the impugners of the faith, who have newly and wickedly presumed to sow their naughty and perverse doctrines within our realm of England, and to hold and preach conclusions already condemned, notoriously repugnant to the same faith, and are endeavouring to pervert our people, as we understand, before they proceed any further in their errors and naughtiness, or infect others; We by these presents appoint you, with the assistance of all the divinity regents of the university aforesaid, to make inquiry of all and singular the graduates and lawyers within the same university whether they know any within the jurisdiction of that university, who be probably of them suspected to be in the favour, belief, or defence of any heresy or error, and especially of any of the conclusions publicly condemned by the venerable father, William, archbishop of Canterbury, with the counsel of his clergy, or else of any other

conclusion like unto any of them in meaning or in words: and that if henceforth you shall find any that believe, fauter, or defend any of the aforesaid heresies or errors, or any such like, or who shall dare to receive into their houses and inns, Master John Wickliff, Master Nicholas Hereford, Master Philip Reppyngdon, Master John Ashton, or any other by probable suspicion noted of any of the aforesaid heresies or errors, or any other like unto them in words or in meaning; or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or fauter any such fautors, receivers, communicants, and defenders; that, within seven days after the same shall appear and be manifest unto you, you banish and expel them from the university and town of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocency by manifest purgation before the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being; and that in order that such may be compelled to purge themselves, you certify us and the same archbishop under your seals, from time to time, within one month that they be such manner of men: commanding moreover that through all the halls of the university aforesaid, ye cause to be inquired and searched out of hand whether any man have any book or tractate put forth or compiled by the aforesaid Master John Wickliff or Nicholas Hereford, and that wheresoever ye shall chance to find any such book or tractate, ye cause the same to be arrested and taken and presented unto the aforesaid archbishop within one month, without any correction, corruption, or mutation whatsoever, as to its meaning or words. And therefore we enjoin and command you, upon the fidelity and allegiance wherein ye stand bound unto us, and upon pain of forfeiture of all and singular the liberties and the privileges of your said university and of all else that you can forfeit to us; that you give yourself diligently to execute the premises well and faithfully; and that you do execute the same in form aforesaid; and that you obey the aforesaid archbishop, and his lawful and honest mandates, that he shall think good to direct unto you in this behalf, as it is meet you should. And we give in charge unto the sheriff and mayor of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singular our other sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, ministers, and other our faithful subjects by these presents, that they aid, obey, and be attendant upon you in the execution of the premises. Witness myself at Westminster, the thirteenth day of July, the sixth year of our reign.

Richard II. A.D. 1382.

See Appendix.

Besides these letters-patent, the said young king sendeth another letter the next day to the aforesaid chancellor and proctors of the university of Oxford touching Henry Crompe, of whom ye heard before.

Another Letter of the King to the Chancellor and Proctors of Oxford.

Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France, lord of Ireland, to the chancellor and proctors of the university of Oxford, greeting. Whereas we of late—upon the grievous complaint of Henry Crompe, monk, and regent in divinity within the university aforesaid, how that, while he was assistant with the reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other divines in the city of London, at the condemnation of divers conclusions erroneous and heretical, you, at the sinister suggestion of certain adversaries of his, who pretended the peace of the university aforesaid to have been broken by the said Henry in his last lecture in the schools, did call him to answer before you; and for his not appearing (as forsooth he could not) did pronounce him contumacious and convicted of peace-breaking, and did also suspend the said Henry from his scholastical acts and lectures—by our writ did appoint you a day (now past) to appear and answer before our council touching the premises, and to do certain other things expressly contained in the writ aforesaid; whereupon, the matter aforesaid with its circumstances having been before our said council, in your presence, examined, investigated and fully understood, it was by our said council decreed and specially determined, that all your process against the said Henry on the occasions premised, with all the consequences thereof, was null, void, vain, and of none effect; and commandment was given that the aforesaid Henry should be restored and admitted again to the scholastic acts and customary lectures, and to his pristine state, as you fully know: To the intent therefore that the decree and determination aforesaid should be duly executed, we most strictly charge and command you, that you, speedily and entirely revoking all your process against the said Henry Crompe in the university

Henry Crompe complaineth to the king's council of the secular masters of Oxford.

Richard II. A.D. 1382.

aforesaid, with all the consequences thereof, do admit the said Henry and cause him to be restored to his scholastic acts, his accustomed lectures, and pristine state without delay, according to the form of the decree and determination aforesaid: enjoining you, moreover, and your commissaries or deputies, and your successors, and all masters regent and non regent, and other secular presidents, officers, and ministers of the university aforesaid, upon the faith and allegiance wherein you are bound to us, that you do not in any manner privily or apertly let, molest, or grieve, or cause to be let, molested, or grieved, the said friar Henry for the causes aforesaid, or friar Peter Stokes, Carmelite, by occasion of his absence from the university aforesaid, or friar Stephen Patrington, Carmelite, or any other religious or secular person favouring them, by occasion of any deed or word in any way concerning the doctrine of Master John Wickliff, Master Nicholas Hereford, and Master Philip Reppyngdon, or the reproof and condemnation of their heresies and errors, or the blaming or correction of their favourers; but that you do procure, and with all diligence nourish, and to your utmost preserve, peace, unity, and quiet within the university aforesaid, and chiefly between the religious and secular persons: and that you in no case omit to do these things on forfeiture of all and singular the liberties and privileges of the university aforesaid, and of all else which you can possibly forfeit to us.

Crumpe, Stokes, and Patrington, restored to their scholastical acts.

In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Westminster, the fourteenth day of July.

Unto the aforesaid letters, received from the archbishop, diligent certificate was given accordingly, the tenor whereof was this:

See Appendix.

A Letter of Robert Rygge, Chancellor of Oxford, to the Archbishop.

To the most reverend father in Christ and lord, William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, Robert Rygge, professor of divinity and chancellor of the university of Oxford, the reverence and obedience due to so great a father with honour. Your letter directed to me I reverently received on the fourteenth day of July, the year of our Lord underwritten, commencing with the words, "William, by divine permission," &c.; by the authority whereof I have publicly and solemnly, in the church of St. Mary and in the schools of the university aforesaid, denounced, and caused to be denounced by others, according to the force, form, and effect of the same letters, Master Nicholas and Master Philip aforesaid to have been and to be excommunicated. Moreover, I have diligently sought for the aforesaid Master Nicholas and Master Philip as you commanded, to apprehend them by personal citation and to cite them; but I have not been able to find them in order to cite them, as you commanded. But touching the lurking place of Master Nicholas and Master Philip aforesaid, it was clear to me on diligent inquisition made by me that they did not lurk, nor do they lurk here now, as far as is known. The which I signify to your fatherhood by these presents signed with the seal of mine office, given at Oxford the twenty-fifth day of the month of July, A.D. 1382.

In the mean time, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoever they might be found; whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtney, directed his letters to the bishop of London, named Robert Braybroke, charging him that the said excommunication be denounced, not only within his own jurisdiction, but likewise throughout all the dioceses of his suffragans; moreover, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in London and elsewhere, that they might be apprehended; requiring, moreover, by them to be certified again what they had done in the premises. And this was written the thirtieth day of July, A. D. 1382.[1] Whereby may appear how

(1) Foxe dates this letter "the fourteenth day of July;" but in Wilkins it is dated "in manerio nostro de Otteford penultimo die mensis Julii, anno Dom. MCCCLXXXII. et nostræ translationis anno primo." Wilkins, iii. p. 168. The letter is as follows:—

busy this bishop was in disquieting and persecuting these poor men, whom rather he should have nourished and cherished as his brethren. But as his labour is past, so his reward will follow, at what day the great Archbishop of our souls shall judicially appear in his tribunal seat, to judge both the quick and the dead. *Richard II.* A. D. 1382.

In the mean time Nicholas Hereford and Reppyngdon being repulsed of the duke, and destitute, as was said, of his supportation, whether they were sent, or of their own accord went, to the archbishop, it is uncertain. This I find in a letter of the aforesaid archbishop, contained in his register, that Reppyngdon, the twenty-third day of October, the same year (A. D. 1382), was reconciled again to the archbishop, and also by his general letter was released, and admitted to his scholastic acts in the university; and so was also John Ashton, of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter.[1] Of Nicholas Hereford, all this while, I find no special relation. Hereford and Reppyngdon repulsed by the duke. Reppyngdon released. Ashton reconciled, by the archbishop. *See Appendix.*

In the mean time, about the twenty-third of September in the said year, the king sent his mandate to the archbishop for the collecting of a subsidy, and to have a convocation of the clergy summoned against the next parliament, which should begin the eighteenth of November. The archbishop likewise, on the fifteenth day of October[2] (A. D. 1382), directed his letters monitory, as the manner is, to Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, to give the same admonition to all his suffragans, and to other of the clergy within his province, for the assembling of the convocation aforesaid. All which done and executed, the parliament began, being holden at Oxford the eighteenth of November, where the convocation was kept in the monastery of Frideswide, in Oxford. In the which convocation the archbishop, with the other bishops there sitting in their pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present assembly: the one, said he, to repress heresies, which began newly in the realm to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the church; the other cause, said he, was to aid and support the king with some necessary subsidy of money to be gathered: which thus declared, the convocation was continued till the day following, which was the nineteenth of November. A convocation summoned. Convocation at St. Frideswide's in Oxford.

At the said day and place, the archbishop with the other prelates assembling themselves as before, the archbishop, after the usual solemnity, willed the proctors of the clergy, appointed for every diocese, to consult among themselves in some convenient several Nov. 19th

" Archiepiscopi Cantuar. mandatum episcopo London. ad denunciand. magistros Nic. Hereford, et Philipp. Reppyngdon, excommunicatos per provinciam Cant.

"Willelmus, etc. venerabili fratri nostro domino Roberto, Dei gratia episcopo London. salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Cum nos magistris Nicolao Hereford et Philippo Reppyngdon etc. [prout superius continetur usque "justitia exigente."] Vobis committimus et mandamus, quatenus præfatum Nicolaum et Philippum sic per nos fuisse et esse excommunicatos, in ecclesiis et locis insignibus vestrarum civitat. et diœc. cum populi multitudo convenerit, denunciari publicè faciatis: citantes eosdem, citarive facientes peremptorie, si valeant apprehendi, quod compareant coram nobis aliquo competenti termino, per vos aut vestros auditores præfigendo eisdem, ubicunque nos infra provinciam nostram Cant. tunc esse continget; ad vidend. et audiend. per nos procedi contra eosdem, et eorum quemlibet, super dictis conclusionibus hæreticis et erroneis juxta formam retroactorum in hac parte habitorum et negotii qualitatem. Injungatis insuper auctoritate nostra omnibus et singulis suffraganeis nostris, nostræ Cant. provinciæ episcopis, et confratribus, per literas vestras patentes, harum seriem continentes, quod ipsorum singuli eosdem Nicolaum et Philippum per suas civitates et diœc. faciant modo simili denunciari; quodque citent eosdem, seu citari faciant peremptorie, si poterunt apprehendi, quod compareant coram nobis aliquo termino competenti, eis per dictos confratres nostros vel eorum aliquem præfigendo, ubicunque fuerimus infrà provinciam nostram prædict., ad faciendum quod superius est expressum: et quod nos certificent, seu ille eorum certificet, qui ipsos vel eorum aliquem citaverit, aut citari fecerit, citra terminum hujusmodi, literis suis patentibus, habentibus hunc tenorem. Vosque de toto processu vestro in hac parte habendo nos citrà festum exaltationis sanctæ crucis prox. futur. certificetis per literas vestras patentes, harum seriem continentes. Dat. in manerio nostro de Otteford penultimo die mensis Julii, anno Domini M.CCC.LXXXII. et nostræ translationis anno primo."—Wilkins. iii. pp. 167, 168.

(1) Wilkins, iii. p. 169.—Ed. (2) Ibid. p. 172.—Ed.

Richard II. A. D. 1382.

place, what they thought for their parts touching the redress of things, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren.

Furthermore, forsomuch, saith he, as it is so noised through all the realm, that there were certain in the university of Oxford, who did hold and maintain conclusions (as he called them) heretical and erroneous, condemned by him, and by other lawyers and doctors of divinity; he therefore assigned the bishops of Sarum, Hereford, and Rochester, with William Rugge, then chancellor of the university of Oxford (for be-like Robert Rygge was then displaced), also with William Berton and John Middleton, doctors; giving them his full authority, with cursing and banning to compel them to search, and to inquire with all diligence and in all ways possible, over all and singular whatsoever, either doctors, bachelors, or scholars of the said university, who did hold, teach, maintain, and defend, in schools or out of schools, the said conclusions heretical (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to give certificate truly and plainly touching the premises. And thus, for that day, the assembly brake up to the next, and so to the next, and the third, being Monday, the twenty-fourth of November.[1]

Rygge displaced from the vice-chancellorship.

Inquisition made at Oxford.

On the which day,[2] in the presence of the prelates and the clergy in the chapter-house of St. Frideswide, came in Philip Reppyngdon, otherwise called of the brethren afterward 'Rampyngdon,' who there abjured the conclusions and assertions aforesaid in this form of words as followeth.

Abjuration of Philip Reppyngdon.

In the name of God, Amen. I Philip Reppyngdon, canon of the church of St. Mary de Pré, Leicester, in the diocese of Lincoln, acknowledging the true catholic and apostolic faith, do curse and also abjure all heresy; and namely the heresies and errors under-written, condemned and reproved by the canonical decrees, and by you most reverend father, touching which hitherto I have been defamed; condemning, moreover, and reproving both them and the authors of them; and I do confess the same to be catholically condemned. And I swear, also, by God's holy gospels which here I hold in my hand, and do promise, never for any persuasions of men, nor by any other means, to defend or hold as true, the said conclusions under-written or any of them; but that I do and will stand and adhere henceforth in all things, to the determination of the holy catholic church, and to yours, in this behalf. Over and besides, all such as contravene this faith, I do pronounce them, with their doctrine and followers, worthy of everlasting curse. And if I myself shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrary to the premises, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canons.—Subscribed with mine own hand, and of mine own accord.

PHILIP REPPYNGDON.

And thus the said 'Rampyngdon' was discharged, who afterward was made bishop of Lincoln, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side of all the other bishops within the realm, as in process hereafter may appear.

See Appendix.

Philip Reppyngdon becomes a terrible persecutor.

After the abjuration of this Reppyngdon, immediately was brought in John Ashton, student of divinity; who, being examined upon those conclusions, and willed to say his mind, answered, That he was too simple and ignorant, and therefore would not, and could not, answer any thing clearly or distinctly to those conclusions. Whereupon the archbishop assigned to him doctor William Rugge, the chancellor, and other divines, such as he required himself, to be

Abjuration of J. Ashton.

(1) Ex. Regist. W. Courtney.

(2) Wilkins, ibid. p. 172.—ED.

instructed in the mystery of those conclusions against the afternoon;[1] who, then appearing again after dinner before the archbishop and the prelates, did in like sort and form of words abjure, as did Reppington before. *Richard II.* A. D. 1382.

Of this John Ashton we read, that afterwards, by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, he was cited and condemned; but whether he died in prison, or was burned, we have yet no certainty to show. This is certain, by the plain words of the Chronicle of St. Alban's, that when the archbishop, with his doctors and friars, sat in examination upon this John Ashton, in London, the Londoners broke open the door of the conclave, "and did hinder the archbishop himself sitting in the city of London, when he would have made process against John Ashton."[2] (A.D. 1382.) And thus much of John Ashton.

The Londoners force the door where the archbishop is sitting

See Appendix.

As touching Nicholas Herford, during the time of this convocation he did not appear; and, therefore, had the sentence of excommunication, against which he put in his appeal from the archbishop to the king and his council. The archbishop would not admit it, but finding stays and stops, caused him to be apprehended and enclosed in prison. Notwithstanding, through the will of God, and good means, he escaped out of prison, returning again to his former exercise, and preaching as he did before, albeit in as covert and secret a manner as he could; whereupon the archbishop, thundering out his bolts of excommunication against him, sendeth to all pastors and ministers, willing them in all churches and on all festival days, to divulge the said excommunication against him to all men: he writeth, moreover, and sendeth special charge to all and singular of the laity, to beware that their simplicity be not deceived by his doctrine, but that they, like catholic children, will avoid him, and cause him by all others to be avoided.

Herford, appealing from the archbishop, is cast into prison, but escapeth.

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addresseth his letter unto the king, requiring also the aid of his temporal sword to chop off his neck, whom he had already cast down. See and note, reader! the seraphical charity of these priestly prelates towards the poor redeemed flock of Christ. And yet these be they, who, washing their hands with Pilate, say and pretend, "Nobis non licet interficere quenquam:" "it is not our parts to kill any man." The copy of the letter written to the king is this:—

A cruel Letter of the Archbishop to the King, against Nicholas Herford.

To the most excellent prince in Christ, &c.; William, &c., greeting in Him by whom kings do reign and princes bear rule. Unto your kingly celsitude by the tenor of these presents we intimate, that one Master Nicholas Herford, doctor of divinity, for his manifest contumacy and offence in not appearing before us, being called, at the day and place assigned, is therefore enwrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publicly by our ordinary authority; and in the same sentence hath continued now forty days, and yet still continueth with obdurate heart, wickedly contemning the keys of the church, both to the great peril of his soul, and to the pernicious example of others. Forasmuch, therefore,

(1) A short time, my lord, for a man in one forenoon to learn a faith against his conscience!

(2) "Ipsumque archiepiscopum in civitate sedentem impediverunt, cum processum fecisset contra Johannem Ashton," &c. Ex Chron. Monast. Albani.

Richard II. A. D. 1382.

as the holy mother the church hath not to do, or to proceed, any further in this matter, we humbly desire your kingly majesty to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate, according to the custom of this realm of England, wholesomely observed and kept hitherto; to the intent that such, whom the fear of God doth not restrain from evil, the discipline of the secular arm may bridle and pluck back from offending.[1] Your princely celsitude the Lord long continue.—From Lambeth, the fifteenth of January.

To this letter of the archbishop, might not the king, gentle reader, thus answer again, and answer well.

Prosopopœia. What the king might have answered again.

"Your letters with your complaint and requests in the same contained, we have received and well considered: for the accomplishing whereof ye shall understand, that as we are readily bent to gratify and satisfy your mind in this behalf on the one hand, so we must beware again on the other, that our authority be not abused, either to oppress before we know, or to judge before we have tried. Wherefore, forasmuch as you, in your letters, do excite and sharpen the severe discipline of our secular sword against one Nicholas Herford, for his not appearing before you, and yet showing, in the said your letters, no certain cause to us what you have to charge him withal; we, therefore, following the example of Alexander the Great, or rather the rule of equity, in opening both our ears indifferently, to hear as well the one part as the other, do assign both to him, when he may be found, and to you, when ye shall be called, a term to appear before us: to the intent that the controversy between you and him, standing upon points of religion, being tried by the true touchstone of God's holy word, due correction indifferently may be ministered according as the offence shall be found. In the mean time, this we cannot but something marvel at in your said letters. First, to see you, men of the church and angels of peace, to be so desirous of blood. Secondly, to consider you again so fierce in prosecuting the breach of your law, and yet so cold in pursuing the breach of the express law of God and his commandments. Thirdly, to behold the unstable doubleness in your proceedings, who, pretending in your public sentence to become entreaters for them to us, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that we will withdraw from them the rigour of our severity, yet, in your letters, you be they who most set us on. If not appearing before you be such a matter of contumacy in case of your law, that it is in no case to be spared, what should then our princely discipline have done to men of your calling? Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, being at Canterbury, was sent for by our special commandment, to come at our call, who denied to come, and yet we spared him.[2] John Stratford, archbishop, your predecessor, being required of our progenitor king Edward III., to come to him at York, would not appear; by reason whereof Scotland at the same time was lost, and yet was he endured. The like might be said of Robert Winchelsey, in the days of king Edward I., and of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, in the days of king Henry III. Stephen Langton was sent for by king John to come; he came not. The like contumacy was in Becket

Former bishops of Canterbury appeared not before their kings, and yet were they not persecuted.

(1) This is not to seek that which is lost, by the rule of Ezekiel (chap. xxxiv. 4,); "The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them."

(2) See infrà p. 52.—Ed.

toward king Henry II. Also in Anselm, toward king Henry I. All these, for their not appearing before their princes, ye do excuse, who, notwithstanding, might have appeared without danger of life: this one man, for not appearing before you, you think worthy of death, whose life you would have condemned notwithstanding, if he had appeared. If the squirrel, climbing the tree from the lion's claws, would not appear, being sent for, to be devoured—it is no reason that the eagle therefore should seize upon him without any just cause declared against the party. Wherefore, according to this and to that aforesaid, when he shall appear, and you be called, and the cause justly weighed, due execution shall be administered." *Richard II.* A.D. 1382.

And thus far concerning Nicholas Hereford, and the other aforesaid. But all this mean while, what became of John Wickliff, it is not certainly known; albeit, so far as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was banished and driven to exile.[1] In the mean time, it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, wheresoever he was, as by his letter may appear, which he about this time wrote to pope Urban VI. In the which letter he doth purge himself, that being commanded to appear before the pope at Rome, he came not; declaring also in the same a brief confession of his faith: the copy of which epistle here followeth.

An Epistle of John Wickliff to Pope Urban VI., A.D. 1382.

See Appendix.

Verily I do rejoice to open and declare unto every man the faith which I do hold; and especially unto the bishop of Rome: which, forasmuch as I do suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirm my said faith, or, if it be erroneous, amend the same.

First, I suppose that the gospel of Christ is the whole body of God's law; and that Christ, who did give that same law himself, I believe to be very God and very man,[2] and in that point, to exceed the law of the gospel, and all other parts of the Scripture. Again, I do give and hold the bishop of Rome, forasmuch as he is the vicar of Christ here on earth, to be most bound, of all other men, unto that law of the gospel. For the greatness among Christ's disciples did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the near and exact following of Christ in his life and manners: whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ, for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a most poor man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. viii., and the second epistle of the Corinthians, chap. viii.

Hereby I do fully gather, that no faithful man ought to follow, either the pope himself or any of the holy men, but in such points as he hath followed the Lord Jesus Christ; for Peter and the sons of Zebedee, by desiring worldly honour, contrary to the following of Christ's steps, did offend, and therefore in those errors they are not to be followed. *True disciples of Christ seek not worldly honour.*

Hereof I do gather, as a counsel, that the pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporal dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole clergy; for so did Christ, and especially by his apostles. Wherefore, if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humbly submit myself unto correction, even by death, if necessity so require; and if I could labour according to my will or desire in mine own person, I would surely present myself before the bishop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwise visited

(1) See the Appendix.

(2) "I believe to be very God," &c. The English editions have, "I believe to be a very man." This letter, given in the Latin edition, p. 16, and bearing date "Anno 1384," proceeds thus:—"Christum autem, qui evangelium illud immediate dederat, credo esse verum Deum, et verum hominem.' In Lewis's history, p. 284, as also in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, it is also correctly given: "I believe that Jesu Christ, that gaf in his own persoun this gospel, is very God and very man, and be this it passes all other laws."—Ed.

Richard II. A.D. 1382.

me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than men. Forasmuch then as God hath given unto our pope just and true evangelical instincts, we ought to pray that those instincts be not extinguished by any subtle or crafty device, and that the pope and cardinals be not moved to do any thing contrary unto the law of the Lord.

Wherefore, let us pray unto our God, that he will so stir up our pope Urban VI., as he began, that he with his clergy may follow the Lord Jesus Christ in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they, likewise, may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray, that our pope may be preserved from all malign and evil counsel, which we do know that evil and envious men of his household would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to be tempted above our power, much less then will he require of any creature to do that thing which it is not able; forasmuch as that is the plain condition and manner of Antichrist.

Thus much wrote John Wickliff to pope Urban. But this Urbanus, otherwise termed 'Turbanus,' was so hot in his wars against Clement the French pope, his adversary, that he had no leisure, and less list, to attend to Wickliff's matters; by reason of which schism, God so provided for poor Wickliff, that he was in some more rest and quietness. Concerning these schismatical wars of the popes, forasmuch as we have here entered upon the mention thereof, it shall not be impertinent from the order of our story, digressing a little from the matter of John Wickliff, to say something of the tragical doings of these two holy popes, striving for the triple crown; to the intent that the christian reader, judging by their fruits and proceedings, may see and understand what difference there is between these popes, and Christ and his apostles. For though in the story of the gospel it is read, that certain of the disciples did strive which should be the greater; yet neither do we read that one of them ever took weapon against the other; and moreover, in the said story of the gospel it doth appear, that they, for so striving as they did, were sharply rebuked by our Saviour Christ, and were taught by him another lesson.

The pope so occupied in schismatical wars, that he hath no leisure for other matters.

Difference between the apostles and the popes, in striving for preeminence.

About the beginning of the year following, which was A.D. 1383, pope Urban setting all his study how to repress and conquer the contrary pope, his adversary, being then at Avignon, seeing all his other means to fail, and that his cross keys could do no good, took to him the sword of Romulus, and set upon him with open war. And first devising with himself whom he might best choose for his chief champion, he thought none meeter for such affairs than Henry Spencer, being then bishop of Norwich, a young and stout prelate, more fitting for the camping cure, than for the peaceable church of Christ, as partly also might appear before by his acts done at Lynn, in striving for the mayor's mace, mentioned before.[1] Unto this bishop of Norwich the pope had sent his bulls about this time to croysie whosoever would go with him into France to destroy the antipope, who named himself Clement, and to make war against all those that took his part. Which bulls, for that they gave unto him so great authority, he caused to be published in the parliament house, and caused copies of the same to be sent all about, and to be set up and fastened upon all church doors and monastery gates, that all men might read them; in the which bulls these privileges were granted, the copy whereof here followeth.

A.D. 1383. The pope, set on war.

(1) See vol. ii. p. 805.—Ed.

Pope Urban's Bull to destroy Clement the Antipope.[1]

Richard II. A.D. 1383.

Imprimis, That the said bishop of Norwich may use his sword against the antipope, and all his adherents, favourers, and counsellors, and with violence put them to death.

2. Item, That he may publish all processes which have been fulminated by the said Urban against the said antipope and his adherents.

The very fruits of Anti-christ.

3. Item, That he hath full power to inquire of all and singular such schismatics, and to put them in prison, and to confiscate all their goods, moveable and immoveable.

4. Item, That he hath power and authority to deprive all laymen that are such schismatics, of all manner of secular offices whatsoever, and to give their offices to other fit and convenient persons.

See Appendix.

5. Item, That he may deprive all such clerks as be schismatics, and declare them so deprived and so on in this behalf, and to bestow their benefices, either with cure or without cure, their dignities, parsonages, or offices, on other persons more meet for the same.

6. Item, He hath power and authority over persons that are exempt, both lay and cleric, both secular and regular, yea although they be friars mendicant, or masters and professed of other houses, or of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem or St. Mary of Flanders, or professed of any other orders whatsoever.

7. Item, He hath power to dispense with what secular clerk soever, being beneficed, either with cure or without cure, and also with such as have dignities, parsonages, or offices, regulars exempt or not exempt, that every one of them may be absent with him from their dignities and benefices, &c. under the standard of the cross, without license obtained of any of their prelates, and yet to receive and take the entire fruits of their benefices, as though they had been personally resident upon the same.

8. Item, There is granted to all that pass the seas in this quarrel, either at their own expense, or at the expense of any other, full remission of their sins; and as large privileges are granted to those that pass the sea with him, as to them that go to fight for the Holy Land.

9. Also, All such as from their proper goods and substance shall give sufficient stipend to able soldiers, at the discretion of the aforesaid lord bishop or of any other his deputy, although they themselves be not personally at this business aforesaid, yet shall have like remission and indulgence, as they who were personally with him in this expedition.

10. Item, All they are partakers of this remission, who shall give a suitable part of their goods to the said bishop to fight against the said schismatics.

11. Item, If any shall chance to die in the journey who are soldiers under the said standard of the cross, or else the quarrel meanwhile to be by some means made up, they shall fully and wholly receive the said grace, and shall be partakers of the aforesaid indulgence and remission.

12. Item, He hath power to excommunicate, suspend, and interdict, what persons soever be rebellious or disturbers of him in the execution of the power committed unto him, of what dignity, state, degree, pre-eminence, order, place, or condition soever they shall be: yea, although they be distinguished for regal, queenly, or imperial dignity, or any dignity else whatsoever, either ecclesiastical or mundane.

13. Item, He hath power to compel all religious persons whatsoever, and to appoint them, and send them over sea, if it seem good to him, yea, although they be professed of the friars mendicant, for the execution of the premises.

Form of the Pope's Absolution pronounced by the Bishop.

By the authority apostolical to me in this behalf committed, we absolve thee A.B. from all thy sins confessed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy heart, and whereof thou wouldst be confessed if they came into thy memory; and we grant unto thee plenary remission of sins, and we promise unto thee the recompense of the just, and an increase of everlasting salvation. And as many privileges as are granted to them that go to fight for the Holy Land, we grant unto thee; and we impart to thee a share in the suffrages of the prayers and good works of the universal synod of the church, and of the holy catholic church.

(1) The following Items have been collated with the Latin in Walsingham, and revised: the second Item, as here given, is omitted by Foxe, who gives but 12 Items.—Ed.

Richard II. A.D. 1383.

This courageous or rather outrageous bishop, armed thus with the pope's authority, and prompt with his privileges, in the year aforesaid (A.D. 1383), about the time of Lent, came to the parliament, where great consultation and contention, and almost no less schism, was, about the voyage of this popish bishop in the parliament, than was between the popes themselves; in which parliament many there were, who thought it not safe to commit the king's people and subjects to a rude and unskilful priest. So great was the diversity of judgments in that behalf that the bishop's voyage was protracted to the Saturday before Passion Sunday. On that Sunday was sung the solemn anthem, "Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes adversæ;" that is, "Behold the cross of the Lord, fly away all you adversaries." After that Sunday the parties so agreed amongst themselves by common decree, that the bishop should set forward on his voyage, having given to him the fifteenth, which was granted to the king in the parliament before. These things thus concluded, this warlike bishop preparing beforehand all things in readiness, set forward on his pope-holy journey; who, about the month of May, came to Canterbury, and there, tarrying for a wind in the monastery of St. Augustine, received a writ from the king that he should return to him, to know further of his pleasure. The bishop fearing, that if he turned again to the king, his journey should be staid, and so all his labour and preparation lost, with great derision and shame unto him, thought better to commit himself to fortune with that little army he had, than, by tarrying, to be made a laughing stock to his adversaries. Wherefore he sent word back again to the king, that he was now ready prepared, and well forward on his journey; and that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kind of talk, which, peradventure, should be to no manner of purpose; and that it was more convenient for him to hasten in his journey to God's glory, and also to the honour of the king. And thus he, calling his men unto him, entered forthwith upon the seas, and went to Calais, where he, waiting a few days for the rest of his army, on its arrival, took his journey first to the town of Gravelines, which he besieged so desperately, without any preparing of engines of war, or counsel of politic men skilful in such affairs, that he seemed rather to fly upon them, than to invade them. At length, through the superstition of our men trusting to the pope's absolution, he so harishly[1] approached the walls and invaded the enemies, that a great number of them were piteously slain with shot and wild-fire; till, in the end, the inhabitants being oppressed and vanquished, our men entered the town with their bishop, where they, at his commandment, destroying both man, woman, and child, left not one alive of all those who remained in the whole town. "And so it came to pass by the virtue of the cross, that the enemies of the cross were so utterly destroyed, that not one of them remained alive."[2]

See Appendix.

O bloodiness of Antichrist!

From Gravelines this warlike bishop set forward to Dunkirk, where, not long after, the Frenchmen meeting with him, joined with him in battle; in which battle, if the story be true, twelve thousand of the Frenchmen were slain in the chase, and of our men only seven

(1) "Harerishly," edition 1570; "harishly," the subsequent editions: it means, "harshly," in the sense of "violently." See Todd's Johnson.—Ed.

(2) "Sicque crucis beneficio factum, ut crucis hostes ita delerentur, quod unus ex eis non remansit."—Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani. in Vita Ric. II.

were missing. It would require a long narration here to discourse of all things done in these popish wars; also it would be no less ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temerity of this new upstart captain. But certes, lamentable it is to see the pitiful slaughter and murder of Christ's people by means of these pitiless popes, during these wars in France; as when the bishop coming from Dunkirk to the siege of Ypres, a great number of Englishmen there were lost, and much money consumed, and yet nothing done effectually, to the great shame and ignominy of the bishop. Again, after the siege of Ypres, thus with shame broken up, the same bishop proceeding with a small power to fight with the French king's camp, contrary to the counsel of his captains, who counted him rash and unskilful in his attempt, was fain to break company with them; whereby part of the army went unto Burburgh, and the bishop with the other part returned to Gravelines; both which towns shortly after were besieged by the French army, to the great loss both of the English and French. In fine, when the bishop could keep Gravelines no longer, the said bishop with his croysies, crossing the seas, came home again as wise as he went. And thus, making an end of this pontifical war, we will return again from whence we digressed, to the story and matter of John Wickliff. *Richard II.* A.D. 1383

This John Wickliff returning again within short space, either from his banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson; and there, quietly departing this mortal life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the end[1] of the year 1384, upon Silvester's day.[2] A.D.1384. *See Appendix.*

Here is to be noted the great providence of the Lord in this man, as in divers others, whom the Lord so long preserved in such rages of so many enemies from all their hands, even to his old age. For so it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing against him in his tomes entitled "De Sacramentis, contra Wiclevium," that he was well aged before he departed, by that which the aforesaid Walden writeth of him in his epilogue, speaking of Wickliff in these words;[3] "so that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please him being young." Whereby it seemeth that Wickliff lived till he was an old man by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will have kept, nothing can hurt.

This Wickliff had written divers and sundry works, which were

(1) Foxe says "the beginning:" for the reason of the alteration in the text, see Appendix.—Ed.

(2) There is a small tract freely circulated among the papists in Ireland, entitled "A sure way to find out the true religion." Dublin, sixth edition, 1833. The writer, following the steps of Alanus Copus, and others, attacks our author by a reference to his calendar of martyrs. Of this calendar Foxe thus speaks in the fourth edition, page 583, col. 1: "In my book of Acts and Monuments entreating of matters passed in the church these latter five hundred years, I did regulate out a calendar; not for any canon to constitute saints, but only for a table of them, who within the same time did suffer for the testimony of the word, whom I did, and do, take to be good and godly men." And again, in the same page, col. 2, speaking of Sir John Oldcastle and others, he says, "But this peradventure moveth your cholor, that in the calendar I named them for martyrs. And why may not I, in my calendar, call them by the name of martyrs, who were faithful witnesses of Christ's truth and testament, for which they were also chiefly brought unto that end?" The use of this term martyr, in cases of suffering short of death, is allowable by the authority of Dr. Johnson, who thus quotes from South: "To be a martyr, signifies only to witness the truth of Christ; but the witnessing of the truth was *then* so generally attended with persecution, that martyrdom now signifies not only to witness, but to witness by death." Notwithstanding Foxe's explanation of his meaning of this word martyr, we read in the tract above referred to, at page 51, "John Wickliffe, martyr; this is another of Foxe's lies, for Wickliffe was never put to death, nor yet so much as imprisoned for his heresy, but died in his bed at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire." Let the reader compare this jesuitical insinuation of an untruth on the part of Foxe, with the above detailed account of Wickliff's death, "quietly departing," and sleeping "in peace in the Lord," and a more deliberate deception on the part of his adversary can hardly be conceived.—Ed.

(3) "Ita ut cano placeret, quod juveni complacebat," &c.—Waldenus 2. tomo de Sacramentis, contra Wiclevium.

Richard II. A.D 1384.

burnt at Oxford A.D. 1410, the abbot of Shrewsbury being then commissary, and sent to oversee that matter.[1] And not only in England, but in Bohemia likewise, the books of the said Wickliff were set on fire by Sbinko Lepus, archbishop of Prague, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them. The volumes which he is said to have burned, most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and rich coverings (as Eneas Silvius writeth), were about the number of two hundred.

The number of Wickliff's books.

I would to God, that our destinies had not so much envied us, as to have deprived us of the felicity and commodity of so great a treasure. Albeit, in this behalf, John Bale hath deserved not a little praise, through whose exquisite labour and diligence it is brought to pass, that not only certain titles and arguments of his books, but also certain monuments,[2] as I do hear, are recovered out of darkness; a man who, not in this respect alone, hath well deserved of good students.[3]

Johannes Cocleus,[4] in his book 'De historia Hussitarum,' speaking of the books of Wickliff, testifieth, that he wrote very many books, sermons, and tractations. Moreover, the said Cocleus, speaking of himself, recordeth also, that there was a certain bishop in England, who wrote to him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his custody two huge and mighty volumes of John Wickliff's works, which, for the quantity thereof, might seem to be equal to the works of St. Augustine.

Among other of his treatises, I myself also have found out certain, as 'De sensu et veritate Scripturæ;' 'De Ecclesia;' 'De Eucharistia confessio Wicklevi,' which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting, to publish abroad.

As concerning certain answers of John Wickliff which he wrote to king Richard II., touching the right and title of the king and of the pope, because they are but short, I thought here to annex them. The effect whereof here followeth:—

The Substance of John Wickliff's Answer to King Richard II., touching the Right and Title of the King and the Pope.

A.D.1377. It was demanded "whether the kingdom of England may lawfully in case of necessity, for its own defence, detain and keep back the treasure of the kingdom, that it be not carried away to foreign and strange nations, the pope himself demanding and requiring the same, under pain of censure, and by virtue of obedience." Wickliff, setting apart the minds of learned men, and what might be said in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England, or by the civil law, saith:

"It resteth now only to persuade and prove the affirmative part of this doubt, by the principles of Christ's law. And first, I prove it thus: Every natural body hath power given by God to resist against its contrary, and to preserve itself in due estate, as philosophers know very well; insomuch, that bodies without life are endued with such kind of power, as it is evident, unto whom hardness is given to resist those things that would break them, and coldness to withstand the heat that dissolveth them. Forasmuch then, as the kingdom of England, after the manner and phrase of the Scriptures, ought to be one body,

(1) In the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 419, Art. 50, is an old document containing, amongst other matters, the history of the condemnation and search after Wickliff's books.—Ed.
(2) Wharton observes, "We have as many of the works of Wickliff yet extant, as, if printed together, would make four or five volumes in folio."—Ed.
(3) See the edition 1563, p. 98. (4) See Appendix.

and the clergy, with the commonalty, the members thereof, it seemeth that the same kingdom hath such power given it of God; and so much the more apparently, by how much the same body is more precious unto God, adorned with virtue and knowledge. Forasmuch then as there is no power given of God unto any creature for any end or purpose, but that he may lawfully use the same to that end and purpose, it followeth that our kingdom may lawfully keep back and detain their treasure for the defence of itself, in what case soever necessity doth require the same. *Richard II.* A. D. 1384.

Secondly, The same is proved by the law of the gospel: for the pope cannot challenge the treasure of this kingdom, but under the title of alms, and consequently under the pretence of works of mercy, according to the rule of charity. The pope's riches, the alms of good men.

But in the case aforesaid, the title of alms ought utterly to cease: Ergo, the right and title of challenging the treasure of our realm, shall cease also, in the presupposed necessity. Forasmuch as all charity hath its beginning of itself, it were no work of charity, but of mere madness, to send away the treasures of the realm unto foreign nations, whereby the realm itself may fall into ruin, under the pretence of such charity. Necessity taketh away the pope's alms.

It appeareth also by this, that Christ, the head of the church, whom all christian priests ought to follow, lived by the alms of devout women [Luke vii. and viii.] He hungered and thirsted, he was a stranger, and many other miseries he sustained, not only in his members, but also in his own body, as the apostle witnesseth [2 Cor. viii.] "He was made poor for your sakes, that through his poverty you might be rich:" whereby, in the first endowing of the church, whatsoever he were of the clergy that had any temporal possessions, he had the same by form of a perpetual alms, as both writings and chronicles do witness.

Hereupon the blessed Bernard, declaring in his second book to Eugenius, that he could not challenge any secular dominion by right of succession, as being the vicar of St. Peter, writeth thus; "But let it be so, that you do challenge it unto you by some other ways or means; but, truly, by any right or title apostolical you cannot so do: for how could he give unto you that which he had not himself? That which he had, he gave you; that is to say, care over the church; but did he give you any lordship or rule? Hark what he saith, 'Not bearing rule as lords over the clergy, but behaving yourselves as examples to the flock.' And lest thou shouldst think it to be spoken only in humility, and not in verity, mark the word of the Lord himself in the gospel, 'The kings of the people do rule over them, but you shall not do so.' Here lordship and dominion are plainly forbidden to the apostles. Go to then, and usurp (if thou darest), either (if thou wilt be a lord) the apostleship, or (if thou wilt be an apostle) the lordship; for thou art plainly debarred the one or the other. If thou wilt have both together, thou shalt lose both; or else think thyself to be of that number, of whom God doth complain, saying, 'They have reigned, but not through me; they are become princes, and I have not known it.' Now if it do suffice thee to rule without God,[1] thou hast thy glory, but not with God. But if we will keep that which is forbidden us, let us hear what is said, 'He that is the greatest amongst you,' saith Christ, 'shall be made as the least, and he which is the highest shall be as the minister;' and for example he set a child in the midst of them. So this, then, is the true form and institution of the apostolic calling, lordship is forbidden, ministration is commanded." Note well, the saying of Bernard. If St. John himself should speak unto the pope as Bernard doth unto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? The pope must leave his lordship or else his apostleship; let him choose which.

By these words of this blessed man, whom the whole church doth reverence and worship, it doth appear that the pope hath not power to hold in possession the goods of the church, as lord thereof, but as minister and servant, and proctor for the poor. And would to God, that the same proud and greedy desire of rule and lordship, which this see doth challenge unto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way for Antichrist; for it is evident by the gospel that Christ through his poverty, humility, and suffering of injury, begot unto him the children of his kingdom. The pope hath no power over church goods. The way to obtain the kingdom of Christ.

[1] The Latin Edition of Foxe (p. 17) reads, "Jam si sine dominio regnare juvat," &c. which is nonsense. The first English Edition reads rightly "without the Lord;" the rest, "with the Lord." The Basil edition of Bernard, col. 1528, and the Benedictine edition, col. 1490, read, "sine Deo." The translation of the passage from Bernard is improved.—Ed.

Richard II. A. D. 1381.

And moreover, as far as I remember, the same blessed man Bernard, in his third book, writeth also thus unto Eugenius, "No poison, no sword, do I dread more for thee, than the lust of dominion."[1]

This Wickliff, albeit in his lifetime he had many grievous enemies, yet was there none so cruel to him, as the clergy itself. Yet, notwithstanding, he had many good friends, men not only of the meaner sort, but also of the nobility, amongst whom these men are to be numbered, John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Stury, Thomas Latimer, William Nevil, and John Montague, who plucked down all the images in his church. Besides all these, there was the earl of Salisbury, who, for contempt in him noted towards the sacrament, in carrying it home to his house, was enjoined by Ralph Ergom, bishop of Salisbury, to make in Salisbury a cross of stone, in which all the story of the matter should be written: and he, every Friday during his life, to come to the cross barefoot, and bareheaded in his shirt, and there kneeling upon his knees to do penance for his deed.[2]

Penance of the earl of Salisbury.

The Londoners at this time, somewhat boldly trusting to the mayor's authority, who for that year was John of Northampton, took upon them the office of the bishops, in punishing the vices, belonging to civil law, of such persons as they had found and apprehended in committing both fornication and adultery; for, first, they put the women in the prison, which, amongst them, was then named Dolium; and lastly, bringing them into the market-place, where every man might behold them, and cutting off their golden locks from their heads, they caused them to be carried about the streets, with bagpipes and trumpets blown before them, to the intent they should be the better known, and their companies avoided; according to the manner then of certain thieves that were named "Appellatores," accusers or impeachers of others that were guiltless, who were so served. And with other such like opprobrious and reproachful contumelies did they serve the men also that were taken with them in committing the aforenamed wickedness and vices. Here the story recordeth how the said Londoners were encouraged hereunto by John Wickliff, and by others who followed his doctrine, to perpetrate this act, to the reproach of the prelates of the clergy; for they said, that they did not only abhor to see the great negligence of those, to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthy avarice they did as much detest, who, for greediness of money, were choaked with bribes, and winking at the penalties due to such persons by the laws appointed, suffered such fornicators and incestuous persons favourably to continue in their wickedness. They said, furthermore, that they greatly feared, lest for such wickedness perpetrated within the city, and so apparently dissembled, God would take vengeance upon them, and destroy their city. Wherefore they said, that they could do no less than purge the same; lest, by the sufferance thereof, God should bring a plague upon them, or destroy them with the sword, or cause the earth to swallow up both them and their city.[3]

Fruits of good and true doctrine.

(1) "Nullum tibi venenum, nullum gladium, plus formido, quàm libidinem dominandi." See this quotation infrà, p. 71. Lewis (p. 51) and Dr. Vaughan (vol. i. pp. 361—365) inform us that the original of the foregoing document is in the Bodleian MS. Joh. Seldeni, B. 10: the latter, who examined it, gives an epitome of it, and says that it is a much more extensive and important paper than would appear from Foxe's representation of it. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani, in Vita Ric. II. (3) Ibid.

Richard II. A. D. 1384.

This story, gentle reader, although the author thereof, whom I follow, doth give it out in reproachful terms to the great discommendation of the Londoners for so doing, yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the same to memory; which seemeth to me rather to tend unto the worthy commendation both of the Londoners and the aforesaid John of Northampton, the mayor. *[1]A notable and worthy example, doubtless, of a true magistrate; which man, if they that follow him now in like office, would also follow him in like severity and diligence, I doubt not but that it would be better with the city of London, for the good reformations of the people: so that, we had not either fallen into this tempest of great misery, wherewith all the realm of England is now plagued, or else, we should yet the sooner shake off the plague, and put it away. But now, while the princes do attend and give ear to blind prophecies, the bishops play the tyrants,[2] the divines are drowned in ambition, the prophets slain, the noblemen fall into all kinds of lascivious wantonness, the magistrates wink at vice unpunished, the common people run into all kinds of lasciviousness; while prostitution, divorcements, adultery, avarice and covetousness, craft and deceit, drunkenness, contentions, usury and perjury, with all other kinds of vice and wickedness, overflow now the realm, what marvel is it, if all the joints and frames of the commonwealth being loosed asunder, all things run in heaps, to ruin and decay.[3]

Hitherto, it may be thought, that we are sufficiently instructed by the great scourges, plagues, and miseries which have happened; and except we be so, that nothing will teach us what it is to fall into the hand of the Lord, and what it is to abuse his holy gospel. Time it is, yea, and high time doth require it. that we now, forsaking and waxing weary of our old corruptions and evils, may at the length convert and turn the wrath and displeasure of God into his mercy and favour; the which thing we shall soon do, if that we first of all ourselves do correct and amend our lives, and change our vice into virtue: but of this matter (God willing) we will find another place to intreat of. Now we will return again to the favourers of Wickliff, amongst whom the lord Cobham is to be accounted, who is reported openly to have confessed (as Walden writeth) that he did never with his heart hate sin, before he was instructed and taught by Wickliff. All these were noble men: yet was there no want amongst the meanest sort of such as, with all their diligence, did defend his doctrine; and specially amongst the Oxford men. Of the which number there was not one, that scaped free without some kind of mark; for either they were most shamefully forced unto recantation, or else most cruelly judged to the fire.* After these things thus declared, let us now add the testimonial of the university of Oxford in favour of John Wickliff.

The Public Testimony given by the University of Oxford, touching the great Learning and good Life of John Wickliff.[4]

Unto all and singular the children of our holy mother the church, to whom

(1) See edition, 1563, p. 100. Also the Lat. edition, p. 18.—Ed.

(2) "Play the tyrants." "Episcopi τυραννεύουσι, ambitione insaniunt theologi." Lat. edition, 1559, p. 18.—Ed.

(3) "What marvel," &c. "Quid mirum, si luxatis undique reipublicæ compagibus, ruinam demum ac πανωλεθρίαν spectare omnia videantur." Lat. ed. 1559, p. 18.—Ed.

(4) The enemies of Wickliff have endeavoured to overthrow the authenticity of this valuable

Richard II. A.D 1384. this present letter shall come, the chancellor of the university of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, wish perpetual health in the Lord. Forsomuch as it is not seemly, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men, should be passed over and hidden with perpetual silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abroad the same in strange and far distant places, both for the witness of the same, and the example to others; forsomuch also as the provident discretion of human nature, well weighing the cruelty of mankind, hath devised this way of narrative as a buckler of defence against such as do blaspheme and slander other men's doings, that whensoever testimony by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen by writing may supply the same.—

Hereupon it followeth, that the special good will and tender care which we bear unto John Wickliff, sometime a son of this our university, and professor of divinity, moving and stirring our minds (as his good manners required no less), with one heart, voice, and testimony, we do witness all his conditions throughout his whole life to have been praiseworthy; whose honest manners and conditions, profoundness of learning, and most redolent renown and fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified and known unto all the faithful, for that we understand the ripeness of his conversation, and his assiduous labours, to tend to the praise of God, the good of others, and the profit of the church.

Great learning joined with good life and godliness.

Wherefore we signify unto you by these presents, that his conversation, even from tender years unto the time of his death, was so excellent and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion reported of him. But, in his answering, reading, preaching, and determining, he behaved himself laudably. As a stout and valiant champion of the faith, he catholicly vanquished by the sentences of holy Scripture all those, who by their wilful beggary blasphemed and slandered Christ's religion. Neither was the said doctor convicted of any heresy, nor burned of our prelates after his burial.[1] God forbid, that our prelates should have condemned for a heretic a man of such probity; who had written in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts, without his peer (as we believe) amongst all the rest of the university. The which we are delighted to produce to the knowledge of all and singular to whom these presents may come, to the intent that the fame and renown of the said doctor may be the more spread abroad. In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters testimonial to be sealed with our common seal.

Given at Oxford, in our congregation-house, the fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1406.[2]

The Testimony and Judgment of Master John Huss, touching Master John Wickliff.[3]

Verily, as I do not believe, neither grant, that Master John Wickliff is a heretic, so do I not deny, but firmly hope, that he is no heretic; forasmuch as in all matters of doubt, I ought, as near as I can, to choose the better part. Wherefore I hope, that Master John Wickliff is one of them who should be saved. The words of Christ move me thereunto, saying [Matt. vii.] "Do not ye judge, that ye be not judged," and [Luke vi.] "Do not condemn, and ye shall not be condemned;" and the words of the apostle [1 Cor. iv.] "Do not ye judge before the time, until the Lord do come, who shall both open those things that are hid in darkness, and manifest the secrets of the hearts."

Motives of John Huss to undertake Wickliff's defence.

Secondly, The charity which I ought to bear unto my neighbour, loving him as myself, doth move me thereunto. [Luke x.]

Thirdly, His good fame and report moveth me, which he hath of the good

document: for the particulars of this controversy the reader is referred to Lewis's History, p. 183 to 192. Dr. Wordsworth remarks upon this subject (Ecc. Hist. Vol. I. p. 94 in the note): "As to the practical value and importance of this testimonial, we have ample evidence of the popularity at Oxford of Wickliffe's person and his cause in the concessions and the complaints of his adversaries." Foxe gives the writings of John Huss, as the source from whence he derived this document, and it stands at p. 24, in the Latin edition of his Acts and Monuments.—Ed.

(1) The bones of Wickliff were not yet commanded by the council of Constance to be burned.

(2) Ex 2. tomo operum Joa. Huss. fol. ult. [See infrà, p. 64, note 3. Foxe's translation has been revised according to the Latin.—Ed.]

(3) This testimony forms part of a small piece by Huss, intituled "Replica Magistri Joannis Huss contra Anglicum Joannem Stokes, Wicleffi calumniatorem, celebrata die Dominicâ post Nativitatem Mariæ, A.D. 1411." It is printed in Huss's works, edit. 1558, tom. i. fol. 108, and Foxe's translation has been thence revised.—Ed.

priests, and not of the wicked; of the university of Oxford; and commonly of the vulgar sort, although not of the wicked, covetous, proud, and lecherous prelates and priests. *Richard II.*

Fourthly, His own writings do stir me thereunto, by which he goeth about with his whole endeavour to reduce all men unto the law of Christ, and especially the clergy, that they should forsake the pomp and dominion of this world, and with the apostles lead the life of Christ. A.D. 1384.

Fifthly, His protestations, which he doth use in his sentences, very often repeating the same, do not a little move me.

Sixthly, His affection which he had unto the law of Christ doth not a little move me thereunto, asserting the verity thereof, which cannot fail in any one jot or tittle. Whereupon he made a book "concerning the verity of holy Scripture," approving, even unto the uttermost, the truth of God's law.[1]

Therefore, it were too foolish a consequence to say, that because the multitude of the prelates and clergy in the realms of England, France, and Bohemia, do count Master John Wickliff for a heretic, that therefore Master John Wickliff is a heretic. For so Jesus Christ were not God, because the Turks and the Jews so judge, &c. The like reasoning would apply to the burning of his books; for it is written in the first book of Maccabees, the first chapter, that "They did burn the books of the Lord, tearing them in pieces, and whosoever was found to have kept any books of the Testament of the Lord, or which observed and kept the law of the Lord, he was, by the king's commandment, put to death." If then the burning of books by wicked men did argue or prove evil of the books, then were the law of God evil and naught. So likewise the burning of St. Gregory's books, and those of divers other saints and good men, should argue and prove that they were evil and naughty men. Burning of his books no proof of his being heretical.

Whereupon as it doth not follow, that because the chief-priests, scribes, and pharisees, with the elders of the people, condemned Christ Jesus as a heretic, that therefore he is a heretic; so likewise doth it not follow of any other man, that because the bishops, and masters of divinity, with the monks and prelates, condemned that man as a heretic, therefore, he is a heretic. For this consequence is reproved in the blessed John Chrysostome, who was twice condemned as a heretic by the bishops and the whole of the clergy. Likewise St. Gregory, in his books, was condemned by the cardinals. False consequence reproved by Chrysostome.

By like proof also, as they affirm Master John Wickliff to be a heretic, John duke of Lancaster, a man of worthy memory, and progenitor of Henry, king of England that now is, should be a heretic: because the said duke defended, cherished, and greatly loved Master John Wickliff; ergo, the said duke is or was a heretic. The consequence is good; for the minor is well known to Englishmen, the major appeareth in the canon law, where it is said (Causa 24. quæst. ult.), "He who defendeth a heretic, is not only a heretic, but a heresiarch." Duke of Lancaster a defender of Wickliff.

But, these things set apart, I demand of the adversary, whether Master John Wickliff be damned for ever or no? If he say, that he is damned because he is a heretic, I propound this unto him: whether Master John Wickliff, whilst he lived, held any false doctrine contrary to the holy Scriptures? If he do affirm it, let him then show what doctrine that is, and afterwards show that he held it obstinately. But he shall find that in his books he always wrote commendable protestations against obstinacy. Wickliff proved no heretic.

Further, Master John Stokes in his "Intimation" saith, that Master John Wickliff in England is counted for a heretic. This seemeth also false by the letter testimonial of the university of Oxford, to which there is more credit to be given than unto him. And if any one shall dare to say that the letter is forged, let him be bound under a penalty to prove it: to do which he must prove the Englishmen falsifiers, for the seal and the letter on parchment are clearly English. *See Appendix.*

Now as we have declared the testimony of the university of Oxford, and of John Huss, concerning the praise of John Wickliff, it followeth, likewise, that we set forth and express the contrary censure and judgments of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt

(1) Lib. de sensu et veritate Scripturæ per J. Wicklev.

Richard II. A.D. 1384.

affections against him; especially of the pope's council gathered at Constance, proceeding, first, in condemning his books, then his articles, and afterward burning his bones. The copy of their sentence given against him by that council here followeth.

The Sentence given by the Council of Constance, in condemning the Doctrine and Forty-five Articles of John Wickliff. A.D. 1415.[1]

The holy and sacred synod of Constance, making a general council and representing the catholic church, being lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghost for the extirpation of this present schism and of the errors and heresies springing under the shadow of the same, and for the reformation of the church, for the perpetual memory of the thing:—

We are taught by the writings and acts of the holy fathers, that the catholic faith, "without which," as saith the apostle, "it is impossible to please God," hath often been attacked by false worshippers, or rather perverse impugners, of the said faith; who, through their proud curiosity, affected to be wiser than they ought to be, and, through their desire of worldly glory, have gone about to overthrow the same faith; the which hath been as often defended against them with the shield of faith by the faithful and spiritual soldiers of the church. These kind of wars were prefigured to us in the carnal wars of the Israelites against the idolatrous nations. In these spiritual wars, then, the holy catholic church, being enlightened in the true faith with the beams of the heavenly light, by the providence of God, and with the help of the saints, always continuing immaculate, and the darkness of error as her most cruel enemy being put to flight, hath most gloriously triumphed. But in these times, that old and envious enemy hath raised up new contentions, that the elect of this age might be made manifest, whose captain and prince in time past was one John Wickliff, a false christian; who, during his lifetime, obstinately asserted and dogmatized many articles contrary to the christian religion and the catholic faith, forty-five whereof we have thought good here to set down, and they are as followeth.

The spiritual wars of holy church prefigured by the carnal wars of the Israelites

And the same John Wickliff composed certain books which he called "Dialogue" and "Trialogue," and many other treatises, volumes, and small works, in which he inserted and dogmatized the aforesaid and many other damnable and execrable articles; the which his books, for the more publication of his perverse doctrine, he did set forth openly for every man to read. Whence great scandal, damage, and peril to souls hath ensued in divers regions, but especially in the kingdoms of England and Bohemia. Against which the masters and doctors of the universities and schools of Oxford and Prague rising up in the truth of God, within a while after did formally condemn the said articles.

Dialogue and Trialogue of Wickliff.

Moreover, the most reverend fathers, the archbishops, for the time being, of Canterbury, York, and Prague, legates of the apostolic see in the kingdoms of England and Bohemia, did condemn them. And the said archbishop of Prague, commissary of the apostolic see in this behalf, did moreover judge the books of the said Wickliff to be burnt, and forbade the reading of any of those books which might remain unburned.

His books condemned to be burned.

And again, those things being brought to the knowledge of the apostolic see and of the general council, the bishop of Rome in the last council celebrated at Rome condemned the said books, treatises, and small works, commanding them to be burned; most straitly forbidding that any one bearing the name of Christ should dare either to read, or expound, or keep any of the said books, volumes, treatises, or works; or in any way use them; or else allege them publicly or privily, but to their reprobation. And, to the intent that this dangerous and most filthy doctrine should be utterly banished out of the church, he gave commandment that diligent inquisition should be made every where by the ordinaries of the places, by apostolic authority and ecclesiastical censure (with the addition, that, if need be, proceedings should be instituted against recusants as against fautors of heresy), after all such books, treatises, volumes,

Words of authority without due probation.

(1) The original Latin is in Labbe's Conc. Gen. tom. xii. col. 4, whence Foxe's translation has been revised. The sentence was passed on Saturday, May 4th, A.D. 1415, in the eighth session, at the same time in fact with the decree given at p. 94, for disinterring and burning Wickliff's bones.—Ed.

and works, and that the same being found, should be publicly burned with fire. *Richard II.*

A.D. 1381.

And this holy synod caused the aforesaid forty-five articles to be examined and oftentimes perused by many most reverend fathers of the church of Rome, cardinals, bishops, abbots, masters of divinity, and doctors of both laws, besides a great number of other learned men; which articles being so examined, it was found (as in truth it is no less) that some, yea and many of them, were and are notoriously heretical, and for such long ago condemned by the holy fathers; other some not catholic, but erroneous; other some scandalous and blasphemous; certain of them offensive unto godly ears; and many of them rash and seditious. It is found, also, that his books do contain many other articles of like quality, and that they do induce into the church of God unsound and unwholesome[1] doctrine, inimical both to faith and morals. Wherefore, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this synod, ratifying and approving the sentences and judgments of the aforesaid archbishops and council of Rome, do by this decree for evermore reprove and condemn the aforesaid articles and every one of them, his books which he entituled "Dialogue" and "Trialogue,"[2] and all other books, volumes, treatises, and works, of the same author, by what name soever they be entituled, which we will to be here sufficiently expressed and named. Also, we forbid unto all faithful Christians the reading,[3] learning, exposition, and alleging of the said books or any of them, but for the reprobation of the same; and we forbid all and singular, under pain of curse, that they never from henceforth presume openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by any means allege the said articles or any of them, except, as is aforesaid, for the reprobation of them; commanding all those books, treatises, volumes, and works aforesaid, to be openly burned, as was decreed in the synod at Rome,[4] and as is before expressed. The execution and observance whereof the aforesaid sacred synod doth charge the ordinaries of the places vigilantly to intend, according as it appertaineth to every man's duty, by the laws and holy canons.

Ask my fellow if I be a thief.

So we hear you say.

So thought the soldiers perpetually to keep down Christ from rising.

Though the sepulchre be watched, Christ will rise.

O marvellous sacred synod!

What these articles were, here condemned by the council, collected out of all his works, and exhibited to the said council, to the number of forty-five, the copy of them here following declareth.

Certain Articles gathered out of Wickliff's Books by his Adversaries, to the Number of Forty-five in all, exhibited up to the Council of Constance after his Death, and in the same Council condemned.

NOTE.—Besides the twenty-four articles above mentioned[5], there were others also gathered out of his books, to the number of forty-five in all, which his malicious adversaries, perversely collecting and maliciously expounding, did exhibit up to the Council of Constance; which to repeat all, though it be not here needful, yet to recite certain of them as they stand in that council, it shall not be superfluous.[6]

25. All such as engage to pray for others on condition of their providing for them in temporals, are guilty of simony.

26. The prayer of a reprobate availeth no man.

27. All things happen from absolute necessity.[7]

(1) "Unwholesome," because they teach against the pomp of the pope.

(2) Because this "trialogue" teareth the pope's triple crown. [The ancient crown or "tiara" (mentioned at page 172 of vol. ii.) was a round high cap. Pope John XXIII. first encircled it with a crown; Boniface added to it a second crown, and Benedict XII. added the third. This covering for the head of the pope, which has increased in splendour, as his church has increased in pride, is the badge of his civil right, as the keys are of his spiritual jurisdiction; for as soon as the pope is dead, his arms are represented with the tiara alone, without the keys.—ED.]

(3) Upon this injunction against Wickliff's works Foxe observes, "Rub a galled horse on the back, and he will wince." By which he means, that the church of Rome, having been once made to smart under the attacks of Wickliff, was anxious that old wounds should not be reopened, and therefore condemned and reprobated his writings.—ED.]

(4) At Rome, "nether barrel, better herring."

(5) See above, pp. 21, 22.—ED.

(6) Foxe's translation of the following articles has been revised from the Latin.—ED.

(7) This article, omitted in all the English editions of Foxe, is here restored to its place from the Latin edition of 1559, p. 36. "Omnia de necessitate absolute eveniunt." To this our author adjoins a side note; "Et hic forte calumnia." The reader will also find the article in Orthuinus Gratius, fol. 144, and Cochlæus, p. 10; it is likewise amongst those which follow, collected by

Richard II. A.D. 1384.

28. The confirmation of young persons, ordination of clerics, and the consecration of places, be reserved to the pope and bishops for the sake of temporal lucre and honour.

29. Universities, schools [studia], and colleges, and the degrees and masterships used in the same, were introduced from a vain affectation of Gentilism, and no more profit the church than the devil himself doth.

30. The excommunication of the pope or any other prelate is not to be feared, because it is the censure of Antichrist.

31. Such as found monasteries do sin, and all such as enter the same be members of the devil.

32. To endow the clergy is against the rule of Christ.

33. Sylvester, the pope, and Constantine, the emperor, erred in endowing the church.

34. Any deacon or presbyter may lawfully preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolic see or that of a bishop.[1]

35. Such as enter into any order or religion [monastical] are thereby disabled for the observance of God's commandments, and by consequence for the attaining the kingdom of heaven, except they forsake the same.

36. The pope with all his clerics, having those great possessions which they have, be heretics for so having, as also are all secular lords and other laics who consent to them.

37. The church of Rome is the synagogue of Satan; nor is the pope the immediate and proximate vicar of Christ and of the apostles.

38. The decretal epistles be apocryphal, and tend to seduce from the faith of Christ; and the clerics that study them be fools.

39. The emperor and secular lords were seduced by the devil, that they endowed the church with temporal goods.

40. It is not necessary to salvation to believe the church of Rome to be supreme head over other churches.

41. It is infatuation to believe in the indulgences of the pope.

42. Oaths which be made for any contract or civil bargain betwixt man and man, be unlawful.

43. Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, with all such as have held endowments, and such as have instituted or entered into [private] religion, except they repented them thereof, be damned; and so all from the pope to the lowest novice be heretics.

44. All [private] religions, without distinction, were not introduced by Christ.[2]

45. That all in the order of mendicants be heretics, and all who give them alms be excommunicate.[3]

Besides these articles, to the number of forty-five, condemned, as is said, by the council of Constance, other articles also I find diversely collected, or rather wrested, out of the books and writings

William Woodford; and unless it is retained here with articles 44 and 45, inserted from the Latin edition, the number mentioned in the heading would be contradicted by the text, and the frequent and important references to the articles would be incorrect. The variations which occur in these copies of the conclusions of Wickliff are accounted for in the following extract from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 107: "As concerning John Wickliff's conclusions which were condemned in the council of the earthquake, we have spoken before. Now, forsomuch as the slander of the adversaries doth further move me, it remaineth that we gather the articles exhibited and condemned in the council of Constance; albeit that I do not find all men to accord and agree, neither in the order, neither in the number of them. For William Widford [Woodford] in his 'Impugnation' [see infrà, p. 64, note (1),] which he dedicated unto Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, numbereth them after one sort, and John Huss after another."

"And, again, the copy of Colen, which here we do follow, doth differ from them both, as the apology of John Huss doth declare, where the 14, 15, 17 articles are placed after another order than they be set forth in other books, as it shall appear by his defence, which we will annex immediately upon the articles, forsomuch as it is most evident that there were 45 articles put up unto the council of Constance, and in the catalogue of Colen is found but 44 articles."—Ed.

(1) The words "vel episcopi authoritate" are not translated in the English editions, though found in the Latin; where is a note also, "De pontificiis sentit episcopis."—Ed.

(2) This article is only found in the Latin edition, p. 27.—"Omnes religiones privatæ, indifferenter, introductæ non sunt à Christo." But in Gratian (fol. 148) and Cochlæus (p. 10) it stands thus: —"Omnes religiones indifferentur introductæ sunt à diabolo."—Ed.

(3) This last is not mentioned here by Orthuinus Gratius (fol. 148), who gives it as article 14, see p. 22 suprà, and consolidating 11 and 12 reckons but 44 articles; it is also omitted by Cochlæus, who however introduces the following between Foxe's 39 and 40: "Electio papæ à cardinalibus est à diabolo introducta."—Ed.

of Wickliff, some by William Woodford, and some by Walden, friar Tissington, and others; which they, in their books, have impugned rather than confuted; in the number of whom William Woodford especially findeth out these articles, and writeth against the same, to the number of eighteen, as hereunder follow. *Richard II.* A.D. 1384.

Articles against Wickliff collected by William Woodford.[1]

1. The substance of the bread remaineth after the consecration thereof upon the altar, and ceaseth not to be bread.

2. As John was figuratively Elias, and not personally, so the bread is figuratively the body of Christ, and not naturally the body of Christ. And without all doubt it is a figurative speech, "This is my body," as when Christ said, "This John is Elias."

3. The sacrament of the Eucharist is naturally true bread, speaking as before of material bread, white and round: and so hath the court of Rome determined in the chapter, "Ego Berengarius." *See Appendix.*

4. They who do affirm that the infants of the faithful, departing without the sacrament of baptism, are not saved, be presumptuous and fools in so affirming.

5. The administration of the sacrament of confirmation is not reserved to the bishops.

6. In the time of St. Paul, two orders of clerks did suffice the church, priests and deacons. Neither was there in the time of the apostles any distinction of pope, patriarchs, archbishops: but it sufficeth according to Scripture that there be presbyters and deacons; the emperor's pride did invent the others.

7. Such as marry in old age either for covetousness of temporal lucre, or in hope of mutual succour, or in order to excuse their lust, although they have no hope of issue, are not coupled together by true matrimony.

8. Causes of divorce on account of consanguinity or affinity be unwarrantable human ordinances.

9. These words, "I will take thee to wife," are rather to be used in contracting of matrimony, than the words, "I do take thee to wife." And the contract with any party by the words of the future tense, "I will take thee to wife," ought not to be frustrated by a contract by another party afterwards made by the words of the present time, "I do take thee to wife."

10. These twelve are the proctors of Antichrist, the pope, the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials and deans, monks and bifurcate canons, the false friars last introduced, and collectors.

11. In the Book of Numbers, chap. xviii., and in Ezekiel, chap. xliv., it is simply commanded negatively, that neither priests of the family of Aaron, nor the Levites, should have any part of the inheritance with the other tribes, but should live merely by tithes and oblations.

12. There is not a greater heretic or Antichrist than the clerk who teacheth that it is lawful for the priests and Levites of the law of grace to be endowed with temporal possessions. And if any be heretics, apostates, or blasphemers through handling the word of God deceitfully, such be the clerks who so teach.

13. Not only can the lords temporal take away the goods of fortune from a church habitually delinquent, that is, not only is it lawful for them so to do, but also they are bound so to do under pain of eternal damnation.

14. He that is the more humble and more devoted in the love of Christ, and more loving toward the church, is the greater in the church militant, and the nearest vicar of Christ.

15. If corporal unction [or anoyling] were a sacrament (as is now feigned), Christ and his apostles would not have passed in silence the institution thereof.

16. Unto true secular dominion is requisite the virtuous life [justitia] of him that claimeth the dominion, so that no man who is in mortal sin is really lord of anything.

17. All things that are to happen will so happen absolutely and of necessity.

18. Whatsoever the pope or his cardinals can deduce clearly out of holy Scripture, that only is to be believed or to be done at their monition; and

(1) Foxe's translation has been revised from the Latin in Orth. Gratius's 'Fasciculus,' fol. 95. —Ed

Richard II. whatsoever they presume [to require] beyond this is to be contemned as heretical.

A.D. 1384. Besides this William Woodford aforementioned,[1] divers other there were who wrote against these articles of Wickliff aforesaid, maintaining the pope's part, as seemeth, for flattery, rather than following any just cause so to do, or showing forth any reason or learning in disproving the same. Notwithstanding, on the contrary part, some there were again both learned and godly, who, taking the part of Wickliff, without any flattery, defended the most of the said articles openly in schools and other places.

[2]Thus you have the whole sum of Wickliff's articles, containing his whole doctrine, described and set forth; albeit not as he hath uttered them, but as his froward adversaries have compiled and collected them out of his writings. Wherefore, if some of them seem hard or strange, I think it rather to be imputed to their evil will, than to his good meaning; as it might soon appear, if his books had been now extant to testify of his doctrine. But this is certain; howsoever his articles were taken of the wicked and evil disposed, with all good men he was highly favoured, and had in such estimation for his profound knowledge and great learning, that also foreign nations were moved with his authority. Amongst all other, the Bohemians had him in such reverence for the opinion of his singular learning, that John Huss, the greatest doer in the university of Prague, not only took profit of his doctrine, but also openly defended his articles. Insomuch that in his public disputation and solemn acts after the manner of schools, he took upon him the public defension of divers of the said articles; namely, upon the fourteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth, with other more; whose disputation upon the same matter, if it shall not seem tedious to the reader to understand, it shall not seem grievous to me to declare; not only for the antiquity of the matter, but also for the utility of the same.

THE PUBLIC DEFENCE OF CERTAIN ARTICLES OF JOHN WICKLIFF, IN THE FIRST ACT, BEFORE THE WHOLE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE, IN CHARLES'S COLLEGE, A.D. 1412.[3]

The Determination of John Huss upon the Fourteenth Article of Wickliff, touching the Preaching and Hearing of the Word of God, made in the Year of our Lord 1412.

Forsomuch as to condemn the truth wittingly, or without reasonable examination, doth tend to great danger of salvation, as the Lord saith [Luke vi.], "Do

(1) Tractat. frat. W. Woodford contra Trialogum Wicklevi. [See the Appendix.—Ed.]

(2) See edition 1563, p. 108. The reader's attention is particularly directed to this passage, as it accounts for the "hard and strange things," which are set forth in Wickliff's articles. They seem, indeed, in some cases, to be isolated passages extracted from his writings, or casual expressions falsely reported, to suit the malicious intentions of his enemies. It is needless to add, that the Romish church has never ceased to adduce these adulterated articles, as proofs of the dangerous doctrines of the reformer; and this, too, in such strong terms as would well nigh shake our confidence in the general soundness of Wickliff's views, were it not that we possess abundance of his other writings to refute the slander, and to confirm us in the opinion of his piety and sincerity. One of his greatest works was the translation of the New Testament into the vulgar tongue, of which Foxe very singularly takes no particular notice; the following is its title:—"The New Testament, with the Lessons taken out of the Old Law, read in churches according to the use of Sarum; translated into English from the vulgar Latin by John Wicklif, D.D., rector of Lutterworth. 1380."

(3) Foxe derived the following defence of some of Wickliff's articles by John Huss from a work which he cites in the note (2) at p. 58 suprà; the title of the work is "Johannis Huss et Hieronymi Pragensis confessorum Christi Historia et Monumenta, &c.," printed in two vols. folio at Nuremberg, 1558, and again, with a copious index, in 1715. Extensive corrections have been thence made in Foxe's translation. The references to the Canon Law were very often corrupt.—Ed.

not ye condemn, and ye shall not be condemned:" therefore, to avoid this great danger, the university of Prague, and the whole commonalty thereof, the rector, masters, doctors, bachelors, and students, in general congregation, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the doctors in their council-house, require of the said doctors a justification of their condemnation, and that they should by Scripture, authority, or infallible reason, prove the falsehood of every those five and forty articles; the which being once done, the said university will agree to the said condemnation as just. For the university doth well know, that, as Augustine saith, at the end of his second book of Christian Doctrine, "Whatsoever a man doth learn besides the holy Scriptures, if it be hurtful, there it is condemned; if it be profitable, there it is found. And when a man hath found all things therein which he hath profitably learned elsewhere, he shall much more abundantly find those things which are found in no place else, but are learned in the marvellous depth and marvellous profoundness of those most sacred Scriptures only."

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The whole university of Prague is against the judgment of the doctors who condemned the forty-five articles.

Thus writeth Augustine. And Gregory, in his twenty-third book of Morals, saith thus: "God in the holy Scripture hath comprehended whatsoever thing may happen unto any man, and in the same hath by the examples of those who are gone before taught those who are to come, how to reform their lives."

Hence it appeareth, that if every of the five and forty articles containeth in it wholly the thing that is false and untrue, the same is either explicitly or implicitly condemned in the holy Scriptures.

Secondly, it followeth by the sentence and mind of this holy man, that if the condemnation of the five and forty articles be profitable, the same is found in the holy Scriptures. And whereas again St. Augustine writeth unto St. Jerome in his eighth epistle, as cited in the ninth Distinction, "I," saith he, "have learned to attribute this honour and reverence unto those writers only who are called canonical, that I dare affirm none of them to have erred in their works or writings. As for all other writers, I do so read them, that although they abound with never so much holiness, or excel in doctrine, I do not by-and-by think it true because they themselves do so judge; but if they can, by other authors, or canonical or probable reasons, persuade or prove that it doth not digress from the truth."

Also, the said Augustine, in his book 'De Baptismo contra Donatistas,' lib. ii. cap. 3, saith thus: "Who doth not know the holy canonical Scripture to be contained in his own bounds and limits, and the same to be so preferred before all other letters and decrees of bishops, as that it must not be once doubted or questioned touching anything written therein, whether it be true and right. As for the letters of other bishops which have been written, or be written, since the settlement of the canon, they may lawfully be reprehended and reproved, both by the word of them that be more skilful in that matter, and also by the ancient authority of other bishops, or by the prudence and wisdom of such as be better learned, or more expert, or else by general councils, if it so chance that they in any point have erred and gone astray from the sincere truth."

See Appendix

From these sayings of St. Augustine and others, &c., the university of Prague hath concluded and determined, that they will not receive the condemnation of the five and forty articles, made by the doctors in their council-house, as just and true, except they who condemned them will prove their condemnation by the holy Scriptures or probable reasons upon every of the five and forty articles.

Wherefore, for the due examination of the aforesaid condemnation, whether it be effectual or no, we will at this present take in hand the article numbered *fourteenth* of the five and forty; which article is this:

"They who leave off preaching or hearing the word of God for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicate, and in the day of judgment shall be counted the betrayers of Christ."

This article containeth: First, that priests, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated.

Secondly, It containeth that such as do omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of excommunication, are excommunicated.

Thirdly, It containeth that both these sorts of men in the day of judgment shall be counted traitors to Christ.

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As concerning the first point, it is pre-supposed, that the preaching of the word of God is commanded unto the apostles and their followers, as it appeareth in Matt. x., where it is said, "Jesus sent his twelve disciples, commanding them, and saying, Go and preach that the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Also in the last of Matthew, and the tenth of Luke. Whereupon Peter, the apostle of Christ, acknowledging this precept and commandment for himself, and for the other apostles and successors, in Acts x., saith thus: "He commandeth us to preach and testify, that it is he which is ordained of God the judge both of the quick and the dead." This commandment, also, the other apostles did acknowledge, and especially the chosen vessel, pronouncing under a great threatening, [1 Cor. ix.] "Wo be unto me if I do not preach the gospel." And pope Nicholas, considering that great threatening in the forty-third Distinction, saith: "The dispensation of the heavenly seed is enjoined unto us; wo be unto us if we do not sow it abroad, or if we hold our peace. Which thing when the vessel of election did fear and cry out upon, how much more ought all inferiors to fear!" To the same purpose doth St. Gregory write in his 'Pastoral,' as cited in the same Distinction, cap. "Sit rector."[1] It is also evident by many other doctors and holy men, as by St. Augustine, Jerome, Isidore, Bernard, whose words it were too long here to rehearse.

The preaching of the gospel commanded by God.

As touching the second point, That the hearing of the word and law of God is commanded unto the people, it is evident both by the old and new law; for it is said in Proverbs [chap. xxviii.], "He that turneth away his ear, and will not hear the law of God, his prayer shall be cursed." And our Saviour argueth and concludeth thus unto the Scribes and Pharisees in John viii. "He that is of God, heareth God's word; but forsomuch as you are not of God, therefore you hear not his word."

The hearing of the word commanded by God.

Excommunication.

Thirdly, It is to be noted that excommunication is a separation from communion, Causa xi. quest. 3. cap., "Nihil," et cap. "Canonica;" and Causa xxvii. quest. 1. cap., "Viduas;" Causa xxxiv. quest. 3. cap. "Cum Sacerdos." And this excommunication is double, that is to say, either secret or manifest. The secret excommunication is, whereby a man is separated from the mystical body of Christ, and so from God, through mortal sin, according unto the 59th of Isaiah, "Your iniquities have made separation between your God and you." And with this excommunication doth the apostle excommunicate every man who doth not love the Lord Jesus Christ; saying in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and the last chapter, "If any man do not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed." The manifest excommunication may be divided into a manifest excommunication by God, which is spoken of in Matt. xxv., "Go, ye cursed," &c., and oftentimes elsewhere in the law of God: also a manifest excommunication by men, whereby a prelate or community doth either justly or unjustly cast out any man from participation with the community, or from the church: whereof let this suffice for the present.

Excommunication double.'

The proofs of the first part of the article.

Then, as touching the first part of the article, it is thus argued, &c.

Whosoever leave the commandment of God undone, they are excommunicate of God. But the priests who leave off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the unjust excommunication of men, do leave the commandment of God undone. Therefore, those priests who do leave off preaching of the word of God, are excommunicated of God. Ergo, the first part of the article is true.

The major appeareth by that in the Psalm, "Cursed be they which do decline from thy precepts." The minor is evident by the first supposition, which proveth that the preaching of the word of God is a commandment of God enjoined unto those priests. Whereupon the saying of our Saviour [Matt. xv.] is spoken unto them: "Wherefore do you transgress the commandment of God for your own tradition?" *i.e.* in not preaching of the word of God for fear of unjust excommunication; and so dishonouring your father, Christ, and your mother, holy church.

It is thus confirmed: All they who for fear of any excommunication of men do omit any manner of work, principally and straitly enjoined them by the Lord Jesu Christ, under the cloak of grace, are excommunicate. But priests, and especially curates, and such as be admonished by the Spirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of the excommunication of

(1) Greg. dist. 43, cap. 1, "Sit rector."

men, do omit for fear of the same excommunication a work principally and straitly enjoined them by the Lord Jesus Christ, under the cloak of grace: ergo, priests, and especially curates, and such as be admonished by the Spirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of excommunication, are excommunicate. The consequence is well known. The major appeareth by the Psalm, "Cursed be they which do decline from thy commandments." The minor is also evident again by the first supposition. *Richard II.* A.D. 1384.

Item, If the apostles of Christ had left off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the excommunication of men, which the Lord did foreshow unto them in John xvi., saying, "They shall excommunicate you out of their synagogues," they had been excommunicated of God: ergo, by like evidence, the priests and ministers of Christ, being inspired with the same Spirit to preach and declare the word of God, if they leave it undone for fear of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate. The consequence dependeth upon a similitude, and the antecedent is evident; for if the apostles had left off preaching for fear of excommunication, they had declined from the commandments of God, and consequently had been accursed. Wherefore they, willing to observe the commandment of God and to put off the excommunication of men, said unto the high priests, elders, and scribes at Jerusalem, to Annas, Caiphas, John, and Alexander, and all others of the kindred of the priests who were gathered together, and who commanded them that they should not preach or teach in the name of Jesus, "If it be just in the sight of God, that we should rather obey you than God, that judge you." [Acts iv.] And in the fifth of the Acts they said unto them, "We ought rather to obey God than man." From this saying of the Holy Ghost it may be inferred, that the priests and ministers of Christ, inspired by the Holy Ghost to preach the word of God, ought rather to obey the Holy Ghost than those that, contrary to the Holy Ghost, prohibit them to preach, and patiently to suffer the excommunication of men. Whereupon pope Anacletus spake well, as it is written in Dist. 43: "We know," saith he, that many do go about to molest the teachers to this end, that they may destroy them, and fulfil their own will and desires: yet, notwithstanding, the said teachers, as much as in them lieth, ought not on that account to go back from their good doings and intent, knowing assuredly that blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake." Thus much saith he. And, upon these words, "Ye shall find an ass tied up, and a foal with her; loose them, and bring them unto me; and if any man say any thing unto you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them," the venerable Bede saith thus: "Here it is mystically commanded unto teachers, that if any adversity do let or hinder, or any man do prohibit or stop, that sinners be loosed from their bonds, and be brought unto the Lord by the confession of their faith, that they, notwithstanding, should not leave off preaching, but constantly affirm and say, that the Lord hath need of such to edify his church." So did the apostles; the humble ministers of Christ therefore ought to do likewise. And St. Jerome, writing to Rusticus, the bishop of Narbonne, saith thus: "Let no bishop from henceforth be puffed up or enraged with the envy of devilish temptation, if presbyters now and then do exhort the people, or preach in the churches; or (as is said) do bless the people; for unto him who should deny unto me the doing hereof, I would say in this manner: He that willeth not that presbyters should do those things which they are commanded by God, let him say that he is greater than Christ." By which words St. Jerome doth openly declare, that presbyters are commanded to exhort the people, and to preach in the churches: Secondly, That a bishop, denying or forbidding them to do so, specially they being apt men thereunto, is extolled above Christ; and, consequently, is not to be obeyed in such doings. The apostles did not obey any wicked inhibition.

Hier. Apparitor.

Item, Suppose that the pope be a heretic, and teach doctrine contrary to the holy Scripture, and that the bishop be a catholic man, unto whom the pope giveth in commandment that he shall suffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion, as it happened in the case of pope Leo, and holy bishop Hilary: adding this also, that the bishop do execute the pope's commandment, under pain of the greater excommunication:—In such case, however, if the catholic prelate, learned in the law of God, do leave off preaching against the pope's heresies for fear of excommunication of men, they are already excommunicate. The which thing is evident, forsomuch as they are accursed for the consent of If the pope be heretic, the godly bishops may preach against him.

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their silence, as St. Isidore saith, cited in Causa xi., quest. 3.: "He that doth consent unto sinners, or defendeth a sinner, he shall be cursed both before God and man, and shall be punished with a most severe rebuke." And in Distinction lxxxvi. cap. 6. "Facientis," it is said: "He that doth neglect to amend that which he may correct, doubtless committeth no less fault than he who actually offendeth; for not only they who do commit offences, but also they who consent thereunto, are judged partakers thereof." In like case, priests who do not preach against the heresy which the pope teacheth, are dumb dogs, not able to bark against the wolf, which will kill the sheep of Jesus Christ: how then can it be otherwise, but they must needs be betrayers of their shepherd's sheep.

Though the chief priests be adulterers, yet ought the ministers to preach against adultery.

Item, Suppose that the bishop with the chief prelates be an advouterer, or otherwise an open offender, and that he, together with his prelates, do command that none, under pain of excommunication, do preach against adultery. In such a case, they who do forbear preaching against adultery for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated of God: ergo, the first part of the article is true. The antecedent may be proved: for our Saviour, in Mark viii., saith thus: "He that shall confess me and my words in this wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of Man shall also confess him when he shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels." Therefore he that shall confess Christ not to have been an adulterer, and these words of Christ [Matt. v.], "You have heard that it was said to them in old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that every one which shall behold a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart:" he, I say, that shall confess these things before an adulterous bishop, with his chief prelates, who percase are the wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of Man shall also confess him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father, and so consequently is he blessed. Therefore, contrariwise, he who for the fear of excommunication of men will not confess Christ and his words before this sinful and adulterous generation, is accursed. The consequence holdeth by the words of Christ [Luke ix.], "He that is ashamed of me and my words, him shall the Son of Man be ashamed of, when he shall come in his majesty, and in the glory of his Father and of his holy angels;" pronouncing that which is spoken [Matt. xxv.], "Verily I say unto you, I know you not; go you cursed into everlasting fire."

Example of Christ.

Also, our Saviour Jesus Christ did not leave off the preaching of the kingdom of God for any pretended excommunication of the High Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees; therefore, neither ought his true and humble priests to leave off their preaching for any pretended excommunication of men; the consequence holdeth by that saying of Christ, [John xv.] "Be ye mindful of the word which I spake unto you, the servant is not greater than his master: if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also." The antecedent is also apparent by the saying of St. John, chap. ix.: "Even now the Jews had conspired, that if any man did confess Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue." And likewise by John vii.: "Whether hath any of the princes or of the Pharisees believed in him? but this people which knoweth not the law are accursed."

Obedience of christian priests towards their prelates.

Also, the humble and just priests of Christ ought not, under pain of sin, to cease from the fruitful preaching of the law of God for any unjust excommunication or unlawful commandment; which may be proved thus: The humble and just priests of Christ ought only to obey their prelates in such things as are not contrary to God; as all the holy doctors, such as are learned in the law of God, with one accord affirm. But, forsomuch as an unjust excommunication and unlawful commandment are contrary to God, therefore the humble and just priests ought not to obey such unlawful excommunication and commandments; and, consequently, ought not to cease for them from the fruitful preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ; nay, they ought constantly and gladly to preach the same, forsomuch as the Lord doth comfort them in Matt. v., saying thus: "Blessed are ye when men curse you and persecute you, and speak all kind of evil against you, falsely, for my sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven."

Preaching of the gospel meant for

Also, every priest having power given him by divine impulse to preach, hath the same given unto him for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction of the same; as the apostle saith in 2 Cor. x. But every

one ceasing from preaching for fear of any pretended excommunication of men should frustrate that power as to the edifying of the church. And therefore, in so doing, he should sin against God and his church; and consequently ought rather to choose not to cease from preaching for fear of any such excommunication, lest that he be excommunicated of the Lord Jesus Christ.

edification, not for destruction.

Item, Suppose that the pope doth command that there shall be no preaching in any place; then the priests of Christ, leaving off their preaching for fear of the pope's excommunication, are already excommunicated of God. This is evident, forsomuch as they would be neglecting the commandment of God for the commandment of man. And this case is possible; for by what reason the pope may command, under pain of excommunication, that there shall be no preaching in some place, and namely in the parish churches; by the same reason he may command that no man should preach in any place. The first part is evident by the prohibition of pope Alexander, who in his bull did prohibit to preach the word of God unto the people in chapels, although the said chapels were confirmed by the privilege of the apostolic see; the which bull the lord Sbinco, archbishop of Prague, with his canons, obtained. From what hath now been said, the first part of the article is evident, viz. that priests omitting preaching for fear of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate.

The preaching of the gospel is not to be left off for all the pope's prohibitions.

The second part of the article is this: that they who do omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate. And it is proved thus: All such as omit the commandments of God are excommunicate: But they who omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, are omitting a commandment of God: Therefore they who omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate. The major is apparent by Psalm cxviii., "Cursed be they which decline from thy commandments;" and the minor is evident by the second supposition, which saith, that the hearing of the word of God is commanded unto the people. It is confirmed thus: All such as omit the means necessary unto salvation are excommunicate: But, such as omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, are omitting the means necessary unto salvation: Therefore, in so doing, they are excommunicate. The consequence is plain. The major is evident by this, that all such as do omit the means necessary unto salvation, do also neglect their salvation, and so are out of the way of salvation, and so be excommunicate of God. The minor appeareth hereby, that to hear the word of God is a means necessary unto salvation, as the apostle doth prove in Romans x.; "How," saith he, "shall they believe on him, of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" And afterwards the apostle inferreth to our purpose, "Therefore faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."

The proofsof the second part of the article.

Means necessary unto salvation are not to be omitted.

Item, Whatsoever is done contrary to conscience, doth tend to eternal damnation; as it is said in the Decretals (lib. ii. tit. 13. "de restitutione spoliatorum," cap. 13. "Literas"): But to omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of excommunication of men, is a thing which is done against conscience: Therefore, to omit the hearing of the word of God for excommunication of men, doth tend to eternal damnation, and consequently ought not to be done, for fear of any excommunication. Wherefore a woman being adjudged to a man, whom she knoweth to be within the degrees of consanguinity which God's law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that judgment, lest she offend against God; but rather meekly to suffer excommunication, as appeareth in the chapter before alleged. So likewise, all true Christians, rather than offend against God, ought meekly to suffer the excommunication of men, and not to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpose serveth that which is spoken in Causa xi. quest. 3. cap. 95, "He that feareth the omnipotent God, will not presume by any means to do any thing contrary unto the gospel, nor the apostles, neither contrary to the prophets, nor the institutions of the holy fathers." From these premises the second part of this article is manifest, viz. that such as do omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicate.

A man ought to do nothing against his conscience.

And forsomuch as all adult Christians finally impenitent shall be counted in a manner as traitors to Christ in the day of judgment, because they were un-

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faithful servants of Christ,—therefore, they who through fear omit the preaching and hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, shall be counted as traitors to Christ, and shall render account thereof unto the Lord. Whereupon Chrysostome touching both those sorts, in his 41st homily, showing how the Lord would have some to be teachers, and others to be disciples, saith thus: "For unto those whom he would have to be teachers, he speaketh thus by his prophet Isaiah: 'Ye priests speak to the hearts of the people. For if the priests do not manifest all the truth unto the people, they shall render account thereof at the day of judgment: and likewise, if the people do not learn the truth, they shall also give account thereof at the day of judgment.'" It is also more expressly declared by him where, writing on Matt. x., he saith (cited also in Causa xi. quest. 3. cap. "Nolite timere"), "Do not fear those which kill the body, lest through the fear of death you do not freely speak that which you have heard, neither boldly preach that unto all men which you alone have heard in the ear. So that from these words it is evident that, not only he is a betrayer of the truth, who, transgressing the truth, doth openly speak lies instead of the truth; but he also who doth not freely pronounce, or doth not freely defend, the truth, which he ought freely to pronounce or defend, is also a traitor unto the truth. For like as the priest is a debtor freely to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord, even so the layman is a debtor boldly to defend the truth which he hath heard proved of the minister by the Scriptures: which if he do not, then is he a traitor to the truth; for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." Thus much writeth Chrysostome, who, together with the people under his jurisdiction, meekly bearing the excommunication of the bishops, freely preached the truth, and the people heard him; and so in word and deed he freely taught the truth, lest he should be a traitor to the truth, and consequently be counted as a traitor to the Lord Jesus Christ in the day of judgment. And thus the third part of the article aforesaid is manifest.

The proofs of the third part of the article.

Chrysostome, although he was excommunicate, yet he did preach.

The Defence of the Fifteenth Article of John Wicliff by John Huss.[1]

"It is lawful for any deacon or presbyter to preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolic see, or of a catholic bishop."

First, by 'the authority of the apostolic see' is meant properly his special consent authorizing. And, likewise, by 'authority of a bishop' is meant a special consent of the bishop authorizing the said deacon or presbyter to preach.

Now as touching the truth of this article, I thus argue: like as after matrimony once consummated, the man and wife may lawfully, without any special license of pope or bishop, procreate carnal children, so likewise deacons or presbyters, by the motion of God through the gospel of Jesus Christ, may lawfully, without any special license either of pope or bishop, generate spiritual children. Ergo, the article is true; and the antecedent is thus proved. For as it is an acceptable work unto God for man and wife, without the special license of pope or bishop, lawfully to generate carnal children; so it is acceptable unto him, that deacons or presbyters, by the motion of God through the gospel of Jesus Christ, should generate spiritual children, without the special license of pope or bishop: ergo, the assumption is true.

Confirmation of the fifteenth article. Every man being lawfully called by the church, ought to preach the word of God without the pope's license.

But if any man will deny this similitude, let him show the diversity. Yea, as it is worse not to receive or to choke the seed of God's word, than carnal seed, so contrariwise, it is better to sow abroad and receive that seed of the word of God whereby children of God may be raised up, than to receive or give seed whereby carnal children may be raised up. Hence the Saviour in Matthew x. saith: "Whosoever shall not receive you, neither hear your words, shake off the dust from your feet: verily I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city."

Also a deacon or presbyter, being stirred by the Spirit of Jesus Christ, may preach the word of God without the special license of pope or bishop. Ergo,

(1) "Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss, &c." tom. i. fol. 113.—Ed.

it is lawful for him so to do. The consequence is manifest; because the Spirit of Jesus Christ, moving the deacon or presbyter unto the preaching of the gospel, is of greater virtue than any prohibition of pope or bishop invented by man: ergo, they ought rather to obey the Spirit of Christ which doth infallibly move them thereunto, according to the apostolic rule [Acts v.], "We ought rather to obey God than man." Also, by like reason as Eldad and Medad, upon whom the Spirit of God did rest, did lawfully prophesy without requiring any license at Moses' hands, as it is written Numb. xi.; for the same reason may an humble priest of Christ, upon whom the Spirit of the Lord doth rest, without requiring leave of pope or bishop, lawfully preach the word of God unto the people. And would to God in this behalf all prelates had the spirit of Moses; for it is said, Numb. xi., that when Eldad and Medad were prophesying in the camp, a child ran and told Moses, saying, "Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp;" and by and by Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Moses, whom he had chosen out amongst many, said, "My master Moses, forbid them:" but he said, "Why enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the people could prophesy, and that the Lord would give them his Spirit!" O would to God the pope and bishops now had the affection of that holy man, the friend of God! for then would they not prohibit the humble deacons and priests of Christ to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. The like affection had the blessed Gregory, who, in his twenty-second book of Morals, writing upon these words of Job [xxxi. 39], "And I have not afflicted the soul of his husbandmen," saith thus: "The husbandmen of this earth are those who, being set in a lower place, with as fervent desire and with as great labour as they can, do co-operate by the preaching of grace to the erudition of holy church; which husbandmen of this world not to afflict, is, not to envy their labours: neither ought the ruler of the church, albeit he do challenge unto himself alone the right of preaching, through envy to gainsay others who do preach aright. For the pious mind of a pastor, who seeketh not his own glory from men, desireth to be holpen, that the truth (which thing also the faithful preacher doth wish, if it might by any means be brought to pass) which he alone cannot sufficiently express, all men's mouths might declare. Wherefore, when Joshua would have resisted the two who were remaining in the camp and prophesying, 'Why dost thou envy,' said he, 'for my sake?' for he did not envy that good in others which he himself had." Thus writeth St. Gregory.

God grant that all the people may prophesy.

St. Gregor.

Also humble priests of Christ have, by a special gift of God, knowledge and mind to preach the gospel; but it is lawful neither for pope nor bishop, nor any other man, to hinder them, lest thereby they should impeach that word of God, that "the word of Christ should have free course." Ergo, this article is true: for the king doth not so much rule over the temporalties of his subjects, no not of his own sons, but that they may give alms to whom they will: much more then a bishop hath not so great authority over the knowledge of an humble presbyter, and his other gifts of God, but that he may freely, under the title of spiritual alms, preach the gospel without charge unto the people. Ergo, forasmuch as it would seem strange, that a bishop should forbid any man to give corporal alms to the poor that are an-hungered; so and much more strange would it be, if he should prohibit an humble and learned priest of Christ to give spiritual alms, by the preaching of the word of God.

The course of the word of God ought not to be stopped.

Item, no catholic man ought to doubt, but that a man able for the purpose is more bound to teach the ignorant, to counsel the perplexed, to correct the unruly, to forgive those that do them wrong, than to do any other works of mercy: Forsomuch then as he that hath sufficient to minister corporal alms is bound thereto, under pain of damnation, as appeareth in Matthew xxv., much more he who is able, is bound to minister spiritual alms. And this alms St. Bernard, in the third book of his treatise addressed to Eugenius, perceived to be necessary for the bishop of Rome, where he said: "I fear no poison, no sword, for thee, more than the lust of dominion."[1] With what face, then, could the faithful priest withhold spiritual alms either for the pope or any other, even without the special license of pope or from bishop; which license, through the long distance, priests cannot so easily obtain or come by? For if a prohibition of any prelate be broken through necessity, it is not to be blamed, according

St. Bernard.

(1) This passage is quoted by Wicliff, suprà, p. 56.—Ed.

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to Causa xi., quest. 3. cap. 104., "Antecessor," and also in the chapter following.

Item, The authority to preach given unto deacons and presbyters in their consecration were but vain, unless in case of necessity they might preach the gospel without special authority. It is evident, because (according to our opponents) it is not lawful for them to use that authority, without special license: ergo, it was given them in vain. The consequence is evident by the common saying of the philosopher, that "power is but vain, whereof proceedeth no use of action." But forsomuch as this article is, as it were, a corollary of the preceding article, therefore let this suffice to be spoken thereof.

Objection.

But, against the affirmations of both these articles, objection is raised out of Causa xvi., quest. 1, cap. 41: "All faithful people, and especially all presbyters, deacons, and all others of the clergy, ought to take heed that they do nothing without the license of their bishop." It is also objected out of the fifth book of Decretals, title "De hæreticis," cap. 11. "Cum ex injuncto," where it is said, no man ought to usurp to himself indifferently the office of preaching, forsomuch as the apostle saith, "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" Whereas, also, Innocent doth show, that it is not sufficient for a man to say, that he is sent of God to preach, except he do show the same. To the first passage cited the Gloss doth sufficiently answer upon this word, "without license;" "that is to be expounded," saith he, "without general license; which is obtained and given, when a bishop doth appoint any priest to govern the people; for thereby," saith he, "the bishop seemeth to give him general power to minister unto the people, and to officiate in the church." Thus much the Gloss. And to the same end and purpose it is said in Causa vii. quest. 1. cap. 38, "Episcopi:" "Bishops or priests, if they come to the church of another bishop to visit the same, let them be received in their degree (as it is said in Gloss 1. 'in honore suo,') and desired as well to preach the word, as to consecrate the oblation."

Answers to the objection.

What it is falsely to usurp the office of a preacher.

On the second passage that is to be noted, which is therein well said, "No man ought to usurp unto himself the office of preaching indifferently." For to usurp, is unlawfully to use any thing: ergo, that deacon or priest doth then usurp the office of preaching indifferently, who, living viciously, contrary unto the law of Christ, or being ignorant of the law of God, doth preach either for temporal gain, or for ostentation, or for dainty life, or for vain glory: But he who doth live conformably unto the law of Christ, and being moved with the affection of sincere charity, intendeth purely the honour of God and the salvation of himself and his neighbours, and doth preach no lies, nor vain jests, or things not authorized [apocrypha], but only the law of Christ and the minds of the holy doctors;—he that doth so preach, necessity occasioning him thereunto, in case both pope and bishop fail, or peradventure to withstand the preaching of heretics or false preachers, in so doing doth not usurp the office of preaching; and in such case there is no doubt but he is sent of God.

Who is a true minister of the church.

And this doth also answer unto that which followeth in the Decretal, "But if any man should peradventure craftily answer, that such preachers are invisibly sent of God, although not visibly of men, when the invisible sending of God is much better than the visible sending of men; it may reasonably be answered thereunto, that forsomuch as that internal sending is secret, it is not sufficient for a man barely to assert that he is sent of God, forsomuch as any heretic may so say; but he ought to prove the same, his invisible calling, by the working of some miracle, or by some special testimony of the Scripture."

Four kinds of sending or calling according to St. Augustine.

Here it is to be noted, that according to St. Augustine, in his book of 65 Questions to Orosius, there are four kinds of sending. The first is from God only, whereof we read in Moses and others, who were inspired by God. And this kind of sending looseth from the obligation of any statute law; so that he whom the Spirit of God doth inspire, his prelate giving leave, may proceed unto a better life. Whereupon pope Urban saith, Causa xix. quest. 2. cap. 2,

The canon law.

"There be two laws, the one public, the other private. The public law is that which is confirmed in writing by the holy fathers, such as is the canon law, which is only given because of transgressions. For example, it is decreed in the canons, that none of the clergy shall go from one bishopric to another, without the letters commendatory of his bishop; the which was ordained only for offenders, that no infamed persons should be received of any bishop: for they

were wont, when they could not celebrate their offices in their own bishopric, to go to another; which is rightly forbidden by laws and precepts. The private law is that, which by the motion of the Holy Ghost is written in the heart, as the apostle speaketh of some who have the law of God 'written in their hearts;' and in another place, 'Forsomuch as the Gentiles have not the law of God, but naturally do those things which are of the law, they are laws unto themselves.'" And afterward he saith, "The private law is much more worthy than the public law. For the Spirit of God is a law; and they who are moved by the Spirit of God are led by the law of God. And who is he, that can worthily resist against the Holy Ghost? Whosoever therefore is led by the Spirit of God, albeit his bishop do say him nay, let him go freely by our authority; for 'the law is not appointed for the just man,' but 'where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty: and if ye be led by the Spirit of God, ye are not under the law.'"

The private law.

Private law, that is, the secret and inward working of God's Spirit in the heart.

Behold, here it is affirmed, that the sending by God alone through inspiration is not fettered by the obligation of statute law; for that law is more worthy than the public law. Secondly, that the statute law is made for transgressors and offenders, and not for the just. Thirdly, that whosoever is led by the Spirit of God, although his bishop say him nay, may proceed unto a better life. Whence it is evident, that a deacon or priest disposed to preach, and being led by the Spirit of God, can freely preach the gospel of Christ without the special license of his bishop. It is evident; forsomuch as it is good, that a deacon or priest do live well; still better that he live well, and preach fruitfully: ergo, he may proceed from idleness unto the labour of preaching, and so to a better life.

But whereas it is said before, that "forsomuch as the inward sending is secret, therefore it is not sufficient for a man barely to affirm only that he is sent of God, forsomuch as any heretic may so say; but it is necessary, that he prove that invisible sending by the working of some miracle, or by some special testimony of the Scripture:"—here is to be noted, that there are two kinds of preachers; those of the Saviour Christ, and those of the seducer Antichrist. The first sort, following their Master, Christ, teach the people in truth. The other sort, being of a corrupt mind, and reprobate touching the faith, resist against the truth; and through covetousness by their feigned words do make merchandize of the people. And these men do give, and shall give, miracles; as our Saviour saith [Matt. xxiv.], "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets which shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that even the elect, if it were possible, should be brought into error." And the apostle [2 Thess. ii.] as touching their head, Antichrist, writeth thus:—"Whose coming shall be according to the operation of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders, with every seduction of inquity in those which do perish, because they did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved: therefore will the Lord send upon them the operation of error, that they shall give credit to a lie; that all such as have not believed the truth, but consented unto iniquity, should be judged." Behold how expressly the Saviour by himself and by his apostle doth teach us, that the disciples of Antichrist, with their head, shall be conspicuous for their great signs and wonders. But the true disciples of Christ shall not so do in the times of Antichrist: for, as St. Isidore saith in the first book, cap. 25, of his "De summo bono:" "Before Antichrist appear, all virtues and signs shall cease from the church, that he may the more boldly persecute the same, as being more abject. For this profit, shall all miracles and signs cease under Antichrist, that thereby the patience of the saints may be opened, and the lightness of the reprobate who are offended may be showed, and also that the boldness of the persecutors should be made more fierce."

Every man may pretend to be sent of God immediately.

Two kinds of preachers.

Of the signs and wonders of Antichrist.

Thus writeth St. Isidore; and St. Gregory, in his thirty-fourth book of Morals, cap. 3, saith,[1] "For by a terrible ordering of God's secret dispensation shall all signs of virtue or power be withdrawn from the holy church, before that that Leviathan appear in that damnable man, whose shape he doth assume. For prophecy is hidden, the gift of healing is taken away, the virtue of long abstinence is diminished, the words of doctrine are put to silence, and the prodigies of miracles are extinguished. Which things the dispensation of God doth not indeed utterly withdraw, but doth not display them so openly and

Why true miracles shall cease under Antichrist.

(1) Commenting on Job xli. 13: "In collo ejus morabitur fortitudo, et faciem ejus præcedet egestas."—Ed.

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manifoldly, as in times past. The when, however, is done by a marvellous dispensation, in order that by one single thing both God's love and justice should be fulfilled: for while, the power of miracles being withdrawn, the holy church appeareth the more abject, both the reward of good men doth remain in abeyance, who reverence the same for their hope of heavenly riches and not for any present signs; and the minds of evil men against the same are the sooner known, who neglect to follow the invisible things which the church doth promise, while they are occupied with visible signs. While therefore the humility of all the faithful is, as it were, deprived of the multitude and appearing of signs by the terrible working of God's secret dispensation, mercy is thence given unto the good, from whence just wrath is heaped upon the evil. Forsomuch, then, as before that Leviathan shall plainly and manifestly come the signs of power shall in a great degree cease in holy church, therefore it is rightly said, 'poverty shall go before his face;' for before that time the riches of miracles shall be taken away from the faithful: then shall that ancient enemy show himself against them by open wonders; that, as he is extolled through signs and wonders, so he may be the more stoutly and nobly vanquished of the faithful without signs and wonders."

The description of Antichrist out of St. Gregory.

Also in his fifteenth book, cap. 58, upon these words, Job xxi. 31, "Who shall reprove his way before him, or who shall cast in his teeth what he hath done?"—the same Gregory saith: "The blessed Job, while speaking of the body of all evil, suddenly converteth his speech unto the head of all the wicked; for he did see that in the end of the world, Satan should enter into a man, whom holy Scripture calleth Antichrist; and should be extolled with such pride, rule with such power, be exalted with such signs and wonders under a show of holiness, that his doings cannot be reproved of man, forsomuch as signs and wonders are joined in him with power and terror, and with a show of holiness. Wherefore he saith, 'Who shall reprove his ways before him?' i. e. what man is he that dare once reprove him? whose countenance is he afraid to bear? But, notwithstanding, not only Enoch and Elias, who are brought forward for his reprobation, but also all the elect, do reprove his way, while they do contemn him, and by the power of their minds resist his malice. But forsomuch as they do this by God's grace and not by their own strength, therefore it is well said: 'Who shall reprove his ways before him?' who, but only God? by whose help the elect are supported, that they be able to resist." And a little after Gregory saith, "Therefore, in that holy men do withstand his iniquity, it is not they themselves who do reprove his way, but it is He by whose grace they are strengthened."

The proof of holiness.

Also in the twentieth book, cap. 7, he saith, "Now holy church doth despise the miracles of heretics, even if they do any; forsomuch as the church doth sufficiently understand, that they imply no sort of holiness: for the proof of holiness is not the working signs and wonders, but to love every man as thyself, to think truly of the true God, and to think better of thy neighbour than of thyself: for true virtue consisteth in love, and not in showing of miracles. This the Verity declareth, saying, 'Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' Whereas he saith, 'hereby men shall know that ye are my disciples'—not, 'if ye work miracles,' but—'if ye have love one to another;' he plainly declareth thereby, that it is not miracles, but the love of God only which maketh us the servants of God. Wherefore the highest testimony of discipleship is the gift of brotherly love." This throughout doth St. Gregory write, and very often in other places he speaketh of miracles, how they shall cease amongst the just, and abound amongst the wicked.

Signs common and indifferent to the ministers of Christ and Antichrist.

The principal miracles.

Also Chrysostome, in his fifty-fifth homily, saith thus:[1] "To cast out devils is a work common to the ministers of God and the ministers of the devil; but to confess the truth, and to work righteousness, is the peculiar work of saints only. Therefore, whomsoever thou dost see casting out devils, if he have not the confession of the truth in his mouth, neither righteousness in his hands, he is not a man of God: but if thou dost see a man confessing the truth, and working righteousness, although he do not cast out devils, yet is he a man of God." And it followeth, "Let us know, that like as at the coming of Christ, before him the prophets, and with him the apostles, wrought miracles through the Holy Ghost; for such as the thing is, which is stirred, such scent and

(1) The Editor has not been able to trace this passage in Chrysostome's works.—Ed.

savour will proceed from the same." He writeth also upon the beginning of Matthew, "The whole world did marvel and wonder at three things,—that Christ rose again after his death; that flesh ascended into heaven; and that he did convert the whole world by his eleven apostles. Hereof there were four causes; that is to say, contempt of money; despising of glory; separation from worldly occupations; and patient suffering of torments." Thus much writeth Chrysostome. *Richard II.* A.D 1384.

Also St. Isidore, in the first book and twenty-fifth chapter of his "De summo bono," writeth thus: "Like as in the apostles, the marvellous virtue of works was more commendable than the virtue of signs; even so now in the church, it is much better to live well, than to work signs. And the cause why the church of God doth not at this present work miracles, as it did in the time of the apostles, is this, that then it was expected that the world should believe miracles: but now it is expected that every faithful believer shine with good works; for to this end were signs then outwardly wrought, that faith might be inwardly strengthened: for whosoever professing to be in the faith yet seeketh to work miracles, he seeketh vain-glory to be praised of men; for it is written, 'Miracles are a sign to unbelievers, and not to the faithful.'" Thus much writeth Isidore. Item, St. Augustine, in his book of Confessions, saith thus, "There is no greater miracle in human affairs, than for a man to love his enemies." Cause why the church now worketh not miracles. A great miracle, to love a man's enemy.

From these sayings of holy men it may be gathered, that, both in our own times, and in the times to come, the disciples of Antichrist both do and shall shine by miracles more than the disciples of Christ, according to the saying of Christ: "There shall arise false prophets, and shall work great signs." Secondly, it is proved that they are great, yea greater, miracles, to confess the truth and to work righteousness, than to work any other kind of miracle. Thirdly, it is gathered thereby, that whatsoever priest or deacon loveth his enemies, contemneth riches, despiseth the glory of the world, avoideth occupation in secular things, and meekly sustaineth terrible threatenings, yea and strokes, for the gospel's sake, he worketh miracles, having thereby a testimony that he is the true disciple of Jesus Christ. The same is evident by the saying of our Saviour Jesus Christ in Matt. v., "Let your good works so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." And likewise by John x. 38, "Believe the works."[1] And to the same purpose St. Gregory in his first book of Dialogues saith thus: "The estimation of a true life consisteth in the virtue of works, and not in a display of signs." And fourthly it is concluded from what hath been said, that to confess the truth, and follow Christ in the aforesaid virtues, is a more effectual testimony to a deacon or presbyter that he is sent of God, than to cast out devils, or to work any other miracle; as is evident by the saying of Chrysostome before alleged:[2] "Whomsoever thou dost see casting out devils, if the confession of the truth be not in his mouth, neither righteousness in his hands, he is not a man of God." This is also confirmed by the words of Christ in Matt. vii., "Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils; and did we not work many miracles in thy name? Then I will confess unto them; Forsomuch as I never knew you, depart from me, ye that work iniquity." And as touching the second part, Chrysostome, as before alleged,[3] saith; "If you see a man confessing the truth and working righteousness, although he do not cast out devils, he is a man of God." The true miracles of Christ's ministers.

Hereby it appeareth,[4] that every deacon or priest, confessing the truth and working righteousness, hath an effectual testimony that he is sent of God, and that it is not necessary for him to prove his mission by the working of any miracle, beyond the working righteousness; neither by any Scripture, which should expressly declare him by name, that he was sent of the Lord to preach the Gospel. The testimony of a true priest.

The first part appeareth manifest by that which is already spoken, that miracles in the time of Antichrist shall cease in the elect.

(1) "Operibus credite" Latin edition, p. 37, and "Hist et Mon." tom. i. fol. 116. The English editions most absurdly render this, "Trust unto your good works."—Ed.
(2) See before, p. 74.—Ed. (3) Ibid.—Ed.
(4) Here John Huss begins a recapitulation of the whole subject.—Ed.

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The second part is also evident; forsomuch as none of the present preachers can show by the Scripture of the law of God, that he is specially named thereunto. And likewise I say, as touching all preachers who shall come hereafter, who are not named by name. Neither let any man here object touching Enoch and Elias, for they were ancient preachers, and prophesied by the Holy Spirit.

It appeareth also, that like as it is not a cause sufficient to prove any particular priest or deacon sent of God to preach, that he worketh miracles; so is it not a cause sufficient to prove him not sent of God to preach, that he worketh no miracles; but to confess the truth, to work righteousness, to contemn the world with the glory thereof, meekly to suffer rebukes, is a sufficient testimony for any priest or deacon, having knowledge of the law of God, freely to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, forsomuch as, in such case, he is sent of God. And this is the sending which the apostle speaketh of in Romans x., "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" Whereupon the Gloss of St. Augustine saith thus; "These things serve to set forth God's grace, that thereby all our goodness may be shewn to be by grace prevenient.[1] For it saith, 'belief cometh of hearing, hearing cometh of preaching, and preaching by the sending of God;' so that the whole cometh down out of the fountain of grace, and preaching truly cometh of sending." This hath the Gloss. How shall they then preach, except they be sent of God?

Also, it is evident, that the first sending is from God alone, as appeareth in the case of Moses.

The second sending is both from God and man; as appeareth by the example of Joshua and others, who were sent both by God and their superior to preach.

The third sending is from man alone; the which is not founded on the law of God, but on men's traditions, which they more esteem.

The fourth sending, which hath but the name only, is proper to them, who of themselves unworthily usurp the office of preaching, as those false prophets of whom God speaketh in Jeremy xxiii., "I did not send them, and yet they ran; I spake not unto them, and yet they prophesied: if they had continued in my counsels, and had made known my words unto my people, I would have converted them from their evil way and from their wicked imaginations." And the Saviour spake of these prophets in Matthew xxiv., saying, "There shall arise false prophets." And Peter, his immediate vicar, in his second epistle and second chapter, prophesying unto the faithful believers in Christ, speaketh thus of them: "There were amongst the people false prophets, as there shall be amongst you also masters of lies, through whom the truth shall be slandered:" and that he might the better instruct the people to know them, he addeth, "They shall go about with feigned words, for covetousness' sake, to make merchandize of you!"

Difference between the ministers of Christ and Antichrist.

Wherefore every faithful man, diligently weighing these things in his mind, may now easily perceive how great a number of false prophets there be, through whom the way of Christ's truth is blasphemed, and all covetous dealing is exercised, and they freely preach lies. But the humble and true priests of Christ, wheresoever they do appear, by-and-by are persecuted; whereby the prophecy of the apostle is verified, which is written in the second epistle to Timothy, chap. iii.; "All men," saith he, "which desire to live godly, shall suffer persecution; but evil men and seducers shall grow worse and worse, erring and leading into error." But they now are gone so far in error, that they do preach lies, making heretics of faithful Christians; neither is there any man that will stop their lying, so long as they do not preach against the vices of the prelates. How then can it be said, that Antichrist is not now exalted above all that is called God, suppressing the members of Christ in their office, but indulging and fortifying his own members in lying? Therefore the true and hearty disciples of Christ ought to stand with their loins girt, and their feet shod in the preparation of the gospel, taking the sword, which is the word of God [Ephes. vi.], and to fight against the crafts of Antichrist, who is endeavouring to extinguish the preaching of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Ministers of Antichrist do cloak the vices of their prelates.

(1) 'Prevenient,' going before.—Ed.

The[1] Second Disputation of John Huss, in the University of Prague, made in the second Act, the same Year, upon the Seventeenth Article of John Wickliff, most fruitful to be read; proving, by four and twenty reasons out of the Scriptures, that Princes and Lords Temporal have lawful Authority and Jurisdiction over the Spiritualty and Churchmen, both in taking from them, and in correcting their Abuses according to their doings and deserts.

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To the honour of Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, both for the trying out of truth, and the profit of holy mother church, according to the congregation of our university of Prague, which, avoiding always to do that which shall be prejudicial to the truth, hath deferred to consent unto the condemnation of the forty-five articles, wishing, even unto this present time, a reason to be given of the condemnation of the aforesaid articles, and of each one of them in particular. Yea, and the said university doth always require a reason, forsomuch as pope Damasus, in Distinction lxviii. cap. 5, "Chorepiscopi," saith thus; "That whatsoever thing wanteth a reason, must needs be rooted out." Whence it appeareth, that the condemnation of the five-and-forty articles, if it wanteth reason for every article, is necessarily to be rooted out.

Condemnation of the forty-five articles, and wherefore it is not to be allowed.

But, if any man will object and say, that to require a reason for every thing is to derogate from the divine power: unto this objection Master William doth answer in his philosophy, the first book, near the end, where he, treating of the place in Genesis ii., "God made man of the clay of the earth," &c., hath these words; "For in what point," saith he, "are we contrary to the holy Scriptures, if we seek to explain wherefore any thing is done, which is said in the Scriptures to be done? For if one wise man should say that a thing is done, and not declare how it is done, but another should speak the self-same thing, and explain how it is done, what contrariety is there herein? But, forsomuch as they themselves know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might have all men partakers with them of their own ignorance, they would have no man to inquire into them; but they would have us as rude rustics believe, and not seek any reason of our belief, that the prophecy may be fulfilled, "The priest shall be as the people." But we say, that in all things a reason is to be sought, if any can be found: but then, if any man do stay at any thing which the divine page affirmeth, he should commit the same unto the Holy Ghost and unto faith. For Moses saith, "If the lamb cannot be eaten, let it not be by-and-by consumed in the fire; but let him first call his neighbour which dwelleth in the next house unto him; and if they also be not sufficient to eat the lamb, then let it be burned in the fire." So likewise, when we go about to inquire any thing as touching the Godhead, and be not able to comprehend the same, let us call our neighbour who dwelleth in the next house unto us; that is to say, let us seek out such a one as abideth in the same catholic faith with us: but if then neither we, nor yet he, be able to comprehend the same, let it then be burned with the fire of faith. But these men, albeit they have many neighbours dwelling near unto them, yet for very pride they will not call any man unto them; choosing rather to continue still ignorant, than to ask any question. And if they do know any man to inquire for his neighbour in such case, by-and-by they cry out upon him as a heretic; presuming more upon their own head, than having confidence in their wisdom. But I exhort you to give no credit unto their habit, for already it is verified in them which the satirical poet saith, 'Fronti nulla fides,' *i. e.* 'No credit is to be given unto the outward show;' for which of them doth not abound with sad and detestable vices?" And in another place he saith: 'They are very dainty of their speech, and have great desire to keep silence.'" And thus much hath Master William.

Allowable to seek to declare by reason, why things recorded in Scripture are done.

An allegory upon the Paschal Lamb.

Let all such hear whom this parable may touch; for I, with the masters, bachelors, and students of our university, considering how hard a matter the condemnation of the forty-five articles, and how grievous a thing it were,

(1) "Hist. et Monum. Joh. Huss, &c." tom. i. fol. 117. There are *five*-and-twenty reasons alleged; but perhaps Foxe intended, that there were only "*four*-and-twenty reasons out of the Scriptures."—Ed.

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without a reason why we ought to consent thereunto, do call together my neighbours, the doctors of our university, and all others who would object any thing against the same, that we might find out now the reason of the condemnation of this article, concerning the taking away the temporalties from the clergy.

Notwithstanding, I protest that it is not my intention, like as it is not the intention of the university, to persuade, that princes or secular lords should take away goods from the clergy when they will, or how they will, and convert them to what use they list. But it is our intention diligently to search out, whether this article, as touching the taking away of temporalties from the clergy, may have in it a true sense, in which it may be defended without reproof. Wherefore the article, numbered the seventeenth among the forty-five, is propounded under this form: "Lords temporal may at their own will and pleasure, take away temporal goods from ecclesiastics habitually delinquent." It is thus proved: the kings of the Old Testament took away temporal goods at God's commandment from ecclesiastics, that is, from the priests, offending. Therefore the kings also of the New Testament, at God's commandment, may do the like, when the priests of the new law do offend. The consequence dependeth upon a similitude; and the antecedent is evident. First, it is proved by Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 27; which Solomon deposed Abiathar the high priest, because he took part with Adonijah, the brother of Solomon, that he should be king, without the advice either of David, or of Solomon himself, who ought to reign; and set up Zadoc as priest in the place of Abiathar, because he did not consent with Abiathar unto Adonijah, as it is written, 1 Kings i. 5—8; where it is said, "Adonijah, the son of Haggith, exalted himself, saying, I will reign; and made unto himself chariots and horsemen, and forty men which should run before him; neither did his father rebuke him at any time, saying, Wherefore hast thou done this? But moreover he was very comely, and was the next in age to Absalom; and his talk was with Joab the son of Zeruiah and Abiathar the priest, which took part with Adonijah. But Zadoc the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and Nathan the prophet, and Shimei, and Serethei, and Phelethi, and the power of David's host, were not on Adonijah's part."

A protestation, whereby he giveth light unto the reader, how the proposition aforesaid is to be understood; and addeth, that the goods of the clergy are not utterly to be taken away, but in case the clergy do abuse the same.

First reason. Solomon.

This was the cause of the deposing of Abiathar from the priesthood, because he took part with Adonijah, that he should be king, against Solomon, the eldest son of king David: wherefore it is written, 1 Kings ii. 26; "The king said unto Abiathar the priest, Go your ways unto Anathoth thine own field, for thou art a man of death; but this day I will not slay thee, because thou hast carried the ark of the Lord God before my father David, and didst labour in all things wherein my father laboured. Therefore Solomon cast out Abiathar, that he should not be the priest of the Lord; that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled, which he spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh."

Behold, the most wise king Solomon, according to the wisdom which was given him of God, did exercise his power upon the aforesaid priest, deposing him from the priesthood, and setting in his place Zadoc as priest. But this was a greater matter than to take away the temporalties. If, then, in the law of Christ now current a bishop should likewise rebel against the heir of the kingdom, wishing to set up another for king, why should not the king or his heir have power to take away the temporalties from him so offending?

Second reason. Nebuchadnezzar.

Item, it is also evident in the instance of king Nebuchadnezzar, who had power from God to lead away the children of Israel, with their priests and Levites, into the captivity of Babylon, as it is written in 2 Kings xxv.

Third reason. Jehoash.

Item, We read in 2 Kings xii., how that Josiah, the most devout king of Judah, according to the wisdom which God had granted him, "took away all the consecrated vessels which Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his forefathers, kings of Judah, had consecrated, and those which he himself had offered, and all the silver that could be found in the treasury of the temple of the Lord and in the king's palace, and sent it unto Hazael, king of Syria, and he departed from Jerusalem." Mark how this holy king exercised his power, not only in taking away the temporalties of the priests, but even those things which had been consecrate in the temple of the Lord, to procure unto the commonwealth the benefit of peace.

Fourth reason. Hezekiah.

Item, In 2 Kings xviii., we read, how that the holy king Hezekiah took all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the king's

treasury; and brake down the doors of the temple of the Lord, and all the plates of gold which he himself had fastened thereupon, and gave them unto the king of the Assyrians; yet was he not rebuked of the Lord for it, as he was rebuked for his other sins, as appeareth in 2 Chron. xxxii. Forsomuch, then, as in time of necessity all things ought to be in common among Christians, it followeth that the secular lords, in case of necessity, and in many cases which may occur, may lawfully take away temporal goods from the clergy, when they do habitually offend.

Fifth reason. Matthew

Item, It is confirmed, for that we read in Matthew xii., that the disciples of Jesus, to slake their hunger, pulled ears of corn and did eat them on the Sabbath, and the Pharisees upbraided and rebuked them for it; unto whom Christ answered, "Have ye not read what David did when he was hungry, and those that were with him; how he entered into the house of the Lord, and did eat the shewbread, which it was not lawful for him, neither for them that were with him, to eat, but only for the priests?" This story is written in 1 Sam. xxi., and the commandment in Deuteronomy xii.[1] Whereby it appeareth, that it is lawful in time of necessity to use any thing, be it never so much consecrate. Otherwise, children by giving all their temporals to the consecration of the temple, should not be bound to help their parents; which is contrary and against the gospel of St. Matthew [chap. xvi.], where our Saviour sharply rebuked the Pharisees, that for their own tradition they did transgress the commandment of God.

David.

Case of necessity.

Sixth reason. Titus and Vespasian.

Item, Titus and Vespasian, secular princes, had power given them by God, twenty-four years after the Lord's ascension, to take away the temporalties from the priests who had offended against the Lord's Holy One, and in fact also bereft them of their lives: and, as it seemeth unto many, they did, and might do, the same meritoriously and according to God's good pleasure. Therefore, forsomuch as the priests of these days may offend as much or more against the Lord's Christ, it followeth, that, by the good pleasure of God, secular lords may inflict on them like punishment for their offence.

Seventh reason. The example of Christ paying tribute.

St. Ambrose's mind.

Item, our Saviour, being King of kings and high pontiff, with his disciples did give tribute unto Cæsar, as it appeareth in Matthew xvii., and commanded the Scribes and Pharisees to give the like unto Cæsar [Matt. xxii.]; whereby he gave example unto all priests that should come after him to render tribute unto kings. Whereupon blessed Ambrose, in his fourth book on St. Luke, § 73, upon those words in Luke v. 4., "Cast your nets," speaketh thus; "There is also another apostolic kind of fishing, after which the Lord commanded Peter only to fish, saying, 'Cast thy hook, and that fish which cometh first up, take him.'" And then to our purpose he saith; "It is truly a great and spiritual proof, that christian men are taught that they ought to be subject unto the higher powers, and that no man ought to think that the statute of an earthly king is to be broken. For if the Son of God did pay tribute, who art thou that thou thinkest it ought not to be paid? He also payed tribute who had no possessions; but thou who daily seekest after the worldly lucre, why dost thou not acknowledge the worldly duty? Why dost thou carry thyself above the world with a certain haughtiness of mind, whereas through miserable covetousness thou art subject to the world?" Thus writeth Ambrose, and it is put in Causa xi. quest. 1. cap. 28., "Magnum quidem." He also writeth in the ninth book, §. 35, upon these words in Luke xx. 24., "Show me a penny; whose image hath it?" thus; "If it had not the image of Cæsar, why did Christ pay tribute? He gave it not of his own, but rendered unto the world that which was the world's; and if thou wilt not be subject to Cæsar, possess not the things of the world; but if thou hast riches thou art subject to Cæsar." If thou wilt owe nothing unto any earthly king, forsake all thou hast, and follow Christ." If, then, all ecclesiastical ministers having riches ought to be under subjection to kings, and give them temporal things; it followeth that kings may lawfully, according to the authority given them, take away temporal things from them.

Christ commanded tribute to be paid unto the emperor.

Eighth reason. Paul appealeth to the emperor St. Ambrose.

Hence Paul, acknowledging himself to be under Cæsar's jurisdiction, appealed unto Cæsar, as appeareth in Acts xxv. 10.; "I stand," saith he, "at Cæsar's judgment seat; there I ought to be judged." Whereupon, in the eighth Distinction, chapter "Quo jure," St. Ambrose allegeth, that all things are lawful

(1) Or rather, in Lev. xxiv. 9.—Ed.

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unto the emperor, and all things are his. For the confirmation whereof it is said [Daniel ii. 37, 38], "The God of heaven hath given unto thee a kingdom, strength, empire, and glory, and hath given into thy hand all places wherein do dwell the children of men, and the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air, and hath set all things under thy subjection."

Ninth reason. St. Ambrose.

Also, in Causa xi. quæst. 1. cap. 27, St. Ambrose saith, "If the emperor require tribute, we do not deny that the church lands should pay tribute; if the emperor have need of our lands, he hath power to challenge them, let him take them, if he will; I do not give them unto the emperor, but neither do I deny them." This writeth St. Ambrose, expressly declaring that the secular lord hath power at his pleasure to take away the church lands; and consequently the secular lords have power at their pleasures, to take away temporal goods from ecclesiastical ministers when they do habitually offend.

Tenth reason. St. Augustine.

Also, St. Augustine writeth, "If thou sayest, 'What have we to do with the emperor?' But now, as I said, we speak of human law. The apostle would have us be obedient unto kings, and honour them, and said, 'Reverence the king.' Do not then say, 'What have I to do with the king?' What hast thou then to do with possessions? Thy possessions are possessed by the king's law, and yet thou sayest, 'What have I to do with the king?' Do not talk then of thy possessions, seeing thou hast renounced those human laws whereby possessions are held." Thus writeth St. Augustine, as cited in the eighth Distinction; from whose words it is manifest, that the king hath power over the church goods, and consequently may take them away from the clergy habitually offending.

Eleventh reason. Magistrates, keepers of both laws. The duty of kings to punish the clergy.

Item, in his thirty-third epistle to Boniface, he saith, "What sober man will say unto our kings, 'Care not you in your kingdom, by whom the church of the Lord is maintained, or by whom it is oppressed; it pertaineth not unto you, who will be either a religious man, or who will be a church-robber.' Unto whom it may be answered, 'Doth it not pertain unto us in our kingdom, who will be a chaste man, or who will be unchaste?'" Behold, this holy man showeth here how it is the duty of kings to control such as are robbers of churches, and consequently insolent clerics, by taking from them their temporalties when they do offend habitually.

Twelfth reason.

Item, he writeth in Causa xxiii. quæst. 7, cap. 2, "Si de rebus," "The secular lords may lawfully take away temporal goods from heretics; and forsomuch as it is a case greatly possible, that many of the clergy are simoniacs, and thereby heretics, therefore the secular lords may very lawfully take away their temporalties from them." "For what is there unworthy in it," continueth St. Augustine, "if catholics do possess, according unto the will of the Lord, those things which heretics held? forsomuch as this is the word of the Lord unto all wicked men [Matt. xxi.], 'The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given unto a nation, which shall work his righteousness.' Is it written in vain in the Book of Wisdom [chap. xi.], 'The just shall eat the labours of the wicked?'"

An objection of the desire of other men's goods.

And whereas it may be objected as touching the desire of other men's goods, St. Augustine answereth, "That by that evidence the seven nations, which did abuse the Land of Promise and were driven out from thence by the power of God, might object the same unto the people of God occupying the same;" and the Jews themselves, from whom according to the word of the Lord the kingdom was taken away, and given unto a people working righteousness, might object the same unto the church of Christ, as touching the desire of other men's goods: but St. Augustine's answer is this; "We do not desire other men's goods, forsomuch as they are ours by the commandment of Him whose all things are become." By like evidence, when the clergy do habitually offend, their temporal goods become the goods of others, for the profit of the church. To this purpose also serveth Causa xiv. question 4, saying, according to St. Augustine, "Unto an unbeliever it doth not matter a halfpenny; but to a believer it is a whole world of riches." Do we not then convict all who seem to have gathered great riches together, and know not how to use them, of possessing what is another's; for certainly that is not another's, which is possessed by right; but that only is rightfully possessed, which is justly possessed; and that only is justly possessed, which is well possessed. Ergo, all that which is ill possessed, is another man's; and he doth ill possess, who doth ill use.

If then the clergy do habitually abuse their temporal goods, the temporal lords may, at their own pleasure, according unto the rule of charity, take away the said temporal goods from the clergy so offending. For then, according to the allegation aforesaid, the clergy do not justly possess those temporal goods; but the temporal lords, proceeding according to the rule of charity, do justly possess those temporalties, forsomuch as all things belong to the righteous. "All things," saith the apostle [1 Cor. iii. 21—23], "are yours; whether it be Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas; either the world, or life or death, or things present, or things to come: for all things be yours, you be Christ's, and Christ is God's." Also in Causa xxiii. quæst. 7, cap. 1, "Quicunque," it is written: "Jure divino omnia sunt justorum." •The [1] words of St. Augustine in that place, "Ad Vincentium," be these: "Whosoever," saith he, "upon the occasion of this law of the emperor doth persecute you, not for love and charitable correction, but only for hatred and to do you mischief, in so doing incurreth our displeasure. And although there is nothing here in this earth, that any man may possess assuredly, but either he must hold it by God's law, by which 'cuncta justorum esse dicuntur,' that is, 'all things pertain to the just:' or else by man's law, which it standeth in the power of the kings of the earth to ordain," &c. By the words of St. Augustine here alleged, ye see all things belong to the possession of the just, by God's law.•

By God's law. Cuncta justorum esse dicuntur.

Item, Forsomuch as the clergy by reason of their possessions are subject to the emperor and king, it followeth, that if they do habitually offend, the emperor or king may lawfully take away their possessions from them. The consequent holdeth, forsomuch as, otherwise, they would not be subject to the emperor or king: and the antecedent is manifest by Causa xi. quæst. 1. cap. 26, parag., "His ita respondetur," where it is said: "Clerici ex officio episcopo sunt suppositi, ex possessionibus imperatori sunt obnoxii: ab episcopo unctionem, decimas, et primitias accipiunt; ab imperatore vero possessiones nanciscuntur: quia ergo, ut prædia possideantur, imperiali lege factum est, patet, quòd clerici ex prædiorum possessionibus imperatori sunt obnoxii:" that is to say, "The clergy by reason of their office are under the bishop; but by reason of their possessions they be subject unto the emperor: of the bishop they receive unction, tithes, and first-fruits; but of the emperor they receive possessions. That lands therefore are possessed by them, happeneth by the imperial law; and thence it is evident, that the clergy by the possession of their lands are subject to the emperor," [for him to take away from them, or to correct them, according to their deservings, and to have the controlment of them, as it shall seem good unto him.][2]

Thirteenth reason. The clergy subject unto the emperor and king by means of their possessions.

Item, Secular lords may take away temporal goods from such as use simony, because they are heretics. Ergo, this article is true. The antecedent is manifest, forsomuch as the secular lords may reject such as use simony, and punish them except they do repent. For, by the decree of pope Pascal, in Causa i. the last question and last chapter, it appeareth, that "all such as used simony were to be rejected of all faithful people, as prime and chief heretics; and if they did not repent after being admonished, they were to be punished by the extern power. For all crimes in comparison of simony be counted as nothing." Whereupon the Gloss saith, that by this word 'extern' is understood the laity, who have this power apart from the church of the clergy, as appeareth in the 17th Distinction, cap. 4, "Nec licuit," and Causa xxiii. quest. 5, cap. 20, "Principes." Whereby it is evident, that temporal lords may take away temporal goods from the clergy when they do offend.

Fourteenth reason. Users of simony are punished by the civil magistrate.

See Appendix.

Item, the blessed Gregory, in the seventh book and ninth chapter of his Register, writeth thus to the queen of the French: "Forsomuch as it is written that 'righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin maketh them miserable;' then is a kingdom counted stable, when the offence which is known is soon amended. Therefore, forsomuch as wicked priests are a cause of the ruin of a people (for who shall offer himself to be intercessor for the sins of the people, if the priest who ought to entreat for the same, have committed greater offences), and under your dominions the priests do live unchastely and wickedly; therefore we ought earnestly to seek the punishment of the same, that the wickedness of the few may not prove the destruction of the many." And it followeth, "If

Gregory writeth to the French queen. Wicked priests the destruction of the people.

(1) This passage is not in the Latin edition, nor in the "Hist. et Mon." tom. i. fol. 119.—Ed.
(2) The words between brackets are not in "Hist. et Mon.," nor in the decree.—Ed.

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you desire, we will send a person, with the consent of your authority, whose duty it shall be, together with other priests, diligently to seek out, and according unto God's word, amend these things. For these things which we have spoken of ought not to be winked at, for he that can correct any thing, and doth neglect to do it, without all doubt maketh himself a partaker of the sin. Therefore, provide for your own soul; provide for your grandsons, whom you do desire to reign; provide for your country, and with diligence devise the correction of this wickedness, before our Creator do make bare his hand to strike."

Gregory to the French King.

And in the next chapter he writeth unto the king of the French; "Whatsoever you do perceive to pertain either to the reverence of our God, to the reverence of the church, or to the honour of the priests, do you diligently cause to be decreed, and in all points to be observed. Wherefore, once again we do move you, that you command a synod to be congregated, and that, as we wrote lately unto you, you cause the carnal vices which reign amongst your priests, and the wickedness of simoniacal heresy among all your bishops, which is most hard to be condemned and reproved, to be controlled within your kingdom; and that you do not suffer them to possess any more substance there than God's commandments do allow."

Behold, how carefully blessed Gregory doth exhort the queen and the king to punish the vices of the clergy, lest through their negligence they should be partakers of the same; and in what way they ought to correct their subjects. Therefore, as they study to be careful against outward enemies, even so, likewise, ought they to be against the inward enemies of souls. But, forsomuch as in just war against outward enemies it is lawful to take away their goods, so long as they continue in their malice; so also it is lawful to take away the goods of the clergy, being the inward enemy. The consequence holdeth, because the domestic enemies are the most hurtful.

Sixteenth reason.

Item, It is thus argued; if God be, temporal lords can meritoriously and lawfully take away temporal goods from the clergy, if they do habitually offend. For this point let us suppose that we use the term "*can*" as the true and authentic Scripture doth use it in Matt. iii. 9, "God *can* even of these stones raise up children to Abraham." Whereupon it is thus argued: If God be, he is omnipotent; and if so, he can give such a power unto secular lords; and so consequently they can meritoriously and lawfully exercise such a power.

But, lest any man object, that this proof is far-fetched and impertinent, it is therefore declared, that temporal lords have power to take away their alms bestowed upon the church, the church abusing the same, as shall be proved hereafter;[1] but for the present thus: It is lawful for kings, in cases limited by the law, to take away temporalties from ecclesiastics habitually abusing them; which is thus proved: Temporal lords are most bound unto the works of greatest mercy, and most easy for them: but it might be the case, that it would be greater alms and easier temporal dominion, to take away their alms from such as build therewithal unto eternal damnation through the abuse thereof, than to give the said alms for bodily relief: Ergo, the assumption is true.

Whereupon, First, this doctrine is laid down agreeably to the law of Christ, as stated in 2 Thess. iii., where the apostle writeth thus: "When we were amongst you, we declared this unto you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat." The law of nature, therefore, doth license such as have the governance of kingdoms to correct any abuses of the temporalties, which would be the chief cause of the destruction of their kingdoms; whether it were temporal lords, or any other, who had endowed the church with those temporalties. It is lawful for them in some cases to take away the temporalties medicinally, to prevent sin, notwithstanding any excommunication or other ecclesiastical censure; forsomuch as they are not bestowed, but under an implied condition.

When and how the title of any gift is lost.

The which appeareth by this, that the effect naturally [*per se*] consequent upon an endowment or gift of goods to the church, is, that God should be honoured: and if this effect be wanting, the contrary taking place, the title of the gift is plainly lost; and consequently the lord who gave the alms ought to correct what is amiss. But excommunication ought not to hinder the fulfilling of justice.

Secondly, this doctrine is laid down agreeably to the canon law, Causa xvi. question 7. par. "Filiis," where it is thus spoken as touching the children,

(1) See below, p. 88.—Ed.

nephews, and the most honest of the kindred of him who hath builded or endowed any church: "That it is lawful for them to foresee, that if they perceive the priest do defraud any part of that which is bestowed, they should either gently admonish him, or else complain of him to the bishop, that he may be corrected. But if the bishop himself attempt to do the like, let them complain of him to his metropolitan; and if the metropolitan do the like, let them not defer to report it in the ears of the king." Mark, the canon saith, "Let them not defer to report it in the ears of the king." To what end, I pray you, but that he should apply correction? neither is it to be doubted, but that the king's correction in this behalf would be more wholesome and pertinent, viz. a subtraction of the goods, whereof he is lord *in capite*, proportional to the offence.

Seventeenth reason. Lawful for the civil rulers to correct the clergy.

Item, It is thus argued: It is lawful for secular lords, by their power, to do correction upon the clergy by some kind of fearful discipline pertaining to their secular power. Ergo, by like reason it is lawful for them by their power to do such correction by all kind of fearful discipline pertaining to their secular power. Forsomuch, then, as the taking away of temporalties is a kind of fearful discipline pertaining to the secular power, it followeth, that it is lawful for them thereby to do such correction: and, consequently, the truth which was to be proved followeth. The consequent is evident; and the antecedent is proved by Isidore, cited in Causa xxiii. question 5. cap. 20. "Principes;" where it is thus written: "Secular powers would not be necessary within the church, but only for this purpose, that what the priest cannot effect by preaching or teaching, the secular powers may accomplish by the terror of discipline. For, oftentimes, the heavenly kingdom prevaileth by the earthly kingdom, that they who are in the church, and do any thing contrary to its faith and discipline, are suppressed by the rigour of the princes, and that the power of the prince layeth that discipline upon the necks of the proud, which the meekness of the church cannot exercise."

Eighteenth reason.

Item, Every thing that by power ought to effect any end by means reasonably commensurate thereto, may lawfully make by power the subtraction of the excess and the addition of the defect of those means, according as shall be suitable to render them commensurate. Forsomuch, then, as the secular lords ought by their power to provide for the necessary sustentation of the christian clergy by a reasonable proportion of temporalties, which they are bound to bestow upon the christian clergy; it followeth, that they may lawfully, by their power, make a deduction from, or addition to, those temporalties, according as is suitable for making that reasonable proportion.

Nineteenth reason.

Item, It is lawful for the clergy, by their power, to withhold the sacraments of the church from laymen habitually offending, forsomuch as it doth pertain to the office of the christian clergy, by their power, to minister the same unto the lay-people. Wherefore, forsomuch as it doth pertain unto the office of the laity, according to their power, to minister temporalties to the clergy of Christ, as the apostle saith 1 Cor. ix.; it followeth, that it is also lawful for them, by their power, to withhold the temporalties from the clergy habitually offending.

Twentieth reason.

Item, By like power may he who giveth a stipend, withdraw the same from unworthy labourers, as he hath power to give the same to worthy labourers. Forsomuch then as the temporalties of the clergy are the stipends of the laity, it followeth that the lay-people may, by as good authority, withdraw them from the clergy who will not worthily labour, as they might by their power bestow the same upon those who would worthily labour, according to the saying of the gospel [Matth. xxi.], "The kingdom shall be taken away from you, and given unto a people which shall bring forth the fruits thereof."

Twenty-first reason.

Item, It is lawful for the secular lords, by their power, to chastise lay-people when they do offend, by taking away their temporalties according to the exigence of their offences, forsomuch as the lay-people are subjected to their dominion. Wherefore, the clergy being also subject to the dominion of the secular lords, as appeareth from Rom. xiii. and many other places, it followeth that it is lawful for them by their power to chastise the clergy by taking away their temporalties, their offence so requiring.

Twenty-second reason.

Item, The most easy reformation of the clergy to the life of Christ and his apostles, and the most pertinent to the laity, so that the clergy should not live contrary unto Christ, seemeth to be the withdrawing of their alms, and the

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taking away of those things which had been bestowed upon them. It is thus proved: that medicine is rather to be applied, whereby the infirmity might soonest be cured, and which would be most handy to the physician; such is the taking away of the temporalties. Ergo, this article is true. The minor appeareth by this, that from abundance of temporalties the worm of pride is produced, whereupon lust is inflamed, and gluttony and lechery are generated. This is evident, forsomuch as the temporalties being once withdrawn, every one of those sins is taken away, or at the least diminished, and the opposite virtue induced. It seemeth also most pertinent to the laity, forsomuch as they need not for this end lay violent hands upon the priests, nor cast away the priestly dignity, neither judge the clergy in their judicial court. It seemeth, also, by the law of conscience to pertain unto the lay-people, forsomuch as every man who doeth any work of mercy, ought diligently to have respect unto the meetness of them that he bestoweth his alms upon; else, by nourishing loiterers, he would be partaker of their sin. Whereupon, if a priest do not minister in spiritual things, as Hostiensis teacheth in his third book, 'De Decimis, Primitiis, et Oblationibus,' the people ought to withdraw the alms of their tithes from them.

See Appendix.

Twenty-third reason.

Item, It is confirmed with respect to Rents appropriate unto the church, by the last chapter in Causa xvii. quæst. 4, cap. "Quicunque," where the case is put thus: That a certain man having no children, and not hoping to have any, gave all his goods to the church, reserving to himself the usufruct thereof: it happened afterwards, that he had children, and the bishop restored again his goods unto him, not expecting it. The bishop had it in his power, not to render him again those things which he had given; but that was by the law of the courts, and not by the law of heaven. If then, by the decree of the most subtil and holy doctor Augustine, in his sermon "De vita clericorum," St. Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, had not power by God's law to restore that which was bestowed upon the church for the necessity of the children; by what law do the wanton, proud, and unstable clergy, and superabundantly possessed and enriched, detain temporalties to the detriment of their own state and of the whole church militant, the secular patrons being thereby so impoverished, that they are compelled by penury to steal, to oppress their tenants, to spoil others, and oftentimes are necessitated to beg?

Twenty-fourth reason.

Item, Suppose that a clergyman as grievously as possible do offend, by what kind of offences soever, as it was in the case of bishop Judas Iscariot, of the religious monk Sergius, of pope Leo the heretic, and many other priests of whom the Scripture and Chronicles make mention, and daily experience doth teach us the same: it is evident, that the priests in the kingdom of Bohemia, as is supposed, offending enormously, it is the king's part, forsomuch as he is supreme lord of the kingdom of Bohemia next after God, to correct those priests. But, forsomuch as the gentlest correction of such as be obdurate in their wickedness, is, the taking away of their temporal goods, it followeth, that it is lawful for the king so to take away temporalties. Wherefore it would be very marvellous, if priests, riding about, should spoil virgins, and violently defile honest matrons, that in such case it were not lawful to take back from them their armour, horses, guns, and swords. The like reason were it, as if they had unlawfully conspired the death of the king. or that they would betray the king to his enemies.

Twenty-fifth reason.

Item, Whatsoever the clergy ought to require of the secular arm, according to the law of Christ, the secular arm ought to perform the same. But the clergy, being hindered by riches, ought to require help of the secular arm for the dispensation of the said riches. Ergo, the secular arm ought, in such case, by the law of Christ, to take upon it the office of getting, keeping, and distributing, all such riches. The minor is hereby proved, that no man ought to have riches, but so that they be helps to the performance of the office which is appointed him of God. Therefore, in case secular possession should hinder the clergy from their duty, the secular power ought to take it away; for so did the apostles, Acts vi., saying, "It is not lawful for us to leave the word of God, and to minister unto tables."

And thus, hitherto, hath John Huss prosecuted Wickliff's articles with long arguments and reasons; and it were too long a travail,

neither agreeable for this place, to allege all the whole order of his reasons and proofs which he used in that disputation, about the number of eighteen more, besides the testimonies of all the writers before recited, the which he allegeth out of the Scriptures, the Decretals, St. Ambrose in his fifth book of offices, St. Augustine, cited in the fifth Causa and fifth question, and also in his third Epistle to Macedonius, Isidore, the council of Nice, Gregory cited in the eleventh Causa and the third question, Bernard in his third book to Eugene, and out of Lincolniensis, the sixty-first epistle, besides many other more: the sum of all which testimonies tendeth unto this end, that he might utterly take away all earthly rule and dominion from the clergy, and bring them under the subjection and censure of kings and emperors, as it were within certain bounds; the which is not only agreeable unto equity and God's word, but also profitable for the clergy themselves. He teacheth it also to be necessary, that they should rather be subject under the secular power, than be above it; because that else it were dangerous, lest that, they being entangled with such kind of business, they should be an easier prey to Satan and sooner trapped in his snares; and thereby it should come to pass, that the governance and principality of all things being at the length brought into the hands of the clergy, the lawful authority of kings and princes should not only be given over unto them, but in a manner, as it were, grow out of use; specially forsomuch as already, in certain kingdoms and commonwealths, the ecclesiastical power is grown to such a height, that not only in Bohemia, but also almost throughout all the commonwealths, they did occupy the third, or at least the fourth, part of the rents and revenues. And, last of all, he allegeth the example of Gregory writing to the emperor Maurice, and afterwards the prophecy of Hildegard, writing in this manner.

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Ambrose, Augustine, Isidore, council of Nice, Gregory, Bernard, and others.

See Appendix.

The Second Disputation of John Huss, continued.[1]

As ecclesiastics do willingly receive praise of kings and rulers for their well-doing, so ought they, when they do offend, willingly to suffer punishment from them for their evil-doing. The consequent holdeth, forsomuch as punishment meekly received for any offence doth more profit a man, than the praise received for any good work: whereupon the blessed Gregory writeth thus unto Maurice the emperor, who did persecute him, saying, "I believe that you do please Almighty God the more, the more you afflict me, who serve him so ill." If then that holy pope did so meekly, and without offence, suffer affliction of the emperor, why should not the clergy, when they do offend, meekly sustain punishment from the king or rulers to whom they are bound to be subject, when the immediate vicar of Christ saith [1 Pet. ii.], "Be ye subject unto every creature for God's sake, whether it be unto the king, as most excellent, or unto the rulers, as sent of God for the punishing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good: for so is the will of God?"

Forty-second reason.

Whereupon pope Leo, leaning to this rule, submitted himself to Louis, the emperor, as it is written in Causa ii. quæst. 7, cap. 41, in these words, "If we have done any thing incompetently, and have not observed the path of justice and law amongst our subjects, we will amend the same, by your own judgment, and by that of those whom you shall commission. For if we, who ought to correct other men's faults, do commit worse ourselves, certainly we shall not

Pope Leo submitteth himself unto the emperor Louis.

(1) Foxe here takes up Huss's 42nd reason. "Hist. et Mon." tom. i. fol. 124.—Ed.

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then be the disciples of the truth, but (with sorrow we speak it) we shall be above all others the masters of error."

And, in the tenth Distinction, he writeth thus unto the emperor touching obedience: "As concerning your imperial precepts and commandments, and those of the pontiffs (where the Gloss saith, 'i. e. emperors, who are anointed after the manner of the pontiffs') your predecessors, to be kept and observed unbroken, we do profess ourselves ready by all means possible, as far as we are now or shall be able, by the help of Christ, to observe them both now and ever. And if, peradventure, any man do, or hereafter shall, inform you otherwise, know you for certain that he is a liar."

Tyranny and pride of the clergy.

Mark how that devout pope, calling the emperors 'pontiffs,' submitted himself, according to the rule of Peter the apostle, under the obedience and also punishment of the emperor. Why, then, should not the clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia so submit themselves to their king, for God's sake, both in obedience, and also, if they do offend, in punishment; nor only to the king, but also to the rulers; nor only to the rulers, but also to every human creature? For by how much they should so humble themselves in this world for God's sake, so much the more should they be exalted with him. But what is the hindrance thereof, but only pride, whereby Antichrist doth exalt himself above the most meek Lord Jesus Christ?

Forty-third reason. Prophecy of Hildegard. *See Appendix.*

Also, the aforesaid opinion concerning the right of taking away the temporalties, seemeth to appear by the prophecy of Hildegard, the virgin, which she writeth in her books approved under pope Eugene III. in the council of Treves, many bishops of France, Italy, and Almain being there present, where also the blessed Bernard was present. The virgin prophesying, spake in this manner: "The kings and other rulers of the world, being stirred up by the judgment of God, shall vehemently oppose themselves, and rushing upon them shall say, 'We will not have these men to reign over us with their estates and lands and other secular possessions, over the which we are ordained lords. And how is it comely that those shavelings, with their stoles and chisils,[1] should have more soldiers, or more or richer armour, than we? So is it not convenient that a cleric should be a soldier, or that a soldier should be a cleric. Wherefore, let us withdraw from them that, which they do, not rightly, but wrongfully possess.'"

Just division intended by God between the spiritual and the secular people.

And, afterward, she saith thus: "The Omnipotent Father rightly divided all things; that is to say, the heavens he gave unto the heavenly creatures, and the earth unto the earthly. And in like wise let there be a just division made among the children of men, so that the spiritualty should have such things as pertain to them, and the secular people such things as are meet for them, so that neither of these two sorts should oppress the other by violence. For God did not command, that the one son should have both the cloak and the coat, and the other should go naked; but he would that the one should have the cloak, and the other the coat. Wherefore the secular sort ought to have the cloak, for the greatness of their secular cares, and for their children, which continually increase and multiply: but the coat he giveth unto the spiritualty, that they should not lack clothing, and that they should not possess more than is necessary. Wherefore we judge and think it good, that all things be divided on the aforesaid principle; and that where the cloak and the coat are found together, the cloak should be taken away, and given unto the needy, that they do not perish for want." These things spake the above-mentioned virgin Hildegard, plainly foreshowing the taking away of the temporalties from the clergy by the secular lords; and showing for what cause they should be so taken away, and what sort of division should be made of those things that are taken away, that they be not spent unprofitably.

Forsomuch as mention is here made of Hildegard, it shall not seem impertinent, moved by the occasion hereof, to give forth unto the reader such things as we have found in certain old volumes, touching

(1) "Cum stolis et casulis."—Ed.

her prophecy of the coming of certain false prophets, only meaning, as it seemeth, the begging-friars, who sprang up shortly after her time. The tenor whereof is this, word for word, as we find it written.

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Hildegard's Prophecy respecting Friars and Monks.

In those days there shall rise up a people without understanding, proud, covetous, untrusty, and deceitful, that shall eat the sins of the people, holding a certain order of foolish devotion, under the feigned cloak of beggary; preferring themselves above all others, by their feigned devotion, arrogant understanding, and pretended holiness; walking without shamefacedness, or the fear of God; inventing many new mischiefs, being strong and stout: but this order shall be accursed of all wise men and faithful Christians; they shall cease from labour, and give themselves over unto idleness; choosing rather to live through flattery, and by begging. Moreover, they shall together study, how they may perversely resist the teachers of the truth, and slay them together with the noble men; how to seduce and deceive the nobility, for the necessity of their living and the pleasures of this world. For the devil will graft in them four principal vices; that is to say, flattery, envy, hypocrisy, and slander: flattery, that they may have large gifts given them: envy, when they see gifts given unto others, and not unto them: hypocrisy, that by false dissimulation, they may please men: detraction, that they may extol and commend themselves, and backbite others, for the praise of men, and the seducing of the simple.

Four principal vices in the friars.

Also, they shall instantly preach without devotion or example of the martyrs, and shall traduce the secular princes, taking away the sacraments of the church from the true pastors, receiving alms of the poor, diseased, and miserable, and also associating themselves with the common people, having familiarity with women, instructing them how they shall deceive their husbands and friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and rob their husbands to give it unto them: for they will take all these stolen and evil-gotten goods, and say, "Give it unto us, and we will pray for you;" so that they, being curious to hide other men's faults, do utterly forget their own: and alas, they will receive all things of rovers, pickers, spoilers, thieves, and robbers; of sacrilegious persons, usurers, and adulterers; of heretics, schismatics, and apostates; of noblemen, perjurers, merchants, false judges, soldiers, tyrants, princes; of such as live contrary to the law, and of many perverse and wicked men: following the persuasion of the devil, the sweetness of sin, a delicate and transitory life, and fulness even unto eternal damnation.

All these things shall manifestly appear in them unto all people, and they, day by day, shall wax more wicked and hard-hearted; and when their wickedness and deceits shall be found out, then shall their gifts cease, and then shall they go about their houses hungry, and as mad dogs looking down upon the earth, and drawing in their necks as doves, that they might be satisfied with bread. Then shall the people cry out upon them, "Woe be unto you, ye miserable children of sorrow. The world hath seduced you, the devil hath bridled your mouths; your flesh is frail, and your hearts without savour; your minds have been unsteadfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanity and folly; your dainty bellies desire delicate meats; your feet are swift to run unto mischief." Remember when you were apparently blessed yet envious, poor but rich, simple, mighty devout flatterers, unfaithful betrayers, perverse detractors, holy hypocrites, subverters of the truth, overmuch upright, proud, unshamefaced, unsteadfast teachers, delicate martyrs, confessors for gain, meek slanderers, religious, covetous, humble, proud, pitiful, hard-hearted, liars, pleasant flatterers, peace-breakers, persecutors, oppressors of the poor, bringing in new sects newly invented of yourselves, merciless, wicked, lovers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoilers of benefices, unprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, devourers of honour, maintainers of mischief, robbers of the world, insatiable, preachers, men-pleasers, seducers of women, and sowers of discord. For Moses, the glorious prophet, spake very well of you in his song: "A people without counsel or understanding; would to God they did know, understand, and foresee the end."

You have builded up on high, and when you could ascend no higher, then

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did you fall, even as Simon Magus whom God overthrew, and did strike with a cruel plague; so you, likewise, through your false doctrine, naughtiness, lies, detractions, and wickedness, are come to ruin. And the people shall say unto you, "Go! ye teachers of wickedness, subverters of the truth, brethren of the Shunamite, fathers of heresies, false apostles, who have feigned yourselves to follow the life of the apostles, and yet have not fulfilled it in any part: sons of iniquity! we will not follow the knowledge of your ways, for pride and presumption have deceived you, and insatiable concupiscence hath subverted your erroneous hearts; and when ye would yet ascend higher than was meet or comely for you, by the just judgment of God you are fallen back into perpetual opprobry and shame."[1]

This blessed Hildegard, whose prophecy this is, flourished about the year of our Lord, 1146, as it is written in Martin's Chronicle.

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Hugo,[2] also, in his second book of Sacraments, part ii. chaps. 3 and 7, saith, "The laity, forsomuch as they intermeddle with earthly matters necessary unto an earthly life, are the left part of the body of Christ. But the clergy, forsomuch as they do dispense those things which pertain unto a spiritual life, are, as it were, the right side of the body of Christ." And, afterward, interpreting both these parts himself, he saith, "A spiritual man ought to have nothing but God and such things as pertain unto God; unto whom it is appointed to be sustained by the tithes and oblations which are offered unto God; but unto the christian and faithful laity the possession of earthly things is granted; and unto the clergy the whole charge of spiritual matters is committed, as it was in the Old Testament." And in his seventh chapter he declareth, how that "certain things are given unto the church of Christ by the devotion of the faithful, the right and authority of the secular power being withal reserved, lest there might happen any confusion; forsomuch as God himself cannot allow any disorderly thing. Whereupon, sometimes worldly princes do grant the bare use of the church, and sometimes the use and power of exercising justice (which the clergy cannot exercise by any ecclesiastical minister, or any person of the clergy: notwithstanding they may have certain lay-persons ministers unto that office); but in such sort," saith he, "that they do acknowledge their having such power to come from the secular prince or ruler, and that they do understand their possessions can never be so alienated away from the king's power, but that, if necessity or reason do require, the same possessions, in all such case of necessity, do owe him suit and service. For, like as the king's power ought not to withdraw the patronage which he oweth to the church, so, likewise, the possessions obtained by the clergy cannot by right deny the duty and homage which are due unto the patronage of the king's power." Thus much writeth Hugo.

The Third Disputation of John Huss, upon the Eighteenth Article of Wickliff, made in the third Act, the same Year, after the Feast of St. Vitus, touching Tithes, &c.[3]

"Tithes are pure Alms."

Alms mercy.

Two kinds of misery.

Upon this article it is to be noted, First, that forsomuch as alms is a work of mercy, as St. Augustine, St. Chrysostome, and others unanimously affirm; and forsomuch as mercy, according to Lincolniensis' mind, for the present, is a love or desire to help the miserable out of his misery; and forsomuch as the misery of mankind is twofold, viz. spiritual and bodily, the which is the want or privation

(1) The foregoing passage, commencing above at "Forsomuch as mention is here made of Hildegard," &c. (p. 86), is not in Huss, but introduced by Foxe parenthetically, and, we may add, superfluously, inasmuch as the whole passage has been already given at vol. ii. p. 354.—Ed.

(2) The ensuing paragraph is printed in all the editions of Foxe in large type, as though it were a piece of his own writing; whereas it is the conclusion of John Huss's argument, and pieces on with the passage ending "spent unprofitably," toward the bottom of p. 86. It is therefore printed in small type, revised from the original. See "Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss," &c. Noribergæ, 1558, fol. 125.—Ed.

(3) "Hist. et Mon." tom. i. fol. 125.—Ed.

of good; and the good of man is either the good of the soul or of the body; and the good of the soul is twofold, viz. the enlightening of the mind, and rectitude of affection:—therefore the misery of the soul is also twofold; viz. the darkness of ignorance, and the swerving of the will from rectitude. But both kinds of the soul's good are wont to be comprehended under one name, that is to say, 'wisdom:' and both kinds of the soul's misery, under the name of 'folly.' Whereupon the whole good of the soul is wisdom, and the whole misery thereof is ignorance. But the miseries of the body are lack of meat, that is to say, hunger; and lack of drink, called thirst: and, briefly, all misery is the privation of some thing which is desired. Also, these are bodily miseries: nakedness, lack of harbour, sickness, and imprisonment. All the miseries therefore being numbered together, are but one of the soul, which is folly and lack of wisdom; and six of the body, which the Lord himself in Matthew xxv. doth plainly enumerate. There are also commonly stated seven bodily alms; that is to say, to feed the hungry, to give drink unto the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to harbour the stranger, to visit the sick, to redeem the captive, and to bury the dead; the which all together are contained in this verse:

Two kinds of goodness.

The miseries of the mind and body.

See Appendix.

"Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo."

The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:

Visit the sick, the hungry feed,
Give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked,
Bury the dead, the captive redeem,
The harbourless receive to thy lodging.

There be also beside seven spiritual alms, viz., to teach the ignorant; to counsel him that is in doubt; to comfort him who is in heaviness; to correct the sinner; to forgive him who offended thee; to bear with those who are burdensome and grievous; and to pray for all men: which are also contained in this verse following:

What alms is.

"Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora."

The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:

Instruct the ignorant, the weak confirm,
Comfort the heavy heart, and correct sin:
Forgive the offender, bear with the rude,
Pray for all men both evil and good.

So, notwithstanding, that under the same be comprehended counsel and doctrine. Thus writeth Thomas [Aquinas] in his second part, second division, question xxxii. art. 2.

Secondly, it is to be noted that in this present article our intent is only to treat of bodily alms; the which, as Thomas writeth in his second part, second division, question xxxii. art. 1, according to some is thus to be defined: "Alms is a work whereby any thing is given unto the needy, out of compassion, for God's sake." And forsomuch as this definition serveth as well for spiritual as for corporal alms, therefore, for our present purpose, 'Alms is a work, whereby anything is given unto the needy in body out of compassion, and for God's sake; or, that is given out of compassion unto the bodily needy, for God's sake.'[1]

Whence it is manifest that alms, as Augustine and other holy men say, is a work of mercy, as also to give alms. And this appeareth by the very name; for as in the Latin the word 'miseratio,' which signifieth 'pity,' is derived from 'misericordia,' which is 'mercy;' so in the Greek the word 'eleemosyna,' which signifieth 'alms,' is derived from the Greek word 'elemonia,' which is to say 'mercy,' and from the word 'sina,' which is to say 'commandment,' as if it were a commandment of mercy: or otherwise, better from the word

(1) "Eleemosyna est opus, quo datur aliquid indigenti in corpore, ex compassione, propter Deum; vel quod datur, vel datum est, ex compassione indigenti corporaliter propter Deum."—See the Latin edition, 1559, p. 48.—Ed.

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'elimonia,' with an 'i;' which is to say 'God,' and the word 'sina,' which is 'commandment:' and then it is derived from the word 'eli,' as if it were 'the commandment of God;' as Januensis in his book entitled 'Catholicon' affirmeth.[1] For our Saviour doth command, in Luke xi., to give alms, saying, "Give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you." Lest then there should be any equivocation about the term, it is now supposed, that the alms given by men is corporal alms, given by a man simply under the name of 'alms.' Secondly, it is to be supposed, that tithes, in this case, are the tenth part of the goods of fortune, given by a man simply under the name of 'alms' for God's sake.

Tithes.

These two things being noted and supposed, it is thus argued for the article: Every gift of fortune, or temporal gift, simply given under the name of alms, is alms: But some tithes are the gift of fortune, or a temporal gift under the name of alms: Therefore, some tithes are alms. This consequence is manifest of itself. The major appeareth by the first supposition; and the minor by the second.

Item, Every gift given by a man, for the sake of relieving the miserable from his misery, is an alms. But the tenth part of the goods of fortune given by a man, simply under the name of alms, for God's sake, is given by the same man for the sake of relieving the miserable from his misery; therefore the tenth part of the goods of fortune, being given by any man simply under the name of alms for God's sake, is alms. The consequence is manifest. The major appeareth by this, that every such gift is either a spiritual or bodily alms. The minor seemeth hereby true, forsomuch as many holy men have given, and do give, a tithe for the sake of relieving the miserable from his misery. Neither is it to be doubted but that such kind of tithes are alms; for St. Augustine upon these words of the Lord in the Gospel, "Woe be unto you Pharisees, which do tithe the mint and anise," writeth thus: "If they cannot be cleansed except they believe in Him who doth cleanse the heart by faith, to what purpose is it that He saith, 'Give alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you?' Let us give ear, and peradventure He himself doth expound. They did take out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for alms; which, notwithstanding, any christian man doth not lightly do. They therefore mocked Him, when He spake these words to them, as unto men who did no alms. This the Lord knowing said, 'Woe be unto you Pharisees, which tithe mint and rue, and all kind of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God.' This is not to do alms; if thou dost understand it, begin with thyself; for how canst thou be merciful unto another, who art cruel unto thyself?" This writeth St. Augustine, expressly saying, that "tithes are alms."

St. Augustine proveth tithes to be pure alms.

Also in his Enchiridion, chap. lxxvi., upon these words of St. Luke, chap. xi., "Notwithstanding, that which is more than sufficient for thee give in alms, and all things shall be clean unto you," he saith thus: "When he had rebuked them, that they washed themselves outwardly but inwardly, were full of violence and iniquity, admonishing them how a man ought first to bestow a sort of alms upon himself and thus to cleanse himself inwardly, he saith, 'That which is over, give in alms; and behold, all things are clean unto you.' Afterward, that he might the better declare what he had admonished them of and what they neglected to do, that they should not judge him ignorant of their alms he saith, 'But woe be unto you Pharisees;' as though he should say, 'I admonished you indeed that you should give alms, whereby all things might be clean unto you; but woe be unto you who tithe the mint, rue, and all kind of herbs (for these your alms I do know, that you may not think that I now admonished you touching them), and neglect and pass over judgment and the love of God, by which alms ye might be cleansed from all your inward filthiness, and your bodies also, which you do wash, should be clean. For this word 'all things' meaneth both inward and also outward; as it is said in another place, 'Cleanse that which is within, and that which is without shall be clean also.' But, lest he should seem to refuse those alms which are given of

(1) An extract from the Latin is here subjoined. "Et hoc apparet ex ipso nomine. Nam in Græco à misericordia derivatur, sicut Latinè miseratio a misericordia: sic eleemosyna ab elemonia, quod est misericordia, et sina, quod est mandatum, id est, mandatum misericordiæ: vel elimonia, per 'i,' melius; et tunc dicitur ab 'eli' quod est 'Deus,' et 'sina,' quod est 'mandatum,' quasi mandatum Dei, ut dicit Januensis in suo Catholicon." Pp. 48, 49; and Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss, fol. 126. Respecting the "Catholicon," see Appendix.—Ed.

the fruits of the earth; he saith, 'You ought to have done these things,' that is to say, judgment and the love of God, 'and not to leave the other undone,' that is to say, the alms of the fruits of the earth." This writeth St. Augustine, expressly calling the tithes, 'alms.' *Richard II.* A.D. 1384.

Item, Chrysostome, upon the same words in Luke xi., "That which is over give in alms," saith thus; "Whereas the discourse was of the Jewish fashion of cleansing, he wholly passed that by; but forsomuch as tithes is a certain alms, and the time was not yet come for expressly abolishing the ceremonies of the law, for this cause he saith, 'Ye ought to do these things, and not omit the other.'" And St. Thomas allegeth the same in his gloss upon St. Luke. But St. Chrysostome himself doth touch two points: first, that tithes are alms; secondly, that tithes are in a manner an institution of the law, which had not yet ceased to be given to the priests in the time of Christ. Chrysostome.

Item, Augustine, in a certain sermon on giving alms, saith thus: "What meaneth 'Give alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you?' Let us give ear, and peradventure he doth expound it himself. When he had spoken these words, without doubt they mused within themselves, who did give alms. But how did they give them? They tithed all that they had, and took out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for alms: which no Christian readily doth. Mark what the Jews did: they tithed, not only their wheat, but also their wine and oil; and not that only, but also vile things, at the commandment of the Lord, as cummin, rue, and anise; yea, every thing; *i. e.* they took the tenth part of them, and gave it for alms. I think, therefore, forsomuch as they called these things to mind, and thought that our Lord Christ spake foolishly to them as though they did no alms, when they knew their own works, that they tithed the smallest and vilest of all their fruits and gave alms thereof, therefore they mocked him, because he did speak in such sort unto them, as unto men that did no alms. This the Lord knowing, by and by added, 'Notwithstanding, woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, who tithe your mint, cummin, and rue, and all kind of herbs; that ye may be assured that I am aware of your alms. Truly, these are your alms, these are your tithes; you tithe even the least and vilest of your fruits, but have left the weightier matters of the law undone.'" Here Augustine repeatedly expoundeth that tithes are alms. Also he writeth the like in his book of Homilies, Homily the sixth.

Item, For the proof of this article, That tithes are pure alms, it is thus argued. For this proposition, Tithes are pure alms, is infinite; taking for a truth that which is really true only of many of its particulars. It is certain that it is not damnable, but most catholic, that Something is God; which being false for all other particulars, is only true for that alone which doth surmount all kind. Ergo, by like reason, this indefinite[1] is true, Tithes are pure alms: for it is thus proved; Those tithes of Peter a layman being wholly given by Paul a rector unto a needy layman according to a good intent, how can they be but pure alms, yea, and more pure than any alms given by a cleric who may be a fornicator? Of course, the case I have just put, I only put as a thing possible to have occurred; our opponents perhaps will doubt whether it ever really did occur.

Item, It is thus argued; Those tithes, and all other goods of fortune, are pure alms in respect of God, forsomuch as every man, emperor or king, is a beggar of God, as Augustine doth oftentimes assert; and, consequently, if he do receive fruitfully any such goodness at the hand of God, the same is pure alms in respect of God; neither is there any faithful man who will deny but that it simply followeth that the same is pure alms before God: ergo, it is pure alms.

Item, It is thus argued; All tithes are by themselves, and every part of them, alms; neither is there any reason contrary to this, that they are alms: ergo, they are pure alms; for they are by no other means or reason than as alms, if they be wholly in themselves alms; forsomuch as it followeth, if they be by any other means or otherwise than as alms, then they are otherwise than some alms; and forsomuch as they themselves are some alms, it followeth that they are otherwise than they themselves are; which is false.

But now to pass beyond the bounds of logic, it is to be enquired, whether before the church was endowed, or sustenance and clothing were given to the

(1) "Hæc indefinita." See the Latin edition, p. 50.—Ed.

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apostles, there were any pure alms, or whether alms were given by any other means by an obligation of human duty. And, forsomuch as no reason can be conceived, but that they were pure alms, so are they ever since, for the custom of the same thing according unto like reason doth not alter the kind of the reason; for so might beggars challenge by custom, beyond the purity of alms, the temporalties which they do beg. Neither doth duty before God utterly exclude the purity of alms; for every man duly giving alms, doth as he ought to do, as every man duly receiving his alms, ought so to receive it as before God; and simply to establish any human title upon the continuance of any such alms, it is altogether contrary unto the reason of alms. Therefore, they do continually observe and keep the reason of the purity of alms, which they had from the beginning, since an obligation conditioned doth not destroy the purity thereof.

Sustenance and clothing, given to the apostles, was alms, ergo also tithes.

Wherefore, there seemeth to be no cause why it should be denied, that tithes are pure alms, except that the proud should be marvellously extolled, contrary to the humility of Christ. For they do challenge, by the title of their lack so and so to be pleased for their tithes: yet so might the begging friar, by the daily continuance of his begging, challenge according to such and such quantity or circumstance. But it is no argument, that if the curate do perform his corporal ministry, that he ought, therefore, to challenge tithes by any civil title; because that as well on the part of him who giveth the tithe, as also on the part of the rector or curate, such ministry ought to be given freely, and not by any civil exchange; forsomuch as there is no exaction; nay, rather, the equivalence between the things so exchanged is repugnant to the notion of exaction, since no man freely giveth any sort of alms without expecting, by the law of heaven, a duty of recompense.

Item, All temporal goods bestowed upon the clergy by the lay-people on the ground of their being the goods of the church, are the alms of them who give them. It is proved thus, forsomuch as all those goods are the goods of the poor; as appeareth by many sayings of holy men and by the laws. But they were not the goods of the poor, after they were mere secular goods, but only by means of the work of mercy, whereby they were bestowed upon the poor: ergo, they were pure alms. The consequent dependeth upon the definition of pure alms.

Item, All things transferred to the use and power of another are transferred either by civil exchange or evangelical; but the church goods are so transferred: therefore it is by one of these ministries. But the civil exchange is not to be supposed, because it is not done either by buying or selling, or any other civil exchange. Therefore there doth only remain pure gift, in hope of a heavenly reward, which is merely, and so purely alms. And it seemeth to follow, in a way of corollary, that all the clergy receiving such alms are beggars, not only in respect of God, as all other men are, but in respect of men; for they would not so instantly require those alms except they had need of them: neither ought we to be ashamed thereof, or to be proud beggars, forsomuch as Christ, touching his humanity, became a beggar for us, because he declared his need unto God his Father, saying, &c.

The clergy beggars.

Item, When any king, prince, knight, citizen, or any other man, doth give unto the clergy or to the priests for their stipend, he giveth it unto the church of God, and to the private party, as a perpetual alms, that he should pray for the king, for the founder, and for his progenitors. But this kind of giving doth not suffice for the clergy to ground thereupon any secular dominion amongst the clergy: it followeth that the bare use remaineth to them, or the secular use without any secular dominion. The major appeareth hereby, forsomuch as, otherwise, alms should not be a work of mercy. Whereby it may also appear, that tithes are pure alms given to the church for the use of the poor.

And hence holy men do say, that tenths are the tributes of needy souls. Whence St. Augustine, in a sermon made upon the paying of tithes, saith, "The giving of tithes, most dear brethren, is the tribute of poor souls; therefore pay your tribute unto the poor." And afterward he saith, "Therefore whoso desireth either to get any reward, or to have any remission of sins, by giving tithes, let him study to give alms even of the ninth part: so that whatsoever shall remain more than a competent living and decent clothing, be not

Tithes are to be given of the ninth part of goods.

reserved for riot, but be laid up in the heavenly treasury, by giving it in alms to the poor. For whatsoever God doth give to us more than we have need of, he doth not give it us specially for ourselves; but doth transmit it by us to be bestowed upon others: if we do not give it, we invade another man's possessions." Thus much writeth St. Augustine, and it is cited in Causa xvi. question 1. cap. 66. "Decimæ." *Richard II.* A.D. 1384.

Also St. Jerome in an epistle, cited in Causa xvi. question 1. chap. 68, "Quoniam quicquid," "Whatsoever the clergy have, it is the goods of the poor."

Also St. Augustine in his thirty-third epistle to Boniface, and it is alleged in Causa xii. question 11, and also in Causa xxiii. question 7, "If we do possess any things privately which do suffice us, they are not ours, but the goods of the poor, whose stewards we are, except we do challenge to ourselves the property by a damnable usurpation." The Gloss upon that part of the twenty-third Causa, question 7, saith, "The prelates are only the stewards of the church-goods, and not lords thereof." The clergy are stewards of the church-goods, and not lords thereof.

St. Ambrose, also, upon this saying of the gospel (Luke xvi.), "Give account of your stewardship," saith, "Hereby then do we learn, that they are not lords, but rather stewards, of other men's substance."

And St. Jerome, writing to Nepotianus, saith, "How can they be clergymen? who are commanded to contemn their own property. To take away from a friend is theft; to defraud the church is sacrilege, and sequestering of that which should be given unto the poor."

And St. Bernard, in his sermon upon these words, "Simon Peter said unto Jesus" (John xix.), saith, "Truly, the goods of the church are the patrimony of the poor: and whatsoever thing the ministers and stewards of the same, not the lords or possessors thereof, do take unto themselves more than sufficient for food and raiment, the same is taken away from the poor by a sacrilegious cruelty."

And Eusebius, in his "De Transitu Hieronymi," writeth thus: "If thou dost possess a garment, or any other thing more than extreme necessity doth require, and dost not help the poor and needy, thou art a thief and a robber. Wherefore, dearly beloved children, let us be stewards of our temporalties, and not possessors."

And Isidore, in his treatise "De summo bono," chap. xlii., saith, "Let the bishop acknowledge that he is the servant of the people, and not their lord."

Also in the third book of the Decretals, "Extra de donationibus," under the name of Alexander III., bishop of Paris, it saith, "We believe that it is not unknown unto your brotherhood, that a bishop, and every other prelate, is but a steward of the church-goods, and not lord thereof."

By these sayings of these holy men it is showed, that not only tithes, but also all other substance which the clergy have by gift or work of mercy, are pure alms, which, after the necessity of the clergy is once satisfied, ought to be transported unto the poor.

Secondly, it is showed, how the clergy are not lords and possessors of those goods, but ministers or stewards thereof.

Thirdly, it is showed, that if the clergy do abuse the same, they are thieves, robbers, and sacrilegious persons, and except they do repent, by the just judgment of God they are to be condemned.

And thus, hitherto, I may peradventure seem to have made sufficiently long recital out of John Huss, but so notwithstanding, that the commodity of those things may abundantly recompense the prolixity thereof. Wherefore, if I shall seem unto any man, in the rehearsal of this disputation, to have passed very far the bounds of the history, let him think thus of me, that at what time I took in hand to write of these ecclesiastical matters, I could not omit these things which were so straitly joined with the cause of the church; neither that I

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did make more account of the history which I had taken in hand, than of the common utility, whereunto I had chief respect.

There were besides these, certain other articles whereupon the said John Huss very wisely and learnedly disputed; but these shall suffice us for this present. And for the residue, we will pass them over, to the intent we may the more speedily return to where our story left, declaring what cruelty they used not only against the books and articles of John Wickliff, but also in burning his body and bones, commanding them to be taken up forty-one[1] years after he was buried; as appeareth by the decree of the said synod, the form whereof we thought hereunto to annex, as followeth.

DECREE OF THE SYNOD OF CONSTANCE, A.D. 1415, TOUCHING THE TAKING UP OF THE BODY AND BONES OF JOHN WICKLIFF TO BE BURNED, [EXECUTED] FORTY-ONE[1] YEARS AFTER HE WAS BURIED IN HIS OWN PARISH AT LUTTERWORTH.

See Appendix.

Forsomuch as by the authority of the sentence and decree of the council of Rome, and by the commandment of the church and the apostolic see, after due delays being given, proceedings were taken for the condemnation of the said John Wickliff and his memory; proclamations and summonses having been issued to call forth whosoever would defend the said Wickliff or his memory, if any such there were (but there did none appear, who would either defend him or his memory); and, moreover, witnesses having been examined by commissioners appointed by John the present pope and this council, upon the final impenitency and obstinacy of the said John Wickliff; and the rules having been observed which ought to be observed, as in such business the order of the law requireth; and his impenitency and final obstinacy having been lawfully proved by evident signs and tokens made good by lawful witnesses:—

Therefore, at the instance of the steward of the treasury this day having been appointed by proclamation for hearing the sentence, this holy synod declareth, determineth, and giveth sentence, that the same John Wickliff was a notorious heretic, and that he died obstinate in his heresy; cursing alike him and condemning his memory.

This synod also decreeth and ordaineth that his body and bones, if they might be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people, should be taken out of the ground, and thrown away far from the burial of any church, according as the canons and laws enjoin.

These things were done at Constance, Saturday the fourth day of May, in the eighth public session, A.D. 1415.[2]

Which determination and sentence definitive being read and pronounced, and it being demanded and asked of the lord president, and the aforesaid presidents of the four nations, whether it did please them or no, they all answered, and first the bishop of Ostia, the president, and after him the presidents of the nations, that it pleased them very well: and so they allowed and confirmed all the premises. *This[3] wicked and malicious sentence of the bishop, would require here a diligent apology, but that it is so foolish and vain, and no less barbarous, that it seemeth more worthy of derision and disdain, than by any argument to be confuted. For what will it prevail to talk with reasons and arguments, against him

(1) The following decree was passed 30 years and 4 months after Wickliff's death, but it was not executed till the 40th or 44th year after his death: see the Appendix. Foxe's translation has been revised from Labbe's Conc. tom. xii. See suprà, p. 60, note.—Ed.

(2) Ex actis concilii Constan.

(3) See the edition of 1563, p. 105, and the Latin edition of 1559, p. 23.—Ed.

who followeth neither reason nor argument? except, peradventure, thou wouldst seem to play Parmenio's part in the comedy, that is, to join perfect reason and mad folly together. First, under many glorious and bragging words, they pretend here a great colour of the catholic faith, and yet bring no reason at all to declare the catholic faith. If the catholic faith consist in men's seats, and not in the men; in words and not in deeds, then would I grant that the see of Rome might seem catholic. Next, they pretend here, the authority of the holy synod; and that, in the name of our Lord, when they bring forth no Scripture of our Lord. "Lawfully" say they "congregated together:" I hear it very well! and to the intent that this authority may be of greater force and effect, the consent also of the synod of Rome is annexed and joined unto this council; for these be their words: "As it was decreed," say they, "in the synod of Rome," &c. Which synod of Rome, how lawfully it was gathered together, the owl did sufficiently declare, which oftentimes (as Clemangis[1] doth witness) flying into the council of Rome whereas pope John did sit, she could sooner put him out from his catholic seat (and so did), than she could be driven away from him by any kind of weapon. Whereof, Christ so willing, more shall be declared, when we come to the place to speak of the council of Constance severally. In this synod, being thus gathered together, the works and forty-five articles of Wickliff were condemned, and he himself, forty-one years after his death, was taken out of his grave and burned. And what was the cause? For that only he, with most firm and strong reasons, enterprised and went about to control and rebuke their life, errors, filthiness, and pride, which was now grown unto that point, that it was not any longer to be suffered. But how much rather ought they in this behalf to have rendered thanks unto Wickliff, for his most godly and wholesome admonition, unto whose good counsel, if they had any thing framed themselves, much more truly had that seat seemed catholic. Now, if it shall be sufficient to condemn men or their books, whatsoever the pope's treasurer, or the four presidents of the four nations shall say, or pleasure is, and so we, standing upon the same, will defend the liberty of sin, that we will neither amend ourselves, nor yet will suffer ourselves to be controlled or corrected by others, to what end then faith, godliness, conscience, learning, or the knowledge of holy Scripture doth serve, I do not greatly perceive. Wherefore, seeing the decree of this council hath nothing in it that can be revinced with argument, beside only bare names and authority of cardinals, archbishops, abbots, masters of divinity, and doctors of the law, we have, on the contrary part, against the witness of these seditious persons, alleged the testimonies of certain good men; first of all the testimonial of the whole university of Oxford, and afterwards the testimony of John Huss, which, if it hath been read, with equal and indifferent ears of the readers, I doubt not, but that it hath made as much for the defence of Wickliff, as these men's witnesses shall do to the contrary.* What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weep, to see these so sage and reverend Catos occupying their heads about taking up a poor man's body, so long dead and buried before, by the space of forty-one years[2]; and yet, peradventure, they were not able to

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The council of Rome began by the good sign or token of an owl.

(1) See the passage of Clemangis translated at length, at p. 415 of this volume.—Ed.
(2) See the note (1) in page 94.—Ed.

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find his right bones, but took up some other body, and so of a catholic made a heretic! Albeit, herein Wickliff had some cause to give them thanks, that they would at least spare him so long till he was dead, and also give him so long respite after his death, forty-one years to rest in his sepulchre before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to ashes; which ashes they also took and threw into the river. And so was he resolved into three elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby utterly to extinguish and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliff for ever.[1] Not much unlike the example of the old Pharisees and sepulchre-knights, who, when they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought to make him sure never to rise again. But these and all others must know, that as there is no counsel against the Lord, so there is no keeping down of verity, but it will spring up and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man; for though they digged up his body, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God and the 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, doth remain, notwithstanding the transitory body and bones of the man were thus consumed and dispersed, as by this picture here set forth to thine eyes (gentle reader) may appear.

These things thus finished and accomplished, which pertain to the story and time of Wickliff, let us now, by the supportation of the Lord, proceed to treat and write of the rest, who either in his time or after his time, springing out of the same university, and raised up, as ye would say, out of his ashes, were partakers of the same persecution; of whom speaketh Thomas Walden in his book, "De Sacramentis et Sacramentalibus," cap. liii. where he saith, that after Wickliff many suffered most cruel death, and many more did forsake the realm; in the number of whom were William Swinderby, Walter Brute, John Purvey, Richard White, William Thorpe, and Reynold Peacock, bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards of Chichester.

Martyrs and exiles.

To this catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) Lawrence Bedman, master of arts; David Sautre, a divine; John Ashwarby, vicar, as they call him, of St. Mary's church at Oxford; William James, an excellent young man, well learned; Thomas Brightwell, and William Hawlam, a civilian; Rafe Greenhurst, John Scut, and Philip Norise; who, being excommunicated by pope Eugene IV., A. D. 1446, appealed unto a general or œcumenical council. *Many[2] more did forsake the realm, but what they were, or what kind of punishment they suffered, Walden left no mention. But we will not suffer their names to be blotted out with silence, which we might by any means pick out; but sure we are greatly sorry that there came nothing else into our hands but only their bare names. Would to God that the constant diligence of our prede-

See Appendix.

(1) Upon this subject a modern Romish writer observes, "A spirit of candour, would have led you to the discovery of something like toleration, in the conduct of your illustrious founder Wickeham, and his brethren; who, whilst they condemned Wickliff's errors, left his person unpunished and unmolested during the whole of his life; and an impartial view of the dreadful effects of his doctrine, in this and other countries, would have made you see, in the ordinance of the council against his memory and remains, not an act of vengeance, but a wise and salutary instruction to mankind."—See Letters to a Prebendary; p. 74; by the Rt. Rev. J. Milner, D. D. The reader may judge by these remarks, how far the church of Rome that now is, *differs* from the church of Rome in 1415.—Ed.

(2) See edition 1563, p. 137.—Ed.

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cessors had preserved in memory for us the whole order of their life, the form of their process and judgment, and what was to be observed in their adversaries, or to be commended in them. Albeit, that matter were not greatly for our purpose, forsomuch as all those things could not be contained in a few volumes; and that also, by those few, it were easy to be judged what a man may think as touching the cruelty of the papists against all men.* *Richard II.* A. D. 1384.

Peter Paine also, who flying from Oxford unto Bohemia, did stoutly contend against the sophisters, as touching both kinds of the sacrament of the last supper; who, afterwards, among the rest of the orators, was one of the fourteen that were sent unto the council of Basil; where, by the space of three days, he disputed upon the fourth article, which was touching the civil dominion of the clergy, A. D. 1438. Also the lord Cobham; with divers others besides, whose names are mentioned in the king's writ sent to the sheriff of Northampton, the tenor of which writ of the king here followeth: *See Appendix.*

The king to the sheriffs of Northampton, health. Forasmuch as John Attyate of Chepingwarden, John Warryner, R. Brewood, &c. being receivers and favourers of heretics, and especially of one John Woodward, priest, publicly defamed and condemned of heresy, will not be justified by the censures of the church, as the reverend father John, bishop of Lincoln, hath certified us: We, therefore, willing to withstand all defenders and favourers of such heresies, do will and command as well the beforenamed, as namely, the aforesaid John Woodward to be apprehended, straitly charging the same to be imprisoned by their bodies, or otherwise punished as shall seem good to the justices, until they and every of them shall submit themselves to the obedience of the aforesaid bishop in that behalf accordingly. Whereof fail you not, under pain of a hundred pounds. Witness ourselves: Given at our manor of Langley, the eighth day of March, the twelfth year of our reign. [A.D. 1389.]

To these above rehearsed, and other favourers of Wickliff, within this our country of England, we may add also the Bohemians; forasmuch as the propagation of the said doctrine of Wickliff in that country also took root, coming from England to Bohemia by this occasion, as in story here followeth.

How the doctrine of Wickliff came to Bohemia.

There chanced at that time a certain student of the country of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a wealthy house, and also of a noble stock; who returning home from the university of Oxford to the university of Prague, carried with him certain books of Wickliff, 'De Realibus Universalibus,' 'De Civili Jure, et Divino,' 'De Ecclesia,' 'De Quæstionibus Variis contra Clerum,' &c. It chanced that at the same time a certain nobleman in the city of Prague had founded and built a great church of Matthias and Matthew, which church was called Bethlehem, giving to it great lands, and finding in it two preachers every day, to preach both on holy days and working days to the people. Of the which two preachers John Huss was one; a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently favoured for his worthy life amongst them. This John Huss having familiarity with this young man in reading and perusing these books of Wickliff, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this author openly in the schools, but also in his sermons, commending him for a good man, a holy man, and a heavenly man, wishing himself, when he should die, to be there placed, where the

The great affection of John Huss to John Wickliff.

Wicklevus vir bonus, sanctus, cœlo dignus.

Richard II. soul of Wickliff should be. And thus for the spreading of Wickliff's doctrine enough.

A.D. 1384. And thus much briefly concerning the favourers and adherents of John Wickliff in general. *Amongst,[1] the which his favourers I have only, as yet, rehearsed such, unto whom the profession of the gospel was perilous and an heavy burden; whom, notwithstanding, I thought not worthy to be defrauded of their praise: but now, we will convert our style unto those who, continuing unto the end, have followed the Lamb whithersoever he went, even unto the loss of their lives.

And here I am minded first of all, if the brevity of the matter would suffer it, somewhat to expostulate with the cruelty of the world; forsomuch as all mankind, having put apart all use of humanity, have so far degenerated even unto the iron age, or rather unto a brutal cruelty, that never, as I think, since the beginning of the world was Plautus' proverb more verified, "one man is a wolf unto another;" but amongst all the wolves, they are most cruel which are clothed in lambs' skins, which also do most profess peace.

In times past among the Israelites, and in the time of Christ and his apostles, the worshipping and religion of God began to be altered unto pharisaical superstition; but now, the same pharisaical superstition, I know not by what means, amongst Christians, is grown into extreme tyranny. Albeit that a small portion of this incommodity or evil doth fall upon those, who, for the love of Christ, do suffer violence. For whereas all others are dead, they only do verily live again who die in Christ. This therefore is a most rare dignity which happeneth but unto a few, insomuch that if we do diligently weigh the matter, this only happiness hath our miserable life, if that it may happen to any man to suffer for Christ's sake. Again I do repeat the same: nothing truly is to be esteemed in this world, but only the name of Christ, and to suffer for his name.

Wherefore St. Paul doth not unworthily command, that we should not only have steadfast hope through him, but also suffer affliction for his sake. For howsoever the judgments of men do esteem it, there is no truer life than that which is laid up in Christ as a gage, none more absolute renown than to be slain for the Son of God. But this glory doth not yet appear unto our human senses, which are overwhelmed with the filth of this world. But at the length it shall appear, and peradventure sooner than shall be expedient for some, except with speedy repentance they do wax wise and amend: the which that it may the better be brought to pass, suffer me a little by your license, gentle reader, to talk with these cruel blood-suckers; whereby they being admonished may repent; or least, if they will not, they may behold, to their great shame and rebuke, whether they will or no, their wicked cruelty and great slaughters, laid before them, as it were upon a stage. Surely it was a worthy saying of a jester, who was but a profane man, "that it is as unseemly for a prince to abound in tyranny, as for a physician to have many corpses." What shall we then say unto these reverend prelates of the church: if they be princes, why do they bring in so great torments into the poor cottages of Christ; if they be physicians, how happeneth so great

(1) The contents of the next few pages are from the edition 1563, pp. 130—136. See also the Latin edition, pp. 53, 58.—Ed.

death amongst the sheep? But before I will take this quarrel in hand, I do once again admonish thee, gentle reader, of that which I must oftentimes repeat in this argument. First of all, that you do not interpret any thing which shall be here spoken, in such a manner as though I would maintain any improved doctrine: for, as I do not favour heretics which are heretics indeed, even so much less do I not favour false bishops. And again, as I do give license unto neither of these, neither to the one, to use his tyranny, nor to the other, to proceed in his errors, so likewise do I not go about here, to take away the power of the civil sword, because it is not borne by the magistrate in vain. For they have their laws, their judges, and their punishments, necessary in a commonwealth, without which there should be no society, neither any discipline amongst men. But this my complaint doth only touch them, who professing a perfectness of spiritual life above all the rest of the common sort of the people, and who ought to be the masters of all pity and godliness, yet shall you scarcely find any men more venemous in hatred, anger, malice, revenging, and all kind of tyranny. Who was the first that brought in amongst Christians these recantations, faggots, and fire, and these lamentable funerals by burning of the live bodies of men, under the name of heretics? who, but only this flock of religious men and the clergy, whose part it had been rather to help those that had erred, and not to kill them, according to the example of their High Master, who came not to destroy, but to save all men. For it is never so certain amongst men's opinions, but that oftentimes some error will intermeddle itself: the first purity of the church always excepted. Neither doth every error, by and by, make a man a heretic, except it have joined therewith an obstinate and froward will; neither do I know whether, in this point also, the extremities are to be attempted or no; but the quality of the heresy is to be marked, and the rule of the gospel is to be considered, what it doth require, and what is convenient for every man's profession: the profession of a secular judge is one, the condition of an evangelical minister is another. As St. Augustine writeth in the psalm, "Aliud est sella terrena, aliud tribunal cœleste," &c.

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But our pseudo-evangelical papists, neither marking the quality of the one, nor the condition of the other, nor their own profession, neither looking upon one thing nor upon another, without all respect or difference, like furious Donatists, or homicides rather, under the cloak of religion, of every little word spoken against their pomp and ambitious pre-eminence, make a matter of heresy, whereby to murder and make havoc of Christ's people. What did the heart of Bonner, and of such of his affinity, differ from the heart of the strongest pirate, or homicide, murdering by the highway? yea insomuch that the very pirates themselves (if it be true that is reported of Bonner's receiving into prison), be ashamed of his comparison, and to be counted of his society. And yet, neither pity can stay him from cruel bloodshed, nor shame can drive him to repent such horrible tyranny. Wherein the case of these sicares and thieves yet may seem better, than of these catholics. For they, at the execution of God's judgment, as they cannot dissemble their trespass, so are they sooner touched with repentance. The others, either with ignorance drowned,

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or choked with malice, as they have spoiled the life of many more than ever did any thief; so much more be they further of repenting their iniquity, but think that, good service done to God, which they have done to the devil, who is a murderer from the beginning: and think themselves good pastors, when they devoured the poor flock, and played the wolves. So dangerous a thing it is, to have an ignorant zeal, where true knowledge is wanting. Of these did Christ premonish us before, declaring the blind ignorance of such, who, of their preposterous zeal, should turn iniquity and cruelty to God's service; and under the title of the church, should impugn the church, and of sincere verity, should make heresy.

But such as these never reigned more, or raged further, than in these latter days of the church, as the monuments of this history will declare: as who, having no regard of man's life, make every matter spoken against their private commodity to be 'heresy! heresy!' In times past it was not accounted as a heresy, except it did contain blasphemy, and did bring in some great peril to the faith, or where the majesty of Christ was hurt: such as were the Donatists, Manichees, Apollinarists, and Arians.

And notwithstanding the moderation of the bishops was such in those days, that they would not implore the emperor's aid in this case, except the wickedness of those heretics, who filled all places full of slaughter and schism, did even of necessity force them thereunto. As it doth evidently appear by St. Augustine and divers others, who thought the requiring of the profane power not so necessary in such business; insomuch that he became an advocate unto Dulcitius the tribune, that he should put none of them to death. The like thing, as I suppose, did he unto Macedonius the president, considering with himself that they ought to use no other kind of weapon, in this kind of contention, than only the word of God, prayer, and doctrine; or if the evil were past remedy, then they used to exclude them out of the church. And if the said Austin afterward altered his mind, being led thereunto, rather by the success ensuing than by his own judgment: that helpeth little or nothing the cruelty of our men now-a-days. For first of all, with what success the Babylonical fire-makers have exercised their tyranny upon the members of Christ, the matter itself doth sufficiently testify: then let us behold those against whom they did then so rage, what manner of Manichees and Donatists they were; of whom no man is ignorant, that although they were called heretics, yet they were indeed furious, robbers, and thieves, so that the matter now seemed no more to belong unto the office of the church, but rather to appertain to the tribunal power, albeit the church would wink thereat.

Whereby it is brought to pass, that through the perilous wickedness of the time, the bishops are driven to this point; that of force the emperor's laws are to be received for help, and then these laws did threaten none other thing, but only death unto the captains of them, as it appeareth, in the book of the laws upon the Manichees and Samaritans. The disciples were punished by the purse; and such as, neglecting the laws of the princes, did obstinately persevere in their wickedness, banishment was appointed for them: besides that at that time, there were no university-schools (as we call them) erected,

to resist those mischiefs; whereas contrariwise now, there is almost no region which is not armed and adorned with universities, whereby there may speedy remedy be had, if we be so greatly afeard of heretics. But what is now-a-days come in men's minds, that—setting apart the universities and all kind of arguments, whereby as they might the more better, so also more easily, convince all errors, and finally forgetting all kind of meekness, the which Christ himself and his apostles do so greatly commend unto us, using no kind of reason—they do think that heretics must be intreated by no other means, than with torments, faggots, and fire! What profit cometh of the universities, when we do think that the truth is to be defended by no other means, than with bonds, stripes, chains, and torments, &c.? Thus we have alleged as touching heretics, as though they were the very same indeed, which they are now falsely accused to be. *Richard II.* A. D. 1384.

But now let us see what manner of things they are, whereabout these greedy papists make so much ado, with so many tragedies and fires. Amongst so many, who, in these our days, have been burned, who is it that can show me only three, who either have wickedly taught, or openly spoken of God; who have detracted or taken away one so small a part of the divine nature of Christ; who have taught any blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, or, finally, who have untruly dissented in any article of the faith? but all this filthy sink is troubled about certain circumstances of places, times, and persons, and of men's traditions.

What doth it so much make matter, if any man do truly worship Christ in heaven, although he do not worship him in the sacrament? What great importance is it, if with Christ and Paul, we do call the bread the body of Christ, if we do not conceive with the school-men, the accident to be there without the subject? What if we do not disclose unto the priest the number of our sins, if that we, confessing ourselves truly unto Christ, do turn unto repentance? What if that we do forsake the trust of our works? What if that we do contemn the pardons of bishops, and repose our whole righteousness and redemption in Christ, our only bishop? Is our faith therefore the less agreeable and conformable unto the articles given us by the apostles? What if that we, contemning the image of saints, do worship one only Christ in spirit and truth; shall we be any deal the less Christians therefore, or is not Christ alone sufficient for us all? The gospel teacheth only two sacraments, which alone, if a man do reverently embrace, setting apart all the others, which are sprung up by men's institutions, what hurt shall Christianity sustain thereby? So likewise the Scripture of God doth not permit a concubine; but it doth license every man to have a wife, so that he have but one—whether then do you think doth bind most strictly, the will of God, or the vow of men? Or if that a priest, breaking his unlawful vow, had rather call her, with whom he had a long time accompanied, 'wife,' than 'concubine;' what! doth this deserve either punishment or prisonment? Neither do I think that thereby the regiment of the church or the order of the clergy should come to ruin, if that one bishop of Italy setting apart his primacy, which no Scripture doth allow, were reduced unto the order of other bishops. And these are those great offences of blasphemy, for the which one Christian is so exasperated

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against another, with so great fury and cruelty. Here again is the admonition to be renewed, which hath been so often before repeated, that we neither speak nor think any thing against the politic laws; but only against such, to whom it were convenient, for their profession, to be most meek of all men, and yet by nature they are most fierce and cruel. Their own constitutions declare the same in the fifth book of their Decretals, where it is commanded, that a heretic, convicted in any error (but how convicted? by authority rather than by the Scriptures!), should be delivered unto the secular power: neither is that yet sufficient that they do so imbrue the secular sword with blood, but that also, with their malice, they do sharpen and whet the same, which of itself is already sharp enough. The writers of the Gloss do also add this unto it, "to be burned." And these are they who will represent Christ unto us here upon earth, crying out oftentimes that all Christ's doings are for our instruction. But if that all our life be to be directed unto Christ's institutions; what thing less do his examples teach us, than such kind of cruelty, and especially in ministers, in whom he doth, with so great zeal, commend humility and meekness with mutual love, as the only knot of his gospel: wisely forbidding them, that in pulling up of the cockle, they should not be too rash, fearing lest peradventure that might come to pass, which now indeed hath happened: lest together with the cockle they pull up the good wheat also. Then what is there to be said, where, not only together with the cockle, but, instead of the cockle, the very wheat itself is plucked out of the floor of the Lord? How well that is correspondent unto Christ's doings let they themselves judge.

I surely am greatly afraid that they will deserve, no great thanks at the hands of the Lord of the harvest, when he shall come to reward every man according to his doings. But in this point I do not plee as the advocate of the heretics, if there be any who are heretics indeed. Neither do I go about here to discuss how far the power of the civil sword doth extend, or what is lawful to be done by the civil constitutions. But truly, whatsoever the necessary severity of the civil power doth, yet the priests and rulers of the church ought always to use humility and gentleness, according to the example of Him, who would not compel any man to his religion. What saith he? "He that hath ears to hear let him hear:" yet doth he not by and by threaten death unto him that will not hear; neither doth he grievously threaten those who do depart away from him, as St. Cyprian witnesseth; but turning unto his disciples he said, "Will you also depart from me?" He came not to occupy any civil authority; and as he did not possess any civil authority, so neither did he deliver any man over unto the civil power. Albeit it is not to be doubted but that it may happen sometimes, that the christian hierarchy shall need to call for the help of the magistrate (like as against the Donatists the help of the laws were very necessary), specially if the heresy do once grow unto tumult, schism, sedition, robbery, or to the ruin of the commonwealth; in such case I suppose the foreign magistrate ought to foresee that the commonwealth suffer no detriment. Otherwise, if the heresy be such that it do contain itself within some private error, without passing any further, that same doth seem to pertain only unto the bishops and universities, neither do I greatly see

what the civil power should meddle herein; for so heresies are more easily trodden down, being convicted rather by reason, than oppressed by violence. But now, this many years, they have raged against heretics with great hatred and extreme torments: but what they have profited thereby, every man doth perceive. *Richard II.* A.D. 1384.

How much more circumspect and worthy of a christian man were it, if that they would walk in the footsteps, and follow the examples, of our forefathers, for our fathers in Christ desired rather to excel in learning, in tongues, in godliness, in the power of the word and Spirit, rather than in any worldly authority. So did Paul, Peter, and the apostles; so did the martyrs of the primitive age; so did the learned doctors and writers after them, whose learning and labour were great in the church, although their authority was but little, after the manner of this world. For such is the nature of the church, that as it is a spiritual regiment, so by spiritual means it is maintained. But now-a-days you shall see many which think there is no other means for to defend the church against heretics, than the only force and majesty of the bishops: whereby it is come to pass that the ecclesiastical ministration is far alienate from that, which, in times past, was begun in the world by Christ and his apostles; for now it is grown, as it were, to an image and form of a secular empire, and almost unto a kingly power and riches, and, in a manner, unto most extreme tyranny. But if our desire be so great to dissipate heresies, I see no speedier way or remedy, than if that the fathers of the church would diligently take heed that the church of Christ be not overwhelmed with such a number of articles; so should it soon be brought to pass, that not only the young branches of heresy should be easily cut off, wheresoever they begin to spring, but also, that in short time, there should no more spring or rise up. For, if we should say the truth, whereupon cometh it that the world is so full of dissension, but only that all things are so intricate, with so many articles, so many censures, cautions, and school pleas, neither is there any article which hath not its heresy annexed unto it, as the shadow unto a body; insomuch that the matter is now come unto this point, that nothing can now be spoken so circumspectly, but that it shall tend to some snare of heresy, or, at the least, suspicion. There are so many snares of constitutions and decrees, so many titles of reprehension and captions, specially where hitherto, instead of love and charity, which now is banished, I know not into what strange and far distant place, the fury Erinnys is come in place, the depraver of all things, filling all the world with her reproaches and slanders, even for a small occasion, and oftentimes for none at all. Wherefore, since all things are at this point, nothing in mine opinion is to be preferred to this, that we, being reconciled together with a mutual conjunction of our minds, do take away all occasion (as much as may be) of brotherly offence. Whereupon especially this mischief doth grow: if we do commit any heresy, whatsoever doth resist against men's decrees, it were better that there were fewer articles in the world, and then the heresies would cease of their own accord. For hereupon began the first spring of all mischief, and at this point again, must the method of remedy be sought for. What if that the pope's decrees did extend no further than Italy? What if there were nothing

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received into our necessary faith, which is contained in very few words, but only the articles of the apostles' Symbol, as they were set forth by the most approved councils, what should the church, the spouse of Christ, be hindered thereby? Yet notwithstanding, for these trifles, we do see in every place old men, young men, and also women burnt, neither do they spare kindred, stock, nor age, insomuch that it is almost less danger to offend against the majesty even of the most mighty princes, than to violate the sanctions of any so mean a bishop. Whereof the storm and tempest of persecution hath been so vehement in these our days, that there is almost no part of Europe, which is not imbrued with the blood of the martyrs which hath been shed. And, albeit that their decrees do most consonantly agree unto the Scriptures (let us also grant them that), yet were it the part of divines to teach, and of tyrants to compel. Now what is this—by violence to carry unto the fire for certain doubtful articles of controversy, some not greatly sound, or peradventure disagreeing from the Scriptures! nor only heretics, but, instead of heretics, the guiltless and innocents! Oh what marvellous folly is this of men, that while these tyrants daily do exercise this tyranny in the cottages of Christ, englutting themselves with men's blood, they do triumphantly rejoice, as though they had done a high service unto God, and wrought a very good deed. Even in like sort, as in foreign wars of princes, it is counted great valiantness, whosoever can kill most of his enemies; so likewise this is the only renown and praise amongst the heads of the church, which of them hath shed most heretics' blood. As we have heard report of John Stocksley, sometime bishop of London, that he did boast himself, even when he was at the point of death, giving thanks unto God with a loud voice, that he had sent thirty-one heretics unto the infernal fire! Verily these were words more fitter for a beast than for a man.

But let these men take heed that while they go about, by their own fantasies rather than by any just judgment, to put heretics to death, that the same thing do not happen unto them which in times past happened unto the Jews, who when they would have entered upon Christ as a seditious man, they stumbled upon the Son of God.

The which for that it may not come to pass, wisdom and learning chiefly in bishops, diminution of articles, judgment, an evangelical mind, gentleness, a zeal joined with knowledge, a care to save rather than to destroy men, a mind which attributeth nothing unto affection, but submitteth itself wholly unto the rule and governance of equity and the Scriptures, shall principally perform.

But heresy is altogether to be suppressed truly, neither shall heresy find any maintenance at my hands. This only do I require in these catholics, that if they will not use the apostolic moderation, yet they would use some civil modesty, and rather choose to try their matters by some reasonable means, than with such clamours and seditious rashness. I do require some moderation which will lawfully convince those whom it is wished to oppress. I require doctrine which should rather bridle the heresies, than the heretics. Let them rage so much as they will against the name of heretics, truly I think if these days which do seem scarcely christian, had six Jeromes, and as many Augustines, although it had no other help besides, I think the church

should want no sufficient aid to profligate the great heaps of heretics. But forsomuch as in this extreme cruelty of the world, when as all charity is waxed so cold, I am not ignorant how small credit these things shall find at many men's hands, like as also all other men's counsels of moderations before me have been neglected: wherefore it should be most best for me to leave these kind of men to their own will, rather than to sing unto such as are deaf, and so to lose both time and labour. *Richard II.* A.D. 1384.

But now let us return unto the martyrs; but before we do enter into that lamentable story, we do think it worth our labour, to show first certain prophecies of sundry men, whereby so many great persecutions of the world were prefigured. And first to begin with Joiachim the abbot, we will rehearse what was found of him in an old monument of Hoveden: Thus he saith, "Richard, the king of England, in his expedition unto Jerusalem, hearing tell of the great fame of Joiachim of Calabria, abbot of Curazzo, who, by the spirit of prophecy, did foreshow things to come. What time as he sojourned at Sicily he caused the said abbot to be sent for to him, to hear of him, amongst other things more, what he could declare as touching Antichrist: he then, expounding the mystery of the seven kings in the Revelation, whereof five were fallen, &c. said "The seven kings are seven persecutors, Herod, Nero, Constantinus, Mahomet, Melsemutus, Saladinus, and Antichrist." But as touching Antichrist, he said thus, That even at that present he should be bred in Rome, and should be exalted in the apostolic see, of whom the apostle speaketh, 'he is exalted above all things that is called God.'"[1]

Thus[2] much writeth Hoveden; and this abbot was in the year of our Lord 1190. There is also the prophecy of Hildegard (of whom we have spoken before), in the 29th book of Vincentius. "In the year," saith she, "after the incarnation of Christ 1200, the doctrine of the apostles, and the fervent justice which God had appointed amongst spiritual Christians, shall begin to wax slack and doubtful; but this womanly time shall not so long continue as it hath hitherto continued." Thus much writeth she. Neither did the archbishop of Florence doubt openly to preach that Antichrist was born in his days, A.D. 1105, as it appeareth by Sabellicus.[3] Also before these days, A.D. 1139, Gerardus, bishop of Laodicea, in his book intituled "De Conversatione Servorum Dei," doth conjecture Antichrist to be even at hand by the rarity of prophesying and the gift of curing.[4] There is also a certain prophecy of Jerome Savonarola, uttered (if it be worthy credit) 69 years ago, wherein he doth affirm in this manner, "that Italy should be plagued with the scourge of God for the manifold sins thereof, even amongst the princes, as well ecclesiastical as secular; and when the cities of Rome and Florence are overthrown then should the church be renewed, the which should happen very shortly; and that the Turks and Mauritanians[5] in these our days should be converted unto the true knowledge of Christ." He foreshowed also, that "there should one pass the Alps, like unto Cyrus, who should subvert all Italy." Thus much have we found in the book of Gaspar Hedio, intituled the "Paralipomena." *See Appendix.*

(1) See the passage of Hoveden, given more at length in the account of Richard I., suprà, vol. ii. p. 301.—Ed.
(2) Several inaccuracies in this paragraph are corrected from the Latin edition.—Ed.
(3) See the Appendix. (4) See vol. ii. p. 840. (5) Mauritanians, i. e. Moors.—Ed.

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I think also it lacketh not his prophecy which happened A.D. 1501, that throughout all Germany there was seen upon men's garments crosses, crowns of thorn, the similitude of nails, and drops of blood fell from heaven: and oftentimes they fell within the houses, insomuch that many women ware the same long time upon their Rayles: if it be true that Gaspar doth report. Hereunto also is to be annexed that which we read in our countryman Froysard, as touching one John de Rochetaylada, a Franciscan friar; not that we have any certainty thereof, but that we do only show what is there written. He in the year of our Lord 1346 is said to have foreshowed, that the ecclesiastical order should suffer much through their ambition, avarice and pride; whereupon, he was by pope Clement VI. cast into prison.[1] Neither is it to be passed over with silence, that which is reported, that Manfridus, a Dominic friar of Vercelli, is said to have foreshowed that Antichrist should rise up in his time, as it is written by Antoninus.

And Arnoldus de Villa Nova,[2] Catalanus, a singular mathematician and physician, did affirm out of Daniel and Sibil, that Antichrist, after the year of our Lord 1300, should fully rage over the godly, and that there should be persecution in the church. He said moreover, that these cloister monks did falsify the doctrine of Christ. That the sacrifice of the altar was not profitable to the quick nor to the dead, neither that there was any knowledge in the pope's consolations, but only of men's works. At the last he was sent by Frederic, king of Sicily, to the bishop of Rome, where by the way upon the sea he died, and was buried at Genoa. I might also here rehearse the testimony of Peter John Aquitane,[3] a Franciscan friar in Gascony, who, after all the rest, prophesied that in the latter days the law of liberty should appear; who after his burial was by pope Clement IV. declared an heretic, and his dead corpse taken up and burned, if that we may credit Guido of Perpignan.[4] Then we may also repeat those things which so many years before were pronounced of divers, as touching the birth of Luther, and gathered out of Melancthon's commentaries upon Daniel. These things thus presupposed, and those also remembered, whom this miserable storm of persecution hath afflicted, and driven unto recantation and the uttermost terror of death, now our story shall return to them, unto whom God hath given a greater constancy of heart, and steadfastness of faith, to persevere even unto the death; albeit I cannot promise the whole catalogue of them, forsomuch as there were so many christian martyrs in all parts of the world, whereof a great number were compassed in with craft and deceit, some were poisoned, others were tormented with open torments, many were oppressed with private and unknown murder and death, others died in prison, some by famine, and some, by other means, were openly and privately destroyed; that it is scarcely possible to attain to the knowledge of a small number of them, or if that it happen that I obtain the knowledge of the names of them, yet can I not by any means find out the manner of their execution, and the causes of all them who have suffered in so many and far distant places; neither do I think that one man is able to do it; albeit this one thing is most certain in them all, and may be as perpetual: that whatsoever thing hath happened unto any one of them, by the example

(1) See vol. ii. pp. 708, 711, 747.—Ed.
(2) Ibid. pp. 510, 598, 607.—Ed.
(3) Ibid. pp. 521, 610, note.—Ed.
(4) See Appendix.

thereof, you may easily judge what hath happened unto them all: forsomuch as the cruelty of all the bishops towards them hath been in a manner, all alike, the form of their judgments all one, the reason of their condemnation agreeing, and the order and kind of their death nothing different, neither were their causes greatly diverse, when as in a manner from the superstition of the sacrament only, and a few other ceremonies, and the ambition of the clergy, the whole principal cause and occasion of this trouble did spring and grow.*

Richard II. A.D. 1389.

Now particularly and in order let us, by Christ's grace, prosecute the stories and persecutions of the parties aforenamed as the course of their times shall require, first beginning with the valiant champions William Swinderby and Walter Brute.

The Story of William Swinderby.[1]

See Appendix.

In the year of our Lord 1389, William Swinderby, priest, within the diocese of Lincoln, being accused and detected as to certain opinions, was presented before John, bishop of Lincoln, and examined upon certain articles in the church of Lincoln, after the form and order of the pope's law, according to their usual rite observed; his denouncers were these: friar Frisby, an Observant; friar Hincely, an Augustine; and Thomas Blaxton, a Dominican. The articles wherewith they charged him, although in form of words, as they put them up, they might seem something strange here to be recited; yet, to the intent that all men may see the spiteful malice of these spider-friars, in sucking all things to poison, and in forging that which is not true, as in process (Christ willing) hereafter shall better appear by his answers, I thought good to notify the same.

A.D. 1389. W. Swinderby first examined. Denouncers of W. Swinderby, three friars.

That men may ask their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt imprison any man; and that he so imprisoning is accursed.

That if parishioners do know their curate to be a lecher, incontinent, and an evil man, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, or else they be fautors of his sins.

Articles untruly collected against Swinderby.

That tithes be purely alms, and that in case curates be evil men, the same may lawfully be conferred on other men.

That for an evil curate to curse his subject for withholding tithes, is nothing else, but to take with extortion wickedly and unduly from him his money.

That no prelate may curse a man, except he know beforehand that he is cursed of God.

That every priest may absolve any sinner being contrite; and is bound, notwithstanding the inhibition of the bishop, to preach the Gospel to the people.

That a priest taking any annual pension upon covenant, is, in so doing, a simoniac, and accursed.

That any priest being in deadly sin, if he give himself to consecrate the body of the Lord, committeth idolatry rather than doth consecrate.

That no priest entereth into any house, but to evil entreat the wife, the daughter, or the maid; and therefore he admonished the

(1) Ex Registro Episc. Hereford.

Richard II. good man of the house to take heed what priest he doth let into his house.

A. D. 1389. Another conclusion falsely to him objected; That a child is not truly baptized, if the priest that baptizeth, or the godfather or godmother, be in deadly sin.

Item, That no man living against the law of God is a priest, however he were ordained priest of any bishop.

These articles or conclusions untruly collected, were as cruelly exhibited against him by the friars in the bishop of Lincoln's court. Although he had never preached, taught, or at any time defended them, as appeareth more in the process following, yet the friars with their witnesses standing forth against him, declared him to be convicted; bringing also dry wood with them to the town to burn him, and would not leave him before they had made him promise and swear, through fear of death, never to hold them, teach them, or preach them privily or openly, under pain of relapse; and that he should go to certain churches to revoke the aforesaid conclusions, which be never affirmed: as first in the church of Lincoln; then in St. Margaret's church at Leicester; also in St. Martin's church, and in the church of St. Mary Newarks, at Leicester; and in other parish-churches also, namely, those of Melton-Mowbray, Helhoughton, Hareborough, and Lentborough: which penance being to him enjoined he did obediently accomplish, with this form of revocation, which they bound him unto, under these words.

Swinderby compelled by the friars to abjure articles which he never taught.

See Appendix.

The Revocation of William Swinderby, whereunto he was forced by the Friars.

I, William Swinderby, priest, although unworthy, of the diocese of Lincoln, acknowledging one true catholic and apostolic faith of the holy church of Rome, do abjure all heresy and error, repugning to the determination of the holy mother church, whereof I have been hitherto infamed; namely, the conclusions and articles above prefixed, and every one of them, to me judicially objected by the commissary of the reverend father in Christ and lord, lord John, by the grace of God, bishop of Lincoln, and do revoke the same, and every one of them, some as heretical, others as erroneous and false; and do affirm and believe them to be so, and hereafter will never teach, preach, or affirm publicly or privily the same. Neither will I make any sermon within the diocese of Lincoln, but asking first and obtaining the license of the aforesaid reverend father and lord, the bishop of Lincoln. Contrary to which if I shall presume hereafter to say or do, to hold or preach, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canon, as I have judicially, by the necessity of the law, sworn, and do swear, &c.

Thus have you the conclusions and articles of this good man, falsely objected to him by the malicious and lying friars; and also the retractation, whereunto they by force compelled him; whereby it may likewise be conjectured, what credit is to be given to the articles and conclusions which these cavilling friars, wresting all things to the worst, have objected and imputed both to Wickliff, and all others of that sort, whom they so falsely do infame, so slanderously do belie, and so maliciously do persecute. After these things thus done and wrought in the diocese of Lincoln, it so befell that the said William Swinderby removed to the diocese and county of Hereford; where he was again as much or more molested by the friars, and by John

Trefnant, bishop of Hereford, as by the process and story here ensuing, set out at large out of their own registers, may appear. *Richard II.*

A. D. 1391.

The Process of John Trefnant, Bishop of Hereford, had against the aforesaid William Swinderby in the cause of Heretical Pravity, as the Popish Heretics call it.

See Appendix.

The glorious name of the Prince of Peace, and his counsel (whose counsellor no man is, and whose providence in his disposition is never deceived) being invocated, To all and singular believers of Christ, who shall see or hear this our process underwritten, John, by the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, greeting, and peaceable charity in the Lord. Forasmuch as God, the creator of all things, the keeper of justice, the lover of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his providence the sons of men, now, through the fall of their first father, prone and declining to dishonest, and filthy, and detestable mischiefs, and to keep under their malice, which wicked transgression did first gender, hath appointed divers presidents of the world established in sundry degrees, by whom, and their circumspect providence, man's audacity should be restrained, innocency should be nourished amongst the good, and terror should be stricken into the wicked not to deceive; also that their power to hurt, and their insolency should be bridled in all places: and whereas, amongst many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the duty of the office committed unto us, we are specially bound to extend our strength, chiefly that the catholic faith may prosper in our times, and heretical pravity may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithful. We, therefore, being excited through the information of many credible and faithful Christians of our diocese, to root out pestiferous plants, as sheep diseased with an incurable sickness, going about to infect the whole and sound flock, are by the care of the shepherd to be removed from the flock, that is to say, preachers, or more truly execrable offenders of the new sect, vulgarly called Lollards; who, under a certain cloked show of holiness, running abroad through divers places of our diocese, and endeavouring to cut asunder the Lord's unsewed coat, that is to say, to rend the unity of the holy church, and of the catholic faith, and also to tear in pieces with their tempestuous blasts the power of St. Peter, that is to say, to weaken the strength of the ecclesiastical states and degrees, and the determination of the same holy church, have wickedly presumed, and do presume, from day to day, to speak, to teach, to maintain, and, that which is more horrible to be uttered, to preach openly many things heretical, blasphemies, schisms, and slanderous defamings, even quite contrary to the sacred canons and decrees of the holy fathers, so that they know not to direct their paths in the ways of righteousness and truth, in that they expound to the people the holy Scripture as the letter soundeth, after a judaical sort, otherwise than the Holy Ghost will needs have it, where the words wander from their proper significations,[1] and appear to bring in, by guessing, new meanings; whereas the words must not be judged by the sense that they make, but by the sense whereby they be made; where the construction is not bound to the Donates' rules, where faith is far placed from the capacity of reason; but they labour, by their pernicious doctrines and teachings, public and privy, to boil out the poison of schisms between the clergy and the people. We, to encounter against such kind of preachers, nay rather deceivers, and horrible seducers amongst the people, advancing and rousing up ourselves in God's behalf, and that of holy mother church, with the spiritual sword, which may strike them wisely, and wound them medicinally,[2] for their health and welfare; and namely, William Swinderby, priest (so pretending himself to be), as a teacher of such kind of pernicious doctrine, and a horrible seducer among the people; to whom personally appearing before us on the Wednesday, to wit, the fourteenth of the month of June, in the parish church of Kingeton of our diocese, in the year of our Lord 1391, he being vehemently defamed to us of heresy, schism, and his perverse doctrines both manifest and privy; we, therefore, have caused many cases and articles concerning the catholic faith to be ministered unto him, that he should answer to the same at

Flourishing invocation of God's name.

Lollard, by the pope's interpretation, is a word derived from lollium.

They counterfeit in the prophet's words, as apes do, in princes apparel.

A.D.1391.

(1) Who expoundeth the Scripture more after the letter, let the reader judge by "Hoc est corpus meum."

(2) If such medicines should be ministered to you, ye would con your physician little thank.

Richard II. A. D. 1391.

a day and place for him meet and convenient, of his own choice and free will; that is to say, on the Friday, being the last of the same month of June next following, assigned to him, at the church of Bodenham of the same our diocese: which cases and articles were exhibited to us by many of Christ's faithful people,[1] zealous followers of the catholic faith, who made information to our office; which cases and articles also were by us administered, as is before said, to the same William Swinderby; the tenor thereof followeth, and is thus:

Matters articulated against William Swinderby.

Reverend father and high lord, lord John, by God's sufferance bishop of Hereford: it is lamentably declared unto your reverend fatherhood on the behalf of Christ's faithful people, your devout children of your diocese of Hereford, that notwithstanding the misbelief of very many Lollards, who have too long a time sprung up here in your diocese, there is newly come a certain child of wickedness, named William Swinderby; who, by his horrible persuasions and mischievous endeavours, and also by his open preachings and private teachings, doth pervert, as much as in him is, the whole ecclesiastical state, and stirreth up, with all his possible power, schism between the clergy and the people. And that your reverend fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what manner of man the same William Swinderby is, there be proposed and exhibited hereafter to the same your fatherhood, on the behalf of the same faithful people of Christ, against the same William Swinderby, cases and articles; which if the same William shall deny, then shall the same cases and articles most evidently be proved against him by credible witness worthy of belief, and by other lawful proof and evidences, to the end that those being proved, the same fatherhood of yours may do and ordain therein, as to your pastoral office belongeth.

'Lord,' 'Lord,' a Latin style of their own making.

Denunciation of the promoters, to the bishop of Hereford.

Imprimis, the same William Swinderby, pretending himself priest, was openly and publicly convicted of certain articles and conclusions being erroneous, schismatical, and heretical, preached by him at divers places and times, before a multitude of faithful christian people. And the same articles and conclusions did he by force of law revoke and abjure, some as heretical, and some as erroneous and false; avouching and believing them for such, as that from thenceforth he would never preach, teach, or affirm, openly or privily, any of the same conclusions: and if, by preaching or avouching, he should presume to do the contrary, that then he should be subject to the severity of the canons, accordingly as he did take a corporal oath, judicially, upon the holy gospels.

Matters articulated against W. Swinderby.

II. Also the conclusions, which by the same William were first openly taught and preached, and afterwards abjured and revoked, as is aforesaid, are contained before in the process of the bishop of Lincoln, even as they be there written word by word. And for the cases and articles, they were consequently exhibited by the beforenamed faithful christian people against the said William Swinderby, together with the conclusions before said, and hereafter written: of which cases and articles the tenor here ensueth. [See the Eleven Articles at p. 107, pp. 113—116, and p. 133.]

III. Item, The said William, contrary to the former revocation and abjuration, not converting to repentance, but perverted from ill to worse, and given up to a reprobate sense, came into your diocese; where, running about in sundry places, he hath presumed to preach, or rather to pervert and to teach, of his own rashness, many heretical, erroneous, blasphemous, and other slanderous things contrary and repugnant to the sacred canons, and the determination of the holy catholic church. What those things were, at what place and what time, shall hereafter more particularly be declared.

IV. Item, The same William, notwithstanding your commandments and admonitions sealed with your seal, and to all the curates of your diocese directed, containing amongst other things that no person of what state, degree, or condition soever he were, should presume to preach or to teach, or expound the holy Scripture to the people, either in hallowed or profane places within your diocese, without sufficient authority, by any manner or pretence that could be sought, as in the same your letters monitory and of inhibition, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth, is more largely contained; which letters the same William did receive into his hands, and did read them word by word in the town of Mon-

(1) Such as were in queen Mary's days; as John Beard, J. Avalec, Robin Papist, and other like murderers.

mouth of your diocese, in the year of our Lord 1390, so that these your letters, and the contents thereof, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the same William; yet, notwithstanding, hath the same William presumed in divers places and times to preach within the same your diocese, after and against your commandment aforesaid. *Richard II.* A. D. 1391.

The tenor of the same Letters before mentioned followeth, and is this:

John, by the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, to the dean and chapter of our church of Hereford, and to all and singular abbots, priors, provosts, deans rural, parsons and vicars of monasteries, priories, churches, colleges, and parishes, and to others having cure of souls within the city and diocese of Hereford, and to all and every other being within the same city and diocese, greeting, grace, and blessing. Forasmuch as the golden laurel of teaching doctoral is not from above indifferently every man's gift; neither is the office of preaching granted save to such as are called, and especially by the church admitted thereunto: we do admonish and require you, all and singular clerks aforesaid, and do straitly enjoin you all, in the virtue of holy obedience, that neither you nor any of you do admit any man to preach or to teach the catholic faith, saving such as the same office of preaching shall, by the authority apostolical, or else your bishop, be specially committed unto; but that as much as in you shall lie, you do by word and deed labour to let those that would attempt the contrary. And you, lords, ladies, knights, barons, esquires, and all, and singular persons, of what estate, degree, pre-eminence, or condition soever ye be, remaining within the city and diocese of Hereford, we do beseech and exhort in our Lord, that, following the words of our Saviour, you beware of the leaven of the Pharisees. The letter monitory of the bishop of Hereford, inhibiting to preach without his license.

Item, According to the saying of the apostle, "Be not ye carried away with divers and strange doctrines;" and that in the meanwhile, as saith the apostle, you be not removed from the sense of the holy ancient fathers, lest that any man by any means should seduce you; but you, agreeing together in one mind, see that you honour God with one mouth. But if any men to whom that thing is not specially, as is aforesaid, committed, shall attempt to instruct, or in this your life to direct you into the catholic faith, do ye deny to give them audience, and refuse you to be present at their assemblies, and shun ye their teachings, because they be wicked and perverse. And as for us, we will not omit to proceed, according to the sacred canons and precepts of the holy fathers, against such as do the contrary. Would God both they and all men did beware of that leaven.

Dated at London, in the house of our habitation, under our seal, the last day save one of December, in the year of our Lord 1389, and, of our consecration, the first.

V. Item, The same William, in his preaching to the people on Monday the first of August, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the parish of Whitney of your diocese, did hold and affirm, that no prelate of the world, of what estate, pre-eminence or degree soever he were, having cure and charge of souls, he being in deadly sin, and hearing the confession of any under his hand, in giving him absolution, doth nothing: as who neither doth loose him from his sin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him for his demerits, doth bind him by his sentence, except the prelate shall be free himself from deadly sin, as St. Peter was, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and loose. One of Wickliff's blemishes.

VI. Item, The same William in many places said and affirmed, in the presence of many faithful christian people, that after the sacramental words uttered by the priest having the purpose to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

VII. Item, That accidents cannot be in the sacrament of the altar without a subject; and that there remaineth material bread there to such as be partakers, 'concomitanter'[1] with the body of Christ in the same sacrament. Bread; he meaneth, in substance.

VIII. Item, That a priest being in deadly sin, cannot be able by the strength of the sacramental words to make the body of Christ, or bring to perfection any other sacrament of the church, neither yet to minister it to the members of the church.

(1) See the Appendix.

Richard II. — A. D. 1391.

IX. Item, That all priests are of like power in all things, notwithstanding that some of them in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or pre-eminence.

X. Item, That only contrition putteth away sin, if so be that a man shall be duly contrite; and that all auricular and outward confession is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation.

See Appendix.

XI. Item, Inferior curates have not their power of binding and loosing mediately from the pope or bishop, but immediately from Christ: and therefore neither the pope nor bishop can revoke to themselves such kind of power, when they see time and place at their lust and pleasure.

XII. Item, That the pope cannot grant such kind of annual and yearly pardons, because there shall not be so many years to the day of judgment, as are in the pope's bulls or pardons contained: whereby it followeth that the pardons are not of such like value as they speak of, and are praised to be.

XIII. Item, It is not in the pope's power to grant to any person penitent, forgiveness of the punishment or of the fault.

XIV. Item, That person that giveth his alms to any, who in his judgment is not in necessity, doth sin in so giving it.

XV. Item, That it stands not in the power of any prelate, of what religion soever he be, privately to give letters for the benefit of his order, neither doth such benefit granted, profit them, to the salvation of their soul, to whom they be granted.

XVI. Item, That the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath, many and oftentimes, come into a certain desert wood, called Dervaldwood, of your diocese, and there, in a certain chapel not hallowed, or rather in a profane cottage, hath, in contempt of the keys, presumed of his own rashness to celebrate, nay rather to profanate.

XVII. Item, the same William hath also presumed to do such things in a certain profane chapel, being situate in the park of Newton, nigh to the town of Leintwarden, of the same your diocese.

Upon Friday, being the last of the month of June, in the year above said[1], about six of the clock, in the said parish church of Bodenham, hath the said William Swinderby personally appeared before us. And he, willing to satisfy the term to him assigned, as before specified, hath read out word by word before all the multitude of faithful christian people, many answers made and placed by the same William in a certain paper-book of the sheet folded into four parts to the said articles, and the same answers for sufficient hath he to us exhibited, avouching them to be agreeable to the law of Christ. Which thing being done, the same William (without any more with him) did depart from our presence, because that we, at the instance of certain noble personages, had promised to the same William free access; that is, to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of those answers, and also free departing without prefixing of any term, or without citation, or else any other offence or harm in body or in goods.

As for the tenor of the same answers, exhibited unto them by the same William, as is before specified, we have hereunder annexed it word for word, and in the same old language used at that time, when it was exhibited. And it followeth in these words.

The Protestation of William Swinderby, with his Answers to the Articles by the Promoters laid against him, to the Bishop of Hereford, taken out of the Registers in the same old English, wherein he wrote it.

In the name of God, amen. I William Swinderby, priest, vnworthy, couenting and purposing, wholie with all my hart, to be a true christian man, with open confession knowledging mine owne defaults and vnwise deedes; making openlie this protestation, cleping God to record here before our worshipful bishop John, through the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, with witnesse of all this people, that it is not mine intent any thing to say or affirme, to maintaine or to defend, that is contrarie to holie writte, against the beliefe of holie church, or that shoulde offend the holie determination of Christe's church, or the true sen-

(1) See the top of p. 110.—Ed.

tences of holie doctors. And if I haue here before, through mine vncunn ng, been vnordered, or, by euill counsaile, bene deceiued, or anie thing saide, preached, holden, maintained, or taught, contrarie to the lawe of God, whollie and fullie for that time for now and euer with full will I reuoke it and withdraw it, as euerich christen man should: praying and beseeching eche christen man, to whom this writing shall come, that gif I ought erre (as God forbid that I doe), or euer erred in anie point, contrarie to holie writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought said. And all the trothes that I haue said according with ye law of God, that they maintaine them and stand by them, for life or death, to Gods worship, as a true christen man should, submitting me meeklie to the correction of our bishop that here is, or of any other christen man, after Christes lawes and holie writ; in will euer readie to be amended, and, with this protestation, I say and answere to these conclusions and articles that here follown after, the which bene put to me to aunswere to. *Richard II.* A. D. 1391.

The first is this: That I William of Swinderby, pretending (he saith) my selfe a priest, was iudiciallie conuented of certaine articles, and conclusions of error, false, schimaticke, and heresie, by me, in diuers places and times, preached (hee saith) before multitudes of true christen men: and the same articles and conclusions, by need of law reuoked and forsworn, some as heresies, and some as errours and false: and such I affirmed and beleeued them to be. And that none of them from that time forth I should preach, teach, or affirme, openly or priuilie, ne that I should make no sermon to the people, ne preach but by lawfull leaue asked and gotten. And if I would presume in doing or affirming the contrary, then to the seueritie of the lawe I should be buxom,[1] as by nede of the lawe I swore.

To this I say, witnessing God that is in heauen to my wit and vnderstanding, that I neuer preached, held, ne taught, these conclusions and articles, the which falsly of friers were put vpon me, and of lecherous priestes to the bishop of Lincolne. For I was ordained by processe yersaid,[2] of their law, by the bishop and his commissaries, so as I graunted them to bring my purgation of thirteen priestes of good fame. And so I did, with a letter, and twelve seales thereby, from the mayor of Leycester, and from true burgesses, and thirty men to witnesse with me, as the duke of Lancaster knew and heard, the earle of Darby, and other many great men that were that time in the towne, that I neuer said them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I should haue made my purgation, there stooden forth fiue friers or moe, that some of them neuer saw me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous priestes openlie knowen, some lieuing in their lecherie twenty yeare (men sayden) or more, as, by their childer, was openly knowen. Some of these they clepinden denounciations, and some weren cleped comprobations, that weren there falslie forsworne, they suing busilie and crying, with manie an other frier, with great instance to giue the dome vppon me, to burne me, and boughten drie wood before, as men tolden in that towne: and these sleights, and swearing, and money giuing, as men saiden, with fauor of the bishop (by what lawe I wot not, but sothly not by Gods law), they saiden, they held me as conuicted, and might not haue forth my purgation. So as I fullie forsooke them, and neuer granted that I said them. Ouer this they made me sweare neuer to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, priuilie ne apertlie: and that I would go to certaine churches to reuoke the conclusions which I neuer said, in sclaunder of my selfe, by great instance of the friers. And so for dred of death and for fleshlie counsell that I had, I assented, and so I did. And also they maden me to sweare, that I should not preach (by instance of the friers) within that diocesse, withouten licence asked and granted, and neuer sithen I did. And now the same conclusions bene rehearsed to me againe: whether by friers counsell I will not deme, God wot, but in slaunder of me it is: and therefore I will answere now (with God's helpe) to the conclusions, of the which the first is this: That men mowen asken thir debts by charitie, but in no maner for debt to imprison any man: and that hee so emprisoning, is accursed."

Witnesses to William Swinderby.

The chastity of votaries to be noted.

1. Conclusion.

So I said not; but thus I haue said, and yet say with protestation put before: That whoso pursues his brother with malice, prisoning him cruellie for debt without mercie that faine would pay it if he might: he sinneth against Christe's teaching, 'Estote misericordes, sicut pater vester misericors est.'

Answer. How debt is to be pursued.

(1) "Buxom," submissive.—Ed.

(2) "Yersaid," that is, beforesaid

The 11. article is this, that is put to me, that I should haue said: That it is not in the power of anie prelate of what euer priuate religion, to graunt letters of the good deedes of their order, ne such benefices grauntet profits not to hele of soules to hem that they ben grauntet to. *Richard II.* A. D. 1391.

I said neuer thus in these termes; but thus I say with protestation: That prelates of priuate religion mowen graunt letters of the good deedes of her order; but the gostly mede that comes of good deedes, they mow not graunt, for that is onelie propriet to God. And if they blinde the people in misbeliefe for her worldlie winning, wittinglie behetting hem of her owne graunt ghostly medes in heauen by her letters and her seale (vncertaine, who shall be dammed), but make the people bolder to sinne by trust of her praiers: hit is none heal to the soules, but harmes to that one and to that other. 'For God shall yeld to echone after here werks:' 'Ipse reddet vnicuique secundum opera sua.' Answer. Good deeds of the order profit nothing.

The 12. article is this, that our bishop puts to me: That I many times and oft haue come (he saies) to a desert wood, cleped Derwaldswode, of his dioces: and there, in a chappell not hallwood, but accurset shepheardes hulke,[1] by mine owne follie, haue presumed to sing (but rather to curse) in contempt of the keies. 12. Article.

Hereto I say, that this is falsly put vpon me of hem that told you this. For it is a chappell where a priest sings certaine daies in the yeare, with great solemnitie: and certes I neuer song therein seth I was borne into this world. Answer.

The 13. article is this: That I should also presunte to sing in an unhallowet chappell, that stonds in the parke of Newton, besides the towne of Leyntwardy, of this same dioces. 13. Article.

Truely I wot not vhere that place stonds.

The 14. article is this: That I should say that no man owes to sweare for anie thing, but simply withcuten oth to affirme or to denie; and if he sweare he sinnes. 14. Article.

This article said I not, that I haue mind of, in this maner: but oft I haue said and yet will, that men should not sweare by anie creature by the law of God, and that no man should sweare in idel, as welnigh all the people vseth. And therefore me thinkes it is no neede to comfort the people in swearing; for from the olde vnto the yong, and namely men of holie church, breken his heste, and few bishops pursuen hem therefore. Answer. To swear by no creature.

The 15. article is this: That I should haue taught to true men of Christ, that on no maner they should worship the image of him that was done on the crosse, or the image of the blessed mayd his mother, or of other saints into honour and worship of the same ordeinet in y^e^ mind of them. And oft sithes, y^e^ worshipper of such image he has reprouet, saying, and stronglie affirming, that churchmen sinnen and done idolatrie. 15. Article.

This conclusion haue I not said in these termes. But this I say with protestation, that God commaundes in his lawe in divers places. (Exod. 20. Leuit. 19. and 26. Deut. 5. and 7. Tobiæ 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad. Corin. 10. Esay 45. Iere 2. 6. 8. and 10. 22. and vltimo, Sapient. 13. 14. and 15. Mac. 5. and Threnorum 4. and postremo), that men should not worshippen grauen images that ben werkes of mens hands: and also he bids that men should not make to hem grauen images in likenesse of the things that ben in heauen, to that end to worshippen hem: sethen neither God ne Christ by his manhood gaue neuer commandement to make these images, ne expresse counsell, ne his apostles in all his lawe, ne to worship such that bene made. But well I wote, that by mens owne relation that haue misbelieuet in hem, that many men sinnen in maumetrie worshipping such dead images: notforthy,[2] to the men bene images good to whom they haue bene but kalendars, and through the sight of hem they knowen the better and worshippen oft God and his saints. And to such men they done harme that setten her hope and trust in hem or done any worship to hem against Gods law and his heste. Vnde ait Gregorius, in Registro, libro. 10., in epistola ad Serenum Episcopum. 'Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minimè prohibe: adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc solicitè fraternitas tua admoneat, vt ex visione rei gestæ, ardorem compunctionis percipiant, vt in adoratione totius Trinitatis prosternantur.' Answer. Images not to be worshipped. *See Appendix.*

These conclusions, points, and articles that I have, vnder protestation, in this booke affirmed, I will stand by hem, and maintaine hem (with the grace of Almightie God) to the time that the contrarie be prouet duelie by Gods law:

(1) Or, Sheepcote. (2) "Notforthy," that is notwithstanding.

Richard II. A.D. 1391.

and this protestation I make for my faith and my beliefe as I did at the beginning: That whensoeuer this worshipfull or any other christen man shewes me veraily by Gods lawe the contrarie of this, I will holy forsake hem, and take me to the veray trouth and better understanding of wiser men, readie to be amended by the law of Jesu Christ, and be a true christen man and faithfull sonne of holy church: and of these I beseech you all beare witnesse where ye commen.

Subsequenter vero, quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swynderby latitabat quo minus posset in propria persona citari, ipsum Gulielmum viis et modis per Edictum publicum ad instar albi prætoris in ecclesia nostra Cathedrali Herfordensi et parochialibus ecclesiis de Kington, Crofte, et Witney nostræ diocesis, ubi idem Guilielmus solebat commorari, citari fecimus, prout et quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba.

William Swinderby keeping from the Bishop was cited as followeth.

The tenor of the citation.

See Appendix.

John, by God's permission bishop of Hereford: to his dear sons, our dean of Leamster, to the parsons of Croft, Almaly, and Whitney, and also to the vicars of Kington, Eardersley, Wiggemore, Monmouth, Clifford, and of St. John's altar in our cathedral church of Hereford, and to the rest of the deans, parsons, vicars, chaplains, parish priests, and to others, whosoever in any place are appointed through our city and diocese of Hereford, sendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

We bid and command, charging you straitly, in the virtue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to be cited peremptorily, and under the pain of excommunication, William Swinderby, pretending himself to be a priest; that he appear before us, or our commissaries, the twentieth day of this present month of July, at North Lodebury, within our diocese, with the continuance of the days following in other places also to be assigned unto him if it be expedient, till such things as have been, and shall be laid against him, be fully discussed: to answer more at large to certain positions and articles, touching the catholic faith, and the holy mother church's determination, that have been exhibited and ministered unto the said William; and to see and heare also many things that have openly, in judgment before us and a great number of faithful Christians, by him been even in writing confessed, to be condemned as heretical, false, schismatical, and erroneous; and to see and hear positions and articles denied by the said William, to be proved by faithful witnesses, and other lawful trials against the said William; and to receive for his false, heretical, erroneous, and schismatical doctrine, what justice shall appoint, or else to show causes why the premises should not be done.

And if the said William lieth privily, or else cannot be so cited in his proper person, we will that in your churches, when most people shall then come together to divine service, you openly, with a loud voice and that may be understood, cause the said William peremptorily to be cited unto the premises, certifying the same William, that whether he shall appear the day and place appointed or no, we, notwithstanding, will proceed unto the premises against the said William, according to the canonical decrees by form of law, in the absence or contumacy of the said William notwithstanding. We will, moreover, if the said William shall appear at the said day and place as is aforesaid, before us, friendly hear him, and honestly and favourably, as far as we may with God's leave, deal with him; granting free license to come and to go for his natural liberty without any hurt either in body or goods. And see that you fully certify us of the things that you or any of you shall do about the execution of this our commandment, and that, by your letters patent, signed with your seal authentical; giving also faithfully to the said William, or to his lawful proctor, if he require it, a copy of this our present commandment.

Given at our house of Whitborne, under our seal, the fifth day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1391.

First Sitting against William Swinderby.

On Thursday the twentieth of July, in the year of the Lord aforesaid, we, in the parish church of North Lodebury aforesaid, about six of the clock, sitting in

judgment, after that it was reported unto us, how the aforesaid William was personally taken and lawfully cited, caused the same William then and there openly in judgment to be called out, to do, hear, and receive such things, whereto he was afore cited, and to do otherwise that which justice should persuade. And the said William appeared neither by himself, nor by proctor; but only by a servant, whose name we know not, he sent unto us a certain schedule of paper, made like an indenture, to excuse him. After which schedule, seen, read, and with right deliberation weighed, and, in any wise notwithstanding, we adjudged the said William (after he was often called, and long, even to the due hour tarried for, and by no means appearing), worthily, for his obstinacy and for his stubbornness we assigned unto him the twenty-ninth day of July, in the church of Ponsley, to appear before us with the aforesaid safeguard, to answer more fully to such articles, and otherwise to hear, receive, and do, as before is noted.

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Second Sitting against William Swinderby.

On Saturday the twenty-ninth of July, and in the year of the Lord aforesaid, we, John, by God's permission the fore-remembered bishop, in the church of Pontesbury, of our diocese, at six of the clock or thereabout, sitting in judgment; made the said William of Swinderby to be openly called, that (as was to him appointed and assigned) he should appear before us, to answer to the aforesaid articles more fully, and to declare the said articles, as the darkness of his answers did worthily require. And because the said William, being called, and long for a due time looked for, did make no means to appear, we pronounced him to be obstinate, and for his obstinateness (to overcome his malice, and of our exceeding favour) thought good to appoint, and did appoint the eighth of August, then next following, at Cleobury Mortemere of the same our diocese, unto the said William for the same thing.

The second day's act.

Third Sitting against William Swinderby.

On Tuesday the eighth of August, the year aforesaid, I, John, by God's permission bishop of Hereford aforesaid, in the church of Cleobury Mortemere, about six of the clock, sitting in judgment, caused the aforesaid William Swinderby to be called many times openly, to do and receive about the premises, according to the appointment of the same day what justice should advise; which William did not appear at all. Whereupon, we, after that the said William was called, and often proclaimed, and long looked for, but not appearing at all, did judge him worthily (as of right appertained) obstinate; and, for his obstinateness, assigned him the sixteenth day of the same month of August next following, in the parish church of Whitborne of the same our diocese, to bring forth, or to see brought forth, all laws, muniments, and other kinds of proofs; and to see also witnesses brought forth, admitted, and sworn, by whom and which things we intend to prove the aforesaid articles, or at leastwise some of the same.

The third day's act.

Fourth Sitting against William Swinderby.

On Wednesday the sixteenth day of the month of August, the year aforesaid, we John, the bishop, in the parish church of Whitborne aforesaid of our diocese, sitting in judgment, caused the said William Swinderby oftentimes to be called, who, as is aforesaid, appeared not at all; whom, after that he was so called, proclaimed, and long looked for, and yet by no means appearing, we pronounced to be obstinate. We received also, by certain faithful Christians and zealous men for the catholic faith, of our diocese, a certain process made and had at another time against the same William, before the reverend father in God and lord lord John, by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln, confirmed by the hanging on of the seal of the same reverend father, the lord bishop of Lincoln.[1] And these faithful Christians, moreover, against the obstinateness of the said William

The fourth day's act.

(1) Of this process mention is made before, p. 107.

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Swinderby brought forth discreet men, Master William Leviet, parson of the parish church of Kyversly, and also Edmund Waterdon, parish chaplain of the chapel of N., and Roger Newton, and Hugh Sheppert, laymen of our diocese of Lincoln, asking instantly that they might be received for witnesses, to prove some of the aforesaid articles, whom against the obstinateness of the said William Swinderby we thought good to receive, and did receive, and their oaths on the holy gospels of God, being laid hands on corporally in our hande, and did diligently examine them in proper person severally in form of law, whose saying and depositions are afterwards brought in; and, at the instance of the same faithful Christians, we assigned the second day of September next following, to the said William Swinderby, to say and alledge against the said process, witnesses, and their sayings, in the said church of Whitborn; decreeing that a copy should be made for him of those things that were brought forth, and of the depositions of the witnesses, • • • [Here we fail in our copy, till the register come to our hands again.]

by the dore, but wendith upon an other halfe, hee is a night theefe and a day theefe. And there he telleth how he that flieth from their flocke, is not the sheapherd but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the sheepe.

2. Conclusion. To the second conclusion: That, he saien, is errour or heresie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalties and of lordships of priests that bene euill liuers.

Declaration. I saie, me seemeth that the conclusion is true, and is this: That it were medefull and leefull to secular lordes, by way of charitie, and by power giuen to them of God, in default of prelates that amend naught by Gods lawe; cursed curates that openlie misuse the goods of holy church, that ben poore mens goods: and customably ayens the law of God (the which poore men, lordes ben holden to maintaine and defend), to take awaie and to draw from such curates, poore mens goods in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilfull offeringes, and their bodilie almes deedes of worldlie goods, and giue them to such as duelie seruen God in the church, and ben readie in vpbearing of the charge that prelates shoulden doe and done it not. And as anentes taking away of temporalties, I say thus: That it is leefull to kings, to princes, to dukes, and to lords of the world, to take away from popes, from cardinals, from bishops, prelates, and possessioners in the church, their temporalties, and their almes that they haue giuen them vpon condition that they shoulden serue God the better: when they are verilie seene that their giuing and taking bene contrarie to the law of God, contrarie to Christes liuing and his apostles; and namelie in that they taken vppon them, they that shoulden be next followers of Christ and his apostles in poorenesse and meekenesse, to be secular lords against the teaching of Christ and of S. Peter. Truelie me seemeth that all christen men, and namelie priestes shoulden take keepe, that their doing were according with the lawe of God, either the old law, either the new. The priestes of the olde lawe weren forbidden to haue lordships among their brethren: for God said, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Christ, that was the highest priest of the Newe Testament, forsooke worldlie lordship, and was here in fourme of a seruaunt, and forbad his priests such lordships, and said, 'Reges gentium dominantur eorum, &c. vos autem non sic.' That is: 'The kings of the heathen, beare dominion and rule, &c.; but you shall not do so.' And as S. Peter saith, 'Neque dominantes in clero,' &c. 'Not bearing rule and dominion of the clergie,' &c. So it seemeth me: that it is against both lawes of God, that they haue such lordshippes, and that their title to such lordshippes is not full good. And so it seemeth me, that zif they bene thereto of euill liuing, it is no great perill to take away from them such lordships, but rather meedfull, if the taking awaie were in charitie, and not for singular couetousnesse ne wrath. And I suppose that if friers, that bene bounden to their founders to liue in pouertie,[1] woulde breake their rule and take worldlie lordships, might not men lawfullie take from them such lordships, and make them to liue in pouertie as their rule would? And forsooth it seemeth me, that priestes oughten also well to keepe Christes rule, as friers owen to keepe

See Appendix.

Every gift given upon condition is frustrate upon the breach of every such condition.

(1) If the pope may take from the friars, to cause them to keep St. Francis rule, may not the emperor take from the pope, to cause him keep Christ's rule.

the rule of their founder. Jeremie witnesseth, howe God commended Rachabs children, for they woulde not breake their faders bidding in drinking of wine. And yet Jeremie profered them wine to drinke. And so I trowe, that God woulde commend his priestes, if they woulden forsake worldlie lordships, and holden them apayd with lifelot, and with clothing; and busie them fast about their heritage of heauen. And God saith, Numeri. 18., ('In terra eorum nihil possidebitis, nec tenebitis partem inter eos: Ego pars et hæreditas vestra in medio filiorum Israel, &c. Et Deut. 18. 'Non habebitis sacerdotes et Leuitæ et omnes qui de eadem tribu estis, partem et hæreditatem cum reliquo Israel, quia sacrificia Domini et oblationes eius comedent, et nihil accipient de possessione fratrum suorum. Dominus enim ipse est hæreditas ipsorum, sicut locutus est illis.' Et Lucæ 14. 'Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciauerit omnibus quæ possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus.' Et Ieronymus in Epistola. 34. Et Bernardus libro 2^do. ad Eugenium Papam. Et Hugo 'De Sacramentis,' parte 2 libri secundi cap. 7. Et Causa xii. q. 1. cap. 'Duo sunt:' Et cap. 'Clericus.' Et Bernardus 'in Sermone de Apostolis, super illud: 'Ecce nos reliquimus omnia.' Et Chrysost. super Math. Et 'Vetus Testamentum: That is) 'you shall haue no inheritance in their land, nor haue no part amongest them: I will be your part and inheritance amongest the children of Israel,' &c. Deut. 18. 'The priests and Leuites, and all that be of the same tribe shall haue no part nor inheritance with the rest of Israel: because they shall eat the sacrifices of the Lord and his oblations, and they shall take nothing of the possession of their brethren. The Lord himself is their possession, as he spake unto them.' And y^e 14. chapter of Luke · 'Euen so euerie one of you, which forsaketh not all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple.' And Jerome, in his 14. Epistle, hath the like wordes. And Bernard in his 2nd booke to Eugenius the pope. And also Hugo in his booke 'De Sacramentis,' the second part of his second booke, the 7. chapter. And also in the 12. q. 1. chap. 7. 'Duo sunt,' and in the chap. 'Clericus.' And againe, Bernard in his booke 'De sermone de Apostolis,' vpon this place: 'Ecce nos reliquimus omnia.' 'Behold we leaue all,' &c. Chrysost. vpon the gospel of S. Math. &c.

3. Conclusion.

The third conclusion toucheth the matter of preaching of priests, withouten leaue of bishops, and is this: That such true priestes may counsell sinfull men, that shewen to them their sinnes, after the wit and cunning that God hath giuen, to turne hem from sinne to vertuous life, and as touching preaching of the gospel.

Declaration.

I say that no bishop oweth to let a true priest, that God hath giffen grace, wit, and cunning to do that office: for both priestes and deacons, that God hath ordained deacons or priestes, bene holden by power geuen to them of God, to preach to the people the gospel: and namelie, and souerenlie, popes, bishops prelates and curats; for this is due to the people and the parisheners, to haue it and aske it. And hereto seemeth me, that Christ said generallie to his disciples: 'Ite et prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ,' 'Goe and preach the gospel to all creatures,' as well as he said, 'Ite et baptizate omnes gentes,' 'Goe and baptise all nations,' that also as well longeth preaching to priests without leaue of a bishop as doth baptising: and then why maie he not preach Gods worde withouten a bishops leaue? And sithen Christ bade his priests preach, who should forbidden them preach? The apostles were forbidden of a bishop at Jerusalem, to speake more of the name of Jesus, but Peter said: 'Si iustum est in conspectu Dei, vos potius audire quam Dominum, iudicate.' That is, 'Whether it be iust in the sight of God to heare and obey you before the Lord: be your selues judges.' A bishop may not let a priest of giuing bodilie almes in his dioces: much more may he not let the doing of spirituall almes in his dioces by Gods lawe. A priest may saie his mattines withouten the bishops leaue: for the pope that is aboue the bishop, hath charged priestes therewith: and me thinketh that Christes bidding should be all so much of charge as the popes. Math. 10. 'Euntes autem prædicate. Ite ecce ego mitto vos.' Et Mar. 16. 'Euntes in mundum vniuersum,' &c. Lucæ 10. Et Anacletus pap. Dist. 21. cap. 'In nouo Testamento.' Et Beda super illud: "Messis quidem mvlta." Et Isidorus 'De summo bono.' cap. 44. Et Gregorius, Causa xi. q. 3, 'Præconis quippe officium suscipit,' &c. Et Chrysostom. Causa xi. q. 3. cap. 86, 'Nolite timere.' Et Aug. Causa xi. q. 3. cap. 80, 'Quisquis.' Et Gregorius in suo Pastorali. c. 38, 'Qui enim est.' Chrysost. hom. 31. et in Toletano concilio: 'Ignorantia.' Et Aug. in Prologo sermonum suorum; et Ieronymus,

A priest admitted ought to preach, though the prince and bishop forbid, so that he preach the word

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Dist. 95. 'Ecce ego.' Et Aug. super id: 'Homo quidam peregrinus'—That is, 'Go you forth and preach:' and again, 'Behold I send you,' &c. Mar. 16. 'Go you into all the world,' &c. and Luk. 10. and Dist. 21. cap. 'In Nouo Testamento.' And Beda vppon this place, 'The haruest truly is great.' Also Isidorus 'De summo bono,' cap. 44. And Gregorius in Causa xi. quæst. 3, 'Præconis quippe officium suscipit,' &c.: and Chrysostome in the same Causa. 'Nolite timere:' and Augustine in the 34th Distinction, cap. 'Quisquis.' And Gregorius in his Pastoral, cap. 38, 'Qui enim est.' And Chrysostome in his 31st Homelie. And in the council of Toledo, 'Ignorantia.' And Augustine in the prologue of his Sermons. And Jerome in the 95th Distinct. cap. 6, 'Ecce ego.' And Augustine upon this place, 'A certaine traueller.'

4. Conclusion. The fourth conclusion toucheth the sacrament of the aultar, and is this: That wholly I beleeue that the sacrament of the aultar, made by vertue of heauenlie wordes, is bread and Christes bodie, so as Christ himselfe saith in the gospel, and as S. Paul saith, and as doctors in the common law haue determined: To this sentence John 6. 'Moses hath not giuen you bread from heauen, but my father will giue you bread from heauen. He is the true bread that came downe from heauen and giueth life vnto the worlde. My father giueth vnto you bread in deed: the verie true bread of God is that, which came downe from heauen and giueth life vnto the world. I am the bread of life: The bread which I will giue is my flesh.' And in the canon of the Masse, 'Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ,' 'The holie bread of life.' And Corinth. the 10. chap. and first epistle. 'The bread which wee breake, is it not the communicating of the bodie of the Lord? Let a man proue himself, and so eate of that bread,' &c. And canon 'De consecratione' distinction 2. vnder the authoritie of Hilarius the pope: 'Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari,' &c. And Augustine in the foresaid distinction: 'That which is seene, is bread,' &c. That which faith requireth, is bread, and is the body of Christ And in ye foresaid distinction, cap. 'Omnia quæcunque,' &c. By these two sentences it is manifestlie declared, that that bread and this, be not two, but one bread and one flesh. Note the words for that he saith, the bread and flesh; and the author, 'De diuinis officiis;' and also Augustine in his booke, 'De remedijs penitentiæ:' 'Why preparest thou thy teeth,' &c. And Ambrose, 'De Sacramentis:' 'De consecratione:' distinct. 2. 'Reuera mirabile est,' &c. 'This meat which you receiue, and this bread of one which descended from heauen, doth minister the substance of eternall life; and whosoeuer shall eate the same, shall not die euerlastinglie, and is the bodie of Christ.' Note how he saith, 'and is the bodie of Christ.'

5. Conclusion. The 5. article telleth of forgiuenesse of sinnes, and is this: That verie contrition withouten charitie and grace, do away all sinnes before done of that man, that is verilie contrite, and all true confession made by mouth outwardly to a wise priest and a good, profiteth much to a man, and it is needfull and helping, that men shew their life to such, trusting fullie to Gods mercie, that he forgiueth the sinne.

Remission double. And hereto I say, that there bene two remissions of sinnes: one that belongeth onelie to God: and that remission is the clensing of the soule from sinne: and the other remission, a certifying that one man certifieth another, that his sinnes be forgiuen of God, if he be sory with all his heart for them, and is in full will to leaue them for euer: and this maner of forgiuenesse longeth to priests. Of the first maner of forgiuenesse, Dauid saith: 'And I said I will confess my vnrighteousnesse vnto the Lord, and thou forgauest me my misdeede.' And Zacharie saith: 'And thou, O child, shalt be called the prophet of the highest, &c. to giue knowledge of saluation vnto his people for the remission of their sinnes, by the bowels of Gods mercie.' And John Baptist: 'Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world.' And S. John the Euangelist saith in his epistle: 'If we confesse our sinnes, he is faithfull and iust to forgiue vs our sinnes, and cleanse vs from all our iniquitie.' And it followeth: 'If anie man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, euen Jesus Christ, and hee it is that is the propitiation for our sinnes.' And of the other remission of sinnes Christ speaketh in the gospel, and saith: 'Whose sinnes ye forgiue, they shal be forgiuen.' And mans forgiuenes auaileth litle, unless God forgiue our sinnes through his grace.

6 Conclusion. The 6. conclusion teacheth indulgences and pardons, that the pope graunteth in his bulles, and men callen it an absolution, 'A pœna et culpa.'

Of this maner of speach I cannot finde in the gospel, ne in no place of holie write, ne I haue not read that Christ vsed this maner of remission, ne none of his apostles. But as me seemeth, if the pope had such a power, sithen the paines after a man's death bene much greater than anie bodily pains of the world: me thinketh he should of charitie keep men out of such paines, and then men neede not to finde so manie vicious priests after their life, to bring their soules out of purgatorie. An other thing me thinketh, that sithe the popes power ne may not keep vs in this world fro bodily paines as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from sorrow, and other such paines, how should his power helpe vs from spirituall paines, when we bene dead? But for that no man commeth after his death to tell vs the sooth in what pain they bene, men mow tell thereof what hem lust. S. John saith in his Apocalyps, that he saw vnder the aultar, the soules of them which were slayne for the word of God, and for the testimonie which they had. And they did crie with a loud voice, saying: 'Howe long Lord, holie and true, doest not thou reuenge our bloud of them which dwell on the earth?[1] And white stoles were giuen to euerie of them to rest a while, till the number of their fellow seruantes and brethren should be fulfilled, which also remained to be slaine as they were,' &c. Here seemeth it, that these soules were not assoiled 'a pœna,' that is, from paine: for their desire is not fulfillen. And they were bidden abide a while, and that is a pain. And if martyrs were not assoiled from paine, it is hard for anie man to saie, that he assoileth other men 'a pœna.' Also good mens soules haue not but spirituall blisse, and they want bodilie blisse, untill their resurrection in the day of dome. And after they desiren to haue that blisse, and abiden it, and that is paine to them. And I cannot see that the pope hath power to bring him from this pain. But if anie man can shew me, that he hath such a power graunted in the troth of Holy Write, I will gladlie leefen it.

Either there is purgatory, or else the pope is cruel.

The pope's power can keep none from bodily pain, Ergo, much less from spiritual.

He hath no power grounded upon Scripture to bring from pain of purgatory.

The 7. point speaketh of the pope and is this: Sithe it is onlie due to God, as I haue said before, to geue and to graunt plener remission, from paine, and from blame, that whatsoeuer he be, pope or other, that presumptuouslie mistaketh vppon him the power that onelie is due to God, in that, in as much as in him is, he maketh himselfe euen with Christ, and blasphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he said, 'Ascendam, and ero similis altissimo.' That is, 'I will ascend, and be like the highest,' &c.

7. Conclusion. The pope maketh himself even with Christ.

For that I say, if the pope holde men of armes in maintaining of his temporall lordship, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden him, and geueth remission to fight and to slaie them, that contrarien him, as men sayden hee did by the bishop of Norwich, not putting his sworde in his sheath, as God commaunded to Peter, he is Antichrist. For hee doth the contrarie of the commandement of Jesus Christ, that bade Peter forgiuen to his brother 70. sithe 7. sithe. Well I find in the gospel, that vhen Christ sent his disciples to Samarie, the Samaritanes would not receiuen them And some of them bidden Christ, that hee should make a fire come downe from heauen, to destroy the citie. And hee blamed them, and said: 'Nescitis cuius spiritus estis: filius hominis non venit animas perdere, sed saluare. That is, 'Ye know not of what spirite ye are: the sonne of man is not come downe to destroy, but to saue the liues and soules of men,' &c If Christ then come to saue men, and not to slea them, who that doth the reuers hereof, is against Christ, and then he is Antichrist. Christ bad Peter put his sword in his sheath and said: 'Omnes qui gladium acceperint, gladio peribunt. That is: 'All which take the sword, shall perish with the sworde.' And I cannot finde that Peter drewe out his sworde after that time, but suffered as Christ said: 'Cum senueris, alius cinget te, et ducet quo tu non vis.' That is, 'When thou shalt waxe old, another shall gird thee and lead thee whether thou wilt not.' And therefore said Peter, 'Christ suffered for vs, leauing vs example that we should follow his steppes. And Paule saith: 'Not defending your selues, but geue place to anger: leaue reuenging to mee, and I shall reward them,' &c. And therefore it seemeth to mee, that it is as much against Christes loue, that his vicar should bee a fighter, sithen that hee mote be a shepheard, that should go before his sheepe, and let them come after him, and not with swordes to driue them away from him. For

The bishop of Norwich, Henry Spenser, the pope' warrior set up of the pope to slay his enemies.

The pope contrary to Christ.

Proved Antichrist.

(1) If the martyrs being dead, be not assured from grief of tarrying, much less can they assoil others from pains of purgatory.

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as Christ saith, 'A good shepheard shall put his life for his sheepe.' And zif all that Christ had, were two swordes, when hee was taken of the Jewes, he said himselfe, it was, for that the Scriptures moten zit be fulfilled: 'Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus est,' that is: 'Hee was reputed among the wicked:' and not to figure two swordes, that men sayen the pope hath, to gouerne with the church. And when I see such doings of the pope, and many other that accorden not with Christes lore, ne his liuing: and when I reade diuers Scriptures of holie writte, I am foule astonied whether they shoulden be understanded of him, or of anie other. And I pray you for Gods loue tell me the sooth. Christ saith: 'Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall seduce manie,' &c. Christ (I wot well) is as much to say, as he that is anointed; and two anointings there weren in the lawe, one of kings, another of priests. And Christ was both king and priest, and so the pope saith that *he* is. And if all that haue bene emperours of Rome, and other heathen kinges, haue bene Antichristes, they come not in Christes name. But who so commeth in Christe's name, and faineth him Christe's frend, and he be priuilie his enemie, he may lightlie beguile manie. Saint Paule saith: 'Before there commeth a defection first, and the sonne of perdition shall be reuealed, which is the aduersarie, and is extolled aboue all that is named God, or which is worshipped: so that he shall sit in the temple of God, shewing him selfe as God.' And it followeth in the same place: 'And now ye know what holdeth till he be reuealed in his time, for he worketh alreadie the mysterie of iniquitie. Onlie he that holdeth, let him holde till he come abroad, and then that wicked one shall be reuealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirite of his mouth,' &c. And Saint John saith in the Apocalyps: 'I sawe another beast ascending out of the earth, and two hornes like to the lambe. He spake like the Dragon, and had the power of the first beast.' Manie such authorities astonieth me oft sithes, and therefore I pray you, for the loue of God, to tel me that they meane.

Two swords never given to the pope.

Two sorts of annointings in Scripture.

A defection in Anti-christ's time.

The Sentence against William Swinderby.

The which schedule[1] aforementioned, with the contents thereof, diligently of us perused, we, considering that diseases which be not easily cured with gentle remedy must have harder plaisters; considering, moreover, these his articles, with his answers to the same, and to other articles also lastly against him produced; first mature deliberation had before upon the whole matter with the aforesaid masters and doctors, as well secular as regular, to a great number, observing in the same all things to be observed in this behalf, have given sentence against the said William in form as followeth.

Sentence given against him.

The name of Christ being invocated, we John, by the permission of God, bishop of Hereford, sitting in tribunal seat, having God before our eyes, weighing and considering the articles by the aforesaid faithful Christians put up against the said Swinderby, pretending himself to be priest, with his answers upon the same 'Actis et Actitatis' before us, in the cause of heretical perversity, with the mature deliberation had before, in this behalf, with masters and doctors of divinity, and also of other faculties, with their counsel and consent, do pronounce, decree, and declare the said William to have been, and to be, a heretic, schismatic, and a false informer of the people, and such as is to be avoided of faithful Christians. Wherefore we admonish, under the pain of the law, all and singular Christains, of what sex, state, condition, or preeminence soever, that neither they, nor any of them, within our diocese, or any other, do believe, receive, defend, or favour the said William, till he shall deserve fully to be reconciled to the bosom again of holy church.

The Appeal of William Swinderby from this Sentence of the Bishop prefixed, unto the King and his Council.

'In nomine patris, et filij, et spiritus sancti,' Amen. I William Swinderby, priest, knowledge openlie to all men, that I was before the bishop of Hereford the third day of October, and before manie other good clerks, to answere to certaine conclusions of the faith that I was accused of. And mine answer was

(1) Mention was made of this schedule before, in the first day's act, p. 120.

this: That if the bishop or any man couthe shewe me by Gods law, that my conclusions or mine answeres were error or heresie, I would be amended, and openlie reuoke them before all the people. • • • [1] knowes in any of my conclusions, but sayden singly with word, that there were errours in them, and bidden me subiect me to the bishop, and put me into his grace and reuoke mine errour, and shewed me nought by Gods law ne reason, ne proued which they weren. And for I would not knowledge me guiltie, so as I knewe no errour in them, of which I should be guiltie, therefore the bishop sate in dome in mine absence, and deemed me an hereticke, a schismaticke, and a teacher of errours, and denounced me accursed, that I come not to correction of the church. And therefore, for this vnrightfull iudgement, I appeale to the kings justices for manie other causes.

The king's court above the bishop's court.

One cause is, for the kings court, in such matter, is aboue the bishops court: for after that the bishop has accursed, hee may ne feare by his law, but then mote he sech succour of the kings law, and by a writ of 'significauit' put a man in prison.

The second cause is, for in cause of heresie there liggeth iudgement of death, and that dome may not be giuen without the kings justices. For the bishop will say: 'Nobis non licet interficere quenquam,' that is, 'It is not lawfull for vs to kill any man: as they sayden to Pilate, vhen Christ should be deemed. And for I think that no justice will giue sodainly and vntrue dome as the bishop did, and therefore openlie I appeale to hem and send my conclusions to the knightes of the parliament, to be shewed to the lordes, and to be taken to the justices, to be well auiset or that they geuen dome.

What is a heretic.

The third cause is, for it was a false dome: for no man is an hereticke, but he that maisterfullie defends his errour or heresie, and stiflie maintaines it. And mine answere has ben alwaie conditionall, as the people openlie knowes: for euer I say, and yet say, and alway will; that if they cannen shew me by Gods law that I haue erret, I will gladlie ben amendet, and reuoke mine errours; and so I am no hereticke, ne neuer more in Gods grace will ben in no wise.

The bishop's law of condemnation full of heresies and errors.

The fourth cause is: for the bishops lawe, that they deme men by, is full of errours and heresies, contrarie to the trueth of Christes law of the gospell.

For there as Christes law biddes vs loue our enemies, the popes law geues vs leaue to hate them and to sley them, and grauntes men pardon to werren againe heathen men, and sley hem. And there as Christes law teache vs to be mercifull, the bishops lawe teaches to be wretchfull. For death is the greatest wretch that men mowen done on him that guiltie is.

There as Christes law teaches vs, to blessen him that diseazen vs, and to pray for him, the popes law teacheth vs to curse them, and in their great sentence that they vsen, they presume to damme hem to hell that they cursen. And this is a foule heresie of blaspheme: there as Christes lawe bids vs be patient, the popes law iustifies two swords, that wherewith he smiteth the sheepe of the church. And he has made lordes and kinges to sweare to defend him and his church.

There as Christe's law forbiddeth vs lecherie, the pope's law iustifies the abhominable whoredome of common women, and the bishops, in some place, haue a great tribute or rent of whoredome.

Contrariety between the pope and Christ.

There as Christe's laws bids to minister spirituall thinges freelie to the people, the pope with his law selles for money, after the quantitie of the gift, as pardons, orders, blessing, and sacramentes, and praiers, and benefices, and preaching to the people; as it is knowen amongest them.

There as Christes lawe teaches peace, the pope, with his law, assoiles men for money to gader the people, priests, and other, to fight for his cause.

There as Christes law forbids swearing, the popes law iustifieth swearing, and compels men thereto.

Whereas Christe's law teacheth his priestes to be poore, the pope, with his lawe, iustifies and maintaines priestes to be lordes.

And yet the fift cause is, for the popes lawe that bishops demen men by, is the same vnrightfull lawe that Christ was demet by of the bishops, with the Scribes and with the Pharisies. For right as at that time they gauen more credens to the two false witnesses that witnessed against Christ, then they deden to al the people that witnesseden to his true preaching and his miracles: so the

(1) Some thing there lacketh in the copy.

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bishops of the popes law geuen more leuen by their lawe to two heretickes and apostates, or two comen wymen, that woulden witnesseden agaynes a man in the cause of heresie, than to thousandes of people that were true and good. And for the pope is this Antichrist, and his law contrary to Christ his law, fully I forsake this law, and so I reed all christen men. For thus, by an other point of this lawe, they mighten conquere much of this world: for whan they can by this lawe present a man an hereticke, his goodes shulen be forfet from him and from his heires, and so might they lightlie haue two or three false witnesses to record an heresie against vhat true man, so hem liked. Herefore me thinkes, that whatsoeuer that I am a christen man, I may lawfully appeale from a false dome of the lawe, to be righteously demet by the trouth of Gods law. And if this appeale will not serue, I appeale openlie to my Lord Jesu Christ that shall deme all the world, for hee I wot well, will not spare for no man to deeme a trouth. And therefore I pray God Almightie with Dauid in the Sauter Booke, 'Deus iudicium tuum regi da, et iustitiam tuam filio regis: Iudicare populum tuum in iustitia et pauperes tuos in iudicio:' that is, 'O God giue thy iudgement to the king, and thy iustice to the kings sonne; to iudge thy people in iustice, and thy poore ones in iudgement,' &c.

The cause why Swinderby forsook the pope

A fruitful Letter sent to the Nobles and Burgesses of the Parliament, by Master William Swinderby.

Iesu, that art both God and man, helpe thy people that louen thy law, and make knowen through thy grace thy teaching to all christen men! Deare sirs, so as we seen, by manie tokens, that this world drawes to an end, and all that euer haue bene forth-brought of Adam's kind into this world, shulen come togeder at domesday, rich and poore, ichone to geue accompt and receiue after his deeds ioy or paynen for euermore: therefore make we our werks good, ye while that God of mercy abides, and be ye stable and true to God, and ye shulen see his helpe about you. "Constantes estote et videbitis auxilium Domini super vos." This land is full of ghostly cowards, in ghostly battaile fewe dare stand. But Christ, the comforter of all that falleth (to that his heart brast for our loue), against that fiend, the doughtie duke comforteth vs thus: "Estote fortes in bello," &c. "Be ye strong in battaile," he saies, "and fight ye with the old adder." "State in fide, viriliter agite," &c. "Wake ye and pray yee, stond ye in beleeue, do ye manly and be ye comfortet, and let all your things be done with charitie:" For Saint Paul bids thus in his Epistle, that saw the priuities of God in heauen: "Euigilate iusti," &c. "Awake ye that been righteous men, be ye stable and vnmoueable: Awake ye quickly and sleepe nought, and stond now strongly for God's law." For Saint Iohn in the Apocalips sayes: "Blessed be he that awakes: for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has behite the crown of life." "For the houre is now," as Paul saith to vs, "from sleepe for to arise, for hee that earlie awakes to me, he shall finde me, saith Christ himseluen." This waking ghostly, is good liuing out of sinne: this sleep betokens that which cowardeth a man's heart from ghostly comfort, and to stand in the same, thorough a deceaueable sleepe is this that lets a man of the blisse of heauen. The fiend makes men bold in sinne and ferd to doe worship to God. Death is a likening to a theefe that priuily steals vpon a man that now is riche, and full of wele; anon hee makes him a needie wreche. Therefore, said God, by Saint Iohn, in the Apocalips, in this wise: "Be thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a theefe, and thou shalt not wit what houre." "And if the husbandman" saies Christ, "wist what houre the theefe shoulde come, hee woulde wake and suffer him not to vndermine his house." Saint Peter therefore warneth and saith, "Wake and be yee ware, suffer yee no man," he sayes, "as a theefe, but willinglie for Gods loue;" "for it is time," as Peter saies, "that dome begin from the house of God." "Ye bene the body of Christ," sayes Poule, "that needs must suffer with the head, or els your bodies bene but dead and departed from Christ that is the head." "And therefore curset be he," saies Poule, "that loues not Iesu Christ." And who it is that loues him, Christ himselfe telles in the gospel, "Hee that has my hests, and keeps them, he it is that loues me." "Cursed he be therefore," says Poule, "that doth Christe's workes deceiueably." "Be ye not therefore," says Poule,

'ashamed of the true witnesse of Iesu Christ;" for Christ our God sayes in his gospel, "Hee that shames me and my wordes, him shall mans sonne ashame when he shall come for to set in the siege of his Maiestie. And each man," he sayes, "that knowes me and my wordes before men, in this sinefull generation and whorish, mans sonne shall knowledge him before my father," sayes Christ himself, "when he shal come with hys aungels in the glorie of his father." Sithe ye therefore bene Christen men, that is to say, Christes men, shew in deede that ye bene such as ye daren shew you the kings men; "for hit had bene," as Peter sayes, "better not to haue knowen the way of trueth, then after the knowing thereof to bee conuerted backward there from." We knowen Christ, that is trought, we sayn all through our beliefe, if we turne from him for drede, truely we denie the troth. And therefore sith our time is short, (how short no man knowes but God,) do we the good that wee may to Gods worship, "when we haue time." "Be true" (saies God) "to the death, and you shall haue the crowne of life." And thinke on Iudas Machabeus,[1] that was God's true knight, that comforted hartely Gods true people, to be the followers of his law. "And geue ye," hee said, "your liues for the Testament of your fathers And ye shullen winne," he said, "great ioy, and a name for euermore." "Was not Abraham," hee said, "in temptation founden true, and was [2]arectet vnto him euermore to righteousnesse; Ioseph in time of his anguish hee kept truely Gods hest, hee was made, by Gods prouidence, lord of Egypt, for his trouth. Phinees our fadure louing," hee saith, "the zeale of God, tooke the testament of euerlasting priesthoode. Iosue for hee fulfillet the worde of God was domes man in Israel. Caleph that witnessed in the church, he took therefore the heritage," he saith: "Dauid, in his mercie, he gat the siege of the kingdom in worlds. Hely for that he loued the zeale of Gods lawe, was taken vppe into heauen. Ananie, Azarye, and Misael," hee saies, "weren deliueret thoore through true beliefe out of the hot flame of fire. True Daniel in his simplenes was deliueret from the lyons mouthe. Bethinke ye therefore," he saies, "by generation and generation, and thou shalt neuer finde that he fayled that man that truely trusted ir him. And therefore dread you nought," he saies, "of the words of a sinfull man: his glory is," he saies, "but wormes and tordes:[3] hee is to day," he saith y made hie; "to morow," he saies, "he is not founden, for he is turned," he sayes, "into his earth againe, and the mind of him is perishet. Sonnes therefore" he saies, "be ye comfortet, and die manly in the law: for when ye han done that that God commaunds you to doe, ye shulen be glorious in him." And Dauid the king saies also on this wise in the Psalter booke: "blesset be they (Lord) that keepen thy law, in worldes of worldes they shall praise thee." And in Leuiticus sayes God thus: "gif that yee wenden in mine hestes and keepen my commaundementes, and done hem, I shal bring forth their fruit, and trees shall be fulfilled with apples. And ye shallen eate your bread in fulnesse, ye shoulen dwell in your land without drede, I shall giue peace in your costes, ye shal sleepe and no man shall feare you. Euill beastes I shal done away from you, and sword shal not passe your termes, ye shuln pursue your enemies, and they shall fall before you; fiftie of yours shulne pursue an hundreth of heren, an hundret of yours, a thousand of theirs: your enemies," he saith, "shulen fal through sword, and your sute. I shall" he sayes, "behold you and make you to waxe, and yee shall be multipliet: And I shall strength with you my couenant, ye shall eat the aldest, and the new shull come in thereon: and yee shuln cast forth the olde. I shall dwell in the midst of you, and I shal wend amonges you, and shal be your God, and ye shulne be my people. If that yee heare me not, ne done nought all my hestes, but dispisen my law, and my domes, and that ye done not the things that of me bene ordenet, and breaken my commaundements and my couenant: I shall doe these things to you. I shall visite you surely in nede and brenning, which shal dimme your eghenen, and shal wast your liues about nought: Ye shulne sowe your sede, for hit shal be deuouret of enemies; I shal put my face against you, and ye shall fall before your enemies. And ye shulden be vnderlinges to them that han hatet you, ye shall flee, no man pursuing. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I shall adde, therevnto, thornes, and seuenfold blame. And I shall all to brast the hardnes of you, I shall geue the heauen aboue you as yron, and the earth as brasse. About nought shall your labour be, for the earth shall bring you forth no fruit, ne tree

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[1Mac. ii. 50—64]

Daniel vi. 22.

Psalme cxix. 2.

Levit. xxvi.

(1) Rather, his father Mattathias: see Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Reckoned. [Supply 'it' before 'was arectet,' from the Maccabees.—Ed.
(3) Dung, see the Maccabees.—Ed.

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shall geue none apples to you. If that ye wenden against me, and will not heare me, I shall adde hereto, seuen fold woundes for your sinnes. I shall send amongest you beastes of the field that shall deuour you and your beastes, I shall bring you into a field, and wayes shuln be desart. And if that ye will not receiue lore, but wenden againste me, I will also wenden againste you, and I shall smite you seuen sithes for your sinnes. I shall leade in vpon you, sword, venger of my couenant: and vpon the fleen into cities, I shal send pestilence in the middest of you. So that ten women shall bake their bread in one furnace, and yeld them again by waight, and ye shall eat, and not be fillet. If that yee heare me not by these things, but wenden against me, I shall wend in against you in a contrarie woodnesse, and blame you with seuen plagues for your sinnes; so that they soulen eat the flesh of your sonnes and of your daughters. And insomuch my soule shall loth you, that I shall bring your cities into wildernesse, and your sanctuaries I shall make desart, ne I shall not ouer that receiue sweet oder of your mouth. And I shall disperple[1] your land, and enemies shulen maruel thereon, when they shulen inhabite it; I shal disperpel you among heathen, and draw my sworde after you." These vengeances and many mo, God said should fall on them that breake his bidding, and dispiseth his lawes, and his domes. Than sithe Christ become man, and bought vs with his heart bloud, and has shewed vs so great loue, and giuen vs an easie law, of the best that euer might be made, and to bring vs to the ioy of heauen, and we dispise it and louen it nought; what vengeance will be taken here on, so long as he has suffered vs, and so mercifully abidden, when Hee shall come, that righteous iudge, in the cloudes, to deme this world? Therefore turne we vs to him, and leaue sinne that hee hates, and, ouer all thinges, maintaine his law that he confirmed with his death. For other lawes that men had made, should be demed, at that day, by the iust law of Christ, and the maker that them made; and then we wonne that long life and that ioy that Poul speaketh of, "that eye ne see not, ne eare heard not, ne into mans heart ascended not, the blisse and ioy that God hath ordeined to them that louen him and his lawes."

The faithfull request of William Swinderby.

Deare worshipfull sirs, in this world I beseech you for Christes loue, as ye that I trow louen Gods law and trouth, (that, in these daies, is greatly borne abacke) that they wollen vouchsafe these thinges, that I send you written, to Gods worship, to let them be shewed in the parliament as your wits can best conceiue, to most worship to our God, and to shewing of the trouth and amending of holy church. My conclusions and mine appeale, and other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can find therin error, falsenesse, or default, prouet by the law of Christ clearly to christen mens knowledge), I shall reuoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law be amendet: euer readie to holde with Gods law, openly and priuily, with Gods grace, and nothing to hold, teach, or maintaine, that is contrarie to his law.

Of the process, answers, and condemnation, of this worthy priest, and true servant of Christ, William Swinderby, you have heard. What afterwards became of him I have not certainly to say or affirm; whether he in prison died, or whether he escaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certain relation made.[2] This remaineth out of doubt, that during the time of King Richard II no great harm was done unto him, which was to the year 1399,[3] at which time, king Richard being wrongfully deposed, Henry IV. invaded the kingdom of England; about the beginning of whose reign we read of a certain parliament holden at London, mentioned also by Thomas Walden, as is above specified, in which parliament it was decreed, that whosoever showed themselves to be favourers of Wickliff, who at that time were called Lollards, they should be apprehended; and if so be they did

(1) On "disperple" and "disperpel" (next line) see the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Foxe himself, however, supplies two subsequent notices of Swinderby, viz at pp. 135, 195, 196, from which it appears that he was still at large in January and March 1392.—Ed.

(3) The date which Foxe here assigns for the "time" of king Richard is 1401, although he gives the true date of the accession of Henry IV. at pp. 216, 221. But see the Appendix.—Ed

obstinately persevere in that doctrine, they should be delivered over unto the bishop of the diocese, and from him should be committed to the correction of the secular magistrate. This law (saith the story) brought a certain priest to punishment the same year, who was burned in Smithfield in the presence of a great number. This have we drawn out of a piece of an old story, and it is most certain that such a priest was burned there for the affirmation of the true faith, but it doth not appear by the story what the priest's name was: notwithstanding, by divers conjectures, it appeareth unto me that his name was Swinderby, who was forced to recant, before, by the bishop of Lincoln. Whereby what is to be conjectured by the premises, let other men judge what they think, I have nothing hereof expressly to affirm. This is plain for all men to judge, who have here seen and read his story, that if he were burned, then the bishops, friars, and priests, who were the causes thereof, have a great thing to answer to the Lord, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, et seculum per ignem.

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The Story and Process against Walter Brute, a Briton.[1]

See Appendix

After the story of William Swinderby, I thought good and convenient next to adjoin the acts and doings of Walter Brute, his joint fellow and companion, being a lay-man and learned, brought up as it seemeth in the university of Oxford, being there also graduate; the tractation of whose discourse, as it is something long, so therein may appear divers things worthy to be read and considered. First, the mighty operation of God's Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, his modest simplicity, his valiant constancy, his learned tractations, and his manifold conflicts sustained against God's enemies. On the contrary part, in his adversaries may appear, might against right; man's authority against plain verity: against which, they, having nothing directly to answer, proceed in condemnation of him against whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefest occasion that seemed to stir up the heart and zeal of this Walter against the pope, was the impudent pardons and indulgences of pope Urban VI., granted to Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, to fight against pope Clement VII., mentioned before, at page 51: secondly, the wrongful condemnation of the articles and conclusions of William Swinderby. The whole order whereof, in the process here following more plainly may appear.

The Process had by John, Bishop of Hereford, against Walter Brute, a Lay-man and learned, of the Diocese of Hereford, touching the cause of Heresy, as they call it; set forward by the way of the Bishop's Office, &c., at the Instruction of certain Faithful Christians, as he termed them, but in deed, cruel and false Promoters.[2]

In the name of God, Amen: To all manner of faithful christian people, that shall see and hear this our present process, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Hereford, sendeth greeting and continual charity in the Lord. We would that you all should know, that of late, by many faithful christian people, and specially zealous followers of the catholic faith, it was lamentably done us to understand, by way of complaint, that a certain son of ours going out of kind,

Murdering hearts lurking under loving words.

(1) The story of Walter Brute is not related in the first Edition. Ed. 1570, p. 566. Ed. 1576, p. 457. Ed. 1583, p. 475. Ed. 1596, p. 436. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 542.
(2) Ex registro Epis. Hereford.

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named Walter Brute, a lay person, learned, of our diocese, hath, under a cloaked show of holiness, damnably seduced the people; and, setting behind him the fear of God, doth seduce them as much as he can, from day to day; informing and teaching openly and privily as well the nobles as the commons, in certain conclusions heretical, schismatical, and erroneous, and also heretofore condemned: and they have also probably exhibited against the same Walter, the articles under-written, in manner and form as followeth.

Articles exhibited and denounced to the Bishop, against Walter Brute, by certain Priests and Friars.

Reverend father and lord! we, the faithful people of Christ, and zealous lovers of the catholic faith, and also your humble and devout children, do minister and exhibit to your reverend fatherhood the articles under-written, touching the catholic faith, contrary and against malicious persons, and detractors of the same faith, and the determinations of holy mother church; and namely against the child of Belial, one Walter Brute, a false teacher and seducer amongst the people: humbly beseeching, that you would vouchsafe to have regard to the correction of the enormities under-written, according unto the canonical constitutions, even as to your office pastoral doth lie and belong.

First Article. Imprimis, We do give and exhibit, and intend to prove, that the same Walter Brute, being unmindful of his salvation, hath been, by many and divers faithful christian people, sundry times accused of the cursedness of heresy, as by the swift report, slander, and rumour of the people, proceeding before the most reverend father and lord, lord William archbishop of Canterbury, and also before the reverend father and lord, lord John, late bishop of Hereford, your predecessor, and now bishop of St. Asaph, hath been testified; and also hath been many and divers times cited to answer unto articles by him against the catholic faith avouched, and openly and publicly taught. But he, in this matter of heretical cursedness (so grievously and shamefully spoken of), hath never regarded to purge his innocency; but lurkingly, and running into corners, hath many and sundry years laboured to advance things erroneous and schismatical, and also heresies, and to imprint them in the hearts of faithful people.

See Appendix.

Second. Item, The aforesaid Walter Brute hath openly, publicly, and notoriously, avouched, and commonly said and taught, and stubbornly affirmed, that every christian man, yea, and woman, being without sin, may make the body of Christ as well as the priest.

Third. Item, The same Walter hath notoriously, openly, and publicly, avouched and taught, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very body, but a sign and a memorial only.

Fourth. Item, The aforesaid Walter hath said commonly, and avouched, and also hath laboured to inform men and companies, that no man is bound to give tithes or oblations; and if any man will needs give, he may give his tithes and oblations to whom he will, excluding thereby their curates.

Fifth. Item, That such as do preach and prefer croised matters, and pardons (granted by the high bishop to them that helped the purpose of the reverend father lord Henry, by the grace of God, bishop of Norwich, when he took his journey upon him to fight for the holy father the pope), are schismatics and heretics; and that the pope cannot grant such manner of pardons.

Sixth. Item, The said Walter hath oftentimes said, and commonly avouched, that the pope is Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and utterly against the law and life of Christ.

Seventh. Item, Whereas, of late your reverence did, at the instance of faithful christian people, proceed in form of law against William Swinderby; and that the said William Swinderby had, unto the said articles objected against him, given up his answers in writing, containing in them errors, schisms, and heresies, even as you, with the mature counsel of masters and doctors in divinity, and other faculties, have determined and given sentence, and have pronounced the same William Swinderby to be a heretic and a schismatic, and an erroneous teacher of the people: nevertheless the aforenamed Walter hath openly, publicly, and notoriously, said, avouched, and stubbornly affirmed, that the said William's answers (whereof notice hath been given before) are good, righteous, and not

able to be convinced, in that they contain none error; and that your sentence beforesaid, given against the same William, is evil, false, and unjust; and that you and your assistants have wickedly, naughtily, perversely, and unjustly, condemned the answers aforesaid. *Richard II.* A. D. 1391.

Now, thereupon immediately, those same faithful christian people have instantly required, that we would vouchsafe that other articles given by the same faithful christians against the said William Swinderby,[1] together with the writings and answers of the same William thereunto, should be admitted against Walter Brute, mentioned of in this matter of cursed heresy; of which articles and answers the tenors do follow in these words. Otherwise bloody promoters.

Imprimis, That one William Swinderby, pretending himself priest, was of certain articles and conclusions erroneous, false, schismatical, and heretical, by him preached at divers places and times before a great multitude of faithful christians, judicially convinced; and the same articles and conclusions did he, enforced by necessity of law, revoke and abjure, some as heretical, and other as erroneous and false; and for such did he avouch them, ever afterward promising so to take and believe them, and that from thenceforth he would openly or privily preach, teach, or affirm none of them; nor that he should make sermon or preach within your diocese, without license demanded and obtained. And in case he should to the contrary presume, by preaching or avouching, that then he should be subject to the severity of the canons, even as he judicially sware, accordingly as the law enforced.

II. Item, the conclusions abjured by the said William do follow, and are such.

1. Imprimis, That men, by the rule of charity, may demand debts, but by no means imprison any man for debts; and that the party so imprisoning a body, is excommunicated.

2. Item, That if the parishioners shall know their curate to be incontinent and naughty, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, &c.

3. Item, That tithes are mere almosies; and in case that the curates shall be ill, they may be lawfully bestowed upon others by the temporal owners, &c.

4. Item, That an evil curate to excommunicate any under his jurisdiction for withholding of tithes, is naught else, &c.

5. Item, That no man may excommunicate any body, except that first he know him excommunicate of God; neither do those that communicate with such a one, incur the sentence of excommunication by any manner of means.

6. Item, That every priest may absolve every sinner being contrite, and is bound to preach the gospel unto the people, notwithstanding the prohibition of the bishops.

7. Item, That a priest, receiving by bargain any thing of yearly annuity, is in so doing a schismatic, and excommunicate.

8. Item, He doth assuredly believe, as he avoucheth, that every priest being in deadly sin, if he dispose himself to make the body of Christ, doth rather commit idolatry, than make Christ's body.

9. Item, That no priest doth enter into any house, but to handle ill the wife, the daughter, or the maid, and therefore, &c.

10. Item, That the child is not rightly baptized, if the priest, &c.

11. Item, That no manner of person if he live against God's law, &c.

III. Item, The same William, against the things premised and his revocation and abjuration, not to his heart converting, but from evil to worse perverting, did turn aside into our diocese, where, running to and fro in divers places, he hath of his own rash head presumed to preach, or rather to pervert, &c.

IV. Item, After that we had heard divers rumours, and slanders of very many, we directed divers monitions and commandments comminatory, to be sent abroad by our commissaries to sundry places of our diocese, that no person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he were, should presume to preach or to teach the sacred Scripture to the people, in places holy or profane, within our diocese, &c.

(1) These conclusions and articles of William Swinderby here repeated, and objected to Walter Brute, are to be found before, p. 110. [But article IV., as it stands there, is here divided into three, making the total number here XIX. instead of XVII. See Appendix.—Ed.]

Richard II. A. D. 1391.

V. Item, That the same sort of monitions, inhibitions, and precepts confirmed by our seal, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the said William.

VI. Item, The same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath sithens and against those monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, and (that which is more abominable to be spoken) in contempt of the high bishop's dignity, and to the slander and offence of many people, presumed in divers places of our said diocese to preach, or rather to pervert, and to teach, the forementioned and other heretical, erroneous, and schismatical devices.

Infandum facinus scilicet.

VII. Item, The same William, in preaching to the people on Monday, to wit, the first of August, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the church of Whitney, in our diocese, held and affirmed, That no prelate of the world, of what state, pre-eminence, or degree soever he were, having cure of souls and being in deadly sin, &c.

A perilous door to open.

VIII. Item, The same William in many places said and affirmed, in the presence of many faithful christian people, That after the sacramental words uttered by the priest, having the intent to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

IX. Item, That accidents cannot be in the sacrament of the altar without their subject; and that there remaineth material bread 'Concomitanter' with the body of Christ in the sacrament.

X. Item, That a priest being in deadly sin, cannot, by the power of the sacramental words, make the body of Christ.

XI. Item, That all priests are of like power in all points, notwithstanding that some of them are, in this world, of higher dignity, degree, or pre-eminence.

XII. Item, That contrition only putteth away sin, if a man shall be duly contrite; and that all vocal confession and exercise is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation.

XIII. Item, That inferior curates have not their power of binding and loosing mediately[1] from the pope or bishop, but immediately from Christ, &c.

XIV. Item, That the pope cannot grant such kind of annual pardons, because there shall not be so many years to the day of judgment, as are contained in the pope's bulls or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not so much worth as they are noised and praised to be.

XV. Item, That it is not in the pope's power to grant unto any penitent body, forgiveness of the pain, or of the trespass.

XVI. Item, That one giving his alms to any body, who, as he judgeth, hath no need thereof, doth sin in so giving it, &c.

XVII. Item, That it stands not in the power of any prelate, of what private religion soever he be, to give, by letters, benefits of their order; neither do such kind of benefits given profit them to whom they be given, for the salvation of souls.

A foul fault forsooth.

XVIII. Item, That the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath many times and often resorted to a certain desert wood called Derwalswood, of our diocese, and there, in a certain unhallowed chapel (nay, a profane cottage), hath presumed of his own proper rashness, to celebrate, &c.

XIX. Item, The same William hath also presumed to do the like things in a certain profane chapel, situate in the park of Newton, nigh to the town of Leyntwardyn, in the same our diocese.

Walter Pride promoter, or rather a proud promoter.

Which things being done, the same faithful christian people, and especially Sir Walter Pride, the penitentiary of our cathedral church of Hereford, personally appearing before us, sitting in our judgment seat in the parish church of Whiteborne of our diocese, brought forth and exhibited two public instruments against the same Walter Brute, in the case of cursed heresy aforesaid, of which instruments here followeth the tenors and articles in this sort.

The first Instrument exhibited by certain Canons of Hereford against Walter Brute.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it evidently known to all persons, by this present public instrument, that in the year from the incarnation, after the course

(1) See before, p. 112, note (1).—Ed.

and computation of the church of England, 1391, the indiction 14, and of the pontifical office of our most holy father and lord in Christ, lord Boniface IX. by God's wisdom pope, the second year, the fifteenth day of the month of October, in the dwelling-house of the worshipful man, Master John Godemoston, canon of the cathedral church of Hereford, in the presence of me, the public notary underwritten, and of witnesses subscribed, Walter Brute a layman, learned, of Hereford diocese, personally appearing, said, avouched, and stiffly maintained, that the said bishop of Hereford, and assistants who were with him the third day of the aforesaid month of October, the year of our Lord aforesaid, in the church of Hereford, did naughtily, wickedly, perversely, and unjustly, condemn the answers of Sir William Swinderby, chaplain, given by the same Sir William to the same lord bishop in writing, and also the articles ministered by the same Sir William.

Richard II. A.D. 1391.

Bishop of Hereford unjustly condemns the articles of Swinderby. *See Appendix.*

And, furthermore, he said, held, and avouched, that the same conclusions given by the same Sir William, even as they were given, are true and catholic.

Item, As touching the matters objected against him by them that stood by, concerning the sacrament of the altar; he said, that after the sacramental words there doth remain very bread, and the substance thereof after the consecration of the body of Christ; and that there do not remain accidents without substance or subject after the consecration of the body of Christ. And as touching this matter, the doctors hold divers opinions.

Matters objected against Walter Brute.

Furthermore, as concerning the pope, he said, held and avouched, that he is the very Antichrist; because that in life and manners he is contrary to the laws, doctrines, and deeds, of Christ our Lord.

The pope Antichrist.

All and every of these things were done, even as they be above-written and rehearsed in the year of our Lord, pontifical office, month, day, and place aforesaid, at supper time of the day aforenamed; then and there being present the worshipful and discreet men, Sir Walter Ramsbury, chief chaunter of the said cathedral church of Hereford, Roger Hoore, canon of the same church, Walter Wall, chaplain of the said church of Hereford (being a vicar of the choral), and certain other worthy witnesses of credit, that were specially called and desired to the premises.[1]

Witnesses against him.

And I, Richard Lee Whelar, clerk of Worcester, being a public notary by the authority apostolic, was personally present at all and singular the premises, whilst that, as is before rehearsed, they were done and a doing in the year of our Lord, 1391; pontifical office, month, day, place, and the hour aforesaid: and I did see, write, and hear, all and singular those things thus to be done, and have reduced them into this public manner and form; and, being desired truly to testify the premises, have sealed the said instrument made hereupon, with mine accustomed seal and name.

Richard Lee Whelar register and writer hereof.

Form of the second Instrument.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known to all persons, by this present public instrument, that in the year from the incarnation of the Lord, after the course and computation of the church of England, 1391,[2] the indiction fifteen, in the third year of the pontifical office of the most holy father in Christ and our lord, lord Boniface, pope, by the providence of God, the ninth, and in the nineteenth day of the month of January; Walter Brute, layman, of Hereford diocese, personally appearing before the reverend father in Christ and lord, lord John, by God's grace bishop of Hereford, in the presence of me, being a public notary, and one of the witnesses under-written, did say, hold, publish, and affirm, the conclusions hereafter written: that is to say, that christian people are not bound to pay tithes either by the law of Moses, or by the law of Christ.

Matters and conclusions ministered against Walter Brute.

Item, That it is not lawful for Christians, for any cause in any case, to swear by the Creator, neither by the creature.[3]

Item, He confesseth openly and of his own accord,[4] that within the same month of January, he did eat, drink, and communicate with William Swin-

(1) Ex Regist. Hereford. (2) A.D. 1392, according to modern computation.—Ed.
(3) This conclusion seemeth to be falsely collected, as were before the articles of William Swinderby. (4) This conclusion is not rightly gathered.

Richard II. A.D. 1392.

derby, not being ignorant of the sentence of the said reverend father, whereby the same William Swinderby was pronounced a heretic, schismatic, and a false seducer of the common people; which conclusions the same reverend father caused to be written, and in writing to be delivered to the same Walter, which when he had seen and read, he said also that he did maintain and justify them according to the laws aforesaid. These things were done in the chamber of the said bishop of Hereford, at his manor of Whiteborne of the said diocese of Hereford: there being then present the same bishop abovesaid, Master Reynold, of Wolston, canon of Hereford; Sir Philip Dilesk, parson of the parish church of Blamuwryn; [1] Thomas Guildefeld, parson of the church of English-Byknore;[2] John Cresset, parson of the church of Whiteborne; and Thomas Wallewayne, household servant; especially called and desired for witnesses to the premises; being of the diocese of Hereford and St. Asaph.

Witnesses against Walter Brute.

Benedict Come, register, witness and writer of this instrument.

And I, Benedict Come, clerk of the diocese of St. Asaph, public notary, by the apostolic authority of the diocese of St. Asaph, was personally present, together with the witnesses before named, at all and singular these and other things here premised, whilst they were so done and a doing; and did see, hear, and write those things so to be done, as is before-mentioned; and did write the same, and reduce them into this public form; and with my wonted and accustomed seal and name have sealed it, being desired and required truly to testify the premises.

At last, the aforesaid Walter Brute did present and cause to be presented to us (at divers places and times, assigned by us to the same Walter, to answer to the former conclusions and articles) divers scrolls of paper, written with his own proper hand, for his answers to the same articles and conclusions above written; he, partly appearing by his own self, before us sitting in our judgment seat, and partly by his messengers, specially appointed to that purpose; of which scrolls, the tenors do follow in order word by word, and be on this manner.

Certain Exhibits of Walter Brute, in writing, presented to the Bishop for his Defence.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. I Walter Brute, sinner, lay-man, husbandman, and a Christian (having my offspring of the Britons, both by my father's and mother's side), of the Britons have been accused to the bishop of Hereford, that I did err in many matters concerning the catholic christian faith, by whom I am required that I should write an answer in Latin to all those matters; whose desire I will satisfy to my power, protesting first of all, before God and before all the world, that like as it is not my mind, through God's grace, to refuse the known truth, for any reward, greater or smaller, yea, be it never so big, nor yet for the fear of any temporal punishment; even so it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous doctrine for any commodity's sake. And, if any man, of what state, sect, or condition soever he be, will show me that I err in my writings or sayings, by the authority of the sacred Scripture, or by probable reason grounded on the sacred Scripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his information. But, as for the bare words of any teacher, Christ only excepted, I will not simply believe, except he shall be able to establish them by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture; because that in the holy apostles elected by Christ, there hath been found error by the testimony of the holy Scripture, because that Paul himself doth confess that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthy to be rebuked [Gal. ii.] There have been errors found in the holy doctors, that have been before us, as they themselves confess of themselves. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error found in the teachers in our age, who are of contrary opinions among themselves; and some of them do sometimes determine one thing for truth, and others do condemn the self-same thing to be heresy and error. Which protestation premised, I will here place two suppositions or cases for a ground and a foundation of all things that I shall say; out of which I would gather two probable conclusions established upon the same, and upon the sacred Scripture. By which conclusions, when they shall be declared after my manner and fashion, it shall plainly appear what my opinion and judgment is concerning all matters that I am accused of. But because I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get me

Protestation made

No writer or doctor without his error, the Scripture only excepted.

Error in the doctors, and among the popish writers.

Brute modestly excuseth his learning.

(1) Llanwrin in Montgomeryshire.—Ed.
(2) Bykenor Anglicana, or Bicknor English, in Gloucestershire.—Ed.

under the mighty defences of the Lord: O Lord! I will remember thine only righteousness. *Richard II.*

A. D. 1392.

God the Father Almighty uncreate, the maker of heaven and earth, hath sent his Son, that was everlastingly begotten, into this world, that he should be incarnated for the salvation and redemption of mankind; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, everlastingly proceeding from the Father and the Son, and was born of Mary the virgin, to the end that we might be born anew. He suffered passion under Pontius Pilate for our sins, laying down his life for us, that we should lay down our life for our brethren. He was crucified, that we should be crucified to the world, and the world to us. He was dead, that he might redeem us from death, by purchasing for us forgiveness of sins. He was buried, that we, being buried together with him into death by baptism, and that we, dead to sins, should live to righteousness. He descended into hell, thereby delivering man from thraldom and from the bondage of the devil, and restoring him to his inheritance which he lost by sin. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glory of the Father, that we also should walk in newness of life. He ascended up to the heavens, to which nobody hath ascended, saving he that descended from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven. He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, until his enemies be made his footstool; he being, in very deed, so much better than the angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they. From whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, according to their works, because the Father hath given all judgment to the Son. In whose terrible judgment we shall rise again, and shall all of us stand before his judgment seat; and receive joy as well bodily as spiritually, for ever to endure, if we be of the sheep placed at the right hand; or else punishment both of body and soul, if we shall be found amongst goats, placed on the left hand, &c. First case or supposition.

Jesus Christ, the Son of God, very God and very man, a king for ever, by establishing an everlasting kingdom, 'breaking to powder all the kingdoms of the world' [Daniel ii.], 'a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec,' whereby also he is able evermore to save such as by him come unto God, and always liveth to entreat for us' [Heb. vii.]: he, 'offering one sacrifice for our sins, hath made perfect for ever by one oblation those that be sanctified' [Heb. x.] Being the wisdom that cannot be deceived, and the truth that cannot be uttered, he hath in this world taught the will of the Godhead of his Father, which will, he hath in work fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully instruct us, and hath given the law of charity, to be of his faithful people observed; which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithful with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be observed above all other doctrines, whether they be of angels or of men, because that he could not, nor would not err in his teaching. But in men's doctrine there chanceth oftentimes to be error; and therefore we must forsake their doctrines, if cloakedly or expressly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Men's doctrines being made for the people's profit, must be allowed and observed, so that they be grounded upon Christ's doctrine, or at least be not repugnant to his words. Second case or assertion.

If the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the servant of the servants of God, and the chief vicar of Christ in this world, do make and maintain many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesu Christ, then is he of those that have come in Christ's name, saying, I am Christ, and have seduced many a one, by the testimony of our Saviour in Matt. xxiv.; and the idol of desolation sitting in the temple of God, and taking away from him the continual sacrifice for a time, times, and half a time, which idol must be revealed to the christian people, by the testimony of Daniel, whereof Christ speaketh in the gospel; 'When ye shall see the abomination of desolation that was told of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, let him that readeth understand;' and he is the pestiferous mountain infecting the whole universal earth, as witnesseth Jeremy, chapter li., and not the head of Christ's body. 'For the ancient person in years, and honourable in reverence, he is the head: and the prophet teaching lies is the tail,' as Isaiah allegeth, chapter ix.; and he is that wicked and sinful captain of Israel, whose foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who shall take away Cidarim, and take away the crown, [Ezek. xxi.] to whom it was said, 'Forasmuch as thy heart was exalted, and thou didst say, I am a First conclusion. The pope an idol of desolation, sitting in the temple of God. If his laws be contrary to Christ, he is the pestiferous mountain infecting the whole earth. The pope the sinful

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God, and sittest in the seat of God, in the heart of the sea, seeing thou art a man and not God, and hast given thine heart, as if it were the heart of God; therefore, behold I will bring upon thee the most strong and mighty strangers of the nations, and they shall draw their swords upon the beauty of thy wisdom, and shall defile the commandments, and kill thee, and pull thee out; and thou shalt die in the destruction of the slain.' And it followeth, 'In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy merchandise, thou hast defiled thy sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire from the midst of the whole earth, and will make thee as ashes upon earth. Thou art become nothing, and never shalt thou be any more,' [Ezek. xxviii.] Furthermore, he is the 'idle shepherd, forsaking his flock, having a sword on his arm, and another sword in his right eye' [Zech. xi.], and who, 'sitting in the temple of God, doth advance himself above all that is called God, or whatsoever is worshipped,' by the testimony of Paul to the Thessalonians, second epistle, chap. iii.: 'And in the defection or falling away shall the man of sin be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth.' 'For every kingdom divided in itself shall be brought to desolation.' He is also, besides, 'the beast ascending up out of the earth, having two horns like unto a lamb, but he speaketh like a dragon;' and as 'the cruel beast ascending up out of the sea, whose power shall continue forty and two months.' He worketh the things that he hath given to the image of the beast. 'And he compelled small and great, rich and poor, free-men and bond-slaves, to worship the beast, and to take his mark in their forehead or their hands,' [Apoc. xiii.] And thus, by the testimony of all these places, is he the chief Antichrist upon the earth, and must be slain with the sword of God's word, and cast, with the dragon, the cruel beast, and the false prophet that hath seduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented world without end.

captain of Israel, spoken of by Ezekiel.

Anti-christ described.

The pope an idle shepherd.

The pope signifieth the beast horned like the lamb, ascending out of the earth.

Terrible Scriptures against the pope.

[Second conclusion.]

Rome, Babylon.

† If the city of Rome do allow his traditions, and do disallow Christ's holy commandments and Christ's doctrine, that it may confirm his traditions, then is she 'Babylon the great,' or 'the daughter of Babylon,' and 'the great whore sitting upon many waters,' with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become drunken with the wine of her harlotry, lying open to lewdness; with whose spiritual whoredom, enchantments, witchcrafts, and Simon Magus merchandises, the whole round world is infected and seduced; saying in her heart, 'I sit as a queen, and widow I am not, neither shall I see sorrow and mourning.' Yet is she ignorant that within a little while shall come the day of her destruction and ruin by the testimony of the Apocalypse, chap. xvii., because that from the time that the continual sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of desolation placed, there be passed twelve hundred and ninety days, by the testimony of Daniel [chap. xii.]; and the chronicles added do agree to the same. And the holy city also hath been trodden under foot of the heathen for forty-two months, and the woman was nourished up in the wilderness (unto which she fled for fear of the face of the serpent) during twelve hundred and sixty days, or else for a time, times, and half a time, which is all one. All these things be manifest by the testimony of the Apocalypse, and the chronicles thereto agreeing. And, as concerning the fall of Babylon aforesaid, it is manifest in the Apocalypse [chap. xiv.], where it is said, 'In one day shall her plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and she shall be burned with fire. For, strong is the Lord, which shall judge her.' And again, 'Babylon, that great city, is fallen, which hath made all nations to drink of the wine of her whoredom.' And thirdly, 'One mighty angel took up a mill-stone, that was a very great one, and did cast it into the sea, saying, With such a violence as this is, shall that great city Babylon be overthrown, and shall no more be found. For her merchants were the princes of the earth, and with her witchcraft all nations have gone astray, and in her is there found the blood of the saints and prophets.' And of her destruction speaketh Isaiah [chap. xiii.]: 'And Babylon, that glorious city, being so noble amongst kingdoms in the pride of the Chaldeans, it shall be that, like as the Lord did overturn Sodom and Gomorrah upside down, it shall never more be inhabited, nor have the foundation laid in any age, from generation to generation.' Jeremy [chap. li.], saith, 'Your mother that hath borne you is brought to very great confusion, and made even with the ground.' And again, 'The Lord hath devised and done as he hath spoken against the inhabiters of Babylon, which dwell richly

Twelve hundred and ninety days figured.

Fall of Babylon.

in their treasures upon many waters; thine end is come." And thirdly, 'Drought shall fall upon her waters, and they shall begin to be dry: for it is a land of graven images, and boasteth in her prodigious wonders: it shall never more be inhabited, neither be builded up in any age or generation. Verily even as God hath subverted Sodom and Gomorrah with their calves.' *Richard II.* A. D. 1392.

Pardon me, I beseech you, though I be not plentiful in pleasant words; for if I should run after the course of this wicked world, and should please men, I should not be Christ's servant. And, because I am a poor man, and neither have, nor can have, notaries hired to testify of these my writings, I call upon Christ to be my witness, who knoweth the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I have written after my fashion, to the profit of all christian people, and to the hurt of no man living, and am ready to be reformed, if any man will show me where I have erred; being ready, also (miserable sinner though I be), to suffer for the confession of the name of Christ and of his doctrine, as much as shall please him by his grace and love to assist me, a miserable sinner. In witness of all these things I have to this writing set the seal of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which I beseech him to imprint upon my forehead, and to take from me all manner of mark of Antichrist. Amen.

These two suppositions (as they are termed in the schools) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited unto the bishop, although they contained matter sufficient either to satisfy the bishop, if he had been disposed to learn, or else to have provoked him to reply again, if his knowledge therein had been better than his, yet could they neither of them work effect in him. But he, receiving and perusing the same, when he neither could confute that which was said, nor would reply nor answer by learning to that which was truth, finding other bye-cavillations, said, That this his writing was too short and obscure; and therefore required him to write upon the same again more plainly and more at large. Whereupon the said Master Walter, satisfying the bishop's request, and ready to give to every one an account of his faith, in a more ample tractation reneweth his matter again before declared, writing to the bishop in words and form as followeth.

Another Declaration of the same Matter, after a more ample Tractation, exhibited by Walter Brute to the Bishop.

Reverend father, forasmuch as it seemeth to you that my motion, in my two suppositions or cases, and in my two conclusions, is too short and somewhat dark, I will gladly now satisfy your desire, according to my small learning, by declaring the same conclusions; in opening whereof, it shall plainly appear, what I do judge in all matters that I am accused of to your reverence, desiring you, first of all, that your discretion would not believe that I do enterprize of any presumption to handle the secrets of the Scriptures, which the holy, and just, and wise doctors, have left unexpounded. It is not unknown to many, that I am in all points far inferior to them, whose holiness of life and profoundness in knowledge are manifold ways allowed. But as for mine ignorance and multitude of sins, they are to myself and others sufficiently known; wherefore I judge not myself worthy to unloose or carry their shoes after them. Do you therefore no otherwise deem of me, than I do of mine own self. But if you shall find any goodness in my writings, ascribe it to God only, who, according to the multitude of his mercy, doth sometimes reveal those things to idiots and sinners, which are hidden from the holy and wise, according to this saying, "I will praise and confess thee, O Father! for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast disclosed them to the little ones; even so, O Father! because it hath thus pleased thee." And in another place: "I am come to judgment into this world, that they which see not, may see; and that they which see, may be made blind." And Paul saith, "That God hath chosen

They that so humbly judge of themselves, and do not so carelessly continue, are of God.

Richard II.

A.D. 1392.

the weak things of the world, to confound the mighty; that no man shall boast in himself, but that all men should give the honour to God."

It was commanded to Isaiah [chap. vi.], bearing the type of Christ; "Go, and say to this people: Hear ye with your hearing, and do not understand? Behold ye the vision, and yet know ye not the thing that ye see? Make blind the heart of this people, and make dull their ears, and shut their eyes, lest that perchance with their eyes they should see, and with their ears they should hear, and with their hearts they should understand, and be converted, and I should heal them. And I said, How long, Lord? And he said, Until that the cities be made desolate without inhabitants, and the house without any person within it." Also in Isaiah [chap. xix.], thus it is written: "And the multitude of all nations which shall fight against Ariel, and all persons that have warred, and besieged, and prevailed against it, shall be as a dream that appeareth in the night, and as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, but when he shall awake out of sleep, his soul is empty. And like as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he shall awake he is still weary and thirsty, and his soul void of nourishment; even so shall it be with the multitude of all nations that have fought against the mount Sion. Be you amazed, and have great wonder; reel ye to and fro, and stagger ye; be ye drunken, and not with wine; stagger, but not through drunkennesss; for the Lord hath mingled for you the spirit of drowsiness. He shall shut your eyes, he shall cover your prophets and princes that see visions. And a vision shall be to you altogether like the words of a sealed book, which when he shall give to one that is learned, he shall say, Read here, and he shall answer, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the book shall be given to one that is unlearned, and knoweth not his letters, and it shall be said unto him, Read; and he shall answer, I know not the letters, I am unlearned. Wherefore the Lord saith, Forasmuch as this people draweth nigh me with their mouths, and glorifieth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, and they have rather feared the commandments of men, and have cleaved to their doctrines: behold, therefore, I will add besides, and bring such a muse and marvel upon this people as shall make men amazed with marvelling. For wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the understanding of the prudent persons shall be hidden." [Isaiah xxix.] And soon after it followeth in the same place: "Yet a little while and Libanus shall be turned into Carmel, and Carmel counted for a copse or grove;[1] and in the same day shall the deaf folks hear the word of this book, and the eyes of the blind (changed from darkness and blindness) shall see."

Nabuchadnezzar inquiring of Daniel, said, "Thinkest thou that thou canst truly declare me the dream that I have seen, and the meaning thereof?" And Daniel [chap. ii.] said, "As for the mystery whereof the king doth ask, neither the wise men, magicians, soothsayers, nor enchanters, can declare to the king: but there is a God in heaven, that discloseth mysteries, who will declare to thee, O king Nabuchadnezzar, what things shall come to pass in the last times of all." "To me also is this sacrament or mystery disclosed, not for any wisdom that is in me more than in all men living, but to the end that the interpretation might be made manifest to the king, and that thou shouldst know the cogitations of thy mind."

It was also said to Daniel [chap. xii.], "And thou Daniel, shut up the words, seal up the book, until the time appointed. Verily many people shall pass over, and manifold knowledge shall there be. And Daniel said to the man that was clothed with linen garments, who stood upon the waters of the flood: How long will it be before the end shall come of these marvellous things? And I heard the man that was clothed in linen apparel, who stood upon the waters of the floods, when he had lift up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and had sworn by him that liveth for evermore, that for a time, times, and half a time, and when the scattering abroad of the hand of the holy people shall be accomplished, then shall all these things be finished. And I heard and understood not, and I said, O my Lord! what shall be after these things? And he said, Go thy ways, Daniel, for this talk is shut and sealed up until the time that is before appointed."

(1) Libanus and Carmel, two hills; the one in Phœnicia, fruitful and pleasant, the other in the borders of Jewry, barren and unpleasant, which is Carmel.

Richard II

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All these things have I written to show that he that hath the key of David, "Who openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth," doth (when and how long it pleaseth him) hide the mysteries, and hide secrets of the Scriptures from the wise, prudent, and righteous; and otherwhiles at his pleasure revealeth the same to sinners, and lay-persons, and simple souls, that he may have the honour and glory in all things. Wherefore, as I have before said, if you shall find any good thing in my writings, ascribe the same to God alone; if you shall find otherwise, think ye the same to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt of error be showed me in all my writings, I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

But why are such manner of matters moved touching the disclosing of Antichrist in this kingdom, more than in other kingdoms, and in this time also more than in time past? The answer as concerning the time of the motion is, that it is the last conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, in the sign of the Twins,[1] which is the house of Mercury, being the signifier of the christian people: which conjunction seemeth to me to betoken the second coming of Christ to reform his church, and to call men again, by the disclosing of Antichrist, to the perfection of the gospel, from their heathenish rites, and ways of the Gentiles, by whom the holy city was trampled under foot for 42 months, even as the conjunction of the said two planets being enclosed in the side of the Virgin, which is also the house of Mercury, did betoken the first coming of Christ, for the salvation of all people that were perished of the house of Israel, whereby to call them, through the same coming, to the full perfection of the gospel. As touching this calling of the heathen, speaketh Christ in the gospel, "I have also other sheep that are not of this fold, and those must I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one sheepfold, and one shepherd." For although the Gentiles be converted from the infidelity of their idolatry to the faith of Christ, yet are they not converted to the perfection of the law of Christ. And therefore did the apostles in the primitive church, lay no burden upon the Gentiles, but that they should abstain from heinous things, as from things offered to idols, and from blood, and things strangled, and fornication. As touching this second coming speaketh Isaiah, [chap. xi.], "On that day the root of Jesse, which standeth for a sign or mark to the people, to him shall the heathen make their homage and supplication, and his sepulchre shall be glorious; and in that day shall it come to pass, that the Lord shall the second time put to his hand, to possess the remnant of his people," &c. "And he shall lift up a token toward the nations, and he shall assemble the runagate people of Israel that were fled, and those that were dispersed of Judah shall he gather together from the four quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim shall be broken to pieces, and the enemies of Judah shall come to nought." Paul to the Thessalonians saith, "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together before him, that you be not soon removed from your understanding, neither that you be put in fear, as though the day of the Lord were at hand, neither, as it were, by letter sent by us, neither by spirit, nor yet by talk. Let not any body by any means bring you out of the way, or seduce you, for except there shall first come a departing, and that the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall be disclosed, which maketh resistance and is advanced above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he doth sit in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God. Do you not remember, that whilst I was as yet with you, I told you of this? And now ye know what keepeth him back, that he may be uttered in his due time. For even now doth he work the mystery of iniquity; only that he which holdeth, may hold still until he be come to light; and then shall that wicked one be disclosed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming; even him, whose coming is, according to the working of Satan, in all power, with signs and lying wonders, and in all deceitful leading out of the truth towards those that do perish, because that they receive not heartily the love of truth, that they might be saved."

By this perfection I suppose he meaneth the reformation of the church being out of the way.

The revealing of Antichrist.

(1) In signo Gemini. Mark here, good reader, by this astronomical conjunction of these two planets, in Gemini, he meaneth covertly the schism between the two popes which lasted thirty-nine years; by which conjunction his meaning is, that God would have Antichrist to be disclosed, and his church to be reformed.

Richard II.

A. D. 1392.

Christ being demanded of the apostles what should be the token of his coming, and of the end of the world, said unto them, "There shall come many in my name, saying, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many:" also he telleth them of many other signs; of battles, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. But the greatest sign of all he teacheth to be this, "When you shall see," saith he, "the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, he that readeth let him understand." But Luke in chap. xxi. of his gospel, speaketh more plainly hereof; "When you therefore, shall see Jerusalem to be compassed about with an army, then know ye that the desolation thereof shall draw nigh." And afterwards it followeth, "And they shall fall by the face of the sword, and shall be led away captive to all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot of the heathen, until the times of the nations be fulfilled." Now in Daniel thus it is written of this matter; "And after seventy-two weeks shall Christ be slain, neither shall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the city and sanctuary, a people shall (with his captain that will come with them) destroy the said city and sanctuary, and his end shall be to be wasted utterly, till it be brought to nought; and, after the end of the war, shall come the desolation appointed. In one week shall he confirm the covenant to many, and within half a week shall the offering and sacrifice cease And in the temple shall there be the abomination of desolation, and even unto the end shall the desolation continue." And elsewhere, in Daniel, thus it is written, "From the time that the continual sacrifice shall be offered, and that the abomination shall be placed in desolation, there shall be one thousand two hundred and ninety days."

The abomination of desolation.

Destruction of the Jewish temple.

One thousand two hundred and ninety days, expounded

Now if any man will behold the Chronicles, he shall find that after the destruction of Jerusalem was accomplished, and after the strong hand of the holy people was fully dispersed, and after the placing of the abomination (that is to say, the idol of desolation of Jerusalem, within the holy place, where the temple of God was before,) there had passed twelve hundred and ninety days, taking a day for a year, as commonly it is taken in the prophets; and the times of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whose rites and customs God suffered the holy city to be trampled under foot for forty and two months. For although the christian church, which is the holy city, continued in the faith from the ascension of Christ, even till this time, yet hath it not observed and kept the perfection of the faith all this whole season; for soon after the departure of the apostles, the faith was kept with the observation of the rites of the Gentiles, and not of the rites of Moses' law, nor of the law of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Wherefore, seeing that this time of the error of the Gentiles is fulfilled, it is likely that Christ shall call the Gentiles from the rites of their Gentility to the perfection of the gospel, as he called the Jews from the law of Moses to the same perfection in his first coming; that there may be one sheepfold of the Jews and Gentiles, under one shepherd. Seeing, therefore, that Antichrist is known, who hath seduced the nations, then shall the elect, after that they have forsaken the errors of their gentility, come, through the light of God's word, to the perfection of the gospel, and that same seducer shall be slain with the sword of God's word: so that by these things it doth partly appear unto me, why that at this time rather than at any other time, this matter of Antichrist is moved.

Why at this time and in this kingdom rather than in another, Antichrist is moved.

The Britons first receiving the faith, by the special election of God.

And why this motion is come to pass in this kingdom rather than in other kingdoms, methinks there is good reason; because no nation of the Gentiles was so soon converted unto Christ as were the Britons, the inhabitants of this kingdom. For to other places of the world there were sent preachers of the faith, who, by the working of miracles, and continual preaching of the word of God, and by grievous passion and death of the body, did convert the people of those places; but, in this kingdom, in the time of Lucius, king of the Britons, and of Eleutherius, bishop of the Romans, did Lucius hear from the Romans that were infidels (by the way of rumours and tales), of the christian faith which was preached at Rome. Who believed straightways, and sent to Rome, to Eleutherius, for men skilful to inform him more fully in the very faith itself; at whose coming he was joyful, and was baptized, with his whole kingdom. And, after the receiving of the faith, they never forsook it, neither for any manner of false preaching of others, neither for any manner of torments, or yet assaults of the Painims, as in other kingdoms it hath come to pass. And

thus it seemeth to me the Britons, amongst other nations, have been, as it were by the special election of God, called and converted to the faith. Of them, as me seemeth, did Isaiah prophesy, saying; "For they did see, to whom there was nothing told of him, and they did behold, that had not heard of him." And, again, "Behold, thou shalt call a nation which thou knewest not; and nations that have not known thee, shall run unto thee; for the Lord thy God, and the holy one of Israel shall glorify thee."

Of this kingdom did St. John, in the Apocalypse, prophesy, as me seemeth, where he said, "The dragon stood before the woman, which was about to be delivered of a child, to the intent that when she had brought it forth into the world, he might devour up her son: and she brought forth a child, which was a man-child, who should govern all nations with an iron rod. And the same Son was taken up to God, and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared of God, that they may feed her one thousand two hundred and sixty days." And again, in the same chapter, "After the dragon saw that he was cast out upon the earth, he did persecute the woman, which brought forth the man-child. And there were given to the woman two wings of a great eagle, that she might flee into the wilderness into her place, where she is fostered up for a time, times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent. And the serpent did cast, as it were, a flood of water after the woman, to the intent that he might cause her to be drowned by the flood; and the earth, opening her mouth, did help the woman, and did swallow up the flood which the dragon did cast out of his mouth." Let us see how these sayings may be applied unto this kingdom rather than to other kingdoms. It is well known that this kingdom is a wilderness or a desert place, because the philosophers and wise men did not pass upon it, but did leave it for a wilderness and desert, because it is placed without the climates.

The calling of the Gentiles. The woman fed in the desert one thousand two hundred and sixty days.

Unto this place fled the woman; that is to say, the church, which by faith did spiritually bring forth Christ into the world, where she was fed with the heavenly bread, the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, for one thousand two hundred and sixty days, seeing that for so many days, taking a day for a year, the Britons continued in the faith of Christ; which thing cannot be found so of any christian kingdom, but of this desert. And well it is said, that she flew to this place. For from the East came the faith into Britain, not by walking in journey, nor yet by sailing; for then should it have come by Rome, Italy, Almaine, or France, which cannot be found: and therefore she flew over those places, and rested not in them, even as a bird, flying over a place, resteth not in the same, but resteth in this wilderness for a time, times, and half a time: that is, one thousand two hundred and sixty years, from the first coming of the faith into Britain until this present.

This place of the desert, in the Scripture, seemeth here something hardly expounded. Faith came into Britain from the East, not from Italy, or Rome.

In saying for a time, times, and half a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the less. The greatest time that we name, is one thousand years; there is a time; and the next time, that is less, in the singular number, is one hundred years. In the plural number, "times" signify that there be more hundreds than one, at least two hundred years. Wherefore, if they be put under a certain number, it must needs be that they be two; but the same two cannot fitly be called some times, except they be hundreds. For in this, that there is a going down from the greater to the less, when it is said a time, times, and half a time, and that the number of one thousand is likely assigned for a time, it must needs follow, that times must be taken for hundreds, and half a time for sixty, because it is the greater half of a hundred years though fifty be the even half.

A time, times, and half a time expounded.

And when the serpent sent the water of the persecution after the woman to cause her to be drowned of the flood, then did the earth, that is to say, the stableness of faith, help the woman, by supping up the water of tribulation. For in the most cruel persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian against the Christians, when Christianity was almost every where rooted out, yet did they, in this kingdom, stand continually in the faith unmovable. And so, considering that the Britons were converted to the faith of Christ, as you would say, by an election and picking out amongst all the nations of the heathen, and that after they had received the faith, they did never start back from the faith for any manner of tribulation; it is not to be marvelled at if, in their place, the

Persecution in Dioclesian's time swallowed up.

Richard II.

A. D. 1392.

calling of the Gentiles be made manifest, to the profiting of the gospel of Jesus Christ, by the revealing of Antichrist.

But besides this, me seemeth that Ezekiel doth specially speak of them, where he speaketh of the fall of the prince of Tyre, saying: "Forasmuch as thy heart is lifted up, as if it were the heart of God, therefore, behold, I will bring upon thee some of the strongest of the heathen; and they shall draw their naked swords upon the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy comeliness, and they shall slay thee, and pull thee out; and thou shalt die in the slaughter of the slain persons, in the heart of the sea."

This prince, who saith that he himself is God, and doth sit in God's chair in the heart of the sea, doth signify, as most likely it seemeth to me, that Antichrist shall be destroyed by the most mighty persons of the Gentile folk, through the sword of the word of God; because that amongst the other Gentiles there have been none more strong than the Britons, either in their body or their faith; and, in their bodily wars, there have been none more mighty than they, for never in wars have they been vanquished, but by their own sedition or treason. But how many kingdoms have they conquered! Yea, and neither by the most mighty city of Rome could they be driven out of their kingdom, until that God sent upon them pestilence and famine; whereby they, being wasted, were compelled to leave their country, which thing I have not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, have they been amongst all the people the strongest, as is before said, because that by no tribulation could they be compelled to forsake the faith.

A friend to the Welchmen.

The strong faith of the Britons.

Wherefore of them this seemeth to me to be understood: "Then will I bring upon thee some of the strongest people, and they shall draw their naked swords," &c. By these things it may plainly appear, why at this time, rather than in time past, this matter is stirred up; and why in this kingdom, rather than in other kingdoms, the calling of the Gentiles is treated of, to the verifying of the gospel, through the disclosing of Antichrist.

Tales of Antichrist.

But forasmuch as many tales and fables are told of Antichrist and his coming, and many things, which do rather seduce than instruct the hearers, are applied to him out of the Scriptures of the prophets, we will briefly write those things which are spoken of him, and we will show that the same fable sprang from the error of people imagining, and from no truth of the Scriptures prophesying. Now then they do say, that Antichrist shall be born in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, and conceived of the mixture of man and woman in sin, because that Christ was born of a virgin, and conceived of the Holy Ghost. They say, that he shall be an ill favoured personage, because that it is written of Christ, "Comely and beautiful is he, beyond the sons of men." They say, that he shall preach three years and half where Christ preached; and that he shall circumcise himself, and say that he is Christ, and the Messias, sent for the salvation of the Jews. And they say, that he shall three manner of ways seduce the people; by false miracles, gifts, and torments; so that whom he shall not be able to overcome with miracles or with gifts, those shall he go about to overcome with divers kinds of torments; and those that he shall seduce, will he mark with his tokens in their forehead or hands. He shall sit in the temple of God, and cause himself to be worshipped as God. He shall fight, as they say, with the two witnesses of Christ, Enoch and Elijah, and shall kill them; and he himself shall finally be slain with lightning. To this imagined man of their own imagination, but by none of the prophets foreshowed (at least in no such wise as this is), do they apply the prophets, as this of Daniel: "When the continual sacrifice shall be taken away, and abomination shall be placed to desolation:" that is, say they, when the worshipping of God shall be taken away, and desolation (to wit, Antichrist) shall abominably show forth himself to be worshipped, then shall there be twelve hundred and ninety days: that is to say, three years and a half: and this time do they say is the time, times, and half a time. And when it is said in Daniel, "Blessed is he that looketh for, and cometh to one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days," this, do they say, is thus to be understood: forty-five days of repentance to such as have worshipped Antichrist; which forty-five days added to the one thousand two hundred and ninety, make one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days; which days, they that shall reach unto, shall be called blessed.

A false imagination of Antichrist.

The Scriptur and prophets not rightly understood touching Antichrist.

They apply also to this Antichrist, this saying of the Apocalypse, "I saw a

beast rising up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, who had power given him to make forty-two months:" which months, as they say, do make three years and a half, in which Antichrist shall reign. And many other things there are told, and applied unfitly to this imagined Antichrist, that are not truly grounded upon the Scriptures. *Richard II.* A. D. 1392.

Now let us show the errors of this fable: first of all, if there shall come such a one (saying expressly that he is Christ), what Christian would be seduced by him, though he should do ever so many miracles? Neither shall he come after the manner of a seducer, who shall show himself an express adversary. Neither is it likely that the Jews can be seduced by such a one, seeing that Christ is not promised unto them of the stock of Dan by any of the prophets, but of the stock of Judah: nor yet is he promised to them to be a king warlike, but peaceable, taking war away, and not making war. For of Christ saith Isaiah [chap. ii.], "And in the last days, shall there be prepared the mountain of the house of the Lord, in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and to it shall all the nations have great recourse, and many people shall go and say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and he shall teach us his ways, and we shall walk in his paths. For out of Sion shall there go a law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and he shall judge the nations, and reprove much people. And they shall turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into scythes. There shall not a nation lift up itself against another nation, nor yet shall they be any more exercised to war." And again [Isaiah ix.], "A little babe is born to us, and a son is given to us, and his imperial kingdom upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called, the great Counsellor, the mighty God, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace. His empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of his peace. He shall sit upon the seat of David, and upon his kingdom; that he may make it steadfast and strong in judgment and in justice, from henceforth and for evermore." Zachariah [chap. ix.] doth say of Christ: "Rejoice thou greatly, O thou daughter Sion! be thou exceeding merry, O daughter Jerusalem! Behold, thy king shall come a righteous person and a Saviour unto thee, and yet he a poor man, and getting up upon an ass, even upon a young colt of the she-ass. And I will scatter abroad the chariot of Ephraim, and the horse of Jerusalem; and the bow of war shall be dispersed, and he shall speak peace to the nations, and his power shall be from the sea to the sea, and from the flood unto the borders of the earth."

Touching these forty-two months, see vol. ii. page 724.

The old imagination touching Antichrist, confuted.

Antichrist cometh not so grossly as the papists imagine.

By which things it is manifest, that the wise Jews knew well enough, Christ to be promised to them of the stock of Judah, and not of the stock of Dan; and that he was given all to peace, and not to war: therefore it is not likely that they can be seduced by such a one. But if there should have been, in time to come, some such singular Antichrist, then would Christ, seeing he loved his, have said somewhat unto them of him. Now, of one singularly, doth he not speak, but of many, saying, "Many shall come in my name, and say, I am Christ; and they shall seduce many persons." But now let us see, how the prophecies in Daniel, and in the Apocalypse, aforesaid, be falsely and erroneously applied to the same imagined Antichrist. For in Daniel [chap. ix.], thus it is written: "And after seventy-two weeks shall Christ be slain, and they which will deny him shall not be his people. And the city and sanctuary shall a people, with their captain that shall come with them, destroy; whose end shall be utter desolation, and after the end of the war a determined destruction. Now he shall in one week confirm his covenant towards many; and in the half week, shall the offering and sacrifice cease; and in the temple shall there be an abomination of desolation; and even to the fulfilling up of all, and to the end shall the desolation continue." It is plain and manifest that this prophecy is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome, with their captain, destroyed Jerusalem even to the ground, and the people of the Jews were slain and scattered. And the abomination, that is, the idol of desolation, was placed by Adrian, in the last destruction, in Jerusalem, in the holy place; that is to say, in a place of the temple. And from that time hitherto have passed near about twelve hundred and ninety days, taking a day for a year, as Daniel takes it in his prophechies, and other prophets likewise. For Daniel, speaking of the sixty-two weeks, doth not speak of the weeks of days, but of years. So, therefore, when he saith, "From the time that the continual sacrifice was taken away," &c.,

Christ cannot come of the tribe of Dan.

The abomination or idol of desolation, standing in the holy place.

Richard II A. D. 1392.

twelve hundred and ninety days must be taken for so many years, from the time of the desolation of Jerusalem, even unto the revealing of Antichrist; and not for three years and a half, which, they say, Antichrist shall reign. And again; whereas Daniel said, "How long till the end of these marvellous matters?" it was answered him, "For a time, and times, and half a time:" behold also, how unfitly they did assign this time, by three years and a half, which they say Antichrist shall reign. For whereas it is said "a time, times, and half a time;" there is a going downward from the greater to the less, from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to half a time. If, therefore, there be a going downward from the whole to the part, by the midst (which is greater than the whole itself), the going downward is not meet or agreeing. And this is done when it is said, that a time, times, and half a time, is a year, two years, and half a year. Wherefore, more fitly it is said, that a time, times, and half a time, doth signify twelve hundred and ninety years, as is before said in the chapter preceding. Thus therefore is the prophecy of Daniel falsely applied to that imagined Antichrist.

Anti-christ to reign only three years and a half, is false.

Likewise is the process of the Apocalypse applied to the same imagined Antichrist too erroneously. Because that the same cruel beast which came up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, to whom there was power given over every tribe, people, and tongue, and the power given for the space of forty-two months: this beast doth note the Roman emperors, who most cruelly did persecute the people of God, as well Christians as Jews. For when the condemnation of the great whore, sitting upon the many waters, was showed to John, he saw the same woman sitting upon the purple-coloured beast, full of the names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns, and he saw a woman being drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesu. And the angel, expounding and telling him the mystery of the woman and the beast that carried her, said, "The seven heads are seven hills, and are seven kings: five are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when he shall come, he must reign a short time. And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, who have not yet taken their kingdom, but shall receive their power as it were in one hour under the beast." And, finally, he saith, "The woman whom thou sawest is the great city, which hath the kingdom over the kings of the earth." And it is manifest that the city of Rome, at the time of this prophecy, had the kingdom over the kings of the earth. And this city was borne up and upholden by her cruel and beastly emperors; who, by their cruelty and beastliness, did subdue unto themselves, in a manner, all the kingdoms of the world, of zeal to have lordship over others, and not virtuously to govern the people that were their subjects, seeing that they themselves did lack all virtue, and drew back others from the faith, and from virtue.

Look before in the story of the ten first persecutions, vol. i. Apoc. xiii.

The purple beast in the Apocalypse meaneth Rome.

Wherefore that cruel beast coming up out of the sea, doth rightly note the Roman emperors, who had power over every language, people, and country. And the power of the beast was for forty-two months, because that from the first emperor of Rome, that is to say, Julius Cæsar, unto the end of Frederic, the last emperor of Rome, there were forty-two months, taking a month for thirty days, as the months of the Hebrews and Grecians are, and taking a day always for a year, as it is commonly taken in the prophets. By which things it may plainly appear how unfitly this prophecy is applied to that imagined Antichrist, and the forty-two months taken for three years and a half, which, they say, he shall reign in, against the saying of the prophets, because days are taken for years. As in the second chapter of the Apocalypse, "They shall be troubled ten days;" which do note the most cruel persecution of Dioclesian against the Christians, that endured ten years. And in another place of the Apocalypse it is written of "the smoke coming up out of the bottomless pit:" out of which pit there came forth grasshoppers into the earth, and to them was power given, as scorpions have power, to vex and trouble men five months. Now, it is manifest, that from the beginning of the friars minors and preachers,[1] to the time that Armachanus began to disclose and uncover their hypocrisy, and their false foundation of valiant begging under the poverty of Christ, were five months, taking a month for thirty days, and a day for a year: and to Ezekiel were days given for years. Wherefore it is an unfit thing to assign the

For the forty-two months, look before, page 724, vol. ii.

(1) The beginning and end of the valiant beggarly friars spoken of in the Apocalypse, expounded by Armachanus, see vol. ii. p. 756.

forty-two months, being appointed to the power of the beast, unto three years and a half, for the reign of that fantastical and imagined Antichrist; especially seeing that they do apply to his reign the twelve hundred and ninety days in Daniel, which make forty-two months, and in the Apocalypse they assign him forty-two months. It is plain that the psaltery and the harp agree not. And, therefore, seeing that it is sufficiently showed that the same fabling tale of that imagined Antichrist to come, is a fable and erroneous; let us go forward to declare whether Antichrist be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and must be opened and disclosed within a little while according to the truth of the holy Scripture, for the salvation of the faithful.

Whether Antichrist be already come.

And because that in the first conclusion of mine answer I have conditionally put it: Who is the Antichrist lying privy in the hid Scriptures of the prophets? I will pass on to the declaration of that conclusion, bringing to light those things which lay hid in darkness, because nothing is hid which shall not be disclosed, and nothing covered which shall not be known. And therefore the thing which was said in the darkness, let us say in the light; and the thing that we have heard in the ear, let us preach upon the house-tops. I, therefore, as I have before said, so say, that if the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the servant of God and the chief vicar of Christ in this world, do make and justify many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesu Christ, then is he the chief of many, who, coming in the name of Christ, have said "I am Christ," who have seduced many: which is the first part of the first conclusion, and is manifest; for Christ is called by the Hebrews the very same that we call anointed; and amongst them there was a double sort of legal anointing by the law, the one of kings, and the other of priests; and as well were the kings, as the priests, called in the law, Christs. The kings, as in the Psalm, "The kings of the earth stood up together, and the princes assembled themselves in one against the Lord, and against his Christ or anointed." And in the Books of the Kings very often are the kings called Christs; and our Saviour was Christ, or anointed king, because he was a king for evermore upon the throne of David, as the Scripture doth very oftentimes witness. The priests also were called anointed, as where it is written, "Do not ye touch my Christs;" that is, mine anointed ones, "and be not ye spiteful against my prophets." And so was our Saviour Christ "a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchizedec."

The pope proved Antichrist.

Anointing double in Scripture Kings and priests anointed.

Seeing then that the bishops of Rome do say that they are the high priests, they say also therein that they are kings, because they say that they have the spiritual sword pertaining to their priesthood, and the corporal sword which agreeth for a king's state. So is it plain, that, really and in very deed, they say that they are Christs, albeit that expressly they be not called Christs. Now, that they come in the name of Christ it is manifest, because they say that they are his principal vicars in this world, ordained of Christ specially for the government of the christian church. Therefore, seeing they say that really and in very deed they are Christs, and the chief friends of Christ; if they make and justify many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, then is it plain that they themselves in earth are the principal Antichrists, because there is no worse plague and pestilence than a familiar enemy. And if in secret they be against Christ, and yet in open appearance they say that they are his friends, they are so much the more meet to seduce and deceive the christian people: because a manifest enemy shall have much ado to deceive a man, because men trust him not; but a privy enemy, pretending outward friendship, may easily seduce, yea those that be wise.

Popes make themselves priests and kings. The pope maketh himself Christ, and cometh in his name; he proved Antichrist's outward friend, and privy enemy to Christ.

But that this matter may the more fully be known, let us see what is the law and doctrine of Christ, that ought to be observed by all faithful people; which being known, it shall be an easy thing to see, if the bishop of Rome do make or maintain any laws contrary to the law of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

I say then, that the law of Christ is charity, which is the perfect love of God and of Christ. This thing is plain and manifest. For Christ being demanded of a certain doctor of the law, "What is the greatest commandment in the law?" answered: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: this is the principal and greatest commandment. And as for the second it is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thine own self. On these two commandments the whole law and prophets depend." And in another place [John xiii.] Christ saith: "All manner

The law of love commended in the gospel.

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of things, therefore, that you would that men should do to you, the same also do you unto them, for this is the law and the prophets." And in the same chapter of John, Christ saith, "And now do I say unto you, I give you a new commandment, that you should love each other; as I loved you, in like manner that you also should love one another. In this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you shall have love one towards another." And John, chapter xv. "This is my commandment, that you love together as I have loved you. Greater love than this hath nobody, that a man should give his life for his friends." The apostle Peter saith, in his first epistle, chapter iv. "Above all things having continually charity one towards another; for charity covereth the multitude of sins. Be ye harbourers, and entertain ye one another without grudging; every one as he hath received grace, so let him bestow it upon another man, as the good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God. If any man do ought for another, let it be done with singleness and unfeigned verity, ministered of God to usward, that in all things God may be honoured through Jesus Christ our Lord." James, in his epistle, chapter ii. says, "If ye perform the royal law accordingly to the Scriptures, 'thou shalt love thy neighbour,' ye do well: but if ye be partial in receiving and preferring men's personages, ye work wickedness, being blamed of the law as transgressors." And again, "So speak ye, and so do ye, as ye should now begin to be judged by the law of liberty. What shall it avail, my brethren, if a man say he have faith, and have no works? Never shall that faith be able to save him. For if a brother or sister be naked, and have need of daily food, and some of you say to them, Go ye in peace, be ye made warm and satisfied; and if ye shall not give those things that are necessary for the body, what shall it avail? Even so faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself."

John, in his first epistle, chapter iii. "This is the tidings which you have heard from the beginning, that you should love one another." And again, "We know that we are translated from death to life, if we love the brethren: he that loveth not, abideth in death." And again, "Herein do we know the love of God, because that he hath laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. He that shall have the substance of this world, and shall see his brother have need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how abideth the love of God in him? My little children, let us not love in word nor tongue, but in deed and truth." And again, chapter iv. "Most dearly beloved, let us love together; for love is of God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love. In this thing hath the love of God appeared in us, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we should live by him. Herein is love; not that we have loved God, but that he hath first loved us, and hath sent his Son an atonement for our sins. Most dearly beloved, if God have loved us, we so ought to love together. No man hath seen God at any time; if we love together, God abideth in us, and his love is perfect in us." And again, "Let us love God, for he hath first loved us. If a man shall say, I love God, and do hate his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not? And this commandment have we of God, that who so loveth God, should love his brother also." Paul the apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, chapter xiii. "Owe ye nothing to nobody, saving that you should love together; for he that loveth his brother hath fulfilled the law. For thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not murder, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods; and if there be any other commandment, it is plentifully fulfilled in this word: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'" Wherefore the fulfilling of the law is love.

Paul to the Corinthians [chapter xiii.] saith, "If I should speak with the tongues of men and angels, and yet have not charity, I am become as it were a piece of sounding metal or tinkling cymbal. And if I have all prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, and shall have all faith, so that I might remove mountains, and yet shall not have charity, I am nothing. And if I shall give abroad all my goods to feed the poor, and shall give up my body to be burned, and yet have not charity, it profits me nothing." To the Galatians [chapter v.] saith Paul, "For you my brethren are called unto liberty: do ye not give your liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but by charity of the spirit

serve ye one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one saying: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thine own self." To the Ephesians [chapter iv.] he saith, "I therefore that suffer bonds in the Lord do beseech you, that you would walk worthy of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all humbleness and mildness, with patience, forbearing one another in love, being careful to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace: that you be one body and one spirit, even as you be called in one hope of your calling." And again, chapter v. "Be ye followers of me as most dear children, and walk ye in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered up himself for us, an offering and sacrifice to God of a sweet savour." To the Philippians, thus he speaketh, in chapter i. "Only let your conversation be worthy of the gospel of Christ, that either when I shall come and see you, or else in mine absence I may hear of you, that you stand steadfast in one spirit, labouring together with one accord for the faith of the gospel. And in nothing be ye afraid of the adversaries, which is to them a cause of damnation, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given, not only that you should believe in him, but also that you should suffer with him, you having the like fight and battle that you have both seen in me, and also now do hear of me. If, therefore, there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of charity, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels of compassion, fulfil you my joy, that you may be of one judgment, having one and the selfsame charity, being of one accord, of one manner of judgment, doing nothing of contention or of vain glory, but in humbleness accounting others amongst you, every one, better than yourselves; not every body looking upon the things that be his own, but on those that belong to others." And to the Colossians [chapter iii.] thus he writeth, "You, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, put upon you the bowels of mercy, gentleness, humbleness, lowliness, modesty, patience, bearing one with another, and giving place to yourselves: if any have a quarrel against any body, even as the Lord forgave you, so do you also. Above all things have ye charity, which is the bond of perfection, and let the peace of Christ triumph in your hearts, in which peace you also are called in one body; and be ye kind and thankful." And to the Thessalonians, thus Paul writeth, in his first epistle, chapter iv. "As concerning brotherly charity we have no need to write unto you; for you yourselves have learned of God, that you should love one another. And the same thing ye do towards all the brethren throughout all Macedonia."

Out of all these, and many other places of the holy Scripture, it sufficiently appeareth, that the law of Christ is charity; neither is there any virtue commanded by Christ, or any of his apostles, to be observed by the faithful people, but that it cometh out of charity, or else doth nourish charity.

Many things lawful by the old law, which be not so now

The law is given by Moses, and the truth by Christ. Christ came not to unloose the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them. But yet many things were lawful and might have been observed in the time of the law, which in the time of grace must not be observed; and many things were unlawful to them that were under the law, which in the time of grace are lawful enough. After what sort, then, he did not loose the law, but did fulfil it, it is necessary to declare, for those things which hereafter must be said. For amongst Christians many things are judged to be lawful, because in the former Testament in the law they were lawful: and yet they be expressly contrary to Christ's gospel. But the authors of such things do argue and reason thus: Christ came not to loose the law or the prophets. Now after what sort he did not unloose them, it is manifest by the holy Scripture; that the law given by Moses, was written in tables of stone, to declare the hardness of the people's heart towards the love of God, or of Christ. But Christ hath written his law in the hearts and in the minds of his; that is to say, the law of perfect love of God and of Christ: which law whosoever observeth, he doth observe the law of Moses, and doth much greater works of perfection, than were the works of the law. Thus, therefore, were the morals of the old law fulfilled in the law of the charity of Christ, and not unloosed; because they are much more perfectly observed, than by the Jews: this I say, if the Christians do observe the commandments of Christ in such sort, as he commanded the same to be observed. Christ hath fulfilled the laws moral of the Old Testament, because that the morals and judicials were ordained, that one person should not do injury to another, and that every man should have paid him that is his. Now they that are in charity, will do no injury to

How Christ did loose, and not loose the law.

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others, neither do they take other men's goods away from them; nay, she seeketh not her own things, for charity seeketh not the things that be her own. Wherefore much less, by a stronger reason, it ought not to seek for other men's goods. And when the judicials and morals were ordained, Christ did not, by the works of the law, justify the believers in him, but by grace justified them from their sins. And so did Christ fulfil that by grace, which the law could not by justice.

Free justification, by faith only.

Paul to the Romans, declareth in a godly discourse, and to the Galatians likewise, "That none shall be justified by the works of the law, but by grace[1] in the faith of Jesus Christ." As for the morals and ceremonies of the law, as circumcision, sacrifices for offences and for sins, first-fruits, tenths, vows, divers sorts of washings, the sprinkling of blood, the sprinkling of ashes, abstaining from unclean meats, which are ordained for the sanctifying and cleansing of the people from sin, no nor yet the prayers of the priests, neither the preachings of the prophets could cleanse a man from his sin. For death reigned even from Adam to Moses, and sin from Moses to Christ, as Paul declareth to the Romans. [chapter v.] But Christ, willing to have mercy and not sacrifice, "being a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec, and a high priest of good things to come, did neither by the blood of goats nor calves, but by his own blood enter in once into the holy places, when everlasting redemption was found: neither did Jesus enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true things, but into the very heaven, that now he may appear before the countenance of God for us. Nor yet he did so, that he should offer up himself oftentimes, as the high bishop entered into the holy place every year with strange blood (for otherwise he must needs have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world); but now, in the latter end of the world, hath he once appeared, by his own sacrifice, for the destruction of sin. And, like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that cometh judgment, even so was Christ once offered up to consume away the sins of many. The second time shall he appear without sin to the salvation of such as look for him." [Heb. ix. 24—28.] "For the law, having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image or substance itself of the things, can never, by those sacrifices which they offer, of one self-same sort continually year by year, make them perfect that come unto her: otherwise men would leave off offering, because that those worshippers being once cleansed should have no more prick of conscience for sin afterwards. But in them is there remembrance made of sins every year. For it is impossible, that by the blood of goats and bulls sins should be taken away. Whereas he, entering into the world, doth say, As for sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not have, but a body hast thou framed unto me: and sacrifices for sin have not pleased thee. Then, said I, Behold, I come: in the head, or principal part of the book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God. Wherefore he said before, that sacrifices, oblations, and burnt-offerings, and that for sin, thou wouldst not have, neither were those things pleasant to thee which are offered according to the law: then said I, Behold, I come, that I may do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first, that he may establish that that followed. In which will we are sanctified and made holy, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once. And verily every priest is ready every day ministering, and oftentimes offering the self-same sacrifices, which never can take away sins. But this man, offering one sacrifice for sins, doth for ever and ever sit at God's right hand, looking for the rest to come, till that his enemies be placed to be his footstool. For with one offering hath he for ever made perfect those that be sanctified." [Heb. x. 1—14.] By which things it plainly appeareth, that Christ, by one offering, hath cleansed his from their sins, who could not be cleansed from the same by all the ceremonies of the law, and so did fulfil that, which the priesthood of the law could not. Wherefore only the morals and judicials he fulfilled by the law of charity, and by grace; and the ceremonials, by one offering-up of his body on the altar of the cross. And so it is plain that Christ fufilled the whole law.

Christ enters not into the temple made by man, but into the very Heaven. His sacrifice not many times offered, but once for all.

Wherefore, since the holy things of the law were a shadow of those things that were to come in the time of grace, it were meet that all those things should utterly cease amongst Christians, which should either be against charity or the

(1) Grace, that is, the free favour mercy, and goodness of God.

grace of Christ. Although in the time of the law they were lawful, and not utterly contrary to it, but were figures of perfections in Christ's faith, yet it were meet that they should cease at the coming of the perfection which they did prefigurate; as circumcision, the eating of the paschal lamb, and other ceremonial points of the law. Whereupon also, Paul to the Hebrews, [chapter vii. 11—19,] saith thus, "If, therefore, the making up of the perfection of all, was by the Levitical priesthood (for the people received the law under him), why was it necessary [1] besides, that another priest should rise up after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For when the priesthood is removed, it must needs be that the law also be removed. For he of whom these things are spoken, is of another tribe, of which none stood present at the altar; because it is manifest that our Lord had his offspring of Judah, in which tribe Moses spake nothing of the priests. And besides this, it is manifest, if according to the order of Melchisedec there do rise up another priest, which was not made according to the law of the carnal commandment, but according to the power of the life that cannot be lost. For thus he beareth witness, That thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec: so that the commandment that went before, is disallowed for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof, for the law hath brought nobody to perfection." By which things it appeareth that Christ, making an end of the priesthood of Aaron, doth also make up a full end of the law belonging to that priesthood.[2] Whereupon I marvel that your learned men do say, that christian folks are bound to this small ceremony of the payment of tithes, and care nothing at all for others, as well the great as the small ceremonies of the law.

Where the priesthood is removed, there also the law is removed

The cause ceasing the effect also ceaseth.

It is plain, that the tithes were given to the sons of Levi, for their serving in the tabernacle and in the temple of the Lord, as the first-fruits were given to the priests, and also part of the sacrifices; and so were the vows of their ministry, as it appeareth in the Book of Numbers. [chapter xxii.] But forasmuch as the labour of those sacrifices did cease at the coming of Christ, how should those things be demanded, which were ordained for that labour? And, seeing that the first fruits were not demanded of Christians, which first fruits were then rather and sooner demanded than the tithes, why must the tithes be demanded, except it be therefore, peradventure, because the tithes be more worth in value than be the first fruits?

Secondly, Why are the lay people bound to the payment of tithes, more than the Levites and the priests were to the not having of possessions of realties and lordships amongst their brethren, seeing that the selfsame law, in the selfsame place, where he saith, that the tithes ought to be given to Levites, saith also to the Levites, "You shall be contented with the offering of the tithes, and have none other thing amongst your brethren."[3] Wherefore, seeing that the priests be bound to the not having of temporal lordships, how are the lay people bound by that law (of God, he meaneth, and not of man), to the payment of tithes?[4]

Thirdly, as touching circumcision, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the law, and was given before the law, and was an universal ceremony concerning the covenant between God and his people, and was so much regarded in the law, that thereof it was said, "The soul, whose flesh shall not be circumcised in the foreskin, shall perish from among his people:" yet did this ceremony utterly cease at the coming of Christ, although certain of the Jews did say in the primitive church, that the Christians must needs keep the commandment of circumcision with the faith; whom Paul reproveth, writing thus to the Galatians [chapter iv.], where he speaketh of the children of the bondwoman and of the free-woman, which do signify the two Testaments: "But we, O brethren, are the children of the promise after Isaac; but like as at that time he that was born after the flesh, did persecute him which was after the spirit, even so it is now also. But what saith the Scripture? Throw out the

Circumcision ceaseth: ergo, the ceremonies do cease.

(1) Bound, as a matter of religion, or as by the necessity of God's law, and not man's: but now tithes stand by man's law, and not by the old law.

(2) He meaneth, that necessity of tithes which standeth by the necessity of the old law, to cease.

(3) If tithes be claimed by force of the old law, by the same law priests are bound to have no temporalties.

(4) He proveth not contrary, but that tithes be due by the profitable law of man; although not by the ceremonial law of Moses.

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bondwoman and her son. The son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman. Wherefore brethren, we are not the sons of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye steadfast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath delivered you, and be not ye holden again under the yoke of slavery. Behold, I Paul say unto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. For I testify again, to every man that circumciseth himself, that he is bound to keep all the whole law. Ye are utterly void of Christ: whosoever will be justified in the law, are fallen from grace."

Christian liberty from the bondage of the law.

In like manner we may reason, if we be bound to tithing,[1] we are debtors and bound to keep all the whole law. For to say, that men are bound to one ceremony of the law, and not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either therefore we are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same old law, men are not bound to pay tithes,[2] it may be showed by many reasons, which we need not any more to multiply and increase, because the things that be said are sufficient. Whereupon some do say, that by the gospel we are bound to pay tithes, because Christ said to the Pharisees, [Matt. xxiii.] "Wo be to you Scribes and Pharisees, which pay your tithe of mint, of anise-seed, and of cummin, and leave judgment, mercy, and truth undone, being the weightier things of the law; both should ye have done these things, and also not have left the other undone. O ye blind guides, that strain out a gnat, and swallow up a camel." This word soundeth not as a commandment, or manner of bidding, whereby Christ did command tithes to be given; but it is a word of disallowing the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, who, of covetousness, did weigh and esteem tithes because of their own singular commodity, rather than other great and weighty commandments of the law. And me seemeth that our men are in the same predicament of the Pharisees, who do leave off all the ceremonies of the old law, keeping only the commandment of tithing.

Priests wrest religion to their own profit.

Tithes not expressly commanded anew by Christ in the gospel.

It is manifest and plain enough, by the premises and by other places of the Scripture, that Christ was a priest after the order of Melchisedec, of the tribe of Judah, not of the tribe of Levi, who gave no new commandment of tithing of any thing to him and to his priests, whom he would place after him: but, when his apostles said to him, "Behold we leave all things, and have followed thee, what then shall we have?" he did not answer them thus, "Tithes shall be paid you;" neither did he promise them a temporal, but an everlasting reward in heaven; for he, both for food, and also apparel, taught his disciples not to be careful: "Be ye not careful for your life what ye shall eat, or for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life of man more worth than the meat, and the body more worth than apparel? Behold ye the birds of heaven, which do not sow, nor reap, neither yet lay up in barns, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. And as for apparel, why should you be careful? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they labour not, neither do they spin," &c. In conclusion he saith, "Be not ye careful, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be covered? (for all these things do the Gentiles seek after;) for your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. First, therefore, seek ye for the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be cast unto you." [Matt. vi.] And Paul, right well remembering this doctrine, instructeth Timothy, [1 Tim. vi.] and saith thus, "But we having food, and wherewithal to be covered, let us therewith be contented." And, as the Acts of the Apostles do declare in the first conversion of the Jews at Jerusalem, "They had all things common, and to every one was division made, as need required." Neither did the priests make the tithes their own proper goods; for like as it was not meet that the lay people, being converted, should have propriety of goods, even so neither that priests should have propriety of tithes. So that if the priests started back from fervent charity, in challenging to themselves the propriety of tithes, it is no marvel of departing backward (as do the priests from the perfection of charity) also of the laity, to be willing to appropriate to themselves the nine parts remaining after tithes. Wherefore, seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the apostles, commanded to pay tithes, it is manifest and plain, that neither by the law of Moses, nor by Christ's law, christian people are bound to pay tithes; but, by the tradition of men, they are bound.

Tithes not required in the primitive Church.

Tithes due, to be paid by the law of men.

By the premises now it is plain, that Christ did not undo the law, but by grace

(1) "Bound in one thing;" he meaneth, bound in all: either bound to all, or to none.
(2) Here he expresseth his meaning plainly.

did fulfil it. Notwithstanding, in the law many things were lawful, which in the time of grace are forbidden; and many things were then unlawful which now are lawful enough. For nothing that is contrary to charity, is lawful to a Christian.

Let us now hear what manner of commandments Christ hath given us in the gospel, without the observation of which commandments, charity shall not perfectly be kept; by which commandments Christ did not undo the old law, but did fulfil it; by the observation also of which commandments, he teacheth us to pass and go beyond the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, who thought themselves to keep the law most perfectly. This absolute and perfect righteousness, which we are bound to have beyond the righteousness of the Pharisees and the Scribes, he teacheth in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of Matthew, which being heard and compared with the traditions made and commanded by the Roman prelates, it shall plainly appear, whether they be contrary or no. Christ therefore saith: "You have heard, that it was said to them of the old time, Thou shalt not kill; for he that killeth shall be guilty of judgment. But I say unto you, that every one that is angry with his brother shall be in danger of judgment." [Matt. v. 21, 22.] In this he doth teach that we ought not to be angry with our brethren; not that he would undo this old commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," but the same should be the more perfectly observed. Again he saith: "You have heard that it was said, thou shalt love thy friend, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies, do well to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute and slander you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; which maketh his sun to arise upon the good and the evil people, and raineth upon the just and unjust. For if you love them which love you, what reward shall you have? do not the publicans thus? And if you shall salute your brethren only, what great thing do ye? do not the heathen thus also? Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect." [Matt. v. 43—48.]

Doctrine of Christ, whether it be contrary to the traditions of the pope or not.

Again Christ saith: "You have heard that it is said, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, see that you resist not evil; but if any man shall strike you upon the right cheek, give him the other too. And to him that will strive with thee for thy coat in judgment, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall constrain thee one mile, go with him also two others. He that asketh of thee, give him; and he that will borrow of thee, turn not thyself from him." [Matt. vi. 38—42.]

By these things it may plainly appear how that Christ, the king of peace, the Saviour of mankind, who came to save, and not to destroy, who gave a law of charity to be observed by his faithful people, hath taught us not to be angry, not to hate our enemies, nor to render evil for evil, nor to resist evil: for all these things do foster and nourish peace and charity, and do proceed and come forth of charity; and when they be not kept, charity is loosed, and peace is broken. But the bishop of Rome approveth and alloweth wars, and slaughters of men in war, as well against our enemies, that is, the infidels, as also against the Christians, for temporal goods. Now, these things are quite contrary to Christ's doctrine, and to charity, and to peace.

Doctrine of Christ and of the pope compared.

In the decree 23. q. 1. cap. "Paratus," it is taught, that the precepts of patience must always be retained in purpose of the heart; so that patience, with benevolence, must be kept in the mind secret. But apparently and manifestly that thing should be done which seemeth to do good to those, whom we ought to wish well unto; wherein they give to understand, that a Christian may freely defend himself. And for confirmation of this saying they do say, that Christ, when he was stricken on the face by the high bishop's servant, did not fulfil, if we look upon the words, his own commandment; because he gave not to the smiter the other part, but rather did forbid him, that he should not do it, to double his injury. For he said, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why dost thou strike me?"[1] I do marvel of this saying, for, first, if those commandments of patience must be kept in secret in the mind, and seeing the body doth work at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to

Gloss of Gratianus disproved.

[Decreti Pars II. Causa xxiii. quæst. i. cap. 2.]

(1) Christ, in answering to his striker, did not break his rule of patience outwardly. The precept of Christ to turn the other cheek, hath a privy comparison; as if he would say, rather be you content to suffer two blows, than to revenge one

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be moved and ruled by the same, it must then needs be, that if patience be in the mind, it must appear also outwardly in the body.

Secondly, I marvel that it is said, that Christ did not fulfil his own precept of patience: for it is manifest, that albeit he, teaching always as a good school-master those things which were fit for the salvation of souls, speaking the wholesome word of instruction to the high bishop's servant smiting him unjustly, did neither by word forbid another stroke to be given on the other cheek, neither did he defend himself bodily from striking on the same cheek; but, speaking to him, it is likely that he gave him the other cheek; he meaneth, that he turned not the other cheek away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he speaketh to, or whom he informeth; but layeth open before him all his face: even so do I believe that Christ did, that he might fulfil in very deed that which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Christ, by his word, or by his deed, show any thing of defence, or of bodily resistance.

This article of Brute must have a relation to the doctrine of the clergy.

Thirdly, I marvel why wise men, leaving the plain and manifest doctrine of Christ,[1] whereby he teacheth patience, do seek corners of their own imagining, to the intent they may approve fightings and wars. Why mark they not after what manner Christ spake to Peter, striking the high bishop's servant, saying, "Put up thy sword into the sheath, for every one that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword?" But in another case we must make resistance; which case may be so righteous, as it is for a man's lord and master being a most righteous man, and yet suffering injury of mischievous persons.

War in case allowed.

Fourthly, I marvel, seeing that we are bound of charity, and by the law of Christ, to give our lives for our brethren, how they can allow such manner of dissensions and resisting;[2] for when thy brother shall maliciously strike thee, thou mayest be sure, that he is manifestly fallen from charity, into the snare of the devil. If thou shalt keep patience, he shall be ashamed of his doing, and thou mayest bow and bend him to repentance, and take him out from the snare of the devil, and call him back again to charity. If thou resist, and perchance by resistance doth strike again, his fury shall be the more kindled, and he, being stirred up to greater wrath, peradventure shall either slay thee, or thou him. Touching thyself, thou art uncertain, if thou go about to make resistance, whether thou shalt fall from charity, and then shalt thou go backward from the perfection of Christ's commandment. Neither dost thou know but that it may happen thee so greatly to be moved, as that, by the heat and violence of wrath, thou shalt slay him. Whereas, if thou wouldst dispose thyself to patience, as Christ teacheth, thou shouldst easily avoid all these mischiefs, as well on the behalf of thy brother, as also of thine own part. Wherefore the observing of charity, as the precept of patience, is to be observed.

Patience commended in private causes amongst Christians.

Fifthly, I do marvel why, for the allowing of this corporal resistance, he doth say in the same chapter, that Paul did not fulfil the precept of the patience of Christ, when he, being stricken in the place of judgment by the commandment of the high priest, did say, "God strike thee, O thou painted wall: dost thou sit to judge me according to the law, and dost thou command me to be stricken against the law?" It is manifest that Paul made resistance in nothing, though he spake a word of instruction to the priest, who against the law commanded him to be stricken. And if Paul had overpassed the bounds of patience, through the grief of the stroke, what of that? Must the deed of Paul's impatience for this cause be justified, and the commandment of patience taught by Christ be left undone for Paul's deed, and corporal resistance be allowed? God forbid. For both Paul and Peter might err; but in the doctrine of Christ there may be found no error. Wherefore we must give more credence and belief to Christ's sayings, than to any living man's doings. Wherefore, although Paul had resisted, which I do not perceive in that Scripture, it followeth not thereof, that corporal resistance must be approved, which is of Christ expressly forbidden. I much marvel that always they seek corners and shadows to justify their deeds. Why do they not mark what great things Paul reciteth himself to have suffered for Christ? and where, I pray you, have they found that he, after his conversion, struck any man that did hurt him? or where do they find that he in express words doth teach such a kind of corporal resistance? But, as touching patience, he saith in plain words to the Romans, [chap. xii. 16—21,] "Be not wise in

Paul being stricken did not break the rule of christian patience, neither made any bodily resistance.

The fact either of Paul or of any other, doth not derogate from the doctrine of our Saviour.

(1) The cause here again of Christ was private, and his doctrine is to be understood in private cases. (2) He meaneth resistance for private causes, or for worldly goods.

your own conceits: render ill for ill to nobody; providing good things not only before God, but also before all men, if it be possible. Be at peace with all folks, as much as in you lieth; not defending yourselves, my most dearly beloved, but give you place unto anger: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; and I will recompense them, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy shall be an hungered, give him meat; if he be athirst, give him drink: for thus doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome thou evil with good."

To the Corinthians [1 Cor. vi.], as touching judgment and contention,[1] which are matters of less weight than are fightings, thus he writeth: "Now verily there is great fault in you, that you be at law amongst yourselves: why rather take ye not wrong? why rather suffer ye not deceit?" And generally, in all his epistles, he teacheth that patience should be kept, and not corporal resistance by fighting, because charity is patient, it is courteous, it suffereth all things. I marvel how they justify and make good the wars by Christians, saving only the wars against the devil and sin; for, seeing that it is plain that those things which were in the Old Testament were figures of things to be done in the New Testament, therefore, we must needs say, that the corporal wars being then done, were figures of the christian wars against sin and the devil, for the heavenly country, which is our inheritance. It is plain that it was written thus by Christ: "The mighty Lord, and of great power in battle, hath girded himself in force and manliness to the war; and he came not to send peace into the earth, but war." In this war ought christian people to be soldiers, according to that manner which Paul teacheth to the Ephesians, [chap. vi. 11—17.] "Put upon you the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For we have not to wrestle against flesh and blood, but against princes and potestates, against the rulers of the darkness of the world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, which are in the high places. Wherefore take ye the armour of God, that ye may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand perfectly in all things. Stand you, therefore, girded about with truth upon your loins, having put upon you the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod in a readiness to the gospel of peace; in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fiery darts of that wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."

Corporal wars in the Old Testament, be figures of the spiritual wars in the New Testament against sin and the devil

By these things it is plain, what are the wars of Christians, and what are the weapons of their warfare. And because it is manifest, that this testament is of greater perfection than the former, we must now fight more perfectly than at that time: for now spiritually, then corporally; now for an heavenly everlasting inheritance, then for an earthly and temporal; now by patience, then by resistance. For Christ saith, "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven." [Mat. v. 10.] He saith not, Blessed are they that fight for righteousness.[2] How can a man say that they may lawfully make war and kill their brethren for the temporal goods, which peradventure they unjustly occupy, or unjustly intend to occupy? for he that killeth another to get those goods which another body unjustly occupieth, doth love more the very goods than his own brother; and then he, falling from charity, doth kill himself spiritually: if he go forward without charity to make war, then doth he evil, and to his own damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor justly in proceeding to the damnation of his own self and his brother, whom, though he seem unjustly to occupy his goods, yet he doth intend to kill. And what if such kind of wars[3] were lawful to the Jews? this argueth not, that now they are lawful to Christians: because their deeds were in a shadow of perfection, but the deeds of Christians in the light of perfection. It was not said unto them, "All people that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword." What if John the Baptist disallowed corporal fightings, and corporal [illegible] at such time as the soldiers asked him, saying, "And what shall we do?" he saith to them, "See that you strike no man, neither pick ye quarrels against any, and be ye contented with your wages." This saying of John

What be the wars most proper to Christians.

Note this word, without charity.

How John Baptist allowed war.

(1) He meaneth such wars of Christians, as the Pope alloweth, rising rather from private revenge of princes, for worldly glory or affection, than for any public necessity.

(2) But this taketh not away the lawfulness of wars in case of public necessity, but only in private cause for temporal goods.

(3) "Such kind of wars," that is, such kind as be for private revenge of temporal goods

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alloweth not corporal warfare amongst Christians; for John was of the priests of the Old Testament, and under the law; neither to him it appertaineth, not to follow the law, but to warn the people to the perfect observation of the law: for he, being likewise demanded by the publicans what they should do, said unto them, "Do no other thing than is appointed unto you." But Christ, the author of the New Testament and of greater perfection than was the perfection of the old law, gave new things, as it plainly appeareth by the gospel; so that Christians ought to receive information from Christ, not from John. For of John also doth Christ speak, "Verily I say unto you, there hath not risen amongst the children of women, a greater than John Baptist; but he that is least in the kingdom of Heaven is greater than he:" in which saying, Christ showeth that those that be least in the kingdom of Heaven in the time of grace, are placed in greater perfection than was John, who was one of them that were the elders; and he lived also in the time of the law in greater perfection. And when certain of John's disciples said unto him, "Master, he that was beyond Jordan, to whom thou gavest witness, behold, he baptizeth, and all people come unto him:" John answered and said, "A man cannot take any thing upon him, unless it shall be given him from above. You yourselves do bear me record, that I said, I am not Christ, but that I was sent before him. He that hath the bride, is the bridegroom; as for the bridegroom's friend, who standeth and heareth him, he rejoiceth with great joy to hear the voice of the bridegroom. This therefore my joy is fulfilled; he must increase, and I must be diminished. He that cometh from on high, is above all; he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from Heaven, is above all folks; that which he hath seen and heard, the same doth he witness, and yet his witnessing doth no body receive. But he that receiveth his witnessing, hath put to his seal, that God is true. For he whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God."

They that be least in the kingdom of Heaven, greater than John Baptist, expounded.

By which things it plainly appeareth, that credence is to be given neither to John, nor yet to an angel, if he teach any thing that is not agreeable to Christ's doctrine. For Christ is above the angels, because God infinitely passeth them in wisdom. Now, if Moses the servant of God, a minister of the Old Testament, was so much to be believed, that nothing could be added to, nor yet any thing diminished from, the commandments that were given by him (for so Moses had said, "The thing that I command thee, that do thou only to the Lord, neither add thou any thing, nor diminish,") how much more ought we not to add nor to take away from the commandments given by God himself, and also the Son of God? In the primitive church, because the Christians had fervent love and charity, they observed these precepts as they were given; but their fervent charity afterwards waxing lukewarm, they invented glosses, by drawing the commandments of God back to their own deeds, which they purposed to justify and maintain; that is to say, wars against the infidels.[1] But that they, by wars, should be converted to the faith, is a fact faithless enough: because that by violence, or unwillingly, nobody can believe in Christ, nor be made a Christian, neither did he come to destroy them by battle that believed not in him; for he said to his disciples, "You know not what spirit you are of. The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Then, to grant pardons and forgiveness of sins to those that kill the infidels, is too much an infidel's fact, seducing many people; for what greater seducing can there be, than to promise to a man forgiveness of sins, and afterwards the joy of Heaven, for setting himself against Christ's commandments in the killing of the infidels, that would not be converted to the faith? whereas Christ doth say, "Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven, this person shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven." Now the will of the Father is, that we should believe in his only Son Jesus Christ, and that we should obey him by observing of those things which he himself hath commanded. Wherefore Christ's precepts of patience must be fulfilled; wars, fightings, and contentions must be left, because they are contrary to charity.

But peradventure some man will thus reason against Christ: "The saints, by whom God hath wrought miracles, do allow wars as well against the faithful

Objection.

(1) He meaneth those wars against infidels, stirred up and procured by the pope, upon blind superstition, to fight for the Holy Land, and not taken by princes in the necessary defence of themselves and of their country.

people, as also against the infidels; and the holy kings were warriors, for whose sakes miracles also have been showed, as well in their death, as also in their life, yea in the very time wherein they were at warfare: wherefore it seemeth that their facts were good and lawful; for, otherwise, God would not have done miracles for them." *Richard II.* A. D. 1392.

Answer. Legibus agendum non exemplis.

To this again I say, that we for no miracles must do contrary to the doctrines of Christ, for in it can there be no error; but in miracles there oftentimes chanceth error,[1] as it is plain as well by the Old, as by the New Testament. God forbid then that a Christian should, for deceivable miracles, depart from the infallible doctrine of Christ. In Exodus [chapter vii.] it is manifest, how that the wicked wise men of the Egyptians, through the enchantments of Egypt, and certain secret workings, threw their wands upon the earth, which were turned into dragons; even as Aaron, before time, in the presence of Pharaoh, threw his wand upon the earth, which, by the power of God, was turned into a serpent. In the first book of Kings, [chapter xxii.] Micaiah did see the Lord "sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing about him on the right hand and on the left. And the Lord said, Who shall deceive Ahab the king of Israel, that he may go up and be slain in Ramoth-gilead? And one said this way, and another otherwise. Now there went forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will deceive him. To whom the Lord spake: By what means? And he said, I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said, Thou shalt deceive him and prevail: go thy ways forth, and do even so." Thus also it is written in Deuteronomy: "If there shall arise a prophet amongst you, or one that shall say, he hath seen a dream, and shall foretell a sign and a wonder; and if that shall come to pass that he hath spoken, and he shall say unto thee, Let us go and follow strange gods (whom thou knowest not), and let us serve them, thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet or dreamer; for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it known whether ye love him or no, with all your heart, and with all your soul."

Ahab deceived by false prophets.

In Jeremy, [chap. xxiii.], "Are not my words even like fire, saith the Lord? and like a hammer that breaketh the stone?" "Therefore, behold, I will come against the prophets which have dreamed a lie, saith the Lord, which have showed those things, and have seduced the people through their lies and their miracles, when I sent them not, neither commanded them; which have brought no profit unto this people, saith the Lord." In Mark [chapter xiii.], saith Christ, "For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, to deceive, if it were possible, even the very elect." Paul [2 Cor. xi.], "Such false apostles are deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ. And no marvel, for even Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing though his ministers transform themselves, as though they were the ministers of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works."

Prophets must be tried by doctrine.

False prophets.

In the Apocalypse [chapter xiii.], John saw "a beast ascending up out of the earth, and it had two horns like a lamb, but he spake like the dragon, and he did all that the first beast could do before him; and he caused the earth and the inhabitants thereof to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, so that he made fire come down from heaven on the earth, in the sight of men, and deceived them that dwell on the earth, by means of the signs which were permitted to him to do in the sight of the beast."

By these things it is most manifest and plain, that in miracles this manifold error oftentimes happeneth, through the working of the devil, to deceive the people withal; wherefore we ought not for the working of miracles, to depart from the commandments of God. I would to God that they who put confidence in miracles, would give heed unto the word of Christ, in thus speaking [Matthew, chap. vii.], "Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied? and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many great works?" &c. "I will profess unto them, I never knew you, depart from me, all ye which work iniquity."

Miracles are to be tried.

By this saying it is most manifest that the servants of Christ are not discerned by

(1) True miracles here of holy men not disproved, but speaking universally, the stable doctrine and word of God is the sure rule for men to follow.

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working of miracles, but by the working of virtues, departing from iniquity, and obeying the commandments of God. Wherefore it is wonderful, that any in this life dare presume to prevent the day of the judgment of God, to judge by means of miracles, that some are saints; whom men ought to worship; whom, peradventure, God will in the last judgment condemn, saying, "Depart from me all ye which work iniquity." If any man could here on earth judge sinners to be condemned; then, if this judgment were certain, Christ should not judge the second time; and whatsoever such judges bind in earth, the same ought to be bound in Heaven. But if such a judgment be uncertain, then it is perilous and full of deceit, when by it men on earth may, instead of saints, worship such as are damned with the fellowship of the devils, and in prayer require their aid, who, even like as the devils their companions, are more ready, and more of might, to evil than to good, more to hurt than to profit. I wonder they mark not what Christ said, when his kinswoman came unto him, desiring and requiring something of him, and saying, "Command that these my two sons may sit one upon thy right hand, and the other upon thy left hand in thy kingdom. But Jesus answering, said, Ye know not what ye ask, can ye drink of the cup which I shall drink of? They said unto him, We can. He said unto them, Of my cup indeed ye shall drink, but to sit at my right hand, or at my left, it is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father." Christ, being equal unto the Father according to his Godhead, and exceeding all manner of men, according to his manhood, namely in goodness and wisdom; said, "To sit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father." If it were none of his to give, "to sit at the right hand, or at the left," &c., how then is it in the power of any sinful man to give unto any man a seat, either on the right hand, or on the left, in the kingdom of God, which sinful man knoweth not whether such have any seat prepared for them of the Father in his kingdom? They much extol themselves, who exercise this judicial power in giving judgment that there are some saints who ought to be honoured by men, by reason of the evidences of dreams, or of deceitful miracles; of which men they are ignorant, whether God in his judgment will condemn them or not, together with the devils for ever to be tormented Let them beware, for the infallible Truth saith, that "every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low."

The servants of Christ discerned by working not of miracles, but of virtues.

Men or women are not rashly to be judged saints.

By these things is gathered that the wars of Christians are not lawful;[1] for that by the doctrine and life of Christ they are prohibited, by reason of the evidence of the deceitful miracles of those who have made wars amongst the Christians, as well against the Christians, as also against the infidels: because Christ could not err in his doctrine, forasmuch as he was God; and forasmuch as heaven and earth shall pass away, but the words of Christ shall not pass away. He, therefore, who establisheth his laws, allowing wars and the slaughter of men in the war, as well of Christians as of infidels, doth he not justify those things which are contrary to the gospel and law of Christ? Therefore in this he is against Christ, and therefore Antichrist, seducing the people, and making men believe that to be lawful and meritorious unto them, which is expressly prohibited by Christ.

And thus much concerning the first part, touching peace and war, wherein he declareth Christ and the pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be given all to peace, the other all to war, and so to prove, in conclusion, the pope to be Antichrist: where, in the mean time, thou must understand, gentle reader, his meaning rightly; not that he so thinketh no kind of wars among Christians in any case to be lawful, for he himself before hath openly protested the contrary; but that his purpose is, to prove the pope in all his doings and teachings more to be addicted to war than to peace, yea, in such cases where is

(1) This proposition of Walter Brute, concerning the wars of Christians not to be lawful, is not to be taken universally, but in particular case, as he meaneth, which is this, that such wars allowed by the pope, not for the necessary defence of public peace, liberty, and safeguard of our countries, or against public injuries offered; but only to go and kill the infidels, because they believe not, having no other cause, those wars of the pope he liketh not.

no necessity of war; and therein proveth he the pope to be contrary to Christ, that is, to be Antichrist. *Richard II.* A. D. 1392.

Now he proceedeth further to the second part, which is of mercy; in which part he showeth how Christ teacheth us to be merciful, "because mercy," as he saith, "proceedeth from charity, and nourisheth it."

Doctrine of christian mercy declared.

In this doctrine of mercy, Christ breaketh not the law of righteousness, for he himself, by mercy, hath cleansed us from our sins, from which we could not by the righteousness of the law be cleansed. But whom he hath made clean by mercy, undoubtedly it behoveth those same to be also merciful; for in Matthew [chap. v.] he saith, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." And again in Matthew [chap. vi.], he saith, "If ye forgive unto men their sins, your Father will forgive unto you your sins." And again in Matthew [chap. vii.], "Judge not and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned; and with what measure ye measure, with the same shall it be measured unto you again." In Matthew [chap. xviii.], Peter asked the Lord, saying, "Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me, and shall I forgive him? seven times? Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee seven times, but seventy times seven. Therefore is the kingdom of Heaven likened unto a certain king, which would take account of his servants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which oweth him ten thousand talents; and because he had nothing wherewithal to pay, his master commanded him to be sold, and his wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be paid. The servant therefore fell down, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the lord had pity on that servant, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt. But when the servant was departed, he found one of his fellow servants, which owed him an hundred pence, and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest; and his fellow fell down, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt. And when his other fellows saw the things that were done, they were very sorry, and came and declared unto their master all that was done. Then his master called him, and said unto him, O thou ungracious servant, I forgave thee all that debt when thou desiredst me: oughtest thou not then also to have such pity on thy fellow, even as I had pity on thee? And his lord was wroth, and delivered him unto the gaolers, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise shall my heavenly Father do unto you, except ye forgive from your hearts each one his brother their trespasses."

Merey and pity commended.

Necessary to all Christians.

By this doctrine it is most plain and manifest, that every Christian ought to be merciful unto his brother, how often soever he offendeth against him: because we, so often as we offend, do ask mercy of God. Wherefore, forasmuch as our offence against God is far more grievous than any offence of our brother against us, it is plain that it behoveth us to be merciful unto our brethren, if we will have mercy at God's hand. But, contrary to this doctrine of mercy, the Romish bishop maketh and confirmeth many laws, which punish offenders, even unto the death; as is plain by the Decrees, Causa xxiii. quest. 5. cap. 8, where it is declared and determined, that "to kill men 'ex officio,'" that is, having authority and power so to do, "is not sin;" and again, "The soldier who is obedient unto the higher power, and so killeth a man, is not guilty of murder;" and again, "He is the minister of the Lord, who smiteth the evil in that they are evil, and killeth them." And many other such like things are, throughout the whole process of that question, determined: that for certain kinds of sins men ought, by the rigour of the law, to be punished even unto death. But the foundation of their saying they took out of the old law, in which, for divers transgressions, were appointed divers punishments. It is very wonderful unto me, why that wise men, being the authors and makers of laws, do always, for the foundation of their sayings, look upon the shadow of the law, and not the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ; for they give not heed unto the figure of perfection, nor yet unto the perfection figured. Is it not written in John iii.,

The pope contrary to Christ in showing mercy.

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"God sent not his Son into the world, to judge the world, but to save the world by him?" In John viii., "The Scribes and Pharisees bring in a woman taken in adultery, and set her in the midst, and said unto Christ, Master, even now this woman was taken in adultery. But in the law, Moses hath commanded us to stone such: what sayest thou therefore? This they said to tempt him, that they might accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him, he lift himself up, and said unto them, Let him that is among you without sin, cast the first stone at her. And again he stooped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, they went out one by one, beginning at the eldest: so Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Jesus had lift up himself again, he said unto her, Where be they which accused thee? hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee, go thy way, and sin now no more."

The makers of the pope's law follow not the perfect rule.

It is manifest by the Scriptures, that Christ was promised he should be king of the Jews, and unto the kings pertained the judgments of the law: but because he came not to judge sinners according to the rigour of the law, but came according to grace, to save that which was lost, in calling the sinner to repentance, it is most plain, that in the coming of the law of grace, he would have the judgment of the law of righteousness to cease; for otherwise he had dealt unjustly with the aforesaid woman, forasmuch as the witnesses of her adultery bare witness against her. Wherefore, seeing the same King Christ was a judge, if it had been his will that the righteousness of the law should be observed, he ought to have adjudged the woman to death, according as the law commanded;[1] which thing, forasmuch as he did not, it is most evident that the judgments of the righteousness of the law are finished in the coming of the King, being King of the law of grace; even as the sacrifices of the priesthood of Aaron are finished in the coming of the Priest, according to the order of Melchisedec, who hath offered himself up for our sins; because, as it is before said, neither the righteousness of the law, nor sacrifices for sin, brought any man to perfection: wherefore it was necessary that the same, by reason of their imperfection, should cease. And seeing among all the laws of the world, the law of Moses was most just, forasmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the most just judge; and by that law always look, what manner of injury one had done unto another, contrary to the commandment of the law, the like injury he should receive for his transgression, according to the upright judgment of the law; as death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and most just punishments were ordained according to the quantity of the sins: but if this law of righteousness be clean taken away in the coming of the law of grace, how then shall the law of the Gentiles remain among Christians, which was never so just? Is not this true, that in them who are converted unto the faith, there is no distinction between the Jew and the Grecian? for both are under sin, and are justified by grace in the faith of Christ, being called unto faith, and unto the perfection of the gospel.

Whether the judicial law of Moses fully (now after the coming of Christ) standeth in force, or not. The law of Moses, of all laws most just.

If therefore the Gentiles converted are not bound to play the Jews, to follow the law of the Jews, why should the Jews converted, follow the laws of the Gentiles which are not so good? Wherefore it is to be wondered at,[2] why thieves are, among Christians, for theft put to death, when after the law of Moses they were not put to death. Christians suffer adulterers to live, Sodomites, and they who curse father and mother, and many other horrible sinners; and they who according to the most just law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death. So we neither keep the law of righteousness given by God, nor the law of mercy taught by Christ.

Wherefore the law-makers and judges do not give heed unto the aforesaid sentence of Christ unto the Scribes and Pharisees, who said, "He which amongst you is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her."[3] What is he

(1) Here is meant, and to be understood, not what public magistrates may do, in cases of righteousness, but what ecclesiastical persons, according to the office of their profession, should do, in not revenging by death, as they do by offices.

(2) His marvel is not so much, why thieves are put to death, but why the judicial law of Moses in this point is broken, and in other points is straitly kept. Mark his meaning!

(3) Take his meaning wisely, gentle reader. Walter Brute's mind is not so, that no magistrate, being not without sin, may punish a transgressor, but he speaketh against such churchmen, who, professing the rule of mercy, show no mercy at all, but all rigour by their law, 'ex officio.'

that dareth be so bold as to say, he is without sin, yea, and without a grievous sin, when the transgression of the commandment of God is a grievous sin? and who can say that he never transgressed this commandment of God, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?" or the other commandment which is of greater force, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," &c. Wherefore thou, whatsoever thou art, that judgest thy brother unto death, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the judgment of God, who peradventure hast offended more grievously than hath he whom thou judgest? How seest thou a mote in thy brother's eye, and seest not a beam in thine own eye? Knowest thou not that with what measure thou measurest, that same shall be measured to you again? Doth not the Scripture say, "Unto me belongeth vengeance, and I will render again, saith the Lord?" How can any man say that these men can with charity keep these judgments of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and desireth of God just judgment for his offence? He desireth not judgment, but mercy. If he desire mercy for himself, why desireth he vengeance for his brother offending? How therefore loveth he his brother as himself? or how dost thou show mercy unto thy brother, as thou art bound by the commandment of Christ, who seekest the greatest vengeance upon him that thou canst infer unto him? for death is the most terrible thing of all, and a more grievous vengeance than death, can no man infer. Wherefore they who will keep charity, ought to observe the commandments of Christ touching mercy; and they who live in the law of charity,[1] ought to leave the law of vengeance[2] and judgments.

Ought we to believe that Christ in his coming, by grace, abrogated the most just law which he himself gave unto the children of Israël by Moses his servant, and established the laws of the Gentiles, being not so just, to be observed by his faithful? Doth not Daniel [chap. ii.] expound the dream of Nebuchadnezzar the king, concerning the image, whose head was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, one part of the feet of iron, and the other part of clay? Nebuchadnezzar saw that a stone was cut out of a mountain, without hands, and strake the image in his feet of iron and of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then were the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and gold, broken all together, and became like the chaff of the summer floor, which is carried away by the wind, and there was no place found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. He applieth therefore four kingdoms unto the four parts of the image; namely, the kingdom of the Babylonians, unto the head of gold; the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, unto the breast and arms of silver; the kingdom of the Grecians, unto the belly and thighs of brass; but the fourth kingdom, which is of the Romans, he applieth unto the feet and legs of iron. And Daniel addeth, "In the days of their kingdoms shall God raise up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and his kingdom shall not be delivered unto another, but it shall break and destroy those kingdoms; and it shall stand for ever, according as thou sawest, that the stone was cut out of the mountain, without hands, and brake in pieces the clay and iron, brass, silver, and gold." Seeing therefore it is certain, that this stone signifieth Christ, whose kingdom is for ever; it is also a thing most assured, that he ought to reign every where, and to break in pieces the other kingdoms of the world. Wherefore, if terrestrial kings, and the terrestrial kingdom of the Jews, and their laws and judgments, have ceased[3] by Christ the King calling the Jews unto the perfection of his gospel, namely, unto faith and charity; it is not to be doubted, but that the kingdom of the Gentiles (which is more imperfect) and their laws, ought to cease among the Gentiles, departing from their Gentility unto the perfection of the gospel of Jesus Christ. For there is no distinction between the Jews and Gentiles being converted unto the faith of Christ; but all of them, abiding in that eternal kingdom, ought to be under one law of charity and of virtue. Therefore they ought to have mercy, and to leave the judgments of death, and the desire of vengeance. Wherefore they who do make laws, mark

The dream of Nebuchadnezzar concerning the image, expounded by Daniel.

(1) He meaneth, of the pope and of the clergy.

(2) He speaketh against the desire of revenge, not against the execution of necessary law done by magistrates.

(3) The judicial necessity of those laws he meaneth to cease, notwithstanding christian princes may borrow both out of those laws, and out of all others, what they think good and expedient for their commonweal.

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not the parable of Christ, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man which sowed good seed in his field; but when men were on sleep, the enemy came and sowed tares in the midst of the wheat, and went his way. But when the herb was grown and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares. And the servants came unto the good man of the house, and said unto him, Lord! didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then come these tares? And he said unto them, The enemy hath done this. And the servants said unto him, Wilt thou that we go and gather them up? And he said, No, lest peradventure gathering up the tares, ye pluck up the wheat by the roots; suffer them both to grow until the harvest, and in the time of the harvest, I will say unto the harvest-men, gather first the tares and bind them in bundles, that they may be burnt, but gather the wheat into my barn." Christ himself expoundeth this parable in the self-same chapter, saying, "He which soweth the good seed is the Son of Man; but the field is the world; and the good seed, those are the children of the kingdom. But the tares are the naughty children; and the enemy which soweth them is the devil. And the harvest is the end of the world; and the harvest-men are the angels. Even as, therefore, the tares are gathered and burnt with fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all offenders, and those which commit iniquity, and shall put them into a furnace of fire; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

By which plain doctrine it is manifest, that Christ will have mercy showed to sinners, even unto the end of the world, and will have them to remain mingled with the good; lest peradventure, when a man thinketh he doth right well to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheat.[1] For how great a sinner soever a man be, we know not whether his end shall be good, and whether in the end he shall obtain mercy of God; neither are we certain of the time, wherein God will, by grace, judge him whom we abhor as a sinner. And, peradventure, such a one shall more profit after his conversion in the church, than he whom we think to be just, as it came to pass in Paul. And if God justifieth a man by grace, although at his end, why darest thou be so bold to be his judge, and to condemn him? Yea rather, although a man seem to be obstinate and hardened in his evil (so that he is not corrected by a secret correction), correct him before one alone; if he do not receive open correction, being done before two or three witnesses, neither do pass upon a manifest correction when his sin is made known unto the church, Christ doth not teach to punish such a one with the punishment of death. Yea rather, he saith, "If he hearken not unto the church, let him be unto thee as an ethnick and a publican." And Paul, following this doctrine, in 1 Cor. v., saith, "There goeth a common saying, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather sorrowed, that he which hath done this deed might be put from among you. For I, verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have already determined, as though I were present, that he which hath done this thing, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that such a one, by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, be delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Paul teacheth not to kill this man, as some gather by this text, but to separate him from the other faithful, and so from Christ, who is the head of the church of the faithful; and so is he delivered unto Satan, who is separated from Christ, that the flesh may be killed, that is, that the carnal concupiscence, whereby he luxuriously lusted after the wife of his father, may be destroyed in him by such a separation, that the spirit may be saved: and not that his body should be killed, as some say; as it is manifest in the self-same chapter, where he saith, "I wrote unto you an epistle, that you should not keep company with fornicators; and I meant not of all the fornicators of this world, either of the covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters, for then must ye needs have gone out of the world. But now I have written unto you, that ye keep not company together; if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous person, or a worshipper of images, either a cursed speaker, or drunkard, or an extortioner: with him that is such, see that ye eat not."

(1) His purpose is not that no evil doer should be punished in a commonwealth, but his relation is to Causa xxiii. quest. 5, aforesaid [see p. 159], noting causes of religion, which the pope and his prelates are wont to punish with death, taking many times for tares that which is pure wheat.

By which it is manifest, that Paul would have the aforesaid fornicator separated from the fellowship of the faithful; that his carnal concupiscence might be mortified, for the health of the spirit, and not that the body should be killed: wherefore they do ill understand Paul, who by this saying do confirm the killing of men. And forasmuch as heresy is one of the most grievous sins[1] (for a heretic leadeth men into errors, whereby they are made to stray from faith, without which they cannot be saved), it doth most great hurt in the church.

Further, as concerning such a wicked man, Paul thus speaketh, "Flee from the man that is a heretic after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subverted and sinneth, forasmuch as he is, by his own judgment, condemned. Behold, Paul teacheth not to kill this man, but with Christ to separate him from the fellowship of the faithful.[2] But some say, that Peter, in the primitive church, slew Ananias and Sapphira for their sins, wherefore, they say, it is lawful for them to condemn wicked men to death. We will declare, by showing the whole process, how falsely they speak in alleging of Peter, to justify their error.

The example of Peter slaying Ananias and Sapphira falsely wrested by the papists.

In Acts iv. it is written, "As many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them, and offered the price of that which they sold, and laid it before the feet of the apostles; and it was divided unto every one as he had need thereof. But a certain man, called Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a piece of land, and kept back a part of the price of the field, his wife being privy unto it, and bringing a certain part thereof, he laid it at the feet of the apostles. But Peter said unto Ananias, Ananias! why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie unto the Holy Ghost, to keep back a part of the price of the land? Did it not, whilst it remained, remain unto thee; and being sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And when Ananias heard these words, he fell down and gave up the ghost, and great fear came on all them that heard these things. And the young men rose up and took him up, and carried him out, and buried him. And it came to pass, about the space of three hours after, that his wife came in, being ignorant of that which was done. And Peter said unto her, Tell me, woman, sold ye the land for so much? And she said, Yea, for so much. But Peter said under her, Why have ye agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold the feet of them which buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out. And straightway she fell down before his feet, and gave up the ghost; and the young men entering in, found her dead, and they carried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great fear came on all the church, and all those which heard these things." It is marvel that any man that is wise, will say that by this process Peter slew Ananias or his wife. For it was not his act, but the act of God, who made a wedding to his Son, and sent his servants to call them that were bidden unto the wedding, and they would not come. "The king then sent forth his servants to the out-corners of the high-ways, to gather all that they could find, both good and evil, and so they did: and the marriage was full furnished with guests. Then came in also the king to view and see them sitting; among whom he perceived there one sitting, having not a wedding garment, and saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou hither? And he, being dumb, had not a word to speak. Then said the king to the servitors, Take and bind him hand and foot, and cast him into the outward darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Many there be called, but few chosen," &c.

Peter not the cause of the death of Ananias and Sapphira.

The wedding garment.

It is manifest, that this wedding garment is charity, without which because Ananias entered into the marriage of Christ, he was given to death, that by one many might be informed to learn and understand, that they who have faith and not charity, although they appear to men to have, yet it cannot be privy to the Spirit of God, that they do feign. Such there are here no doubt, but they shall be excluded from the marriage of Christ, as we see this exemplified in the death of Ananias and his wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of Peter. And how should Peter there have judged Ananias (albeit he had judged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the old law? For why? by the law he had not been

The death of Ananias and his wife, what information it giveth to the church.

(1) Hereby it appeareth that all his relation in this matter, touches only the cases of heresy and opinions in religion.

(2) By this it appeareth again, that his respect is only to the pope and his prelates of the Church, and not to civil magistrates.

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guilty of death, for that part which they did fraudulently and dissemblingly reserve to themselves: yea, and if they had stolen as much from another man, which was greater, neither yet for his lie committed, he had not therefore, by that law of justice, been found guilty of death. Wherefore, if he did not condemn him by the law of justice, it appeareth that he condemned him by the law of grace and mercy, which he learned of Christ: and so, consequently, it followeth much more apparent, that Peter could not put him to death. Furthermore, to say that Peter put him to death by the mere motion of his own will, and not by the authority of the old law, or by the new, it were derogatory and slanderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill him, why then doth the bishop of Rome, who pretendeth to be successor of Peter, excuse himself and his priests from the judgment of death against heretics and other offenders, although they themselves be consenting to such judgments done by lay-men? For that which was done by Peter without offence, may reasonably excuse him and his fellow priests from the spot of crime. [Acts v.]

It is manifest that there was another who did more grievously offend than Ananias, and that Peter rebuked him with more sharp words; but yet he commanded him not so to be put to death. "For Simon Magus also remaining at Samaria, after that he believed and was baptized, he joined himself with Philip; and when he saw that the Holy Spirit was given by the apostles (laying their hands upon men), he offered them money, saying, Give unto me this power, that upon whomsoever I shall lay my hand, he shall receive the Holy Ghost. To whom Peter answered, "Destroyed be thou and thy money together; and for that thou supposest the gift of God to be bought with money, thou shalt have neither part nor fellowship in this doctrine. Thy heart is not pure before God, therefore repent thee of thy wickedness, and pray unto God that this wicked thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee; for I perceive thou art even in the bitter gall of wickedness, and band of iniquity." Behold here the grievous offence of Simon Peter's hard and sharp rebuking of him, and yet thereupon he was not put to death. Whereby it appeareth that the death of Ananias aforesaid, proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all these things it is to be gathered, seeing the judgments of death are not grounded upon the express and plain Scriptures, but only under the shadow of the old law, that they are not to be observed of Christians because they are contrary to charity. Ergo, the bishop of Rome approving such judgments, alloweth those that are contrary to the law and doctrine of Christ; as before is said of wars, where he approveth and justifieth that which is contrary to charity. The order of priesthood, albeit it doth justify the judgments to death of the laity, whereby offenders are condemned to die, yet are they themselves forbidden to put in execution the same judgments. The priests of the old law being imperfect, when Pilate said unto them concerning Christ, whom they had accused as worthy of death, "Take him unto you, and according to your law judge him," answered, "That it was not lawful for them to put to death any man." John xviii.

Whereby it appeareth, that our priests, being much more perfect, may not lawfully give judgment of death against any offenders: yet, notwithstanding, they claim unto them the power judicial upon offenders; because, say they, it belongeth unto them to know the offences by the auricular confession of the offenders, and to judge upon the same being known, and to enjoin divers penances unto the parties offending, according to the quantity of their offences committed, so that the sinner may make satisfaction, say they, unto God, for the offences which he never committed. And to confirm unto them this judicial power, they allege the Scriptures in many places, wresting them to serve their purpose.

First, They say that the bishop of Rome (who is the chief priest and judge among them) hath full power and authority to remit sins. Whereupon they say, that he is able, fully and wholly, to absolve a man 'a pœna et culpa;' so that if a man, at the time of his death, had this remission, he should straightways fly unto heaven without any pain of purgatory. The other bishops, as they say, have not so great authority. The priests constituted under every bishop, have power, say they, to absolve the sins of them that are confessed, but not all kind of sins: because there are some grievous sins reserved to the absolutions of the bishops; and some again, to the absolution only of the chief and high bishop. They say also, that it behoveth the offender, for the necessity of his

Like a pulled hen

soul's health, to call to remembrance his offences, and to manifest the same, with all the circumstances thereof, unto the priest in auricular confession, supplying the place of God, after the manner of a judge; and afterwards humbly to fulfil the penance enjoined unto him by the priest for his sins, except the said penance so enjoined, or any part thereof, be released by the superior power. All these things, say they, are manifestly determined, as well in the decrees as decretals. And although these things have not expressly their foundation in the plain and manifest doctrine of Christ or any of the apostles, yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning this matter, have grounded the same upon divers places of the Scriptures, as in the process of Christ, in the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. xvi. Whereupon they ground the pope's power judicial to surmount the powers of other priests, as where Christ said unto his disciples, "Whom do men say that I am? And they answered, Some say thou art John Baptist, some Elias, and some Jeremy, or one of the prophets. To whom he said, But who say you that I am? Simon Peter, making answer, said, Thou art Christ, the son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou Simon, the son of Jonas; for flesh and blood have not opened this unto thee; but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and hell-gates shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall also be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven."

The pope's usurped power falsely founded upon Scripture.

Out of this text of Christ, divers expositors have drawn divers errors. For when Christ said, "And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church;" some thereupon affirm, that Christ meant he would build his church upon Peter by authority of that text, as it is written in the first part of the decrees, dist. 19. cap. "Ita Dominus noster." The exposition hereof is ascribed to pope Leo; the error whereof is manifestly known. For the church of Christ is not builded upon Peter, but upon the rock of Peter's confession, for that he said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." And for that Christ said singularly unto Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c., by this saying they affirm, that Christ gave unto Peter specially, as chief of the rest of the apostles, a larger power to bind and to loose, than he did unto the rest of the apostles and disciples. And because Peter answered for himself and all the apostles, not only confessing the faith which he had chiefly above the rest, but also the faith which the rest of the apostles had even as himself, by the revelation of the heavenly Father, it appeareth that as the faith of all the apostles was declared by the answer of one, so, by this that Christ said unto Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c., are given unto the rest of the apostles the same power and equality to bind and to loose, as unto Peter; which Christ declareth in the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. xviii., in these words, "Verily I say unto you, what things soever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be also loosed in heaven." And further he added, "And again I say unto you, that if two of you shall consent upon earth, and request, whatsoever it be, it shall be granted unto you of my Father which is in heaven: for when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them." And in John, chap. xx., he saith generally unto them, "Receive ye my Spirit. Whose sins ye shall remit, shall be remitted unto them; and whose sins you shall retain, shall be retained."

The place of Christ giving the keys to Peter, Mat. xvi aptly expounded

By this it appeareth, that the power to bind and to loose is not specially granted to Peter, as chief and head of the rest, and that by him the rest had their power to bind and to loose; for that the head of the body of the church is one, which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Peter and the rest of the apostles are the good members of the body of Christ, receiving power and virtue of Christ, whereby they do confirm and glue together the other members (as well the strong and noble, as the weak and unable) to a perfect composition and seemliness of the body of Christ; that all honour, from all parts and members, may be given unto Christ as head and chief, by whom, as head, all the members are governed. And therefore Paul, 1 Cor. iii., "When one man saith, I hold of Paul, and another saith, I hold of Apollos, are ye not

Christ only the head of the church.

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carnal men? for what is Apollos? what is Paul? The minister of him in whom ye have believed, and he, as God giveth unto every man. I have planted, Apollos hath watered, but God hath given the increase. Therefore, neither he that planteth is any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." And Paul to the Galatians, chap. ii., "God hath no respect of persons. Those that seemed to be great and do much, availed or profited me nothing at all: but contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the circumcision was unto Peter (for he that wrought with Peter in the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought with me also among the Gentiles), and when they knew the grace which was given me, Peter, James, and John, straightway, joined themselves with me and Barnabas; that we, among the Gentiles, and they in circumcision only, might be mindful of the poor, which to do, I was very careful." Hereby it appeareth that Paul had not his authority of Peter to convert the Gentiles, to baptize them, and to remit their sins, but of him who said unto him, "Saul! Saul! why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." [Acts ix.] Here is Paul, the head of the church, and not Peter: by which head they say, that all the members are sustained and made lively.

The third error.

The third error which the authors of the canons conceive in the said text of Christ, which was said to Peter, "Unto thee will I give the keys," &c., is this: They say that in this sentence which was said to Peter of the authority to bind and loose, was meant, that as Christ gave unto Peter, above all the rest of the apostles, a special, and as it were an excellent power above all the apostles; even so, say they, he gave power unto the bishops of Rome (whom they call Peter's chief successors), the same special power and authority, exceeding the power of all other bishops of the world.

Other apostles had like power to bind and to loose as Peter had.

The first part of this similitude and comparison, doth appear manifestly by the premises to be erroneous; wherein is plainly showed, that the other apostles had equal power with Peter to bind and loose. Wherefore consequently it followeth that the second part of the similitude, grounded upon the same text, is also erroneous. But and if the first part of the said similitude were truth, as it is not, yet the second part must needs be an error, wherein is said, that the bishops of Rome are Peter's chief successors. For although there be but one catholic christian church of all the faithful sort converted, yet the first part thereof, and first converted, was of the Jews, the second of the Greeks, and the third part was of the Romans or Latins: whereof the first part was most perfectly converted unto the faith, for that they faithfully observed the perfection of charity, as appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles, by the multitude of the believers. "They were of one heart, and one soul, neither called they any thing that they possessed their own, but all was common amongst them." [Acts ii.]

Hereupon Paul to the Romans, chap. i.: "Salutation to every believer; first to the Jew, and to the Greeks after the Jews." The Greeks were the second, and after the Jews next converted; and after them the Romans, taking their information from the Greeks, as appeareth by the chronicles, although indeed some Romans were converted to the faith by Peter and Paul; and as Christ said thrice unto Peter, "Feed my sheep," so Peter ruled these three churches, as witness the chronicles. But first he reformed the church of the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea, as appeareth by the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles, chap. i.; for it is there manifest how Peter, standing up amongst his brethren, spake unto them concerning the election of an apostle in the place of Judas the traitor, alleging places unto them out of the Scripture, that another should take upon him his apostleship: and so by lot was Matthias constituted in the twelfth place of Judas [Acts ii.] "After that the Holy Ghost was come upon the apostles, and that they spake with the tongues of all men, the hearers were astonied at the miracle; and some mocked them, saying, These men are full of new wine: but Peter stood up and spake unto them, saying, That it was fulfilled in them which was prophesied by Joel the prophet. And he preached unto the people Christ, whom they of ignorance had put to death; to whom was a Saviour promised by the testimony of the prophets. And when they heard the words of Peter, they were pricked at the heart, saying unto him and the rest of the apostles, What shall we then do? And Peter said unto them, Repent, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of

Peter ruled three churches.

Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost. And there were joined unto them the same day about three thousand souls." And by Acts iii. iv. v., it appeareth that Peter, above the rest, did those things which belonged to the ministry of the apostleship, as well in preaching as in answering. Whereupon some chronicles say, that Peter governed the church of the Jews at Jerusalem four years before he governed Antioch. And by the testimony of Paul to the Galatians, as before is said, the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to Paul, even as the circumcision to Peter; and he that wrought with Peter in the apostleship of circumcision, wrought with Paul amongst the Gentiles [Gal. iii.]: whereby it appeareth that the church of the Jews was committed to the government of Peter. And in the process of the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth, that Peter believed that the faith of Christ was not to be preached unto those Gentiles, who always lived in uncleanness of idolatry. "But when Peter was at Joppa, Cornelius, a Gentile, sent unto him that he would come and show him the way of life: but Peter, a little before the coming of the messengers of Cornelius, being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fell into a trance, and saw heaven open, and a certain vessel descending even as a great sheet, letten down by four corners from heaven to earth; in which were all manner of four-footed beasts, serpents of the earth, and fowls of the air. And a voice spake unto him, saying, Arise Peter, kill and eat: and Peter said, Not so, Lord, because I have never eaten any common or unclean thing. This was done thrice. And Peter descended, not knowing what the vision did signify, and found the messengers of Cornelius."

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Peter governed the church at Jerusalem four years before he governed Antioch.

As concerning the authority judicial of the clergy, many things are written thereof in the canons of decrees greatly to be marvelled at, and far from the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the canons say, that Christ gave unto the priests, power judicial over sinners that confessed their sins unto them. And this they ground upon the text of Christ: "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou loosest," &c. And these keys of the kingdom of heaven, they call the knowledge to discern, and the power to judge, which they say only belongeth to the priests, except in case of necessity then they say, a lay-man may absolve a man from sin. And as touching absolution, they say, there are three things to be required on the sinner's part: First, hearty contrition, whereby the sinner ought to bewail his offending of God through sins. The second is, auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to show unto the priest his sins, and the circumstances of them. The third is, satisfaction through penance enjoined unto him by the priest for his sins committed. And of his part that giveth absolution there are two things, say they, to be required: that is to say, knowledge to discern one sin from another; whereby he ought to make a difference of sins, and appoint a convenient penance, according to the quantity of the sins. The second is, authority to judge, whereby he ought to enjoin penance to the offender. And further they say, that he that is confessed ought with all humility to submit himself to this authority, and wholly and voluntarily to do those penances which are commanded him by the priest, except the said penance be released by a superior power: for all priests, as they say, have not equal authority to absolve sins. The chief priest, whom they call Peter's successor, hath power fully and wholly to absolve. But the inferior priests have power, some more, some less. The more, as they are near him in dignity; the less, as they are further from the dignity of his degree. All this is declared by process in the decrees, but not by the express doctrine of Christ, or any of his apostles; for although Christ absolved men from their sins, I do not find that he did it after the manner of a judge, but of a Saviour. For Christ saith [John iii.], "God sent not his Son into the world to judge sinners, but that the world should be saved by him:" whereupon he spake unto him whom he healed of the palsy, "Behold thou art made whole, go thy ways and sin no more;" and to the woman taken in adultery, Christ said, "Woman, where be thy accusers? hath no man condemned thee?" who said, "No man, Lord." To whom then Jesus thus said, "No more will I condemn thee; go, and now sin no more." [John v.]

The keys of Christ's kingdom.

Three things required in popish absolution; contrition, confession, satisfaction

Two things required on his part that giveth popish absolution.

By which words and deeds of Christ, and many other places of the Scripture, it appeareth he was not, as a judge, at his first coming, to punish sinners according to the quantity of their offences; but that day shall come hereafter, wherein he shall judge all men, according to their works, as in Mat. xxv., where

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he saith, "When the Son of Man shall come in his majesty, and all his angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty, and all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats," &c. Neither shall he judge alone, but his saints also with him: for he saith, "You that have followed me in this generation, when the Son of Man shall sit in the seat of his majesty, shall sit also upon twelve seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel." If then Christ came not as a judge, why do the priests say, that they supply the room of Christ on earth, to judge sinners according to the quantity of their offences? And yet not only this, but it is more to be marvelled at, how the bishop of Rome dareth to take upon him to be a judge before the day of judgment, and to prevent the time; judging some to be saints in heaven, and to be honoured of men, and some again to be tormented in hell eternally with the devils? Would God these men would weigh the saying of St. Paul, 1 Cor. iv., "Judge ye not before the time until the coming of the Lord, who shall make light the dark and secret places, and disclose the secrets of hearts; and then every one shall have his praise." Let the bishop of Rome take heed, lest that in Ezekiel be spoken of him, "Because thy heart is elevate, and thou saidst unto thyself, I am God, I have sitten in the seat of God, and in the heart of the sea, when thou art but man, and not God." It is manifest that the remission of sins principally belongeth to God, who, through grace, washeth away our sins. For it is said, "The Lamb of God taketh away the sins of the world." And unto Christians it belongeth as the ministers of God. For in John xx. Christ saith, "Receive unto you the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained."

The saints shall judge with Christ.

Seeing, therefore, that all Christians that are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, receive the Holy Ghost, it appeareth that they have power given to them of Christ, to remit sins ministerially. Hath not every Christian authority to baptize? and in the baptism all the sins of the baptized are remitted. Ergo, they that do baptize do remit sins. And thus ministerially all such have power to remit sins. Therefore, to say that one man hath more authority to remit sins than all other Christians have, is too much to extol him, and to place him even in God's seat. I pray you how are the sins remitted him that is baptized by the priest (yea although he were by the pope himself baptized), more than if he were baptized by another Christian? Surely I think no more. For seeing that before baptism he remaineth a sinner, and of the kingdom of the devil by sin, after baptism he entereth into the kingdom of heaven: it appeareth that he that doth baptize, openeth the gate of the kingdom of heaven to him that is baptized, which he cannot do without the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore every one that doth baptize, hath the keys of the kingdom of heaven; as well the inferior priest, as the pope. But these keys are not the knowledge to discern, and power to judge, because these do nothing avail in baptism. Ergo, there are other keys of the kingdom of heaven than these. Wherefore it seemeth that the authors of the canons erred in mistaking the keys, whereupon they ground the authority judicial of the clergy.

The ministerial power to remit sin, belongeth as well to one priest as to another.

The keys of the kingdom of heaven, mistaken in the pope's canons.

Now a little error in the beginning granted, groweth to great inconvenience in the end. Wherefore, in my judgment, it seemeth that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are faith and hope: for by faith in Jesus Christ, and hope in him for the remission of sins, we enter the kingdom of heaven. This faith is a spiritual water, springing from Jesus Christ the fountain of wisdom, wherein the soul of the sinner is washed from sin. With this water were the faithful patriarchs baptized before the law; and the faithful people of the Hebrews, and the faithful Christians, after the law. Wherefore I greatly marvel of that saying in the decrees, which is ascribed unto Augustine, that little children that are not baptized shall be tormented with eternal fire, although they were born of faithful parents, that wished them with all their hearts to have been baptized: as though the sacrament of baptism in water were simply necessary to salvation, when nevertheless many Christians are saved without this kind of baptism, as martyrs. If that kind of sacrament be not necessary to one of elder years, how then is it necessary to an infant born of the faithful? Are not all baptized with the Holy Ghost, and with fire? but yet not with material fire; no more is the lotion of water corporally necessary to wash away sins, but only spiritual

Faith and hope, the keys of heaven.

water, that is to say, the water of faith. Are not the quick baptized for them that are dead? as witnesseth Paul, 1 Cor. xv., "If the dead rise not at all, why are the living then baptized for them?" If the living be baptized for the dead, why then is not the infant saved by the baptism of his parents; seeing the infant itself is impotent at the time of death, and not able to require baptism? Christ saith, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." He saith not, he that is baptized not, but he that believeth not, shall be damned. Wherefore in John, chapter xii., Christ saith, "I am the resurrection and life; he that believeth in me, yea, although he were dead, shall live." The faith, therefore, is necessary which the infant hath in his faithful parents, although he be not washed with corporal water. How then is the infant damned and tormented with eternal fire? Were not they that were before the coming of Christ, and dead before his death by a thousand years, saved also by his death and passion? All that believed in him were baptized in his blood, and so were saved and redeemed from sin and the bondage of the devil, and made partakers of the kingdom of heaven. How then, in the time of grace, shall the infant be damned that is born of faithful parents, that do not despise, but rather desire, to have their children baptized? I dare not consent to so hard a sentence of the decrees, but rather believe that he is saved by virtue of the passion of Christ, in faith of his faithful parents, and the hope which they have in Christ; which faith and hope are the keys of the heavenly kingdom. God were not just and merciful, if he would condemn a man that believeth not in him, except he showed unto him the faith which he ought to believe. And therefore Christ saith, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, sin could not have been laid unto their charge; but now they have no excuse for sin." Therefore, seeing the faith of Christ is not manifest unto the infant departing before baptism, neither hath he denied it, how then shall he be damned for the same? But if God speaketh inwardly, by way of illumination, of the intelligence of the infant, as he speaketh unto angels, who then knoweth, save God alone, whether the infant receiveth, or not receiveth, the faith of Christ? What is he, therefore, that so rashly doth take upon him to judge the infants begotten of faithful parents dying without baptism, to be tormented with eternal fire?

Children departing before baptism not condemned.

Now let us consider the three things which the canons of decrees affirm to be requisite for the remission of the sins of those that sin after baptism: that is to say, contrition of heart; auricular confession; and satisfaction of the deed through penance enjoined by the priest for the sins committed. I cannot find in any place in the gospel, where Christ commanded that this kind of confession should be done unto the priest; nor can I find that Christ assigned any penance unto sinners for their sins, but that he willed them to sin no more. If a sinner confess that he hath offended God through sin, and sorrow heartily for his offences, minding hereafter no more to sin, then is he truly repentant for his sin, and then he is converted unto the Lord. If he shall then, humbly and with good hope, crave mercy at God and remission of his sins, what is he that can hinder God to absolve that sinner from his sin? And as God absolveth a sinner from his sin, so hath Christ absolved many, although they confessed not their sins unto the priests, and although they received not due penance for their sins. And if Christ could, after that manner, once absolve sinners, how is he become now not able to absolve, except some man will say that he is above Christ, and that his power is minished by the ordinances of his own laws? How were sinners absolved by God in the time of the apostles, and always heretofore, unto the time that these canons were made? I speak not these things as though confession to priests were wicked, but that it is not of necessity requisite unto salvation. I believe verily that the confession of sins unto good priests, and likewise to other faithful Christians, is good, as witnesseth St. James the apostle, "Confess ye yourselves one to another, and pray ye one for another, that ye may be saved; for the continual prayer of the just availeth much. Elias was a man that suffered many things like unto you, and he prayed that it should not rain upon the earth, and it rained not in three years and six months. And again he prayed, and it rained from heaven, and the earth yielded forth her fruit." This kind of confession is good, profitable, and expedient; for if God, peradventure, heareth not a man's own prayer, he is helped with the intercession of others. Yet, nevertheless, the prayers of the priests seem too much to be extolled in the decrees, where they treat of penitence, and that saying is

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ascribed unto pope Leo, dist. i. cap. "Multiplex misericordia Dei," &c. which followeth; "So is it ordained by the providence of God's divine will, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the prayer of the priests," &c. The prayer of a good priest doth much avail a sinner, confessing his faults unto him. The counsel of a discreet priest is very profitable for a sinner, to give the sinner counsel to beware hereafter of sin, and to instruct him how he shall punish his body by fasting, by watching, and such like acts of repentance, that hereafter he may be better preserved from sin.

[Decreti Pars II. Causa 33, quæst. 3, Dist. 1, cap. 49.]

After this manner I esteem confession to priests very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to confess sins unto the priest as unto a judge, and to receive of him corporal penance for a satisfaction unto God for his sins committed: I see not how this can be founded upon the truth of the Scripture. For before the coming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfaction to God for his sins, although he suffered ever so much penance for his sins; and therefore it was needful that he that was without sin, should be punished for sins, as witnesseth Isaiah, chapter liii., where he saith, "He took our griefs upon him, and our sorrows he bare;" and again, "He was wounded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickedness;" and again, "The Lord put upon him our iniquity;" and again, "For the wickedness of my people have I stricken him." If therefore Christ, through his passion, hath made satisfaction for our sins, whereas we ourselves were unable to do it, then, through him, have we grace and remission of sins. How can we say now that we are sufficient to make satisfaction unto God by any penance enjoined unto us by man's authority, seeing that our sins are more grievous after baptism, than they were before the coming of Christ? Therefore, as in baptism the pain of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sins; even so after baptism, if we confess that we have offended, and be heartily sorry for our sins, and mind not to sin again afterwards.

Hereupon John writeth in his first epistle, chapter i., "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just; he will remit them, and cleanse us from all our iniquities. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. My well beloved children, thus I write unto you, that ye sin not; but if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world." Therefore we ought to confess ourselves chiefly unto God, even from the heart, for that he chiefly doth remit sins, without whose absolution little availeth the absolution of man. This kind of confession is profitable and good. The authors of the canons say, that although auricular confession made unto the priest be not expressly taught by Christ, yet, say they, it is taught in that saying which Christ said unto the diseased of the leprosy, whom he commanded, "Go your ways and show yourselves unto the priest," [Luke xvii.,] because, as they say, the law of cleansing lepers, which was given by Moses, signified the confession of sins unto the priest. And whereas Christ commanded the lepers to show themselves unto the priests, they say, that Christ meant that those that were unclean with the leprosy of sin, should show their sins unto the priests by auricular confession. I marvel much at the authors of the canons; for, even from the beginning of their decrees unto the end, they ground their sayings upon the old law, which was the law of sin and death, and not, as witnesseth Paul, upon the words of Christ, which are spirit and life. Christ saith, "The words which I speak unto you, are the spirit and life." They ground their sayings in the shadow of the law, and not in the light of Christ: "For every evil doer hateth the light, and cometh not unto it, that his deeds be not reproved; but he that doth the truth, cometh into the light, that his works may be openly seen, because they are done in God." [John iii.]

Confession unto God.

Auricular confession not truly grounded upon the Scripture.

Authors of the canon law reproved.

Now let us pass to the words that Christ spake to the leper: "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus stretching forth his hand touched him, saying, I will, be thou clean: and straightways he was cleansed of his leprosy. And Jesus said unto him, See thou tell no man, but go and show thyself to the priests, and offer the gifts that Moses commanded for a witness of these things." [Luke v.] This gospel witnesseth plainly, that the diseased of leprosy were cleansed only by Christ, and not by the priests; neither did Christ command the leper to show himself unto the priests, for any help of cleansing that he should receive of the priests, but to fulfil the law of Moses, in offering

The story of the lepers expounded.

a sacrifice for his cleansing, and for a testimony unto the priests, who always of envy accused Christ as a transgressor of the law. For if Christ, after he had cleansed the leper, had licensed him to communicate with others that were clean, before he had showed himself cleansed unto the priests, then might the priests have accused Christ, as a transgressor of the law; because it was a precept of the law, that the leper, after he was cleansed, should show himself unto the priests. And they had signs in the book of the law, whereby they might judge whether he were truly cleansed or not. And if he were cleansed, then would the priests offer a gift for his cleansing; and if he were not cleansed, then would they segregate him from the company of others that were clean. Seeing every figure ought to be assimilated unto the thing that is figured, I pray you then what agreement is there between the cleansing of lepers by the law, and the confession of sins? By that law the priest knew better whether he were leprous, than he himself that had the leprosy. In confession the priest knew not the sins of him that was confessed, but by his own confession. In that law the priest did not cleanse the leprous. How now, therefore, ought the priests to cleanse sinners from their sin, and how is it, that without them they cannot be cleansed? In this law the priest had certain signs, by which he could certainly know whether a man were cleansed from his leprosy or not. In confession the priest is not certain of the cleansing of sins, because he is ignorant of his contrition. He knoweth not, also, whether he will not sin any more; without which contrition and granting to sin no more, God hath not absolved any sinner. And if God hath not absolved a man, without doubt then is he not made clean. And how then is confession figured under that law? Doubtless so it seemeth to me (under the correction of them that can judge better in the matter), that this law beareth rather a figure of excommunication, and reconciliation of him that hath been obstinate in his sin, and is reconciled again. For so it appeareth by the process of the gospel, that when the sinner doth not amend for the private correction of his brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the public correction of the whole church, then is he to be counted as an ethnick and a publican, and as a certain leper to be avoided out of the company of all men: which sinner, notwithstanding, if he shall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, because he is then cleansed from his obstinacy.

It maketh nothing for auricular confession.

The cleansing of the leprosy, and the cleansing of the priest in auricular confession agree not.

But he who pretendeth himself to be the chief vicar of Christ, and the high priest, saith, that he hath power to absolve 'a pœna et culpa:' which I do not find how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his own authority he enjoineth to sinners penance for their sins. And grant that from their sins he may well absolve them, yet, from the pain (which they call 'a pœna,') he doth not simply absolve, as in his indulgences he promiseth. But if he were in charity, and had such power as he pretendeth, he would suffer none to lie in purgatory for sin: forasmuch as that pain doth far exceed all other pain which here we suffer, what man is there being in charity, but if he see his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will help him and deliver him? Much more ought the pope then to deliver out of pains of purgatory, indifferently, as well rich as poor. And if he sell to the rich his indulgences, doublewise, yea treblewise, he seduceth them. First, in promising to deliver them out of the pain from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliver them; and so maketh them falsely to believe that, which they ought not to believe. Secondly, he deceiveth them of their money, which he taketh for his indulgences. Thirdly, he seduceth them in this, that he, promising to deliver them from pain, doth induce them into grievous punishment indeed, for the heresy of simony, which both of them do commit, and, therefore, are both worthy of great pain to fall upon them: for so we read that Jesus cast out buyers and sellers out of his temple. Also Peter said unto Simon, the first author of this heresy, "Thy money," said he, "with thee be destroyed, for that thou hast thought the gift of God to be possessed for money." Moreover, whereas Christ saith, "Freely you have received, freely give;" and whereas, contrary, the pope doth sell that thing which he hath taken; what doubt is there, but that he doth grievously deserve to be punished, both he that selleth, and he that buyeth, for the crime of simony which they commit? Over and besides, by many reasons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proved, that he doth not absolve a man contrite for his sins, although he do absolve him from the guilt.

The pope's power in absolving from sins, not founded in Scripture. He can absolve none from punishment.

The pope in his pardons deceiveth men three manner of ways.

Promising pardons he inducth men to sin in simony.

But this marvelleth me, that he, in his indulgences, promiseth to absolve men

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from all manner of deadly sins, and yet cannot absolve a man from debt; forasmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much greater importance than is the debt of our brother. Wherefore, if he be able to remit the debt due to God, much more it should seem that he is able to forgive the debt of our brother.

The pope saith he can remit the debt to God, but yet cannot to man.

Another thing there is that I marvel at, for that the pope showeth himself more strait in absolving a priest for not saying, or negligently saying his matins, than for transgressing the commandment of God; considering that the transgression of the commandment of God, is much more grievous than the breach of man's commandment.

For these and many other errors concurring, and in this matter of the pope's absolutions, blessed be God, and honour be unto Him for the remission of our sins. And let us firmly believe and know, that he doth and will absolve us from our sins, if we be sorry from the bottom of our hearts that we have offended him, having a good purpose and will to offend him no more. And let us be bold to resort unto good and discreet priests, who, with wholesome discretion and sound counsel, can instruct us how to avoid the corruption of sin hereafter; and who, because they are better than we, may pray to God for us: whereby we may both obtain sooner the remission of our sins past, and also may learn better how to avoid the danger of sin to come.[1]

And thus much concerning the judgment and doctrine of this Walter Brute, for christian patience, charity, and mercy; which, as they be true and infallible notes and marks of true Christianity, so the said Walter, making comparison herein between Christ and the pope, goeth about purposely to declare and manifest; whereby all men may see what contrariety there is between the rule of Christ's teaching, and the proceedings of the pope; between the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other: of which two, as one is altogether given to peace; so is the other, on the contrary side, as much disposed to wars, murder, and bloodshed, as is easy to be seen. Whoso looketh not upon the outward shows and pretensed words of these Romish popes, but adviseth and considereth the inward practices and secret works of them, shall easily espy, under the visor of peace, what discord and debate they work, who, bearing outwardly the meek horns of the lamb mentioned in the Apocalypse, within do bear the bowels of a wolf, full of cruelty, murder, and bloodshed. Which if any do think to be spoken by me contumeliously; would God that man could prove as well the same to be spoken by me not truly! But truth it is, I speak it sincerely, without affection of blind partiality, according to the truth of histories both old and new. Thus, under 'in Dei nomine, Amen,' how unmercifully doth the pope condemn his brother! And while he pretended it not to be lawful for him to kill any man, what thousands hath he killed of men? And likewise in this sentence, pretending 'in visceribus Jesu Christi,' as though he would be a mediator to the magistrate for the party; yet, indeed, will he be sure to excommunicate the magistrate, if he execute not the sentence given. Who be true heretics, the Lord when he cometh shall judge; but give them to be heretics whom the pope condemneth for heretics, yet what bowels of mercy are here, where is nothing but burning, faggoting, drowning, prisoning, chaining, famishing, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatening, reviling, cursing, and oppressing; and not instructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of them, what they can say? The like cruelty also may in their wars appear, if we consider how pope Urban VI, besides the racking and murdering of seven or eight

(1) Ex Registro Latino Episc. Hereford

cardinals, set up Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, to fight against the French pope.[1] Innocent IV. was in war himself against the Apulians.[2] Likewise Alexander IV., his successor, stirred up the son of king Henry III. to fight against the son of Frederic II., the emperor, for Apulia.[3] Boniface VIII. moved Albertus, who stood to be emperor, to drive Philip the French king out of his realm.[4] Honorius III. excited Louis the French king three sundry times to mortal war against the earl Raimund[5] and city of Toulouse,[6] and Avignon,[7] where Louis, the said French king, died. Gregory IX., by strength of war, many ways resisted Frederic II., and sent out twenty-five galleys against the coasts of the emperor's dominions.[8] The same pope also besieged Ferrara.[9] To pass over the war at Pavia,[10] with many other battles and conflicts of popes against the Romans,[11] Venetians,[12] and divers other nations, Innocent III. set up Philip, the French king, to war against king John.[13] What stir pope Gregory VII., otherwise named Hildebrand, kept against the emperor Henry IV., is not unknown.[14] And who is able to recite all the wars, battles, and fields, fought by the stirring up of the pope? These, with many other like examples considered, did cause this Walter Brute to write in this matter so as he did, making yet thereof no universal proposition, but that christian magistrates, in case of necessity, might make resistance in defence of public right. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the sacrament.

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What wars have been stirred up by popes.

See Appendix.

The Judgment and Belief of Walter Brute, touching the Lord's Supper, the Order of Priests, &c.

Touching the matter, saith he, of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, divers men have divers opinions, as the learned do know. As concerning my judgment upon the same, I firmly believe whatsoever the Lord Jesus taught implicitly or expressly to his disciples and faithful people to be believed. For he is, as I believe and know, the true bread of God which descended from heaven, and giveth life to the world: of which bread whosoever eateth, shall live for ever; as it is in John vi. declared. Before the coming of Christ in the flesh, although men did live in body, yet in spirit they did not live, because all men were then under sin, whose souls thereby were dead; from which death no man, by the law, nor with the law, was justified: "For by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." [Gal. ii.] And again in the same epistle [chap. iii.], "That by the law no man is justified before God, it is manifest; for the just man shall live by his faith: the law is not of faith; but whosoever hath the works thereof, shall live in them." And again, "If the law had been given, which might have justified, then our righteousness had come by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise might be sure by the faith of Jesus Christ to all believers. Moreover, before that faith came, they were kept and concluded all under the law, until the coming of that faith which was to be revealed. For the law was our schoolmaster in Christ Jesus, that we should be justified by faith." Also the said Paul [Romans v.], saith, "That the law entered in the mean time, whereby sin might more abound. Where then sin hath more abounded, there also hath grace super-abounded; that like as sin hath reigned unto death, so grace might also reign by righteousness unto eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Whereby it is manifest, that by the faith which we have in Christ, believing him to be the true Son of God who came down from heaven to redeem us from sin, we are justified from sin; and so do live by him who is the true bread and meat of the soul. And the bread which Christ gave is his flesh given for the life of the world. [John vi.] For he, being God, came down from heaven, and being true carnal man,

Justification by faith, not by the law.

(1) Suprà, pp. 18, 50.—Ed. (2) Suprà, vol. ii. p. 498.—Ed. (3) Suprà, p. 537.—Ed.
(4) Ibid. p. 599.—Ed. (5) Ibid. pp. 356, 376.—Ed. (6) Ibid. pp. 372, 377.—Ed.
(7) Ibid. pp. 376—383.—Ed. (8) Ibid. p. 480.—Ed. (9) Ibid. p. 485.—Ed.
(10) Ibid. p. 490.—Ed. (11) Ibid. p. 411.—Ed. (12) Ibid. p. 645.—Ed.
(13) Ibid. p. 329 —Ed. (14) Ibid. p. 125.—Ed.

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did suffer in the flesh for our sins, for which in his divinity he could not suffer, Wherefore, like as we believe by our faith that he is true God, so must we also believe that he is true man, and then do we eat the bread of heaven, and the flesh of Christ. And if we believe that he did voluntarily shed his blood for our redemption, then do we drink his blood.

True eating of Christ is true believing in him.

Eating of the flesh of Christ, what it is.

And thus, except we eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, we have not eternal life in us; because the flesh of Christ verily is meat, and his blood is drink indeed: and whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, abideth in Christ, and Christ in him [John vi.]: and as, in this world, the souls of the faithful live, and are refreshed spiritually with this heavenly bread, and with the flesh and blood of Christ, so, in the world to come, the same shall live eternally in heaven, refreshed with the deity of Jesus Christ, as touching the most principal part thereof, that is, to wit, 'intellectum;' forasmuch as this bread of heaven, in that it is God, hath in itself all delectable pleasantness. And as touching the intelligible powers of the same, as well exterior as interior, they are refreshed with the flesh; that is to say, with the humanity of Jesus Christ, which is as a queen standing on the right hand of God, decked with a golden robe of divers colours: for this queen of heaven alone, by the word of God, is exalted above the company of all the angels; that by her all our corporal power intellective, may fully be refreshed, as is our spiritual intelligence, with the beholding of the deity of Jesus Christ; and even as the angels shall we be fully satisfied. And in the memory of this double refection, present in this world, and in the world to come, hath Christ given unto us, for eternal blessedness, the sacrament of his body and blood in the substance of bread and wine; as it appeareth in Matthew xxvi.: "As the disciples sat at supper, Jesus took bread and blessed it, brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, and thanked, and gave it them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament which shall be shed for many, for the remission of sins." And Luke, in his gospel [chap. xxii.], of this matter thus writeth: "And after he had taken the bread, he gave thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, This is my body which shall be given for you; do you this in my remembrance. In like manner he took the cup after supper, saying, This is the cup of the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you." That which Christ said, "This is my body," in showing to them the bread, I firmly believe, and know that it is true: that Christ, forasmuch as he is God, is the very truth itself, and by consequence all that he saith is true. And I believe that the very same was his body, in such wise as he willed it to be his body: for in that he is Almighty, he hath done whatsoever pleased him. And as, in Cana of Galilee, he changed the water into wine really, so that after the transubstantiation, it was wine and not water: so, when he said, "This is my body," if he would have had the bread really to be transubstantiated into his very body, so that after this changing it should have been his natural body, and not bread as it was before, I know that it must needs have been so. But I find not in the Scripture, that his will was to have any such real transubstantiation or mutation.

This is my body, expounded.

Note well, gentle reader.

And as the Lord God Omnipotent, in his perfection essential being the Son of God, doth exceed the purest creature, and yet, when it pleased him, he took upon him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and was really made man, so that after this assuming of our substance, he was really very God and very man: even so, if he would, when he said, "This is my body," he could make this to be his body really, the bread still really remaining as it was before. For less is the difference of the essence between bread and the body of a man, than between the Deity and humanity; because that of the bread is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made blood; of the blood natural seed; and of natural seed the natural substance of man is engendered. But in this that God became man, this is an action supernatural. Wherefore, he that could make one man to be very God and very man, could, if he would, make one thing to be really very bread, and his very body. But I do not find it expressly in the Scripture, that he would have any such identity or conjunction to be made. And, as Christ said, "I am very bread," not changing his essence or being into the essence or substance of bread, but was the said Christ which he was before really, and yet bread by a similitude or figurative speech; so, if he would, it might be, when he said, "This is my body," that this should

Bread by similitude.

Bread substantially.

really have been the bread as it was before, and sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this seemeth unto me most nearly to agree to the meaning of Christ, forasmuch as he said, "Do this in remembrance of me." Then, forasmuch as in the supper it is manifest that Christ gave unto his disciples the bread of his body, which he brake, to that intent to eat with their mouths, in which bread he gave himself also unto them, as one in whom they should believe (as to be the food of the soul); and by that faith they should believe him to be their Saviour who took his body, wherein also he willed it to be manifest, that he would redeem them from death; so was the bread eaten with the disciples' mouths, that he, being the true bread of the soul, might be in spirit received and eaten spiritually by their faith who believed in him.

and the body sacramentally.

The bread which in the disciples' mouths was chewed, from the mouth passed to the stomach. For as Christ saith, "Whatsoever cometh to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and from thence into the draught [Matt. xv.] But that true and very bread of the soul, was eaten by the spirit of the disciples, and by faith entered their minds, and abode in their inward parts, through love. And so the bread broken seemeth unto me to be really the meat of the body, and the bread which it was before; but, sacramentally, to be the body of Christ; as Paul [1 Cor. x.], "The bread which we break, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord?" So the bread which we break is the participation of the Lord's body: and it is manifest that the heavenly bread is not broken, neither yet is subject to such breaking, therefore Paul calleth the material bread which is broken, the body of Christ which the faithful are partakers of. The bread therefore changeth not its essence, but is bread really, and is the body of Christ sacramentally: even as Christ is the very vine, abiding really and figuratively the vine, so the temple of Jerusalem was really the material temple; and, figuratively, it was the body of Christ, because he said, "Destroy you this temple, and in three days I will repair the same again." And this spake he of the temple of his body; whereas others understood it to be the material temple, as appeared by their answer. For, said they, "Forty and seven years hath this temple been in building, and wilt thou build it up in three days?"

The bread which the Lord gave entereth not into the bodies, but the body which he gave entereth into the minds of the disciples. Paul calleth it material bread. Note, reader!

Even so may the consecrated bread be really bread, as it was before, and yet, figuratively, the body of Christ. And if, therefore, Christ would have this bread to be only sacramentally his body, and would not have the same bread really to be transubstantiated into his body, and so ordained his priests to make this sacrament as a memorial of his passion, then do the priests grievously offend, who beseech Christ in their holy mass, that the bread which lieth upon the altar may be made really the body of Christ, if he would only have the same to be but a sacrament of his body; and then be they both greatly deceived themselves, and also do greatly deceive others. But whether the bread be really transubstantiated into the body of Christ, or is only the body of Christ sacramentally, no doubt but that the people are marvellously deceived; for the people believe that they see the body of Christ, nay rather Christ himself, between the hands of the priests, for so is the common oath they swear, "By him whom I saw this day between the priest's hands." And the people believe that they eat not the body of Christ but at Easter, or else when they lie upon their death-bed, and receive with their bodily mouth the sacrament of the body of Christ. But the body of Christ (admit the bread be transubstantiated really into the body) is in the sacrament 'indivisibiliter,' that is, not able to be divided; and so 'immensurabiliter,' that is. not able to be measured. Ergo, 'invisibiliter,' that is, not able to be seen. To believe therefore that he may be seen corporally in the sacrament, is erroneous. And forasmuch as the body of Christ is the soul's food, and not the food of the body in this world, (for that whosoever believeth, doth eat spiritually and really, at any time when he so believeth) it is manifest that they do greatly err who believe that they eat not the body of Christ, but when they eat with their teeth the sacrament of the body of Christ.

The vain prayer of the priests at their mass.

The people greatly deceived in the sacrament.

The priests seek their own honour in their transubstantiation.

Mark here ye good priests.

And although it should be to the great honour of priests, that the bread really were changed into the body of Christ, by virtue of the sacramental words pronounced, yet, if Christ would not have it to be so, then they, desiring to do this contrary to the will of Christ, and informing the people what is to be done, so contrary to the will of Christ, are in great peril, most dangerously seducing both themselves and the people. And then, although thereby they get a little worldly and transitory honour for a short time, it is to be feared lest

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perpetual shame finally shall follow and ensue upon the same; for Christ saith "Every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low." Let them therefore take heed, lest they, extolling themselves for this sacrament above the company of angels who never sinned, for the error which they be in, for evermore be placed with the sinful angels under the earth.

Let every man therefore think lowly of himself, in what state or degree soever he be: neither let him presume to do that which he is not able to do; neither desire to have that thing done, which God would not have done.

The makers of the canon law contrary to themselves. Contrariety in the pope's canons.

I greatly marvel at those who were the makers of the canons, how variably, and contrary one to another, they write of this sacrament of the body of Christ. In the last part of the decrees where this matter is touched, not only in the text, but also in the process of the matter, divers do diversely write, and one contrary to another. For in the chapter that thus beginneth, "Prima inquit hæresis,"[1] it is thus written, "You shall not eat this body which you see, nor shall drink this blood which they shall shed who shall crucify me: I will commend unto you a certain sacrament spiritually understood that quickeneth you; for the flesh profiteth you nothing at all." And in the end of the same chapter it is thus written, "Till the world shall have an end, the Lord's place is in heaven: yet notwithstanding the verity of the Lord is here abiding with us. For the body wherewith he rose, ought to be in one place; but his verity is in every place diffused and spread abroad." And in the chapter following, which thus beginneth, "Omnia quæcunque voluit,"[2] &c. it is written, "Although the figure of the bread and wine seem to be nothing, yet, notwithstanding, they must, after the words of consecration, be believed to be none other thing than the very flesh of Christ, and his blood. Whereupon the Verity himself said unto his disciples, 'This is,' saith he, 'my flesh, which is given for the life of the world,' and to speak yet more marvellously, this is none other flesh than that which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, and rose out of the sepulchre."

The recantation of Berengarius is heretical.

See how far this chapter differeth from the first. And in the chapter which beginneth, "Ego Berengarius," &c., this is the confession which Berengarius himself confessed touching this sacrament, and his confession is of the church allowed: "I confess," saith Berengarius, "that the bread and wine which is laid upon the altar after the consecration, is not only a sacrament, but also that it is the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the same not only sensually to be a sacrament, but also verily to be handled with the priest's hands, and to be broken, and chewed with the teeth of faithful men." This confession doubtless is heretical: for why? If the body of Christ be in the sacrament (as of the church it is so determined), it is there then 'multiplicative,' and so 'indivisibiliter;' wherefore not 'sensualiter.' And if it be there 'indivisibiliter,' that is, in such sort as it cannot be divided or separated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken, or with the teeth of men chewed.

The sacrament left by the priest's negligence to be eaten of a mouse, returneth again from body to bread.

The writers of this time and age do affirm, that if, by the negligence of the priest, the sacrament be so negligently left, that a mouse, or any other beast or vermin eat the same; then they say, that the sacrament returneth again into the nature and substance of bread. Whereby they must needs confess, that a miracle is as well wrought by the negligence of the priest, as first there was made by the consecration of the priest in making the sacrament. For either by the eating of the mouse the body of Christ is transubstantiated into the nature of bread, which is a transubstantiation supernatural, or else of nothing by creation is this bread produced; and therefore either of these operations is miraculous and to be marvelled at. Now, considering the disagreeing opinions of the doctors, and for the absurdities which follow, I believe with Paul, that the bread which we break, is the participation of the body of Christ; and, as Christ saith, that the bread is made the body of Christ for a memorial and remembrance of him. And in such sort as Christ willed the same to be his body, in the same manner and sort do I believe it to be his body.

Whether external signs in a priest be the signs of Antichrist or else grounded upon Christ.

But, whether women may make the body of Christ, and minister it unto the people; or whether priests be divided from the lay people for their knowledge, pre-eminence, and sanctity of life, or else by external signs only; also, whether the sign of tonsure and other external signs of holiness in priests, be signs of

(1) De Consec. dist. 2. [cap. 44.—Ed.] (2) Ibid. [cap. 74.—Ed.]

Antichrist and his characters; or else introduced and taught by our Lord Jesus Christ: consequently it remaineth next to speak unto the faithful sort, according to the process of the holy Scripture; first, of the three kinds of the priests. I remember that I have read, the first of them to be Aaronical, legal, and temporal; the second to be eternal and regal, according to the order of Melchisedec; the third to be Christian. The first of these ceased at the coming of Christ; for as St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, 'The priesthood of Aaron was translated to the priesthood of the order of Melchisedec.' The legal sort of priests of Aaron were separated from the rest of the people by kindred, office, and inheritance: by kindred, for that the children of Aaron only were priests: by office, for that it only pertained to them to offer sacrifice for the sins of the people, and to instruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law: by inheritance, because the Lord was their portion of inheritance; neither had they any other inheritance amongst their brethren, but those things which were offered unto the Lord, as the first fruits, parts of the sacrifices, and vows; except places for their mansion houses, for them and theirs, as appeareth by the process of Moses' law. The priesthood of Christ did much differ from this priesthood, as Paul doth witness to the Hebrews, in chapters vii. viii. ix. x.

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Three orders or sorts of priests.

Levitical priests divided from the people by kindred, office, and inheritance.

First, in kindred: because that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ came of the stock and tribe of Judah, of which tribe none had to do with the altar, and in which tribe nothing at all was spoken of the priests of Moses.

How the priesthood of Christ differeth from the Levitical priesthood.

Secondly, for that others were made priests without their oath taken; but he, by an oath by him who said, 'The Lord swore and it shall not repent him, thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedec.'

Thirdly, by durability; for that many of them were made priests but during the term of their lives; 'but he, for that he remaineth for ever, hath an eternal priesthood. Wherefore he is able to save us for ever, having by himself access unto God, which ever liveth to make intercession for us.' The law made also such men priests as had infirmities; but 'Sermo' (that is, the Word, which, according to the law, is the eternal Son and perfect), by an oath.

See Appendix.

The priesthood of Christ also did differ from the priesthood of Aaron and the law in the matter of the sacrifice, and in the place of sacrificing. In the matter of their sacrifice: because they did use in the sacrifices strange bodies for the matter of their sacrifices, and did shed strange blood for the expiation of sins; but he offering himself unto God his Father for us, shed his own blood for the remission of our sins. In the place of sacrificing: because they did offer their sacrifice in the tabernacle or temple; but Christ suffering death without the gates of the city, offered himself upon the altar of the cross to God his Father, and there shed his precious blood. In his supping chamber, also, he blessed the bread, and consecrated the same for his body, and the wine which was in the cup he also consecrated for his blood; delivering the same to his apostles to be done for a commemoration and remembrance of his incarnation and passion. 'Neither did Jesus enter into the sanctuary made with man's hands, which be examples and figures of true things, but he entered into heaven itself, that he might appear before the Majesty of God for us. Neither doth he offer himself oftentimes, as the chief priest in the sanctuary did every year with strange blood (for then should he oftentimes have suffered from the beginning); but now once for all, in the latter end of the world, to destroy sin by his peace-offering hath he entered. And even as it is decreed, that man once shall die, and then cometh the judgment, so Christ hath been once offered, to take away the sins of many. The second time he shall appear without sin to them that look for him; to their salvation. For the law having a shadow of good things to come, can never, by the image itself of things (which every year without ceasing they offer by such sacrifices), make those perfect that come thereunto; for otherwise that offering should have ceased, because that such worshippers, being once cleansed from their sins, should have no more conscience of sin. But in these, commemoration is made every year of sin; for it is impossible that by the blood of goats and calves, sins should be purged and taken away. Therefore, coming into the world he said, sacrifice and oblation thou wouldst not have, but a body hast thou given me; peace-offerings for sins have not pleased thee: then said I, Behold I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God: saying, as above, Because thou wouldest have no sacrifice nor burnt-offerings for sin, neither dost thou take pleasure in those things that

The law bringeth none to perfection.

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are offered according to the law. Then said I, Behold I come, that I may do thy will O God. He taketh away the first to establish that which followeth. In which will we are sanctified, by the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every priest is ready daily ministering, and oftentimes offering like sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this Jesus, offering one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for evermore on the right hand of God, expecting the time till his enemies be made his footstool. For by his one only oblation, hath he consummated for evermore those that are sanctified.'

All these places have I recited which Paul writeth, for the better understanding and declaration of those things of which I mean to speak; by all which it appeareth manifestly, how the priesthood of Christ differeth from the legal priesthood of Aaron: and by the same also appeareth, how the same differeth from all other priesthood Christian, that imitateth Christ; for the properties of the priesthood of Christ, above recited, are found in no other priest, but in Christ alone.

The priesthood of Christ differeth from all others.

Of the third priesthood, that is, the 'Christian priesthood,' Christ, by express words, speaketh but little to make any difference between the priests and the rest of the people; neither yet doth use this name of 'sacerdos,' or 'presbyter,' in the gospel, but some he calleth 'disciples,' some 'apostles,' whom he sent to baptize and to preach, and in his name to do miracles. He calleth them the 'salt of the earth,' in which name wisdom is meant: and he calleth them 'the light of the world,' by which good living is signified: for he saith, 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.' And Paul, speaking of the priests to Timothy and Titus, seemeth not to me to make any diversity betwixt the priests and the other people, but in that he would have them to surmount others in knowledge and perfection of life.

The third priesthood.

The name of Sacerdos or Priest not used in the New Testament.

But the fourth priesthood is the Roman priesthood, brought in by the church of Rome, which church maketh a distinction between the clergy and the lay people, and, after that, the clergy is divided into sundry degrees, as appeareth in the decretals. This distinction of the clergy from the laity, with the tonsure of clerks, began in the time of Anacletus, as it doth appear in the chronicles. The degrees of the clergy were afterwards invented and distinguished by their offices, and there was no ascension to the degree of the priesthood, but by inferior orders and degrees. But in the primitive church it was not so; for, immediately after the conversion of some of them to faith and baptism received, they were made priests and bishops, as appeareth by Anianus, whom Marcus made of a tailor or shoemaker to be a bishop; and of many others it was in like case done, according to the traditions of the church of Rome. Priests are ordained to offer sacrifices, to make supplication and prayers, and to bless and sanctify. The oblation of the priesthood only to priests, as they say, is congruent; whose duties are upon the altar to offer for the sins of the people the Lord's body, which is consecrated of bread. Of which saying I have great marvel, considering St. Paul's words to the Hebrews before recited. If Christ, offering for our sins one oblation for evermore, sitteth at the right hand of God, and with that one oblation hath consummated for evermore those that are sanctified: if Christ evermore sitteth at the right hand of God, to make intercession for us, what need he to leave here any sacrifice for our sins by the priests to be daily offered? I do not find in the Scriptures of God, or of his apostles, that the body of Christ ought to be made a sacrifice for sin; but only as a sacrament and commemoration of the sacrifice passed, which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross for our sins. For it is an absurdity to say that Christ is now every day really offered as a sacrifice upon the altar by the priests; for then the priests should really crucify him upon the altar, which is a thing of no Christian to be believed. But, even as in his supper his body and his blood be delivered to his disciples, in memorial of his body that should be crucified on the morrow for our sins: so after his ascension, did his apostles use the same (when they brake bread in every house) for a sacrament, and not for a sacrifice, of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And by this means were they put in remembrance of the great love of Christ, who so entirely loved us, that willingly he suffered the death for us, and for the remission of our sins. And thus did they offer themselves to God by love, being ready to suffer death for the confession of his name, and for the saving health of their brethren, fulfilling the new

The fourth priesthood, which is the Roman.

The office of priests after the pope's order.

The body of Christ not left to be a sacrifice for sin, but only for a sacrament.

commandment of Christ, which said unto them, 'A new commandment do I give unto you, that you love one another, as I have loved you.' But when love began to wax cold, or rather to be frozen for cold, through the anguish and anxiety of persecution for the name of Christ, then priests did use the flesh and blood of Christ, instead of a sacrifice. And because many of them feared death, some of them fled into solitary places, not daring to give themselves a sacrifice by death unto God through the confession of his name, and for the saving health of their brethren: some others worshipped idols, fearing death; as did also the chief bishop of Rome, and many others besides, in divers places of the world. And thus it came to pass, that that which was ordained and constituted for a memorial of the one and only sacrifice, was altered, for want of love, into the reality of the sacrifice itself.

How the memorial of the sacrament came to the reality of the sacrifice itself

After these things thus discussed, he inferreth consequently upon the same, another brief tractation of women and lay-men: whether, in defect of the other, they may exercise the action of prayer, and administration of sacraments belonging to priests, wherein he declareth the use received in the pope's church for women to baptize, which, saith he, cannot be without remission of sins: wherefore, seeing that women have power by the pope to remit sin, and to baptize, why may not they as well be admitted to minister the Lord's Supper, in like case of necessity? Wherein also he maketh relation of pope Joan VIII., a woman pope, moving certain questions of her. All which, for brevity, I omit, proceeding unto the ministration of Prayer, and blessing of Sanctification, appropriate to the office of priests, as followeth.

Walter Brute, on the Order and Office of Prayer, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the function and office of praying and blessing, whereunto priests seem to be ordained (to omit here the question whether women may pray in churches, in lack of other meet persons), it remaineth now also to prosecute. Christ, being desired of his disciples to teach them to pray, gave them the Common-Prayer both to men and women, to which prayer, in my estimation, no other is to be compared. For in that, first, the whole honour due unto the Deity is comprehended. Secondly, whatsoever is necessary for us, both for the time present or past, or for time to come, is there desired and prayed, for. He informeth us besides to pray secretly, and also briefly: secretly to enter into our close chamber, and there in secrecy he willeth us to pray unto his Father: and saith, moreover, 'When ye pray, use not much babbling, or many words, as do the heathen. For they think, in their long and prolix praying, to be heard. Therefore be you not like to them.' [Matt. vi.] By which doctrine he calleth us away from the errors of the heathen Gentiles, from whom proceed these superstitious manners of arts (or rather of ignorances), as necromancy, the art of divination, and other spices of conjuration, not unknown to them that be learned: for these necromancers believe one place to be of greater virtue than another; there to be heard sooner, than in another. Like as Balaam being hired to curse the people of God by his art of soothsaying or charming, when he could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he removed to another; but he, in the end, was deceived of his desire: for he, intending first to curse them, was not able to accurse them whom the Lord blessed, so that his curse could not hurt any of all that people. After like sort, the necromancers turn their face to the East, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Also the necromancers believe that the virtue of the words of the prayer, and the curiosity thereof, cause them to bring to effect that which they seek after; which is also another point of infidelity, used much of charmers, sorcerers, enchanters, soothsayers, and such like. Out of the same art, I fear, proceedeth the practice of exorcising, whereby devils and spirits be conjured to do that, whereunto they are enforced by the exorcist. Also, whereby other creatures likewise are exorcised or conjured, so that, by the virtue of their exorcism, they may have their power and strength exceeding all natural operation.

The Lord's Prayer.

The arts of necromancy, soothsaying, and witchcraft, how and from whom they came

Exorcising.

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In the church of Rome many such exorcisms and conjurations be practised, and are called by them benedictions, or hallowings. But here I ask of these exorcisers, whether they believe the things and creatures so exorcised and hallowed, have that operation and efficacy given them which they pretend? If they so believe, every child may see that they are far beguiled. For holy water, being of them exorcised or conjured, hath no such power in it, neither can have, which they in their exorcism do command. For there they enjoin and command, that wheresoever that water is sprinkled, all vexation or infestation of the unclean spirit should void, and that no pestilent spirit there should abide, &c. But most plain it is, that no water, be it ever so holy, can have any such power so to do, as it is commanded; to wit, to be a universal remedy to expel all diseases.

Conjuring or hallowing in the popish church.

Holy water conjured.

This, I would ask, of these exorcists: whether in their commanding, they do conjure, or adjure, the things conjured to be of a higher virtue and operation, than their own nature doth give: or else, whether they, in their prayers, desire of God, that he will infuse into them that virtue, which they require? If they, in their commanding, do so believe, then do they believe that they have that power in them, to which the inferior power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiving that which is commanded. And so doing, they are much more deceived, forasmuch as they see themselves, that they who are so authorized to the office of exorcising, say to the devil being conjured, 'Go,' and he goeth not; and to another, 'Come,' and he cometh not: and many things else they command the inferior spirit their subject to do, and he doth not. So, in like case, when they pray to God to make the water[1] to be of such virtue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulse every unclean spirit, and to chase away all manner of distemperature and pestilence of the air (being an unreasonable petition asked, and sore displeasing to God), it is to be feared lest their benediction, their hallowing and blessing, is changed into cursing, according to that saying that followeth: 'And now, O you priests, I have a message to say unto you; if you will not hear and bear well away in your minds to give the glory unto my name, saith the Lord God of hosts, I will send scarcity among you, and I will curse your blessings.' What things, and how many are blessed, or hallowed in the church, that in hallowing thereof displease God, and are accursed? And therefore, according to the saying of St. James [chap. iv.], they ask and are not heard, because they ask not as they should, that they in their own desires may perish. Let a man behold the blessing or hallowing of their fire, water, incense, wax, bread, wine, the church, the altar, the churchyard, ashes, bells, copes, palms, oil, candles, salt, the hallowing of the ring, the bed, the staff, and of many such like things; and I believe that a man shall find out many errors of the heathen magicians, witches, soothsayers and charmers. And notwithstanding the ancient and old magicians, in their books, command those that be conjurers, that they in any wise live devoutly (for otherwise, as they say, the spirits will not obey their commandments, and conjurations), yet the Roman conjurers do impute it to the virtue of the holy words, because they be they which work, and not the holiness of the conjurers. How cometh it to pass that, they say, the things consecrated by a cursed and vicious javel[2] should have as great virtue in pronouncing (as they say) the holy and mystical words, as if they were pronounced by a priest ever so holy? But I marvel that they say so, reading this saying in the Acts of the Apostles: because the charmers, pronouncing the name of Jesus, which is above all names, would have healed those that were possessed with devils, and said; 'In the name of Jesus, whom Paul preacheth, go ye out of the men;' and the possessed with devils answered, 'Jesus we know, and Paul we know, but what are ye?' And they all to-be-beat the conjurers.'

Absurdity and abomination in the popish exorcisms detected.

Romish conjurers.

The good life of a priest, a great matter to deal in God's matters.

And now, considering this and many such like things, I marvel wherefore the vicious priests do sell their prayers and blessings dearer (as also their masses and trentals[3] of masses) than those that be devout lay-men, and holy women, who, with all their heart, desire to flee from vice, and take hold of virtue: forasmuch as God, in divers places of the Scripture, doth promise that he will not hear

(1) Where was the pope's holy water then, in the great pestilence in the time of king Edward III?
(2) "Javel." A slanderer.—Ed.
(3) "Trental." An office for the dead, which lasts for thirty days, and consists of thirty masses —Ed.

sinners and wicked persons; neither should he seem to be just, if he should sooner hear the prayers of his enemies, than of his faithful friend. How, I pray you, shall a sinful priest deliver another man from sin by his prayers, or else from the punishment of sin, when he is not able to deliver himself, by his prayers, from sin? What then doth God so much accept in the mass of a vicious priest, that for his mass, his prayer or oblation, he might deliver any man either from sin, or from the pain due for sin? No, but for this, that Christ hath once offered himself for our sins, and now sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, always showing unto him what and how great things he hath suffered for us. And every priest always maketh mention in his mass of this oblation; neither do we this that we might bring the same oblation into the remembrance of God, because that he always, in his presence, seeth the same; but that we should have in remembrance this so great love of God, that he would give his own Son to death for our sins, that he might cleanse and purify us from all our sins. What doth it please God, that the remembrance of so great love is made by a priest, who more loveth sin than God? Or how can any prayer of such a priest please God, in what holy place soever he be, or what holy vestments soever he put on, or what holy prayers soever he maketh? And, whereas Christ and his apostles do command the preaching of the word of God, the priests now be more bound to celebrate the mass, and more straitly bound to say the canonical hours; whereat I cannot but greatly marvel. For why? To obey the precepts of men more than the commandments of God, is in effect to honour man as God, and to bestow the sacrifice upon man which is due unto God, and this is also spiritual fornication. How, therefore, are priests bound, at the commandment of man, to leave the preaching of the word of God, at whose commandment they are not bound to leave the celebration of the mass, or singing of matins? Therefore, as it seemeth, priests ought not, at the commandment of any man, to leave the preaching of the word of God, to which they are bound both by divine and apostolical precepts. With which agreeth that of Jerome in the Decretum,[1] saying in this wise; 'Let none of the bishops swell with the envy of devilish temptation; let none be angry, if the priest do sometimes exhort the people; if they preach in the church, &c. For to him that forbiddeth me these things I will say, "He that is unwilling that priests should do those things which be commanded of God, let him say who is above Christ; or what may be preferred before his body and his blood," &c.

The prayers of a vicious priest little availeth before God.

Remembrance of Christ's passion needeth not to God, but to man.

Priests more bound to say mass, commanded by man, than to preaching, commanded of God.

Spiritual fornication.

See Appendix.

Do priests therefore sin or not, who bargain for money to pray for the soul of any dead man? It is well known that Jesus did whip those that were buyers and sellers out of the temple, saying, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer, but you have made the same a den of thieves:' Truly he cast not out such merchants from out of the church, but because of their sins. Whereupon Jerome, upon this text, saith; 'Let the priests be diligent and take good heed in this church, that they turn not the house of God into a den of thieves. He doubtless is a thief who seeketh gain by religion, and by a show of holiness studieth to find occasion of merchandise.' Hereupon the holy canons do make accursed simoniacal heresy, and do command that those should be deprived of the priesthood, who, for the surpassing or marvellous spiritual grace, do seek gain or money. Peter the apostle said to Simon Magus, 'Let thy money and thou go both to the devil, which thinkest that the gifts of God may be bought for money.' Therefore the spiritual gifts of God ought not to be sold.

Whether priests may bargain to sing for souls departed.

Jerome

Verily prayer is the spiritual gift of God, as is also the preaching of the Word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the administration of other the sacraments. Christ, sending forth his disciples to preach, said unto them, 'Heal ye the sick, cast out devils, raise the dead; freely ye have received, freely give ye again.' If the priest have power, by his prayers, to deliver souls being in purgatory from grievous pains, without doubt he hath received that power freely from God. How, therefore, can he sell his act, unless he resist the commandments of God, of whom he hath received that authority? This truly cannot be done without sin, which is against the commandment of God. How plainly spake Christ to the Pharisees and priests, saying; 'Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites,' because ye have eaten the whole houses of such as be widows by making long prayers, and, therefore, have you received greater damnation.' Wherein, I pray you, do our pharisees and priests differ from them? Do not our priests devour widows' houses and possessions, that by their long prayers

Selling prayer abominable.

(1) Decreti Pars I. Distinctio xcv. cap. 6, "Ecce ego." This passage is cited by John Huss, supra, p. 67.—Ed.

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they might deliver the souls of their husbands from the grievous pains of purgatory? How many lordships, I pray you, have been bestowed upon the religious men and women to pray for the dead, that they, by their prayer, might deliver those dead men from the pain, as they said, that they suffer in purgatory, grievously tormented and vexed? If their prayers and speaking of holy words shall not be able to deliver themselves from pain, unless they have good works, how shall other men be delivered from pain by their prayers, who, whilst they lived here, gave themselves over to sin? Yea, peradventure those lordships or lands, which they gave unto the priests to pray for them, they themselves have gotten by might, from other faithful men, unjustly, and violently: and the canons do say, that sin is not forgiven, till the thing taken away wrongfully be restored: how then shall they be able, who do unjustly possess such lordships or lands, to deliver them by their prayers from pain, who have given to them these lordships or lands, seeing God, from the beginning, hath hated all extortion in his burnt sacrifices? 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord! Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he which doth the will of my Father which is in heaven.' And again, 'Not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law shall be justified.'

Religious men and women devourers of widows' houses. Praying for souls in purgatory.

Evil gotten lands, as evil bestowed, for praying for souls in purgatory.

If, therefore, the words of him that prayeth, do not deliver himself from sin, nor from the pain of sin, how do they deliver other men from sin or from the pain of sin, when no man prayeth more earnestly for another man, than for himself? Therefore many are deceived in buying or selling of prayers, as in the buying of pardons, that they might be delivered from pain; when commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud and vicious prelates, than for the prayers of devout women and devout men of the lay-people. But, out of doubt, God doth not regard the person of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparel, nor the curiousness of his prayer, but the humility and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the pharisee and the publican go up into the temple to pray? The publican's prayer, for his humility and godly affection, is heard. But the pharisee's prayer, for his pride and arrogancy, is contemned. Consider that neither the person, nor the place, nor the state, nor the curiousness of his prayer, doth help the pharisee: because the publican, not thinking himself worthy to lift up his eyes unto heaven, for the multitude of his sins, saying, 'O God! be merciful unto me a sinner,' is justified by his humility, and his prayer is heard. But the pharisee, boasting in his righteousness, is despised; because God thrusteth down the proud, and exalteth the humble and those that be meek. The rich glutton also, that was clothed with purple and silk, and fared every day daintily, prayed unto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buried in pains and torments of hell-fire. But Lazarus, who lay begging at his gate, being full of sores, is placed in the bosom of Abraham. Behold that neither the riches of his apparel, nor the deliciousness of his banquets, nor the gorgeousness of his estate, neither the abundance of his riches, doth help any thing to prefer the prayers or petitions of the rich glutton, nor yet diminish his torments, because that mighty men in their mightiness, shall suffer torments mightily. How dare any man, by composition, demand or receive any thing of another man for his prayers? If he believe that he can, by his prayer, deliver his brother from grievous pain, he is bound by charity to relieve his brother with his prayers, although he be not hired thereunto: but and if he will not pray unless he be hired, then hath he no love at all. What therefore helpeth his prayer who abideth not in charity? Therefore let him first take compassion of himself by prayer, that he may come into charity, and then he shall be the better able to help others. If he believe not, or if he stand in doubt whether he shall be able to deliver his brother by his prayer, wherefore doth he make with him an assured bargain, and take his money, and yet know not whether he shall relieve him ever a whit the more or not, from his pain? I fear lest the words of the prophet are fulfilled, saying, 'From the least to the most, all men apply themselves to covetousness; and from the prophet to the priest, all work deceitfully.' For the poor priests excuse themselves of such bargaining and selling of their prayers, saying, 'The young cock learneth to crow of the old cock.' 'For,' say they, 'thou mayest see that the pope himself, in stalling of bishops and abbots, taketh the first fruits: in the placing or bestowing of benefices he always taketh somewhat, and especially if the benefices be great. And he selleth pardons or bulls; and, to speak more plain, he taketh money for

Buying and selling of prayers and pardons in the pope's church.

Person, place, apparel, curiosity or eloquence of prayer, not regarded of God.

That prayer doth more for money, than for charity, disproved.

them. Bishops, in giving orders, in hallowing churches and church-yards, do take money; in ecclesiastical correction they take money for the mitigation of penance; in the grievous offences of convict persons, money is required, and caused to be paid. Abbots, monks, and other religious men that have possession, will receive no man into their fraternity, or make them partakers of their spiritual suffrages, unless he bestow somewhat upon them, or promise them somewhat. Curates and vicars, having sufficient livings by the tithes of their parishioners, yet in dirges and years-minds, in hearing confessions, in weddings and buryings, do require and have money. The friars, also, of the four orders of beggars, who think themselves to be the most perfect men of the church, do take money for their prayers, confessions, and buryings of the dead; and when they preach, they believe that they shall have either money, or some other thing worth money. Wherefore then be the poor priests blamed? ought not they to be held excused, although they take money for their prayers by composition?' Truly, me thinketh, that this excuse by other men's sins, doth not excuse them, forasmuch as to heap one mischief upon another's head, is no sufficient discharge. I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spiritual suffrages would, with the eyes of their heart, behold the ruin of the great city, and the fall of Babylon, and that which they shall say after that fall. Doth not the prophet say, 'And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn for her, because no man shall buy any more their merchandise; that is, their merchandise of gold and silver, and of precious stone, and of pearl, and of silk and purple?' And again, he saith, 'And the merchants which were made rich by her, shall stand aloof for fear of her torments, weeping, mourning, and saying, Alas! Alas! that city Babylon, that great city, which was wont to wear purple, white silk, crimson, gold, pearl, and precious stone, because that in one hour all those riches are come to nought.' And again; 'And they cast dust upon their heads, and cried out, weeping, and mourning, and saying, Alas! Alas! that great and mighty city Babylon, by whom all such as had ships upon the sea, were made rich by rewards; because that in one hour she is become desolate.'

Selling of pardons, orders, church hallowings, discipline, fraternity, dirges, year-minds, confessions, weddings, buryings, sermons, &c.

Example to be taken by the fall of Babylon.

This Babylon, this great city, is the city of Rome, as it appeareth by the process of the apostle, because the angel who showed unto St. John the destruction of the mighty harlot sitting upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and all they who dwell upon the earth are made drunk with the wine of her whoredom, said unto him, 'And the woman which thou sawest, is the great city which hath dominion above kings,' &c. [Apoc. 18.] And indeed, in the days of St. John, the whole world was subject to the temporal empire of the city of Rome, and afterwards it was subject to the spiritual empire or dominion of the same. But, touching the temporal government of the city of Rome, it is fallen already; and so that other also, for the multitude of her spiritual fornication, shall fall. The emperors of this city gave themselves to idolatry, and would have that men should honour them as gods, and put all those to death that refused such idolatry; and by the cruelty of their torments all infidels gat the upper hand.

The city of Rome, Babylon.

The temporal and spiritual dominion of the city of Rome.

Hereupon, by the image of Nabuchadnezzar, the empire of the Romans is likened to iron, which beateth together, and hath the mastery of all metals. And in the vision of Daniel, wherein he saw the four winds of heaven to fight in the main sea, and four very great beasts coming out of the sea, the kingdom of the Romans is likened to the fourth terrible and marvellous beast, which had great iron teeth, eating and destroying, and treading the rest under his feet; and this beast had ten horns, and, as Daniel saith, he shall speak words against the Most Highest, and shall tear with his teeth the saints of the Most Highest, and he shall think that he may be able to change times and laws; and they shall be delivered into his power, until a time, times, and half a time. In the Apocalypse, St. John saw a beast coming out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and power was given to him to continue for forty-two months. So long time endured the empire of the Romans, that is to say, from the beginning of Julius Cæsar, who was the first emperor of the Romans, unto the end of Frederic, who was the last emperor of the Romans. Under this empire Christ suffered, and other martyrs also suffered for his name's sake. And here is fallen Rome as Babylon, which is all one, according to the manner of speaking in the Apocalypse, as touching the temporal and corporal power of governing. And

The fourth beast in the prophecy of Daniel signifieth Rome.

The beast with seven heads in the Apoc. signifieth Rome.

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thus shall she fall, also, touching the spiritual power of governing, for the multitude of iniquities, and spiritual fornication and merchandise that are committed by her in the church.

The feet of the image which Nabuchadnezzar saw, did betoken the empire o Rome, and part of them were of iron, and part of clay and earth. The part that was of iron fell, and the power thereof vanished away, because the power thereof was at an end after certain months. That part of clay and earth yet endureth, but it shall vanish away by the testimony of the prophets; whereupon St. John in the Apocalypse: 'After that, he saw the part made of iron rising out of the sea, to which each people, tribe, and tongue, submitted themselves. And he saw another beast coming out of the earth, which had two horns like to the horns of a lamb, and he spake like a dragon, and he vanquished the first beast in his sight.'

The feet of the image in the dream of Nabuchadnezzar signifieth Rome.

The beast with two horns like the lamb, signifieth the spiritual dominion of Rome.

This beast, as seemeth me, doth betoken the clay and earthen part of the feet of the image, because he came out of the earth; for that by terrene help he is made the high and chief priest of the Romans in the church of Christ, and so from below he ascended on high. But Christ from heaven descended, because that he who was God, and Author of every creature, became man; and he that was Lord of lords, was made in the shape of a servant. And although in the heavens the company of angels minister unto him, he himself ministered or served on earth, that he might teach us humility, by which a man ascendeth into heaven, even as by pride a man goeth down into the bottomless pit. This beast hath two horns most like a lamb, because he challengeth to himself both the priestly and kingly power above all other here on earth. The Lamb, that is Christ, is a king for ever upon the kingly seat of David, and he is a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec, but his kingdom is not of this world, but the kingdom of this beast is of this world, because those that be under him fight for him. And, as Jesus is Christ two manner of ways, because 'Christus' is as much as to say, 'Unctus,' he verily was anointed king, and anointed priest: so this beast saith, that he is chief king and priest. Wherefore doth he call himself Christ; because Christ, knowing that before, said, 'Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many.' And thus, because he is both king and priest, he challengeth to himself the double sword; that is, the corporal sword, and the spiritual sword. The corporal sword is in his right hand, and the spiritual sword is in his right eye, by the testimony of Zachariah. But he speaketh subtilely, like a dragon, because, by the testimony of Christ, he shall deceive many, as the Apocalypse witnesseth. He did great wonders, that also he might make more fire to come from heaven into the earth in the sight of men, that he might deceive those that dwell upon the earth, because of the wonders that are permitted him to do in the sight of the beast; and he overcame the first beast which ascended out of the sea, for that beast challenged unto himself authority of government over the whole world. He hath put to death and tormented those that resist his commandments, and would be honoured as a god upon the earth. The bishop of Rome saith, that the whole world ought to be in subjection unto him: those that be disobedient unto his commandments he putteth in prison, and to death, if he can. If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commandeth them to be cast into the devil's dungeon. But he that hath no power over the body, much less hath he power over the soul. And truly his excommunication, or the excommunication of any priest under him, shall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicated, so that the person of him that is excommunicated be not first excommunicated of God, through sin.

Jesus is Christ two manner of ways, as King and Priest;

The double sword of the pope.

The bishop of Rome seeketh to be worshipped as God. His commandments more regarded than Christ's

And thus it seemeth a truth unto me, that God thus turns their blessings into cursings, because they give not due glory unto his name: so when they unjustly excommunicate and curse, he turneth their cursings into blessings. Also the bishop of Rome doth make men to worship him as God, because the special sacrifice that God doth require of us, is to be obedient unto him in keeping his commandments. But now the pope's commandments be commanded to be kept, and be kept in very deed, but the commandments of Christ are contemned and rejected. Thus sitteth the bishop of Rome in the temple of God, showing himself as God, and extolling himself above all which is called God, or worshipped as God. But in his fall he shall be revealed, because every kingdom divided in itself shall be made desolate. He, teaching a truth, is the head of the

church; but the prophet, teaching a lie, is the tail of the dragon. He, seducing the world, shall be acknowledged to be the verity of the doctrine of Christ; but after he is known, he shall be rejected and nought esteemed. He giveth to small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, marks in their right hands and in their foreheads, that no man should buy or sell, but those that shall have the marks of the name of the beast, or that look to have of him some recompense, small, mean, or great, or else the number of his name, which number is three hundred. The pope saith, that, in the administration of every sacrament, he doth imprint certain characters or marks, into the soul of him that receiveth it. In baptism, he saith, that he doth imprint into the soul of him that is baptized, a mark that cannot be wiped out; and so likewise in other sacraments. And I know that in a sacrament are two things, that is, the sacramental sign, and the spiritual grace represented by the same sign: the sacramental sign is given to man by man, but the spiritual grace is given by Christ.

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In every sacrament two things.

Wherefore, although a vicious or naughty priest doth baptize any man, if he that is baptized or his parents (if he be a child) do ask with faithful meaning, baptism, and do mean faithfully hereafter to observe the words of baptism, he is as well baptized, as if he were baptized of ever so virtuous a priest. So also the sinner, who, with all his heart, is sorry for his sins, and doth ask faithfully mercy of God, is as well absolved by a vicious priest, as by a virtuous: because the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, wipeth away inwardly our sins by his grace, because he is the bishop and pastor of our souls. All other priests do outwardly work absolution, who know not for a certainty whether they have absolved or not: so also is it in the others, because that the grace of the sacrament is given by God, and the sacramental sign by man. In giving of orders the chief bishop doth imprint the corporal mark; but of the spiritual marks I know none, unless a man will say, that by receiving the order he hath some belief that he may work some things pertaining to that order which, before the receiving of the order, he could not. But this one thing is certain, that none in the church ought to sell spiritual merchandise (of which things we have spoken before), unless he have the mark of the beast. My counsel is, let the buyer be aware of those marks; because that after the fall of Babylon, 'If any man hath worshipped the beast and her image, and hath received the mark upon his forehead, and upon his hand, he shall drink of the wine of God's wrath, which is mixed with the wine in the cup of his anger, and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels, and in the sight of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torments shall evermore ascend, although he look for a recompense, small, mean, or great, of the beast, or else the number of his name.' The beast, doubtless, doth recompense his friends with his small reward: that is, with great gifts and benefices corporal: with a mean reward, that is, with great spiritual gifts, in authority of blessing, loosing, binding, praying, and exercising other spiritual works; and with his greatest reward, which, after they be dead, maketh them to be honoured on earth among the saints. The number of his name, according to the opinion of some men, is, 'Dux cleri' the 'captain of the clergy,' because by that name he is named, and maketh his name known, and that name is six hundred and sixty-six.

Caveat emptor

The rewards of the beast

The number of the name of the beast.

Dux Cleri.

This is my opinion of the beast ascending out of the earth, and shall be, until such time as I shall be of the same beast better instructed. And although this beast doth signify the Roman bishops, yet the other cruel beast ascending out of the sea doth signify the Roman emperors. And although the dragon, being a cruel beast, and the false prophet giving the mark, must be thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented for ever, I would have no man to judge; but I leave such things altogether to the final judgment of Christ to be determined. But Martin, the pope's confessor, who maketh the chronicle of the emperors and popes, reciteth many errors of the popes, more horrible and abominable than of the emperors: for he speaketh of the idolatrous popes, heretical, simoniacal, and popes that were murderers, that used necromancy and witchcraft, that were fornicators, and defiled with all kind of vice. Thus I have partly declared how the pope's law is contrary to Christ's law, and how he saith, that he is the chief vicar of Christ on earth; and in his deeds is contrary to Christ, and doth forsake both his doctrine and life. I cannot see who else may be so well Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, for there is not a greater pestilence than a familiar enemy.

More wicked popes than emperors.

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As concerning idols and the worshipping of them, I think of them as Moses, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremy, and the rest of the prophets did, who all spake against the making of images, as also the worshipping of images. And faithful David, full of the Spirit of God, saith, 'Let all those be confounded that worship images, and that rejoice in idols.' And again he saith, 'Let them be made like unto them that make them, and all such as put their trust in them.' Wherefore I pray God that this evil come not upon me, which is the curse of God pronounced by David the prophet: nor will I be, by God's grace, either a maker or else a worshipper of images.

Matters of idolatry. Images.

As concerning oaths, I believe and obey the doctrine of the Almighty God, and my master Jesus Christ, who teacheth, that christian men, in affirmation of a truth, should pass the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees of the Old Testament, or else he excludeth them from the kingdom of heaven. For he saith, 'Unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.' And concerning oaths he saith, 'It hath been said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord those things which thou knowest. But I say unto you, Thou shall not swear at all, neither by the heaven, nor yet by the earth, &c. But let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever shall be more than this, proceedeth of evil.' Therefore, as the perfection of the ancient men of the Old Testament was, not to forswear themselves, so the perfection of christian men is, not to swear at all, because they are so commanded of Christ, whose commandment must in no case be broken, although the city of Rome is contrary to this doctrine of Christ, even as in many things she is found contrary to herself.

Oaths, how far tolerable.

As touching the taking away of temporal goods, from those that are ecclesiastical persons offending 'habitualiter,' by such as are temporal lords, I will not affirm any thing to be lawful in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreeable to charity. And that, because it is a hard matter for a man to take another man's goods from him without breaking of charity; because, peradventure, he that taketh away is the more moved to such manner of taking away, by reason of the desire he hath to those goods, which he endeavoureth to take away; or else, because of some displeasure or hatred to the person from whom he goeth about to take away those goods, than that he, from whom those goods be taken, should be amended. Therefore, unless he that taketh away be only moved of charity to the taking away of such goods, I dare not affirm that such taking is lawful. And if such taking away proceed of charity, I dare not judge it unlawful; because the bishop of Rome, who received his temporal dominion of the emperor, when the emperor rebelled and was not obedient unto him, deprived him from his temporal jurisdictions: how much more then may temporal lords do the same, who have bestowed upon them many temporal dominions and lordships, only to the intent that they might the better intend to serve God, and keep his commandments? Now if they perceive that they be against the laws of God, and that they be over-busily occupied about worldly matters, I cannot see but that they may well enough take from them those temporal goods, which to a good purpose they gave them. But if, in time to come after this, those that be temporal lords shall take from ecclesiastical persons such temporalties, let him that desireth to understand this, read the prophet Ezekiel, in the chapter of the shepherds of Israel who fed themselves instead of their flock, and also let him read, in the Apocalypse, of the fall of Babylon: let him also read the pope's decretals against heretics; and in those he shall find, that the taking away of the temporalties from the clergy, shall come to pass for the multitude of their sins.

Whether temporal goods may be taken away from ecclesiastical persons offending.

Popes take from emperors, their benefactors, temporal dominion, when they offend: ergo, much more may emperors take from popes temporal dominion when they offend.

A prophecy of Walter Brute, that temporal goods shall be taken away from the clergy for the multitude of their sins.

Thus, reverend father, have I made mine answer to the matter whereof I am accused: beseeching you that as I have been obedient to your desire, and that even as a son, declaring unto you the secrets of my heart in plain words, although rudely, so I desire to know your opinion, and crave your fatherly benevolence, that now your labour may be for my instruction and amendment, and not to accusation and condemnation. For like as in the beginning, I have promised you, if any man, of what state, sect, or condition soever he be, can show me any error, in any of my writings, by the authority of holy Scripture, or by any probable reason grounded on the Scriptures, I will receive his information willingly and humbly.

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After all the aforesaid things were exhibited and given by the aforesaid Walter Brute unto the said bishop of Hereford, he further appointed to the same Walter the third day of the month of October, at Hereford, with the continuance of the days following, to hear his opinion: which third day now at hand, being Friday, A.D. 1393, the said Walter Brute appeared before him, sitting in commission in the cathedral church of Hereford, at six o'clock, or thereabout, having for his assistants in the same place, divers prelates and abbots, and twenty bachelors of divinity, whereof twelve were monks, and two doctors of the law. Amongst these was Nicholas Hereford,[1] accompanied with many other prelates and worshipful men, and wise graduates in sundry faculties. Now was the aforesaid Walter apposed of his writings aforesaid, and the contents therein. Earnest were they in picking out of those writings, his heresies, and in showing his schisms, sundry errors, and divers other things. Now, after they had continued all that day and the two days following (that is, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday), in their informations and examinations against the same Walter Brute, the same Walter Brute submitted himself to the determination of the church, and to the correction of the said John, the bishop, as it appeareth, word for word, in a scroll written in the English tongue: the tenor of which scroll is as followeth:—

Walter Brute again commanded to appear.

A commission sitting upon Walter Brute.

Nicholas Hereford there also present.

Writings of Walter Brute examined.

I, Walter Brute, submit myself principally to the evangely of Jesus Christ, and to the determination of holy kirk, and to the general councils of holy kirk. And to the sentence and determination of the four doctors of holy writ; that is, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory. And I meekly submit me to your correction, as a subject ought to his bishop.

The tenor of his submission.

This scroll, as before is recited, in the English tongue, the aforesaid Walter Brute read, with a loud and intelligible voice, at the cross in the churchyard, on Monday; that is to say, the sixth of the said month of October, before the sermon made unto the people, in presence of the said bishop of Hereford and others above written, as also other barons, knights, and noblemen, and clergy, and also a great multitude of people. After which reading of the scroll, the aforesaid Thomas Crawlay, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon unto the people, and took for his theme the words of the apostle to the Romans, chapter xii, that is as followeth: "Be not over-wise in your own conceits, but stand in fear," &c.

The submission openly read at Hereford.

Out of these declarations and writings of Walter Brute, the bishop, with the monks and doctors above rehearsed, did gather and draw out certain articles, to the number of thirty-seven, which they sent to the university of Cambridge to be confuted, unto two learned men, Master Colwill and Master Newton, bachelors of divinity: which Masters Colwill and Newton did both labour in the matter, to the uttermost of their cunning, in replying and answering to the said thirty-seven articles.

Besides them also, William Woodford, a friar, who wrote likewise against the articles of Wickliff, labouring in the same cause, made a solemn and a long tractation; compiling the articles of the said Brute, to the number of nine and twenty[2]: all which treatises as I wish to come to the reader's hand, that the slenderness of them might be known; so it may happen percase, that the same being in my hands

See Appendix.

(1) See supra, p. 49—Ed.

2) See the Appendix.

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may hereafter be further published, with other like tractations more, as convenient time, for the prolixity thereof, may hereafter better serve than now.

What, after this, became of this Walter Brute, or what end he had, I find it not registered; but like it is, that he for this time escaped. Certain other writings I find, moreover, which, albeit they bear no name of this Walter, nor of any certain author, yet, because they are in the same register adjoined to the history of him, I thought, therefore, most fit here to be inserted: of which one was a letter sent to Nicholas Hereford, a little above specified, who being, at the first, a great follower of John Wickliff, as appeareth before, was now in the number of them who sat upon this Walter, as is above recorded. The copy of this letter, bearing no name of any special author, but only as sent by a certain Lollard, as the register doth term him, is written in manner and form as followeth.

The Copy of a Letter sent to Master Nicholas Hereford, by a Lollard, as in the Register it is said.

Forasmuch as no man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God, as our Saviour Christ saith, what marvel is it, although Master Nicholas Hereford, who at the first (by the visitation of the Spirit of God, peradventure) put his hand, that is, gave his diligence unto the plough; that is, to the sowing of the word of God and holy Scripture, as well in preaching as in doing good works, is now so blind and unskilful to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is understood by the kingdom of heaven? Truly, it is no marvel, O thou that art master of the Nicolaitans! who, like Nicholas, the most false deacon, hast left or forsaken the infallible knowledge of the holy Scripture: for the true knowledge of the theological verity is shut up as well from thee, as from all the other Nicolaitans following thy conditions; forasmuch as thou goest not in by the door to expound the same evangelical verity.

Nicolaitans.

Therefore, when thou didst recite the other day, first, the pharisaical and hypocritical woe (nothing at all to any purpose), thou shouldst have said justly in this sort, both of thyself, and other thy followers and religious Antichrists: 'Woe be unto *us* Scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven;' that is to say, the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures before men, by our false glosses and crooked similitudes: and neither we ourselves enter into the same kingdom or knowledge, nor suffer others to enter into it. Wherefore, it seemeth unto the faithful sort, that wrongfully, falsely, and without any reverence, ye have expounded that text of Gregory [1 quæst. 1], that is to say, 'Quicunque studet,' &c. For this is the true understanding of the same: knowing, first, that there be some priests after the thing and name only; and it doth show that this is true, that whosoever studieth to receive the holy order by giving of money, he is not a priest, 'Secundum rem et nomen:' but, to say the truth, he desireth to be called a priest; that is, to be a priest 'Secundum nomen tantum.' And such a priest, who is a priest in name only, is no priest; no more than St. Mary painted is St Mary; or a false doctor a doctor, but no doctor; and a man painted is not a man, but no man. And thus such a priest in name only, is not a priest; because all faithful men do firmly believe with St. Gregory, that no man buying the holy orders, may then be called a priest; as he saith [1 quæst. 1], 'They that buy or sell holy orders can be no priest.' Whereupon is written, 'anathema dandi,' and 'anathema accipiendi;' that is, 'simoniacal heresy.' And it followeth, 'How, therefore, if they be accursed and not blessed, can they make others blessed? And when they be not in the body of Christ, how can they either receive or deliver the body of Christ? He that is accursed, how can he bless?' as though he would say, It is impossible. As pope Urban saith [1 quæst. 1], 'Si quis a simoniacis,' &c., 'They that willingly know and suffer themselves to be consecrated, nay rather execrated, of those that are infected with simony, we judge that

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their consecration is altogether void.' Also pope Leo [1 quæst. 1], saith in this wise: 'Grace, if it be not freely given and received, is not grace. Spiritual usurers do not receive freely: therefore, they receive not the spiritual grace, which specially worketh in the ecclesiastical orders. If they receive it not, they have it not: if they have it not freely, they cannot give it freely. And by this it is more clear than the light, that they who know so much, and receive orders by spiritual usury or simony, are neither priests nor deacons, neither after the manner nor character. For if such character or mark were otherwise given in giving orders, it were requisite always that there should be a certain grace imprinted in the man; but there is no such grace given or imprinted, as afore is manifest. Therefore there is no such character to be feigned. Therefore such character or mark abideth not in him, forasmuch as he never had, nor hath, the same.' And yet furthermore, in the same place, 'What then do the simoniacal prelates give?' And he maketh answer, 'Truly even that which they have, as the spirit of lying. How prove we this? Because that if it be the spirit of verity, as the same verity doth testify from whom it cometh, it is freely received.' And it followeth for the whole purpose no doubt, 'it is convicted to be the spirit of lying, which is not freely received.' *Richard II.* A.D. 1393.

By this it appeareth manifestly to the faithful sort, that those who wittingly and simoniacally are made priests, forasmuch as they receive not the character of the Lord, but only the spirit of lying, and the mark of Simon Magus and of Judas the traitor, they be not priests, either according to the mark or manner: and such do no more make the sacraments of church, than other laymen may in the time of necessity; nor yet so truly, during their heretical naughtiness. And yet indeed, brother mine, 'univoce in natura,' but yet 'æquivoce in moribus;' I do not write thus sharply unto you, through anger, or any imperfect hate, but through the perfect hate of your horrible heresy, and denying the faith of Christ, that I may say with David in the Psalm, 'Perfecto odio oderam,' &c. And I am very sorry for you, that you, who, in times past have excellently well and fruitfully preached the gospel in the pulpit, do now as well fail in the congruity of the Latin tongue, as in the other science natural. For, as it was heard, thrice in one lecture you said 'appetítis;' that is to say, pronouncing the middle syllable long, which thing not only the masters, but also the young scholars understood. And many other faults there were in grammar, which for shame I dare not recite. I send unto you these five conclusions. Brother in nature: in manners no drother.

1. It is an infallible verity that the words of the four chief doctors, expounding the holy Scripture according to the verity which the words do pretend, are to be holden and kept. Five conclusions. *See Appendix.*
2. He who importeth any equivocation out of any of the doctors expounding, for the colouring of his text, his equivocation is always to be left.
3. No perversion of any reprobate is able to turn the congregation of the elect from the faith, because all things that shall come to pass, are eternally in God, devised and ordained for the best unto the elect Christians.
4. Like as the mystical body of Christ is the congregation of all the elect, so Antichrist, mystically, is the church of the wicked and of all the reprobates.
5. The conclusions of Swinderby be agreeable to the faith in every part.

This letter was thus subscribed: 'By the Spirit of God, sometime visiting you.'

Besides this epistle above prefixed, there is also found annexed to the same, a device of another certain letter counterfeited under the name of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, writing to the pope and all popish prelates, persecuting the true and right church with all might and main, to maintain their pride and domination in this earth, under a colourable pretence and visor of the catholic church and succession apostolical: which letter, although it seemeth in some authors to be ascribed to Ocham, above mentioned; yet, because I find it in the same register of the church of Hereford contained, and inserted among the tractations of Walter Brute, and devised, as the register

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saith, by the Lollards, I thought no meeter place than here to annex the same; the tenor whereof thus proceedeth in words as follow.[1]

The Device or Counterfeit of a certain Letter, feigned under the name of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, writing to the persecuting Prelates of the Popish Clergy.

I Lucifer, prince of darkness, emperor of the gloomy regions of profound Acheron, commander-in-chief of Erebus, king of the infernals, and governor of hell: To all the members of our kingdom, the children of pride; and especially to the princes of the modern church, whereof our adversary Jesus Christ by his prophet said, 'I hate the congregation of the wicked:'—health, and that you may ever obey our behests, and follow (as you have begun) the laws of Satan, and diligently observe the precepts of our code.

The difference between the bishops of the primitive and of the later church. Humility edifieth. Pride destroyeth.

In times past the vicars of Christ, following his steps, and eminent for miracles and virtues, converted almost the whole world by their preaching and works from the yoke of our tyranny to their own doctrine and manner of life, to the great derision and contempt of our infernal kingdom, and also to the no little prejudice and injury of our authority; they not fearing to invade our power and to offend the terrific majesty of our estate. For thenceforth we received no tribute from the world, neither did the wretched people rush in crowds to the threshold of our dungeon, as they were wont to do; but the downward and broad road which leadeth to death was undisturbed by any sound, being untrod by the feet of wretched travellers: and our court being quite deserted, hell howled and groaned and was in anguish, at being thus spoiled.

This state of things the impatient rage of our Pluto and the dire recklessness of his commander-in-chief could no longer endure. I accordingly took measures to prevent the continuance of such perils, and devised a seasonable remedy. For in the room of those adversaries of ours, the prophets and the twelve apostles, and all the rest who followed Christ's doctrine and manner of life, we procured that you, the prelates of the modern church, should succeed; of whom Christ spake, when he said (Hosea viii.), 'They reigned, but not by me.' We once, indeed, promised him all the kingdoms of the world if He would fall down and worship us: but He would not, saying, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' He also fled, when the multitude would have made him a temporal king. But in you, who have fallen from a state of grace and are our ministers in the earth, that promise of ours is fulfilled; for it is through us and of us that you now hold that empire over the affairs of the world which we have conferred upon you. For He said of us (as you know), 'The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me;' but over all the sons of pride He appointed us to reign. Therefore our adversaries aforesaid submitted to the princes of this world in temporals, and taught men so, saying, 'Submit yourselves to every creature for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme,' &c.; and again, 'Obey them that are over you in the Lord.' For so had their Master propounded and commanded, saying, 'The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors: but ye shall not be so.' And, as we said before, they lived in a poor and despised condition, in continual labours and afflictions, as we told you.

Placing of proud prelates the cause of all mischief.

The church never well governed, since the devil's offers were taken of the churchmen.

Pride in prelates noted.

But you are not so: for a poison was long since poured out on the church; and now you are inflated; now you are not only unlike those early fathers, but clean contrary to them in life and conditions; and exalt yourselves above all others; and, taking complete possession of all things, you neither 'render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, nor to God the things which are God's.'

First, according to our decrees you exercise the jurisdiction of both swords;[2] you intermeddle in mundane affairs; and, warring in our quarrel, you entangle

(1) The following is a new translation, made from the Latin copy in Wolfii "Lectiones Memorabiles." See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) The double jurisdiction of the pope's two swords cometh of Lucifer.

yourselves with secular business. From the wretchedness of poverty you gradually climb to the highest honours and the most exalted dignities, by your cunning, policy, and wily tricks, by your hypocrisy, flattery, lies, perjury, frauds, simony, and other wickednesses, more abundant than our infernal fury could have conceived.

Popish prelates neither give to God nor to Cæsar that which belongeth to God and Cæsar.

But to have gone even thus far, doth not suffice you: you are more greedy than before; you oppress the poor; you grasp at every thing; you turn all topsyturvy; inflated with pride and living wantonly in carnal delights and enjoyments, you pass all your days amid good things; you assume high-sounding names in the earth, calling yourselves 'gods,' and 'holy,' yea 'most holy.' You also either violently seize or craftily purloin and deceitfully wrest to false uses, and hold by a false title, those goods, which were anciently given for the support of Christ's poor, whom we hate; and you spend them on the uses agreeable to you. Therewith, for instance, you maintain crowds of whores and panders, with whom you go prancing about in state, like mighty princes, far otherwise than the poor priests of Christ in the primitive church. You also build delightful and gorgeous palaces. You eat dainty meats, and drink wines of exquisite delicacy and flavour. You amass untold treasures; unlike him who said, 'Silver and gold have I none;' you have restored the Golden Age.

Dominos. Sanctos. Sanctissimos.

The whorish later church of Rome.

O society most agreeable to us demons, formerly promised to us by the prophet, and reprobated by the fathers of olden time, whilst Christ called you 'the synagogue of Satan,' and marked you out under the designation of 'the great whore, which committed fornication with the kings of the earth;' having from a mother become a step-mother; from the spouse of Christ, an adulteress; from a chaste woman, a strumpet. The breasts of your puberty are broken; you have left your first love, and have attached yourselves to us.

The pope, successor not of Simon Peter, but of Simon Magus.

O our beloved Babylon; O our dear citizens, who have migrated hither from Jerusalem: we deservedly love you, we applaud you, because you neglect the laws of Simon Peter, and wholly cleave to those of our friend Simon Magus: these you have at your fingers' ends, and publicly practise them, buying and selling spiritual things in the temple of God, contrary to Christ's commands. You distribute benefices and ecclesiastical dignities for petition or price; for service or for favour; rejecting the worthy, and promoting the unworthy. You call to the heritage of Christ your ignorant nephews, yea, your own sons, although they be, yea, because they be, roisters and bawds; and deal with the sanctuary of God as if it were a worldly inheritance; and on a single child ye confer many prebends, the smallest whereof you deny to a poor good man. You accept the person; and have infinite care about money, not souls. The house of God you have made a den of thieves. All abuses, all extortions, are practised in your order a thousand fold more than among secular tyrants. You make laws, and do not keep them: you annul them by your dispensations at pleasure: 'You justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him;' and perpetrate every kind of wickedness, just as we would have you do.

Extortion. Perverting of justice. Acception of persons. Bribery. Love of lucre. Destruction of true faith.

You labour hard in our service, though you mean your own gratification; and as far as you can are compassing the destruction of the Christian faith. For now the laity are in doubt what to believe; and if ever you preach to them (though that is but rarely), they do not believe you; because they see plainly that you all act contrary, and so prove that it is otherwise than you say. Wherefore, they who follow you as their examples, now pretty well adopt our rules, and have rushed headlong into a sea of vices: and a very great multitude of them are constantly resorting to the strong seats of our dungeon. Yea, you transmit to us daily so many of every class of mankind, that we could not receive them, were it not that our insatiable chaos gulped in the countless souls by a thousand jaws added for the purpose.

The pope increaseth hell.

Thus even by your means the sovereignty of our empire hath been re-established, and our intolerable loss made good to us again. Wherefore, we specially commend you, and return you our hearty thanks. Albeit, we exhort you still to persevere in what you are now doing, and to go forward: because we intend through you to bring back again all the world under our dominion.

And now being ourselves strangely busied here in our recesses with the multitude which you daily send us, we in the meantime commit to you our

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authority and wish you to be our vicars and ministers; the more so, for that we are beginning to think of the approaching mission of Antichrist, for whom you are admirably preparing the way. Notwithstanding, we send and depute to you some of the chief men and satraps of hell, for your counsel and help; whose suggestions to acquiesce in and crafty inventions to add to, you are sufficiently cunning and prudent. Moreover, you who occupy the highest places we counsel to be careful to preserve peace among the princes of the world in pretence, but in reality to nourish discord for the church's sake; and thus you will slily destroy the Roman empire. Accordingly, do not allow any kingdoms to grow too large, lest becoming too strong and tranquil, they should take a fancy to depress your estate, and take from you those treasures which we have caused to be deposited with you and reserved for Antichrist.

A feigned procurer of peace between princes The Roman empire craftily subverted by the pope.

We commend unto you our most dear daughters, Pride, Deceit, Anger, Avarice, Gluttony, Lechery, and all the rest; and especially the lady Simony, who hath been the making of you, and enriched you, and suckled you at her own breasts, and nourished you. And this Simony you are not to call a sin. Neither is it pride in you, for the worshipful eminence of your station requireth such magnificence. Nor are you to be charged with avarice, for whatever you can gather in your pouches is for St. Peter, and for the peace of the church, the patrimony of the Crucified. For though you promote your cardinals to the very summit of dignity, on very slight grounds, you may excuse yourselves by saying, that our adversary Jesus promoted his relations to the apostleship. That, however, was in a poor and humble state of life. Not so do you; but in arrogance, pride, and vile lewdness, you call to a state of riches and pride. The disciples of Christ also renounced rewards and preferments; but not so you, for you hold your goods avowedly for your defence of the church: and this is but a specimen of the rest.

Simony, the pope's nurse.

Promoting of proud and rich cardinals. Cloaked holiness.

Wresting of Scripture.

Go forward then (and ye know best how) to perpetrate vices cloaked under the appearance of virtues; allege [Scriptures] in your behalf; gloss, however perversely; and adduce them, however inappositely to your purpose. And if any one preach or teach contrary to you, violently crush him by excommunications, and let him be condemned by you as a heretic; and let him be kept in most strait prison, and there tormented till he die, for a terrible example to all such as confess Christ. And, setting all favour apart, cast him out of your temple; lest, peradventure, the ingraffed word may save your souls, which word I do abhor, as I do the souls of other faithful men.

Tyranny and cruelty of the pope.

And all this do, in order that you may earn the place which we are preparing for you in our own mansion, in the most secret depths, which we are preparing for you in particular; and which no one yet was ever known to enter, except the chief satraps of our kingdom.

For you neither hope for future rewards, nor fear eternal punishment: and therefore shall not have the life which you do not believe in, but shall obtain together with us that death, which while living you do not fear.

Farewell, and may you enjoy that felicity wherewith we desire and intend finally to reward you.

> Given at the centre of the earth, in our dark palace; present, crowds of devils, specially for the purpose called unto our most dolorous consistory; under the character of our terrible seal, for the confirmation of the premises.[1]

The author thereof unknown.

Who was the true author of this poesy or epistle above written, it is not evidently known: neither yet doth it greatly skill. The matter being well considered of their part who here be noted, may minister unto them sufficient occasion of wholesome admonition, either to remember themselves what is amiss, or to bethink with themselves what is to be amended. The foregoing letter,

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Registro Herefordensi, ad verbum.

'Luciferi ad malos Principes Ecclesiasticos,' was imprinted first at Paris in Latin; and at the end thereof bearing this date, 'Anno a Palatii nostri fractione, consortiumque nostrorum subtractione, 1351;' which, if ye count from the passion of the Lord, reacheth well to the time of Wickliff, A.D. 1385, which was above six years before the examination of this Walter Brute. *Richard II.* A. D. 1395. Other letters of Lucifer.

There is also another epistle of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, 'ad Prælatos,' mentioned in an epistle of the school of Prague to the university of Oxford written about A.D. 1370 (as it is therein dated), and lately published by Hulderic Hutten with some other epistles of the same sort.

Also Vincentius[1] inferreth like mention of a letter of the fiends infernal unto the clergy men, as in a vision represented four hundred years ago; in which the devils give thanks to the spiritual men, for that by their silence, and not preaching the gospel, they send infinite souls to hell, &c.

Divers other letters also of like device have been written, and also recorded in authors: whereunto may be added, that Henry of Hesse, writing to the bishop of Worms, allegeth out of the prophecy of Hildegard in these words:[2] "Therefore doth the devil say within himself of you priests, 'Dainty banquets and feasts wherein is all voluptuousness do I find among these men; insomuch that mine eyes, mine ears, my belly, and my veins be full of their frothing, and my breasts be full stuffed with their riches,'" &c. "Furthermore," saith she, "they every day more and more seek, like Lucifer, to rise up higher and higher; but every day, with him, they fall deeper and deeper."

Hereunto also appertaineth a story written, and commonly found in many old written books. In the year of our Lord 1228, at Paris, in a synod of the clergy, there was one appointed to make a sermon, who being much careful in his mind and solicitous what to say, the devil came to him, and asking him, Why he was so careful for his matter, what he should preach to the clergy, Say thus, quod he, "The princes of hell salute you, O you princes of the church! and gladly give you thanks, because through your default and negligence it cometh to pass, that almost all souls go down to hell." Adding, moreover, that he was also enforced by the commandment of God to declare this message; yea, and a certain token (it is said) was given to the said clerk for a sign, whereby he might convince the synod that he did not lie.[3] The devil giveth thanks to clergymen. The silence of priests in not preaching the gospel, damneth many a soul.

The Bull of Pope Boniface IX. to the Bishop of Hereford, against the Lollards.

Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the reverend brother, John, bishop of Hereford, sendeth greeting and apostolical benediction. We mean to write unto our well-beloved son in Christ, Richard, the renowned king of England, in form enclosed within these presents. Therefore we will and command your brotherhood, that, as much as ye may, ye study and endeavour yourself to exhort and induce the same king to do those things which we have

(1) In Speculo Hist. lib. 25, cap. 89.

(2) 'Ideo et diabolus in semetipso de vobis sacerdotibus ait; Escas epulantium, convivia, et omnes voluptates in istis invenio; sed et oculi, et aures, et venter meus, et venæ meæ, de spumis illorum plenæ sunt, et ubera mea plena sunt divitiis illorum,' &c. [See this quotation also vol. ii. p. 781.—Ed.]

(3) Ex Catal. Illyr. fol. 546. [The whole of this page is from Illyricus's Catalogus Testium, edition 1608, cols. 1801, 1886, 1887; whence Foxe's text has been materially improved.—Ed.]

Richard II. A. D. 1395.

written unto him, as it is said before. And, notwithstanding that now, many a day, you ought to have done it of yourself, and not to look that we should persuade you to that effect by us written, you may proceed as well by our authority, as by your own, forasmuch as it was given you before: that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeal your devotion beareth unto the catholic faith, and to the conserving of the ecclesiastical honour, and also to the execution of your pastoral office.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, the 15th before the Kalends of October, the sixth year of our pontifical dignity. [Sept. 17th, A.D. 1395.]

The tenor of the Bull, to the renowned Prince, Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, whereof mention is made above, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

The pope's wild bull let loose against the servants of Christ.

To our well-beloved son in Christ, Richard, the noble king of England, we send greeting, &c. It grieveth us from the bottom of our hearts, and our holy mother the church in all places through Christendom lamenteth. We understand that there be certain heresies sprung up, and do, without any condign restraint, range at their own liberty, to the seducing of the faithful people, and do every day, with overmuch liberty, enlarge their indiscreet bounds. But how much the more carefully we labour for the preservation both of you and your famous kingdom, and also for the sincerity of the faith, and do with much more ardent desire covet that the prosperous state of the same should be preserved and enlarged, the sting of greater sorrow doth so much the more penetrate and molest us, forasmuch as we see (alas the while!) in our time, and under the regal presidence of your most Christian government, a certain crafty and hair-brained sect of false Christians in the same your kingdom to grow and increase; who call themselves, 'The poor men of the treasury of Christ and his disciples,' and whom the common people by a more sound name call 'Lollards' (as a man would say, 'withered darnel'), according as their sins require; and perceive that they may wax strong, and as it were prevail against the diocesans of some places, and other governors, as they meet together, not courageously addressing themselves against them as they ought to do (whereof chiefly, and not undeservedly, I give them admonition), for that they take, thereby, the more bold presumption and stomach among the unlearned people.[1] And forasmuch as those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadows or ghosts of men, do rise up against the sound faith, and the holy universal church of Rome; and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confusion and eternal damnation of some of them) they got sitting upon their mother's lap, the said church of Rome, do rise up or inveigh against the determination of the holy fathers, with too much presumptuous boldness, to the subversion of the whole ecclesiastical order and estate; and have not been afraid, nor are yet afraid, publicly to preach very many erroneous, detestable, and heretical articles, for that they are not put to silence, reproved, driven out, rooted out, or otherwise punished, by any that hath authority and the fear and love of God. And also they are not afraid openly to write the same articles, and so being written, to deliver them to your kingly parliament, and obstinately to affirm the same: the venomous and disdainful recital of which articles, upon good advisement, at this present we pass over, lest the sufferance of such sensuality might fortune to renew the wound that reason may heal. Yet notwithstanding, lest so great and contagious an evil should escape unpunished, and that without deserved vexation; and, also, that it might not get more heart, and wax more strong, we, therefore, (according to what our office and duty is, where is such negligence and sluggishness of our prelates, being present where this thing is), do commit and give in commandment to our reverend brethren, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, by other our letters, that they stand up in the power of God against this pestilent and contagious sect, and that they lively persecute the same in form of law; root out and destroy those, that advisedly and obstinately refuse to withdraw their foot from the same stumbling-block, any restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. But, because the assistance, counsel, favour, and aid of your kingly

Alack, good heart, what sorrow the pope taketh.

The dragon here spouteth out his floods of water to drown the Christians.

Behold the spirit of the pope's meek holiness.

1) As though no learning were but in the church of Rome.

estate and highness are requisite to the execution of the premises, we require, exhort, and beseech the same your princely highness, by the bowels of the mercy of Jesus Christ, by his holy faith, by your own salvation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the prosperity assured to every man and woman, that not only your kingly severity may readily show, and cause to be showed unto our archbishops and their commissaries (in this behalf requiring the aforesaid due execution) convenient aid and favour, as otherwise also to cause them to be assisted; but that also you will enjoin your magistrates and justices of assize and peace more straitly, that of their own good wills they execute the authority, committed unto men, with all severity, against such damned men, according as they are bound by the office which they are put in trust with: against those, I mean, who have determined obstinately to defile themselves in their malice and sins, those to expel, banish, and imprison, and there so long to keep them, till condign sentence shall pronounce them worthy to suffer punishment. For your kingly wisdom seeth that such as they be, do not only deceive poor simple souls, or at least do what they can to deceive them, but also bring their bodies to destruction, and, further, prepare confusion and ruinous fall unto their temporal lords. Go to, therefore, my sweet son, and endeavour yourself to work so in this matter as undoubtedly we trust you will: that, as this firebrand (burning and flaming oversore) began under your presidence or government: so, under your severe judgment and virtuous diligence, might, favour, and aid, there may not one spark remain hid under the ashes, but that it be utterly extinguished, and speedily put out.

The bowels of Jesus Christ be full of mercy, the bowels of the pope full of tyranny.

Help the pope at a pinch, or else he is like to take a fall.

Given at our palace of St. Peter at Rome, the 15th before the Kalends of October, in the sixth year of our pontificate. [Sept. 17th, A.D. 1395.]

The King's Commission.[1]

Richard, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, to all those unto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas lately, at the instance of the reverend father William, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and legate of the apostolical see, we, for the redress and amendment of all those who would obstinately preach or maintain, publicly or privily, any conclusions of the holy Scripture repugnant to the determination of our holy mother the church, and notoriously redounding to the subversion of the catholic faith, or containing any heresy or error, within the province or bishopric of Canterbury, have, by our special letters patent, in the zeal of the faith, given authority and license unto the aforesaid archbishop, and to all and singular his suffragans, to arrest all and every of them that will preach or maintain any such conclusions, wheresoever they may be found; and to commit them either to their own prisons, or any other at their own pleasure, and to keep them in the same, until they repent them of the errors and pravities of those heresies; or till that of such manner of arrests, by us or by our council it should be otherwise determined; that is to say, to every one of them and their ministers throughout their cities and dioceses. And now the reverend father in God, John, bishop of Hereford, hath for a certainty informed us, that although the same bishop hath, according to justice, convicted a certain fellow named William Swinderby, pretending himself to be a chaplain, and one Stephen Bell, a learned man, and hath pronounced them heretics, and excommunicate, and false informers among the common people, and hath declared the same by the definitive sentence of the aforesaid bishop, for that they have presumed to affirm and preach openly, in divers places within the diocese of Hereford, many conclusions or naughty opinions notoriously redounding to the subversion of the catholic sound faith, and tranquillity of our kingdom: the same bishop notwithstanding, neither by the ecclesiastical censures, neither by the force and strength of our commission, was able to revoke the aforesaid William and Stephen, nor yet to bridle the malice and obdurate contumacy of them: for that they, after they were upon such heretical pravity convicted by the same bishop (to the intent they might delude his judgment and justice), conveyed themselves, by and by, unto the borders of Wales, with such as were their factors and accomplices, keeping themselves close, unto whom the force of our said letters doth in no wise extend. Whereupon the said bishop hath made supplication unto us, that we will

The hot complaining charity of the bishop of Hereford.

Furioso ne committas gladium.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

Richard II. A. D. 1392.

vouchsafe to provide a sufficient remedy in that behalf. We therefore, who always, by the help of Almighty God, are defenders of the faith, willing to withstand such presumptuous and perverse enterprises by the most safe way and means we may, give and commit full power and authority to the aforesaid bishop and to his ministers, by the tenor of these presents, to arrest or take, or cause to be arrested or taken the aforesaid William and Stephen, in any place within the city and diocese of Hereford and our dominion of Wales, with all the speed that may be; and to commit them either to our prison, or else to the prison of the same bishop, or any other prison at their pleasure, if such need be, and there to keep them safe. And afterwards, unless they will obey the commandments of the church, with diligence to bring them before us and our council, or else cause them to be brought; that we may determine for their further punishment, as we shall think it requisite and convenient to be done by the advice of our council, for the defence and preservation of the catholic faith. And that the aforesaid William and Stephen, being succoured by the aid of their fautors or favourers, should not be able to fly or escape to their accustomed starting holes, and that the sharpness of their pains, so aggravated, may give them sufficient cause to return to the lap again of their holy mother the church; we straitly charge and command all and singular our sheriffs, bailiffs, barons, and all other our officers in the city and diocese of Hereford, and in many other places being within our dominion of Wales, by the tenor of these presents, that, from time to time, where they think it most meet, they cause it openly to be proclaimed in our name, that none, of what state, degree, pre-eminence, kind or other condition he shall be, do cherish, openly or secretly, the aforesaid William and Stephen, until the time that they repent them of their heresies and errors, and shall be reconciled unto the holy church of God: neither that any person or persons be believers, favourers or receivers, defenders, or in any case wittingly instructors of the said William or Stephen, or any other of the residue of the heretics that are to be convinced, upon the forfeiture of all that ever they have. And that also they, giving their attendance, be obedient and answerable to the aforesaid bishop and his deputies in this behalf for the execution of the premises: and that they certify us and our council distinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and singular persons, who shall fortune to be found culpable in this behalf, under their seals. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters patent to be made.

Pseudo-catholica fides.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the ninth day of March, in the fifteenth year of our reign. [A.D 1392.]

Farrington.

Another Letter of King Richard, against Walter Brute and others.[1]

Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloved and faithful John Chaundos, knight; John Eynford, knight; Renold de la Bere, knight; Walter Deveros, knight; Thomas de la Bare, knight; William Lucy, knight; Leonard Hakeluke, knight; and to the mayor of the city of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcastle, Richard Nash, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, John Skydmore, John Up-Harry, Henry Morton, and to the sheriff of Hereford, sendeth salutations.

Forasmuch as it is advertised us, that one Walter Brute, and other such children of iniquity, have damnably holden, affirmed, and preached, certain articles and conclusions, being notoriously repugnant against the holy Scripture, of which some of them as heresies, and the rest as errors, are finally by the church condemned, and that, in divers places within the diocese of Hereford and parts near adjoining, both privily, openly, and obstinately, which thing we perceive not only to redound to the subversion, in a manner, of the catholic faith, which, as well we, as other catholic princes, ought of duty to maintain, but also to forewarn us of the subversion of our faithful diocesans: and that the said bishop, upon the good deliberation and advisement of a great number of doctors in divinity, and other learned and skilful men in the Scriptures, of special devotion, according to his bounden duty, purposed to begin and make divers and sundry processes by law to be sent unto the aforesaid Walter and his accomplices to appear personally before him and other the doctors aforesaid in the cathedral church of Hereford, the morrow after the translation of St. Thomas of Here

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

ford next ensuing, and to proceed in the same place against the same Walter, in the foresaid articles and conclusions, for the amendment of his soul: and that they now afresh (because the said Walter and others of their retinue, cleaving and confederating with him, might not suffer condign pains according to their demerits) endeavour themselves to make void and frustrate the said godly purpose of the same bishop, in such correction and execution as should have been done, and with force do resist and let the same with all the power they may, to the great contempt of us and of our crown, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: we do appoint you, and every of you, immediately as soon as this our commission shall be delivered unto you, in our behalf and name, to make open proclamation in the diocese and parts aforesaid, where ye shall think it most meet and convenient: that no man be so hardy henceforth, of what state or condition soever he shall be, within the diocese and parts aforesaid, upon pain of forfeiture of all that ever he hath, to make or levy any conventicles, assemblies, or confederacies, by any colour; or that they presume to attempt to procure any other thing, whereby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the same bishops and doctors aforesaid may be by any means molested, or let, in the execution of such correction as is to be done, according to the canonical sanctions; and to arrest all those whom ye shall find, or take offending in this behalf, or that keep themselves in any such conventicles; and that they, being committed to prison, be there kept, till you shall have other commandment from us and from our council for their deliverance; and that ye distinctly and plainly certify us, and our said council, of all your doing in this behalf under your seals, or else the seals of some of you. And therefore, we straitly charge and command you and every of you, that ye diligently attend upon the premises, and that in your deeds ye execute the same with all diligence and careful endeavour in the form and manner aforesaid. And further we give strait charge and commandment to all and singular sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and other our faithful subjects, by the tenor of these presents; that they be attending upon you, counselling and aiding you and every of you, as is meet and convenient, in the doing and execution of the premises. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Westminster the 22d day of September, in the seventeenth year of our reign. [A.D.1393.]

By the same king and council.

Seeing the doctrine of Brute was ever against resistance, how is this like to be true?

Thus king Richard, by the setting on of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury and his fellows, taking part with the pope and Romish prelates, waxed somewhat strait and hard to the poor Christians of the contrary side of Wickliff, as by these letters above prefixed may appear; albeit, during all the life of the said king I find of none expressly by name that suffered burning. Notwithstanding some there were, who, by the aforesaid archbishop William Courtney, and other bishops, had been condemned, and divers also abjured, and did penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the town of Leicester, as followeth here to be declared out of the archbishop's register and records.[1]

King Richard set against the Gospellers by the archbishop and the prelates.

At what time the said archbishop, William Courtney, was in his visitation at the town of Leicester, certain there were, accused and detected to him, by the monks and other priests in the said town: the names of which persons there detected were, one Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmeanar, and Roger Goldsmith, inhabitants of the same town of Leicester. These, with others besides, were denounced to the archbishop for holding the opinion of the sacrament of the altar, of auricular confession, and other sacraments, contrary to that which the church of Rome doth preach and observe:

(1) Ex Regist. W. Courtney, Arch. Cant. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

Richard II. A.D. 1389.

all which parties above-named, and many others, whose names are not known, did hold these heresies and errors here under-written, and which are of the Romish church condemned.

I. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ with the material bread.[1]

II. That images ought not to be worshipped in any case, and that no man ought to set any candles before them.

III. That no cross ought to be worshipped.

IV. That masses and matins ought not, with a high and loud voice, to be said in the church.

V. That no curate or priest, taken in any crime, can consecrate, hear confessions, or minister any of the sacraments of the church.

VI. That the pope and all prelates of the church cannot bind any man with the sentence of excommunication, unless they know him to be first excommunicated of God.

VII. That no prelate of the church can grant any pardons.

VIII. That every lay-man may, in every place, preach and teach the gospel.

IX. That it is sin to give any alms or charity to the friars preachers, minorites, Augustines, or Carmelites.

X. That no oblation ought to be used at the funerals of the dead.

XI. That it is not necessary to make confession of our sins to the priest.

XII. That every good man, although he be unlearned, is a priest.

These articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manifestly, in the town of Leicester, and other places adjoining; whereupon the said archbishop admonished the said Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, on the next day to make answer unto him in the said monastery to the aforesaid articles: but the aforesaid Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, hid themselves out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the archbishop, upon Allhallows-day, being the first day of November, celebrating the high mass at the high altar in the said monastery, being attired in his pontificalibus, denounced the said parties, with all their adherents, fautors, favourers, and counsellors, to be excommunicated and accursed, who either held, taught, or maintained the aforesaid conclusions heretical and erroneous; and that, in solemn wise, by ringing the bells, lighting the candles, and putting out the same again, and throwing them down to the ground, with other circumstances thereunto belonging. Upon the morrow after, being All-Souls-day, he sent for all the curates and others, lay-men, of the town of Leicester, to inquire more diligently of the verity of such matter as they knew and were able to say, against any persons whatsoever, concerning the aforesaid articles, as also against the parties before named and specified upon their oaths; denouncing every one of them severally by their names to be excommunicated and accursed, and causing them also, in divers parish churches in Leicester, to be excommunicated. And, further, the said archbishop interdicted the whole town of Leicester, and all the churches in the same, so long as any of the aforesaid excommunicated persons should remain or be within the same, and till all the lollards of the town should return and amend from such heresies and errors, obtaining at the said archbishop's hands the benefit of absolution.

Roger, and the rest accursed with book, bell, and candle.

The town of Leicester interdicted.

At length it was declared and showed to the said archbishop, that there was a certain anchoress, whose name was Matilda, inclosed within,[2] in the churchyard of St. Peter's Church in the said town of

Matilda, an anchoress, cited to appear.

(1) For an article here omitted, see Appendix.—Ed.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed.

Leicester, infected, as they said, with the pestiferous contagion of the aforesaid heretics and lollards: whereupon, after the said archbishop had examined the aforesaid Matilda, touching the aforesaid conclusions, heresies, and errors, and found her not to answer plainly and directly to the same, but sophistically and subtilely; he gave and assigned unto her a day peremptory, personally to appear before him in the monastery of St. James, at Northampton, more fully to answer to the said articles, heresies, and errors, which was the sixth day of the said month of November; commanding the abbot of the monastery of Pratis aforesaid, that the door of the recluse,[1] in which the said Matilda was, should be opened, and that till his return he should cause her to be put in safe custody. That done, he sent forth his mandate against the lollards, under this form. *Richard II.* A. D. 1389.

The King's Process sent by the Archbishop Courtney to arrest the eight aforenamed Lollards.

William, by the permission of God, &c. To his well-beloved sons, the mayor and bailiffs of the town of Leicester diocese, greeting. We have lately received the king's letters, graciously granted us for the defence of the catholic faith, in these words following, 'Richard, by the grace of God king of England and of France,' &c. We, on the behalf of our holy mother the church, by the king's authority aforesaid, do require you, that you cause the same Richard, William, Roger, and the rest, to be arrested, and sent unto us; that they with their pernicious doctrine do not infect the people of God, &c.

Given under our seal, &c.

By another instrument also in the same register mention is made of one Margaret Caily, a nun, who, forsaking her order, was by the said archbishop constrained, against her will, again to enter the same, as by this instrument hereunder ensuing may appear. Margaret Caily, a nun.

Copy of a Letter of the same Archbishop respecting the re-admission of Margaret Caily, a Nun, into the Monastery of St. Radegond.[2]

William, by the grace of God, &c. To our reverend brother in God, John, by the grace of God bishop of Ely, greeting, &c. In the visitation of our diocese of Lincoln, according to our office, amongst other enormities worthy reformation, we found one sheep out of our fold strayed, and amongst the briers entangled; to wit, Margaret Caily, nun professed, in the monastery of St. Radegond within your diocese; who, casting off the habit of her religion, was found in secular attire, many years being an apostata, and leading a dissolute life. And lest her blood should be required at our hands, we have caused her to be taken and brought unto you, being her pastor: and straitly enjoining you, by these presents we do command, that you admit the same Margaret again into her aforesaid monastery, although returned against her will, or else into some other place, where, for her soul's health, you shall think most convenient; and that from henceforth she be safely kept, as in the strait examination of the same you will yield an account.

Given under our seal, &c.

By sundry other instruments also in the same register recorded I find, that the atoresaid Matilda, the anchoress, upon the strait examination and handling of the aforesaid archbishop, before whom peremptorily she was enjoined to appear, and till that day of appearance taken out of the recluse, and committed to safe custody, as you heard, Matilda recanteth.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.

Richard II. A.D. 1389.

retracted and recanted her aforesaid articles and opinions: for the which she, being enjoined forty days' penance, was again admitted into her aforesaid recluse in Leicester.[1]

See Appendix.

Also, by another letter of the aforesaid archbishop to the dean of the collegiate church of St. Mary Newarks at Leicester, given in the register, I find that of the number of those eight persons before recited, whom the archbishop himself at high mass did in his pontificalibus so solemnly curse with book, bell, and candle, after certain process being sent out against them, or else in the mean time they being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, William Smith, and Roger Dexter. But, in the mean time, Alice, the wife of the said Roger Dexter, taking hold of the aforesaid articles with her husband also, together with the said William Smith, abjured the same.[2] Notwithstanding, whether they presented themselves willingly, or else were brought against their wills, as most like it was, hard penance was enjoined them before they were absolved. These be the words of the instrument.[3]

William Smith, Roger Dexter, and Alice, his wife, abjure.

A Letter of Archbishop Courtney, enjoining Penance on certain good Persons of Leicester.

Seeing our holy mother the church closeth not her bosom to any penitent child returning to the unity of her, but readily openeth to them the same, we therefore received again the said William, Roger, and Alice, to grace: and caused them to abjure all and singular the aforesaid articles and opinions, and then granted unto them the benefit of absolution, and loosed them from the sentence of excommunication wherein they were snarled; enjoining unto them penance, according to the degree of their crime, in form as followeth: that is to say, that the Sunday next after their returning to their own place, they holding in their right hands, William an image of St. Catharine, and Roger and Alice each a crucifix, and in their left hands every one of them a taper of wax, weighing half a pound weight, in their shirts and breeches, and Alice in her chemise alone, do walk before the procession of the collegiate church of St. Mary in the Newarks at Leicester; and thrice, that is to say, in the beginning of the procession, in the middle of the procession, and in the latter end of the procession, to the honour of Him that was crucified, in memorial of his passion, and to the honour of the aforesaid Virgin, devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, shall kiss the said images so held in their hands: and so, with the same procession they entering again into the church, shall stand during all the time of the holy mass before the image of the cross, with their tapers and crosses in their hands; and when the mass is ended, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall offer to him that celebrated that day the mass.

The manner of their penance enjoined.

Then, upon the Saturday next ensuing, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall in the full and public market, within the town of Leicester, stand in like manner in their shirts, without any more clothes upon their bodies, holding the aforesaid images in their right hands; which images three times they shall devoutly kiss, reverently kneeling upon their knees; that is, at the entrance, in the middle, and at the end of the marketplace. And the said William, for that he is somewhat more learned, shall repeat an Antiphone with the collect of St. Catharine, and the aforesaid Roger and Alice, being unlearned, shall say devoutly a 'Pater Noster' and an 'Ave Maria.' And thirdly, the Sunday next immediately after the same, the said William, Roger, and Alice, in their parish church of the said town of Leicester shall stand and do, as upon the Sunday

Three kisses of the cross.

The collect of Katharine, Paternoster, and Ave Maria.

(1) The bishop's letter to the magistrates of the town thus beginneth: 'Willielmus permissione divina, &c. dilectis filiis,' &c. [Wilkins, Conc. tom. iii. p. 210.—Ed.]

(2) These be the words of the instrument: 'Subsequenter vero præfati Willielmus, Rogerus, et Alicia reatus suos respicientes intrinsecè et verentes, se nostro conspectui præsentarunt,' &c. [Ibid. p. 211.—Ed.]

(3) 'Sancta mater ecclesia,' &c. [Ibid.]

before they stood and did in the collegiate church of St. Mary Newarks aforesaid, in all things: which done, the aforesaid William, Roger, and Alice, after mass shall offer to the priest or chaplain that celebrated the same, with all humility and reverence, the wax tapers which they shall carry in their hands. And because of the cold weather that now is, lest the aforesaid penitents might peradventure take some bodily hurt, standing so long naked; being mindful to moderate partly the said our rigour, we give leave, that after their entrance into the churches abovesaid, while they shall be hearing the aforesaid masses, they may put on necessary garments to keep them from cold, so that their heads and feet notwithstanding be bare and uncovered. We, therefore, will and command you, together and apart, that you declare the said William, Roger, and Alice, to be absolved and restored again to the unity of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in manner and form aforesaid.

Richard II. A.D. 1387.

Cold weather graciously considered!

Given at Dorchester, the seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord God 1389, and the ninth year of our translation.

Unto the narration of these above-named; we will adjoin the story of one Peter Pateshul, an Austin friar, who, obtaining by the pope's privilege, through the means of Walter Dis, confessor to the duke of Lancaster, liberty to change his coat and religion, and hearing the doctrine of John Wickliff and others of the same sort, began at length to preach openly, and to detect the vices of his order, in such sort as all men wondered to hear the horrible reciting thereof. This being brought to the ears of his order, they, to the number of twelve, coming out of their houses to the place where he was preaching, thought to have withstood him, by force: among whom one especially, for the zeal of his religion, stood up openly in his preaching, and contraried that which he said; who then was preaching in the church of St. Christopher in London. This when the faithful Londoners did see, taking grief hereat, they were moved with great ire against the said friar, thrusting him with his other brethren out of the church, whom they not only had beaten and sore wounded, but also followed them home to their house, minding to have destroyed their mansion with fire also; and so would have done, had not one of the sheriffs of London, with two of the friars of the said house, well known and reported amongst the Londoners, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this, Peter Pateshul thus disturbed, as is aforesaid, was desired by the Londoners, forasmuch as he could not well preach amongst them, to put in writing that which he had said before, and other things more that he knew of the friars; who then, at their request, writing the same, accused the friars of murder committed against divers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparent and credible, he declared the names of them that were murdered, with the names also of their tormentors; and named, moreover, time and place, where and when they were murdered, and where they were buried. He affirmed, further, that they were Sodomites, and traitors both to the king and the realm; with many other crimes, which mine author for tediousness leaveth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the said friars, the Londoners caused the said bill to be openly set up at St. Paul's church-door in London, which was there read and copied out by very many. This was done in the year of our Lord 1387, and in the tenth year of king Richard II.[1]

Peter Pateshul against the friars

Londoners against the friars.

The friars accused of horrible crimes.

Thus it may appear, by this and other things above recited, how the

(1) Ex Chron. Monachi Albanensis: cujus est exordium 'Anno gratiæ millesimo,' &c

Richard II. A.D. 1394.

gospel of Christ, preached by John Wickliff and others, began to spread and fructify abroad in London, and in other places of the realm; and more it would have done no doubt, had not William Courtney, the archbishop, and other prelates, with the king, set them so forcibly, with might and main, to gainstand the course thereof: albeit, as is said before, I find none who yet were put to death on that account during the reign of this king Richard II.; whereby it is to be thought of this king, that although he cannot utterly be excused for molesting the godly and innocent preachers of that time (as by his briefs and letters aforementioned may appear), yet neither was he so cruel against them, as others that came after him; and that which he did, seemed to proceed by the instigation of the pope and other bishops, rather than either by the consent of his parliament, or advice of his council about him, or by his own nature. For, as the decrees of the parliament in all his time were constant in stopping out the pope's provisions, and in bridling his authority, as we shall see, Christ willing, anon: so the nature of the king was not altogether so fiercely set, if that he, following the guiding thereof, had not stood so much in fear of the bishop of Rome and his prelates, by whose importunate letters and calling on, he was continually urged to do contrary to that which both right required, and will, perhaps, in him desired. But howsoever the doings of this king are to be excused, or not, undoubted it is, that queen Anne, his wife, most rightly deserveth singular commendation; who at the same time, living with the king, had the gospels of Christ in English, with four doctors upon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian born, and sister to Wenceslaus king of Bohemia before: who was married to king Richard about the fifth, some say the sixth, year of his reign, and continued with him the space of eleven years: by the occasion whereof it may seem not improbable, that the Bohemians coming in with her, or resorting into this realm after her, perused and received here the books of John Wickliff, which afterwards they conveyed into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before.

Few or none burned in king Richard's time.

Kings many times brought in too much fear of the pope.

How the doctrine of Wickliff came to Bohemia.

See Appendix.

The said virtuous queen Anne, after she had lived with king Richard about eleven years, in the seventeenth year of his reign changed this mortal life, and was buried at Westminster;[1] at whose funeral Thomas Arundel, then archbishop of York, and lord chancellor, made the sermon; in which sermon, as remaineth in the library of Worcester recorded, he, treating of the commendation of her, said these words, That it was more joy of her than of any woman that ever he knew; for, notwithstanding that she was an alien born, she had in English all the four gospels, with the doctors upon them; affirming, moreover, and testifying, that she had sent the same unto him to examine; and he said, they were good and true. And, further, with many words of praise he did greatly commend her, in that she, being so great a lady, and also an alien, would study so lowly such virtuous books; and he blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelates and other men: insomuch that some said, he would on the morrow leave the office of chancellor, and forsake the world, and give him to fulfil his pastoral office, for what he had seen

The death of queen Anne.

Queen Anne had the four gospels, with the doctors, in English.

(1) Ex fragmento libri cujusdam Wigornensis Bibliothecæ Ex accommodato D. Mat. Arch. Cant.

and read in those books; and then it had been the best sermon that ever they heard.[1] *Richard II* A.D. 1395.

In this sermon of Thomas Arundel, three points are to be considered: first, the laudable use of those old times received, to have the Scripture and doctors in our vulgar English tongue. Secondly, the virtuous exercise and also example of this godly lady, who had these books not for a show hanging at her girdle; but also seemed, by this sermon, to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted is, what fruit the said Thomas, archbishop, declared also himself to receive at the hearing and reading of the same books of hers in the English tongue. Notwithstanding, the same Thomas Arundel, after this sermon and promise made, became the most cruel enemy that might be against English books and the authors thereof; as followeth after in his story to be seen. For shortly after the death of queen Anne, the next year, the king being then in Ireland, this Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, and Robert Braybrocke, bishop of London (whether sent by the archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy, or whether going of their own accord), crossed the seas to Ireland, to desire the king in all speedy wise to return and help the faith and church of Christ, against such as, holding Wickliff's teaching, went about, as they said, to subvert all their proceedings, and to destroy the canonical sanctions of their holy mother church. At whose complaint the king hearing the one part speak, and not advising the other, was in such sort incensed, that incontinently leaving all his affairs incomplete, he sped his return toward England;[2] having kept his Christmas at Dublin. The occasion of which complaint was, that in the beginning of that year, which was A.D. 1395, a parliament had been called at Westminster by the commandment of the king. In which parliament certain articles or conclusions were put up by them of the gospel's side, to the number of twelve; which conclusions, moreover, were fastened up upon the church-door of St. Paul's in London, and also at Westminster: the copy of which conclusions, with the words and contents thereof, hereunder ensueth.[3]

Archbishop Arundel breaketh his promise. He and the bishop of London go to Ireland to the king, to complain of the favourers of God's word.

A.D. 1395.

The Book of Conclusions or Reformations, exhibited to the Parliament holden at London, and set up at Paul's door and other places, in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Richard II., and in the year of our Lord 1395.

The first conclusion:—When the church of England began first to dote in temporalties after her stepmother the great church of Rome, and the churches were authorised by appropriations; faith, hope, and charity began in divers places to fly away from our church, forsomuch as pride, with her dolorous genealogy of mortal sins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this conclusion is general, and approved by experience, custom, and manner, as ye shall hereafter hear.

The second conclusion:—That our usual priesthood, which took its original at Rome, and is feigned to be a power higher than angels, is not that priesthood which Christ ordained unto his apostles. This conclusion is thus proved, forsomuch as the Romish priesthood is executed with signs, and rites, and pontifical benedictions, of little virtue, neither having any ground in holy Scripture, forsomuch as the bishop's ordinal and the New Testament do little agree; neither do we see that the Holy Ghost doth give any good gift on account of

Papistical priesthood.

(1) Hæc ex libro Wigornensi. (2) Ex Hist. D. Albani.
(3) The following translation is Foxe's, collated with the Latin, and reduced to more exact conformity with it. See the Appendix.—Ed.

Richard II.

A. D. 1395.

any such signs, because He, together with all his noble gifts, cannot stand with deadly sin in any person. The corollary of this conclusion is, That it is a lamentable mockery unto wise men, to see the bishops sport with the Holy Ghost in the giving of their orders; because they give crowns for their characters instead of white harts;[1] and this is the character [or, mark][2] of Antichrist, introduced into holy church to give colour to idleness.

Single life of priests.

The third conclusion:—That the law of chastity enjoined unto priesthood, which was first ordained to the prejudice of women, induceth sodomy throughout holy church; but we do excuse us [in the mention of this crime] by the Bible, whereas the suspect decree doth say that we are not to name it. Both reason and experience prove this conclusion. Reason thus, forsomuch as the delicate fare of ecclesiastical men will have either a natural purgation, or something worse.[3] Experience thus, forsomuch as the secret proof of such men is, that they do delight in women; and, whensoever thou dost prove a man to be such, mark him well, for he is one of that number. The corollary of this conclusion is, That private religions, with the beginners thereof, ought most chiefly to be disannulled, as the original of that sin: but God of his might doth for privy sin in his church send open vengeance.

He prophesieth against monkery.

The feigned miracle of transubstantiation.

The fourth conclusion [that most harmeth the innocent people] is this:—That the feigned miracle of the sacrament of bread induceth all men, except it be a few, into idolatry; forsomuch as they think that the body of Christ, which is never out of heaven, is by virtue of the priest's words essentially included in the little bread, the which they do show unto the people. But would to God they would believe that which the Evangelical Doctor[4] teacheth us in his Trialogue, 'Quod panis altaris est accidentaliter[5] corpus Christi' [that is, That the bread of the altar is the body of Christ accidentally]: forsomuch as we suppose that by that means every faithful man and woman in the law of God may make the sacrament of that bread without any such miracle. The corollary of this conclusion is, That albeit the body of Christ be endowed with eternal joy, the service of Corpus Christi, made by friar Thomas, is not true, but painted, full of false miracles; neither is it any marvel, forsomuch as friar Thomas, at that time holding with the pope, would have made a miracle of a hen's egg; and we know well, that every lie openly preached, doth turn to the opprobrium of Him, who is always true and without any defect.

Feast of Corpus Christi invented by Thomas Aquinas.

Exorcisms and blessings of priests.

The fifth conclusion is this:—That the exorcisms and benedictions practised over wine, bread, water, oil, salt, wax, incense, altar-stones, and church-walls, over vestments, chalices, mitres, crosses, and the staves of pilgrims, are truly the practices of necromancy rather than of sacred divinity. This conclusion may be thus proved: because that by such exorcisms the creatures are honoured to be of higher virtue than in their own proper nature they are; and we do not see any change in any creature so exorcised, except by false faith, which is the principle of the diabolic art. The corollary of this is, That if the book of exorcising [or, conjuring] holy water, which is read in the church, were altogether faithful and true; we think certainly that the holy water, used in the church, were the best medicine for all kind of sicknesses and sores: 'Cujus contrarium indies experimur,' that is, 'The contrary whereof we daily experience.'

Difference between the ecclesiastical and politic estate.

The sixth conclusion [which maintaineth much pride] is, That the union in the same person of king and bishop, prelate and judge in temporal causes, curate and officer in worldly office, doth make every kingdom out of good order. This conclusion is manifest, because the temporalty and the spiritualty are two parts of the entire holy church; and, therefore, he who addicteth himself to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other, 'Quia nemo potest duobus dominis servire.' It seemeth that "hermaphrodite" [i. e. a man of both sexes], or "ambidexter" [i. e. a man who can play with both hands], were good names for such men of double estates. The corollary of this conclusion is, That therefore we, as the proctors of God, do in this case sue unto the parliament, that it may be enacted that all curates (as well of the higher degrees as of the lower) may be fully excused, and occupy themselves with their own cure, and with no other.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Wilkins and Lewis both read "Liberata," i. e. livery or badge (See Ducange): Foxe's Latin Edition, however, reads "character."—Ed.
(3) He doth very excellently paint out the lecherous clergy.
(4) He meaneth here Wicklif. (5) The copy in Wilkins reads "habitualiter."—Ed.

Richard II.

A.D. 1395.

The seventh conclusion [that we mightily affirm] is, That special[1] prayers made in our church for the souls of the dead, preferring any one man by name more than another, is a false foundation of alms, whereupon all the houses of alms in England are falsely founded. This conclusion may be proved by two reasons: the one is, that a prayer to be meritorious and of any value ought to be a work proceeding from mere charity, and perfect charity excepteth no person, because "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Wherefore it appeareth to us, that the gift of some temporal good, bestowed on priests and houses of alms, is the principal motive of special prayer; which is not far removed from simony. The other reason is, that a special prayer, made for men condemned to eternal punishment, is very displeasing to God; and albeit it be doubtful, yet it seemeth unto faithful christian people likely, that the founders of every house of alms, for their mischievous endowing of the same, for the most part have passed by the broad way. The corollary is, That prayer of any value, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all such whom God would have saved, and would give up that common trade in special prayers which is now carried on by mendicant possessioners and other hireling priests (who, otherwise, were strong enough to work and to serve the whole realm) and maintaineth the same in idleness,[2] to the great charge of the realm, because it was proved in a certain book which the king hath, that a hundred houses of alms are sufficient for the whole realm, and thereby, peradventure, greater increase and profit might come unto the temporalty.

The foundation of masses for the dead.

A hundred houses of alms sufficient for England.

The eighth conclusion [needful to tell to the people beguiled] is, That pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations made unto blind crosses or roods, and to deaf images of wood and stone, are very near of kin unto idolatry, and far removed from alms: and, albeit these fanciful things be all forbidden and be a book of error unto the common people, notwithstanding the usual image of the Trinity is most abominable. This conclusion God himself doth openly manifest, when commanding alms to be given to the needy man; because he is the image of God, in a more perfect similitude than wood or stone; for God did not say, Let us make a block or stone after our image and likness, but, Let us make man; forsomuch as the supreme honour, which the clergy call 'Latria,' pertaineth only to the Godhead, and the inferior honour, which the clergy call 'Dulia,' pertaineth unto men and angels, and to none other inferior creature. The corollary is, That the service of the cross, celebrated twice every year in our church, is full of idolatry: for if the rood, tree, nails, and spear, ought so profoundly to be honoured, then were Judas' lips, if any man could get them, a marvellous goodly relic. But we pray thee, pilgrim, tell us, when thou dost offer to the bones of the saints which are laid up in any place, whether thou dost relieve thereby the saint who is in joy, or that alms-house for the poor which is so well endowed, on account of which they are canonized, the Lord knoweth how! And to speak more plainly, every faithful Christian supposeth that the wounds of that noble man, whom they call St. Thomas, were no matter of martyrdom.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

The image of the Trinity, an abominable thing.

A poor man a more perfect image of God.

Judas's lips.

The death of Becket not to be counted for martyrdom.

The ninth conclusion [that keepeth the people low] is, That auricular confession, which is said to be so necessary for a man's salvation, and the feigned power of absolution, exalt the pride of priests, and give them opportunity of other secret talks, which we will not at this time talk of; forsomuch as both lords and ladies attest, that for fear of their confessors they dare not speak the truth: and in time of confession is good opportunity ministered of wooing,[3] or to play the bawd, or to make other secret conventions to deadly sins. They themselves say, that they are God's commissaries to judge of all manner of sin, to pardon and cleanse whomsoever it shall please them. They say that they have the keys of heaven and hell, and can excommunicate and bless, bind and loose, at their will: insomuch that for a small reward, or for twelve pence, they will sell the blessing of heaven by charter and clause of warranty, sealed with their common seal. This conclusion is so commonly in use, that it needeth not any probation. The corollary hereof is, That the pope of Rome, who is feigned to be the high treasurer of the whole church, having that same worthy jewel, i. e. the treasure of the passion of Christ, in his keeping, together with the merits of all the saints in heaven, whereby he giveth feigned indulgence 'a pœna et

Auricular confession the minister of lust.

Impudent boldness of priests.

The pope, treasurer of the church, instead of gold layeth up coals.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Ibid.—Ed.
(3) "Procationis (id est) of Wowyng."—Ed.

Richard II.

A. D. 1395.

culpa,' is a treasurer almost banished out of charity, since he can deliver all the prisoners who are in purgatory at his pleasure, and make that they never come thither. But thus every faithful Christian may well see, that there is much secret falsehood lurking in our church.

How war is lawful, the proof by experience.

The tenth conclusion is, That manslaughter, either by war or by any pretended law of justice, for any temporal cause without a spiritual revelation, is expressly contrary unto the New Testament, which is a law full of grace and mercy. This conclusion is evidently proved by examples of the preaching of Christ here in earth, who specially taught man to love his enemies, and to have compassion upon them, and not to kill them. The reason is this, that for the most part when men do fight, after the first stroke charity is broken; and whosoever dieth without charity, goeth straightway to hell. And beside that, we well know, that none of the clergy can by Scripture or by any legitimate means deliver any from the punishment of death for one deadly sin, and not for another: but the law of mercy, which is the New Testament, forbiddeth all manner of manslaughter. For in the gospel it is said to the fathers, 'Thou shalt not kill.' The corollary is, It is a very robbing of the people, when lords purchase indulgences 'a pœna et culpa' for those who do help their armies to kill christian people in foreign countries for temporal gain; as also we have seen certain soldiers running among the heathen people, to get themselves a name by the slaughter of men. Much rather do they deserve evil thanks at the hands of the King of Peace, forsomuch as it was by humility and patience that our faith was propagated; but fighters and murderers Christ Jesus doth hate and menace, saying, "He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword."

Nuns and widows who vow single life.

The eleventh conclusion is [which is shame to tell], That the vow of chastity made in our church by women that are frail and imperfect in nature, is the cause of bringing in the most horrible sins possible to human nature: for, albeit the murder of their children born before their time, and before they are christened, and the destruction of nature by medicine, be foul sins; yet intercourse among themselves, or irrational beasts, or inanimate creatures, is such transcendent vileness, that they ought to be punished by hell torments. The corollary is, That widows, and such as take the mantle and the ring, delicately fed, we would that they were married, because we cannot excuse them from private sins.

The twelfth conclusion is, That the multitude of arts not necessary, used in our realm, nourisheth much sin and offence in waste, curiosity, and disguising in curious apparel. Experience and reason partly do show the same, forsomuch as nature, with a few arts, is sufficient for man's necessity.[1]

This is the whole tenor of our ambassade, which Christ hath commanded us to prosecute at this time, most fit and convenient for many causes. And, albeit these matters be here briefly noted, yet, notwithstanding, they are more at large declared in another book, with many other more, wholly in our own proper tongue, which we would should be common to all Christian people. Wherefore we pray God, of his great goodness, that he would wholly reform our church, now altogether out of frame, unto the perfection of her first beginning.[2]

Certain Verses[3] were annexed unto the Conclusions, which are thus Englished.

The English nation doth lament of these vile men their sin,
Which Paul doth plainly signify by idols to begin.
But Giezites full ingrate, from sinful Simon sprung,
This to defend, though priests in name, make bulwarks great and strong.
Ye princes, therefore, whom to rule the people God hath placed,
With justice' sword why see ye not this evil great defaced?

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Ex Archivis Regiis.

(3) "Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum.
Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa malorum:
Surgunt ingrati Gierzitæ * Simone nati,
Nomine prælati, hoc defensare parati.
Qui Reges estis, populis quicunque præestis,
Qualiter, his gestis, gladios prohibere potestis?"

* Giezita, qui munera accipit, veluti Giezi seu Gehazi. *Ducange.*—Ed.

After these conclusions were thus proposed in the parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dublin into England, towards the latter end of the parliament. At his return he called certain of his nobles unto him, Richard Stury, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latimer, John Mountacute, &c., whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten, for that he heard them to be favourers of that side; charging them straightly never to hold, maintain, or favour any more those opinions and conclusions: and namely of Richard Stury he took an oath, that he should never, from that day, favour or defend any such opinions; which oath being taken, the king then answered, 'And I swear,' saith he, 'again to thee, that if thou dost ever break thine oath, thou shalt die for it a shameful death,'[1] &c.

R. Stury, Lewis Clifford, T. Latimer, John Mountacute, good favourers.

All this while William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, was yet alive, who was a great stirrer in these matters; but yet pope Urban, the great master of the catholic sect, was dead and buried six years before, after whom succeeded in the schismatical see of Rome pope Boniface IX., who, nothing inferior to his predecessor in all kind of cruelties, left no diligence unattempted to set forward that which Urban had begun, in suppressing them that were the setters-forth of the light of the gospel; and who had written sundry times to king Richard, as well for the repealing of the acts of parliament against his provisions, 'Quare impedit,' and 'præmunire facies;' as also that he should assist the prelates of England in the cause of God, as he pretended, against such, whom he falsely suggested to be Lollards, and traitors to the church, to the king, and the realm, &c. Thus the courteous pope, those whom he could not reach with his sword, at least, with cruel slander of his malicious tongue, would he work his poison against; which letter he wrote to the king A. D. 1395, which was the year before the death of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury; after whom succeeded in that see Thomas Arundel, brother to the earl of Arundel, being first bishop of Ely, afterwards archbishop of York, and lord chancellor of England, and at last made archbishop of Canterbury Jan. 11, A. D. 1397. The year following, which was 1398 and the ninth year of the pope, I find in certain records of the bishop of Durham a certain letter of king Richard II., written to the said pope Boniface, which, because I judged it not unworthy to be seen, I thought here to annex the same, proceeding in form as followeth.

Pope Urban VI. dead.

Pope Boniface IX.

Letters of pope Boniface to king Richard.

A.D.1395.

Death of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D.1398.

A Letter of King Richard II. to Pope Boniface IX.

To the most holy father in Christ, and lord, lord Boniface IX., by the grace of God high pope of the most holy Romish and universal church, his humble and devout son Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and France, lord of Ireland, greeting, and desiring to help the miseries of the afflicted church, and kissing of those his blessed feet:

Who will give my head water, and mine eyes streaming tears, that I may bewail the decay, and manifold troubles of our mother, which have chanced to her by her own children in the distress of this present schism and division? For the sheep have forgotten the proper voice of their shepherds, and hirelings have thrust in themselves to feed the Lord's flock, who are clothed with the apparel of the true shepherd, challenging the name of honour and dignity; resembling so the true shepherd, that the poor sheep can scarce know whom they ought to

(1) Ex Chron. Monachi Albanensis.

Richard II. A. D. 1398.

follow, or what pastor, as a stranger, they ought to flee, and whom they should shun as a hireling. Wherefore, we are afraid lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken by his host, and so that city, being full of riches, become solitary and desolate, and lest the land or people which was wont to say, flourishing in her prosperities, 'I sat as a queen, and am not a widow,' be destitute of the presence of her husband, and, as it were, so bewitched, that she shall not be able to discern his face, and so wrapped in mazes, that she shall not know where to turn her, that she might more easily find him, and that she shall, with weeping, speak that saying of the spouse, 'I sought him whom my soul loveth; I sought him and found him not.' For now we are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, Behold here is Christ, or there, we may not believe him so saying; and so many shepherds have destroyed the Lord's vineyard, and made his amiable portion a waste wilderness.

This multitude of shepherds is become very burdenous to the Lord's flock: for when two strive to be chief, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt, and, in so doing, they give occasion to all the faithful of Christ for a schism and division of the church. And although both parties go about to subdue unto their power the whole church militant, yet, contrary to both their purpose, by working this way, there beginneth to rise now a division in the body of the church, like as when the division of the quick innocent body was asked, when the two harlots did strive before Solomon; like as the ten tribes of Israel followed Jeroboam the intruder, and were withdrawn from the kingdom, for Solomon's sin: even so, of old time, the desire of ruling hath drawn the great power of the world from the unity of the church. Let yourselves remember, we beseech you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romish church, in the time of the faction of the primarch of Constantinople; and how Mahomet, with his fellows, by occasion of the supremacy in ecclesiastical dignity, deceived a great part of the Christians, and withdrew them from the empire and ruling of Christ; and how, in these days, where the same supremacy hath withdrawn itself from the obedience of it, insomuch that now, in very few realms, the candle that burns before the Lord remaineth, and that for David, his servant's sake. And, although now remain few countries professing the obedience of Christ's true vicar, yet, peradventure, if every man were left to his own liberty, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or, what is worse, would utterly refuse it by such doubtful evidence alleged on both sides: and this is the subtle craft of the crooked serpent, that is to say, under the pretence of unity to procure schisms, as the spider from a wholesome flower gathers poison, and Judas learned of peace to make war.

Desire to rule in the church.

Greece renounceth the Romish church.

Wherefore it is lively believed of wise men, that except this pestilent schism be withstood, by and by the keys of the church will be despised, and they shall bind the consciences but of a few: and when either none dare be bold to correct this fault, or to reform things contrary to God's law, so, by this means, at length, temporal lords will take away the liberties of the church, and peradventure, the Romans will come and take away their place, people, and lands: they will spoil their possessions, and bring the men of the church into bondage, and they shall be contemned, reviled, and despised, because the obedience of the people, and devotions towards them will be almost taken away, when the greater part of the church, left to their own liberty, shall wax prouder than they be wont, leaving a wicked example to them that do see it. For when they see the prelates study more for covetousness than they were wont, to purse up money, to oppress the subjects, in their punishings to seek for gain, to confound laws, to stir up strife, to suppress truth, to vex poor subjects with wrong corrections, in meat and drink intemperate, in feastings past shame: what marvel is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of God's law? But all these things do follow if the church should be left long in this doubtfulness of a schism, and then should that old saying be verified; 'In those days there was no king in Israel, but every one did that, that seemed right and straight to himself.' Micaiah did see the people of the Lord scattered on the mountains, as they had been sheep without a shepherd: for when the shepherd is smitten, the sheep of the flock shall be scattered: the great stroke of the shepherd is the minishing of his jurisdiction, by which the subjects are drawn from his obedience. When Jason had the office of the highest priest, he changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the customs of the heathen; the priests leaving

The king seemeth here to prophesy.

the service of the holy altar, and applying themselves to wrestling, and other exercises of the Grecians, and despising those things that belonged to the priests, did labour with all their might to learn such things of the Grecians; and by that means the place, people, and holy anointing of priests, which, in times past, were had in great reverence by kings, were trodden under foot of all men, and robbed by the king's power, and were profaned by thrusting in for money. Therefore let the highest vicar of Christ look unto this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of Him by whom he hath gotten authority above others.

Bishops taught by Christ not to play the lords.

If you mark well, most holy father! you shall find that Christ rebuked sharply two brethren, coveting the seat of honour: he taught them not to play the lords over the people, but the more grace they were prevented with, to be so much more humble than others, and more lowly to serve their brethren; to him that asked his coat, to give the cloak; to him that smote him on the one cheek, to turn the other to him. For the sheep that are given to his keeping he must forsake all earthly things, and to shed his own blood, yea, and if need required, to die. These things, I say, be those that adorn the highest bishop, if they be in him; not his purple, not his white horse, not his imperial crown, because he, among all men, is most bound to all the sheep of Christ. For the fear of God, therefore, and for the love of the flock which ye guide, consider these things diligently, and do them wisely, and suffer us no longer to waver betwixt two: although not for your own cause, to whom peradventure the fulness of your own power is known, yet in pitying our weakness, if thou be he, tell us openly, and show thyself to the world, that all we may follow one. Be not to us a bloody bishop, lest, by your occasion, man's blood be shed; lest hell swallow such a number of souls, and lest the name of Christ be evil spoken of by infidels, through such a worthy personage. But, peradventure ye will say, for our righteousness it is manifest enough, and we will not put it to other men's disputations. If this bald answer should be admitted, the schism should continue still; seeing that neither part is willing to agree to the other, and that where the world is, as it were, equally divided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to give place to the other without much bloodshed. The incarnation of Christ and his resurrection were well enough known to himself and his disciples; yet he asked of his Father to be made known to the world. He made also the gospel to be written, and the doctrine of the apostles, and sent his apostles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the same thing might be known to all men. The aforesaid reason is the subtlety of Mahomet, who, knowing himself guilty of his sect, utterly forbad disputations. If ye have so full trust of your righteousness, put it to the examination of worthy persons in a general council, to which it belongeth by right to define such doubts, or else commit it unto able persons, and give them full power to determine all things concerning that matter; or, at least, by forsaking the office on both parties, leave the church of God free, speedily to provide for a new shepherd.

The right ornament of a true bishop.

A bald answer.

Public respect to be preferred before private.

We find kings have forsaken their temporal kingdoms, only upon respect of devotion, and have taken the apparel of monks' profession. Therefore let Christ's vicar, being a professor of most high holiness, be ashamed to continue in his seat of honour to the offence of all people, and the prejudice and hurt of the Romish church, and the devotion of it, and cutting away kingdoms from it.

But if you say, It is not requisite that the cause of God's church should be called in controversy, and, therefore, we cannot so easily go from it, seeing our conscience gainsayeth it: to this we answer, If it be the cause of God and the church, let the general council judge of it; but if it be a personal cause, as almost all the world probably thinketh, if ye were the followers of Christ, ye would rather choose a temporal death, than suffer such a wavering, I say not, to the hurt of so many, but to the endless destruction of souls, to the offence of the whole world, and to an everlasting shame of the apostolical dignity. Did not Clement, named, or, that I may more truly speak, ordained, of St. Peter to the apostolic dignity, and to be bishop, resign his right, that his deed might be taken by his successors for an example? Also pope Siricius gave over his popedom to be a comfort of the eleven thousand virgins;[1] therefore much more

Answer to a popish objection.

Hard counsel for the pope.

(1) The legend of the eleven thousand virgins, is one of the fables coeval with the close of the third, or the opening of the fourth, century. The story is as follows:—Flavius Clemens Maximus, the

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ought you, if need require, give over your popedom, that you might 'gather together the children of God which be scattered abroad.' For, as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right, even to bloodshed, so is it sometimes necessary for a man to wink at his own cause, and to forsake it for a greater profit, and by that means better to procure peace. Should not he be thought a devil, and Christ's enemy by all men, who would agree to an election made of him for the apostolical dignity and popedom, if it should be to the destruction of Christians, the division of the church, the offence and loss of all faithful people? If such mischiefs should be known to all the world by God's revelation to come to pass, by such receiving of the popedom and apostolical dignity: then, by the like reason, why should he not be judged of all men an apostate and forsaker of his faith, who chooseth dignity, or worldly honour, rather than the unity of the church? Christ died that he might gather together the children of God, who are scattered abroad: but such an enemy of God and the church wisheth his subjects bodily to die in battle, and the more part of the world to perish in soul, rather than, forsaking to be pope, to live in a lower state, although it were honourable. If the fear of God, the desire of the heavenly kingdom, and the earnest love of the unity of the church do move your heart, show indeed that your works may bear record to the truth. Clement and Siricius, most holy popes, not only are not reproved, but rather are reverenced by all men, because they gave over their right for profitable causes, and for the same cause all the church of holy men show forth their praise. Likewise your name should live for ever and ever, if ye would do the like for a necessary cause, that is to say, for the unity of God's church. Give no heed to the unmeasurable cryings of them that say, that the right choosing of popes is lost, except ye defend your part manfully: but be afraid, lest such stirrers up of mischief look for their own commodity or honour, that is to say, that under your wing they might be promoted to riches and honour. After this sort Ahithophel was joined with Absalom in persecuting his own father, and falsely usurping his kingdom.

Unity of the church to be preferred before worldly dignity.

The pope will not lose his dignity, for any public tranquillity.

Wicked flatterers about the pope.

Furthermore, there should be no jeopardy to that election, because both parties stick stiffly to the old fashion of election, and either of them covet the pre-eminence of the Romish church, counselling all Christians to obey them. And although, through their giving over, the fashion of choosing the pope should be changed for a time, it were to be borne, rather than to suffer any longer this division in God's church. For that fashion in choosing is not so necessarily required to the state of a pope, but the successor of the apostle, as necessary cause required, might come in at the door by another fashion of choosing, and that canonical enough. And this we are taught manifestly by examples of the fathers; for Peter the apostle appointed after him Clement, and that not by falsely usurping of power, as we suppose; and it was thought that that fashion of appointing popes was lawful unto the time of pope Hilary, who decreed that no pope should appoint his successor.

Better that the order of the popes' election should cease, than the church should suffer any division.

Afterwards, the election of the pope went by the clergy and people of Rome, and the emperor's council agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the election of the blessed Gregory; but pope Martin, with the consent of the holy synod, granted Charles the power to choose the pope: but, of late, Nicholas II. was the first whom Martinus makes mention of in his councils as chosen by the cardinals. But all the bishops of Lombardy, for the most part, withstood this

captain of the army of the emperor Gratian, had acquired such influence over the soldiery, that they proclaimed him emperor in the lifetime of Gratian, his master. Arriving in Gaul, and being well received by the forces of Gratian, which happened to be quartered there, Maximus, with their aid, made a descent upon some of the most fertile districts of that country, and visited the inhabitants either with death, or banishment. Their land he divided among the bravest of his British followers; and, the more speedily to people the newly-formed colony, he despatched messengers to Britain, to procure wives for the settlers. According to the story, eleven thousand virgins, with one named Ursula at their head, embarked from Britain; but, being driven by a storm upon the coast of Germany, where an army of Gratian, in pursuit of Maximus, was unfortunately encamped, these fair adventurers fell into the hands of the merciless soldiery. At Ursula's solicitation, they immediately determined rather to die, than submit to the insults and shame that thus awaited them; in consequence of which, it is affirmed that they were all put to death. However, among the students of the divinity schools at Geneva it is maintained, that the above story was invented upon the discovery of an ancient inscription, beginning, 'undecimil. virg.,' and that instead of recording the death of eleven thousand virgins, it was intended to commemorate the death of one only, whose name was Undecimilla. The Editor gives this solution as he received it, without attempting, in this instance, to decide between Geneva and Rome. Pope Syricius was a zealous maintainer of the celibacy of the clergy, but that he gave over his papacy for the sake of the above eleven thousand virgins, does not so readily appear; for, in the same See which he held for fourteen years, he died, A.D. 398; the year in which the famous John Chrysostome, presbyter of the church of Antioch, was preferred to the See of Constantinople. See vol. i. p. 312, note (1).—Ed.

election, and chose Cadulus to be pope, saying, that the pope ought not to be chosen but of the precinct of Italy. Wherefore we think it not a safe way so earnestly to stick to the traditions of men, in the fashion of choosing the pope, and so oft to change, lest we be thought to break God's traditions concerning the unity of the church: yea, rather, it were better yet to ordain a new fashion of his election, and meeter for him than as it hath been before. But all things concerning the same election might be kept safe, if God's honour were looked for before your own, and the peace of the church were uprightly sought; for such a dishonouring should be most honour unto you, and that giving place should be the getting of a greater dignity, and the willing deposing of your honour should obtain you the entry of everlasting honour, and should procure the love of the whole world towards you, and you should deserve to be exalted continually, as David was, in humbling himself.

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Good counsel lost.

O how monstrous a sight, and how foul a monster, is a man's body disfigured with two heads! So, if it were possible, the spouse of Christ should be made as monstrous, if she were ruled with two such heads; but that is not possible: she is ever altogether fair, in whom no spot is found; therefore we must cast away that rotten member, and thruster-in of his second head. We cannot suffer any longer so great a wickedness in God's house, that we should suffer God's coat that wants a seam, by any means to be torn by the hands of two, that violently draw it asunder; for if these two should be suffered to reign together, they would so, betwixt them, tear in pieces that little coat of the Lord, that scarce one piece would hang to another. They pass the wickedness of the soldiers, that cursed Christ; for they, willing to have the coat whole, said, 'Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it, whose it shall be:' but these two popes, suffering their right and title to be tried by no lot or way, although not in words yet in deeds, they pronounce this sentence, 'It shall neither be thine nor mine, but let it be divided;' for they choose rather, as it appeareth, to be lords, though it be but in a little part, and that to the confusion of the unity of the church, than, in leaving that lording, to seek for the peace of the church. We do not affirm this, but we show almost the whole judgment of the world of them; being moved so to think by likely conjectures. We looked for amendment of this intolerable confusion, by the space that these two inventors of this mischief lived. But we looked for peace, and behold trouble; for, neither in their lives nor in their deaths, they procured any comfort, but rather, dying as it were in a doubt betwixt two ways, left to their successors matter of contention continual. But now, for the space of seven years of their successors, that which we desired and looked for before (that is, that they should bear good grapes, and they bring forth wild grapes), in this matter we fall into a deep despair. But, inasmuch as we hear the comfort of the Lord, who promised that miserably he would destroy those wicked men, and let his vineyard to other husbandmen who will bring him fruit at their times appointed, and hath promised faithfully that he will help his spouse in her need to the end of the world: we, leaning on the sure hope of this promise, and in hope contrary to hope believing, by God's grace will put our helping hands to the easing of this misery, when a convenient time shall serve, as much as our kingly power is able; and although our wit doth not perceive how these things before rehearsed may be amended, yet we, being encouraged to this by the hope of God's promise, will do our endeavour; like as Abraham believed, his son being slain by sacrifice, that the multitude of his seed should increase to the number of the stars, according to God's promise.

Christ's seamless coat broken.

Popes, compared to the soldiers that cursed Christ.

A godly purpose, if it had been put in execution.

Now, therefore, the time draws near to make an end of this schism, lest a third election of a schismatic against the apostles' successor make a custom of the doing, and so the pope of Avignon shall be double Romish pope, and he shall say with his partakers, as the patriarch of Constantinople said unto Christ's vicar when he forsook him: 'The Lord be with thee, for the Lord is with us;' which is much to be feared of all christian men, for that pharisee begins now to be called the pope of Avignon among the people.

But peradventure it would be thought by some men, that it belongeth not to secular princes to bridle outrages of the pope. To whom we answer, that naturally the members put themselves in jeopardy to save the head, and the parts labour to save the whole. Christ so decked his spouse, that her sides should cleave together, and should uphold themselves, and by course of time and occa-

Secular princes, to bridle the outrages of the pope.

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sion of things they should correct one another, and cleave together tuneably. Did not Moses put down Aaron, because he was unfaithful? Solomon put down Abiathar, who came by lineal descent from Anathoth, and removed his priesthood from his kindred to the stock of Eleazar in the person of Zadok, who had his beginning from Eli the priest? [1 Kings ii.] Otho the emperor deposed pope John XII., because he was lecherous. Henry the emperor put down Gratian, because he used simony in buying and selling spiritual livings; and Otho deposed pope Benedict V., because he thrust in himself. Therefore, by like reason, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romish pope in default of the church, if the quality of his fault require it, or the necessity of the church, by this means, compel to help the church oppressed by tyranny? In old times schisms, which rose about making the pope, were determined by the power of secular princes; as the schism betwixt Symmachus and Laurence was ended in a council before Theodoric,[1] king of Italy. Henry the emperor, when two did strive to be pope, deposed them both, and received the third, being chosen at Rome, to be pope, that is to say, Clement II., who crowned him with the imperial crown; and the Romans promised him that from thenceforth they would promote none to be pope without his consent. Alexander also overcame four popes, schismatics, all whom Frederic the emperor corrected.

Popes put down by princes.

[Vol. ii. pp. 71, 96.]

[Vol. ii. p. 96.]

Thus, look on the register of popes and their deeds, and ye shall find that schisms most commonly have been decided by the power of secular princes, the schismatics cast out, and sometimes new popes made; and sometimes the old ones cast out of their dignities, and restored to their old dignities again. If it were not lawful for secular princes to bridle the outrages of such a pope lawfully made, and afterwards becoming a tyrant: in such a case he might oppress overmuch the church, he might change Christendom into heathens, and make the labour of Christ crucified to be in vain: or else truly God should not have provided for his spouse on earth, by all means, as much as is possible, by service of men to withstand dangers. Therefore we counsel you, with such a loving affection as becomes children, that ye consider in your heart well, lest, in working by this means, ye prepare a way to Antichrist through your desire to bear rule, and so, by this means, as we fear the one of these two shall chance, either ye shall cause all the princes of the world to rise against you to bring in a true follower of Christ to have the state of the apostolical dignity, or what is worse, the whole world, despising the ruling of one shepherd, shall leave the Romish church desolate. But God keep this from the world, that the desire of honour of two men should bring such a desolation into the church of God: for then, that departing away which the apostle prophesied, should come before the coming of Antichrist were at hand, which should be the last disposition of the world, peaceably to receive Antichrist with honour. Consider, therefore, the state of your most excellent holiness, how ye received the power from God to the building of the church, and not to the destruction of it; that Christ hath given you wine and oil to heal the wounded, and hath appointed you his vicar in these things which pertain to gentleness, and hath given us those things which serve to rigour. For we bear not the sword without a cause to the punishment of evil doers, which power, ordained of God, we have received, ourselves being witness; beseeching you to receive our counsel effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may return to the places from whence they came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweet with salt; lest the ax swim on the water, and the wood sink, and lest the fruitful olive degenerate into a wild olive, and the leprosy of Naaman, that nobleman, cleave continually to the house of Gehazi, and lest the pope and the Pharisees crucify Christ again. Christ, the spouse of the church, who was wont to bring the chief bishop into the holiest place, increase your holiness, or rather restore it, being lost. Written, &c.[2]

Lawful that princes should withstand the tyranny of the pope.

The king seemeth here to prophesy of the desolation of the Roman pope.

The pope and the Pharisees new crucifiers of Christ.

This epistle of king Richard II. written to pope Boniface IX., in the time of the schism, about the year, as appeareth, 1398, as it contained much good matter of wholesome counsel to be followed, so how little it wrought with the pope the sequel afterwards declared; for the schism, notwithstanding, continued long after, in which neither

(1) At Rome, A. D. 501. L'Art. de Vér.—Ed.

(2) Ex fragmento libri cujusdam Dunelm.

of the popes would give over his hold, or yield any thing to good counsel given him, for any respect of public wealth. Such a stroke beareth ambition in this apostolical see, which we are wont so greatly to magnify: but of this enough, which I leave and refer to the consideration of the Lord, seeing men will not look upon it.

Drawing now towards the latter end of king Richard's reign, it remaineth that, as we did before in the time of king Edward III., so here also, we show forth a summary recapitulation of such parliamentary notes and proceedings, as then were practised by public parliament in this king's time against the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, to the intent that such, if any such be, as think, or have thought the receiving of the pope's double authority to be such an ancient thing within this realm, may diminish their opinion; as evidently may appear by divers arguments heretofore touched, concerning the election and investing of bishops by the king; as where king Oswin commanded Cedde to be ordained archbishop of York; also where king Egfride caused Cuthbert to be consecrated bishop of Durham: where Edmund, also, being nominate by the miracle of St. Cuthbert, was brought to king Canute, and at his commandment was instituted bishop of the same see.[1] And likewise Matthew Paris testifieth, that king Henry I. gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Radulph, then bishop of Rochester, and invested him with staff and ring: and the same king gave the bishopric of Winchester to William Gifford; and moreover, following the steps both of his father and brother before him, endowed him with the possessions pertaining to the said bishopric (the contrary statute of pope Urban II., forbidding that clerks should receive any ecclesiastical dignity at the hands of princes or of any lay person, to the contrary notwithstanding). That innumerable examples of the like sort are to be seen in ancient histories of this our realm, as also out of the parliament rolls in the time of king Edward III., hath sufficiently been noticed a little before: whereunto also may be added the notes of such parliaments as have been holden in the reign of this present king Richard II., the collection whereof in part here followeth.

The pope's usurped jurisdiction never received in England before late years.

See vol. i. p. 353.

See Appendix.

See vol. ii. p. 177.

See vol. ii. p. 161.

See vol. ii. p. 142.

Notes of certain Parliaments, holden in the reign of King Richard II., making against the Pope.

See Appendix.

In the first year of king Richard II., in the parliament holden at Westminster, it was requested and granted, that the pope's collector be willed no longer to gather the first fruits of benefices within this realm, being a very novelty, and that no person do any longer pay them.[2]

Item, That no man do procure any benefice by provision from Rome, on pain to be out of the king's protection.[3]

Item, That no Englishman do take to farm of any alien any ecclesiastical benefice or prebend, on the like pain. In this bill was rehearsed, that the Frenchmen had ten thousand pounds yearly of such livings in England.[4]

Item, That remedy might be had against the pope's reservations to dignities elective, the same being done against the treaty of the pope, made with king Edward III.[5]

In the second year of the said king Richard II. it was by petition requested, that some order might be taken, touching aliens having the greatest part of the church dignities in their hands: whereunto the king answered, That by advice of the lords he would provide therefore.[6]

(1) Ex lib. Guli. Malmesb. de gestis Pontif. Anglorum. Ex Mat. Paris, lib. de vita Hen.
(2) Ex Archivis Parliament. an. 1. reg. Rich. II. tit. 66.
(3) Tit. 67. (4) Ibid. 68. (5) Ibid. 77. (6) Ex anno 2. tit. 70.

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Item, It was enacted, that all the benefices of cardinals, and other rebels to pope Urban that now is, shall be seized into the king's hands.[1]

An act that pope Urban was true and lawful pope, and that the livings of all cardinals and others, rebels to the said pope, should be seized into the king's hands, and the king be answered of the profits thereof: and that whosoever within this realm shall procure or obtain any provision or other instrument from any other pope than the same Urban, shall be out of the king's protection.[2]

See Appendix.

Moreover, in the third year of king Richard II., the prelates and clergy made their protestation in this parliament, against a certain new grant, for justices of the peace to take cognizance of clerical extortions: That the same never should pass with their assent and good will, to the blemishing of the liberties of the church, if, by that grant, they meant more largely to proceed against ordinaries and others of the church; but if they meant none otherwise to deal hereafter therein, than before that time had been done, then would they consent. Whereunto it was replied for the king, That neither for the same their said protestation, or other words in that behalf, the king would stay to grant to his justices in that case, and in all other cases, as was used to be done in times past, and as he was bound to do by virtue of his oath taken at his coronation.[3]

Here note well a strange proceeding.

But mark the strange event.

Furthermore, in the fourth year of the said king Richard II., it was requested, That provision might be had against the pope's collectors, for levying of the first fruits of ecclesiastical dignities, properly belonging to the deans and chapters.[4]

Item, That all priors, aliens, might be removed out of their houses, and licensed to depart, never to return; and that Englishmen might be placed in their livings, answering the king in the same manner as the aliens did.[5]

And in the ninth year of the aforesaid king, touching the matter of the staple, the speaker of the parliament pronounced,[6] that he thought best the same were planted within the realm, considering that Calais, Bruges, and other towns beyond the seas grew very rich thereby, and good towns here very much decayed: and so much for the common profit. Touching the king, he affirmed that the subsidy and custom of wool yielded more to the king when the staple was kept in England, by one thousand marks yearly, than it did now, being holden beyond the seas.

Item, That inquisition and redress might be had against such religious persons as, under the license to purchase lands to the value of 20*l.* yearly, do purchase to the value of 80. or 100*l.*[7]

Item, That all clerks, advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity or living by the king, will grant to the king the first fruits of their livings, none otherwise than they would have done to the pope, had they been advanced by him.[8]

In the eleventh year of king Richard II., it was put up by the petitions of the commons, that such impositions as are gathered by the pope's bulls of 'Volumus' and 'Imponimus' (as on the translations of bishops), might be employed on the king's wars against the schismatics of Scotland; and that such as bring into the realm the like bulls and novelties may be reputed for traitors.[9]

In the thirteenth year of his reign followed another parliament, in which, although the archbishops of Canterbury and York, for them and the whole clergy of their provinces, made their solemn protestations in open parliament, that they in no wise meant, or would assent to any statute or law made in restraint of the pope's authority, but utterly withstood the same; willing this protestation of theirs to be enrolled; yet the said protestation of theirs at that time took no great effect.[10]

Item, In the same parliament it was put up by public petition, that 'the pope's collector should be commanded to void the realm within forty days, or else to be taken as the king's enemy; and that every such collector, from henceforth, may be an Englishman, and sworn to execute the statutes made in this parliament.[11]

Moreover, in the same parliament, the year above-said of the king, the twenty-sixth of January, Master John Mandoure, clerk, was charged openly in parliament, that he should not pass or send over to Rome, or attempt or do any thing there touching the archdeaconry of Durham, in prejudice of the king, or of his laws, or of the party presented thereto by the king, on peril that might ensue.[12]

(1) Tit. 71. (2) Ibid. 78. (3) Ex anno 3. reg. Rich. II. 38. (4) Tit. 44.
(5) Tit. 46. (6) Ex anno 9. ejusdem regis, tit. 4. (7) Tit. 36. (8) Ibid. 44.
(9) Tit. 26. (10 An. 13. regis Rich. II., tit. 24 (11) Tit. 43 (12) Ibid. 9.

The year following, which was the fourteenth of this king's reign, it was enacted first touching the staplers, that, after the feast of Epiphany next ensuing, the staple should be removed from Calais into England, in such places as are contained in the statute made in the twenty-seventh of Edward III., which statute should be fully executed: and further, that every alien that bringeth merchandise into the realm, should find sufficient surety to buy and carry away commodities of the realm, to half the value of the said merchandise.[1]

Against usury.

Item, In the same parliament petition was made, That against the horrible vice of usury, then termed shifts, practised as well by the clergy as laity, the order made by John Notte, late mayor of London, might be executed throughout the realm.[2]

See Appendix.

Moreover, in the fifteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid king, it was accorded: for that Sir William Brian, knight, had purchased from Rome a bull directed to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, to excommunicate such as had broken up his house, and had taken away divers letters, privileges, and charters; the same bull, being read in the parliament house, was adjudged prejudicial to the king's crown, and in derogation of the laws: for which he was, by the king, and assent of the lords, committed to the Tower, there to remain at the king's will and pleasure.[3]

In the said parliament also, William, archbishop of Canterbury, maketh his protestation in the open parliament, saying, that the pope ought not to excommunicate any bishop, or to intermeddle, for or touching any presentment to any ecclesiastical dignity recorded in any of the king's courts. He further protested, that the pope ought to make no translation to any bishopric within the realm against the king's will; for that the same was to the destruction of the realm and crown of England, which hath always been so free, as the same hath had no earthly sovereign, but hath been subject to God only, in all things touching regalities, and to none other: which protestation he prayed might be entered.[4]

In the seventeenth year of the reign of the king aforesaid, it was desired that remedy might be had against such religious persons as caused their villains or underlings to marry free women inheritable, whereby the lands came to those religious men's hands by collusion.[5]

Item, That sufficient persons might be presented to benefices, who may do well on the same, so that their flock do not perish for want of good instruction.[6]

Item, That remedy might be had against the abbots of Colchester and Abingdon, who, in the towns of Colchester and Colnham, claim to have sanctuary.[7]

Here the archbishop of Canterbury goeth contrary to himself.

To come to the parliament holden in the twentieth year of this king's reign, we find, moreover, in the said rolls, how that the archbishops of Canterbury and York, for themselves and the clergy of their provinces, declared to the king in open parliament, that, forasmuch as they were sworn to the pope and see of Rome, if any thing were in the parliament attempted in restraint of the same, they would in no wise assent thereto, but verily withstand the same: which their protestation they require to be enrolled.[8]

Upon the petition of the begging friars, there at large it was enacted, that none of that order should pass over the seas without license of his sovereign, nor that he should take upon him any order of master of divinity, unless he were first apposed[9] in his chapter provincial; on pain to be put out of the king's protection.[10]

Item, That the king's officers, for making arrests or attachments in churchyards, are therefore excommunicated; whereof remedy was required.[11]

In the twenty-first year of the same king's reign the parliament being holden at Westminster, we find how the commons, in full parliament, accused Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, for that he as chancellor procured, and as chief doer executed, the same commission, made traitorously in the tenth year of the king: and also, that he, the said archbishop, procured the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to encroach to themselves royal power, and to judge to death Simon de Burley and James Barners, without the king's assent: whereupon the commons required that the same archbishop might rest under safe keeping: whereunto the king answered that he wished to be advised, for that the same impeachments touched so great a person.[12]

(1) Ex an. 14. reg. Ric. II., tit. 6. (2) Tit. 24. (3) Ex an. 15. reg. Ric. II., tit. 19.
(4) Ex an. 16. reg. Ric. II., tit. 20. (5) Ex an. 17. reg. Ric. II., tit. 32. (6) Tit. 43.
(7) Tit. 46. (8) Ex an. 20. reg. Ric. II., tit. 22. (9) Tit. 25.
(10) "Apposed," examined.—Ed. (11) Tit. 36. (12) Ex 21. an. reg. Ric. II., tit. 15

Richard II. A.D. 1399.

Item, The twenty-fifth day of September, the commons prayed the king to give judgment against the said archbishop, according to his deserts. The king answered, that privately the said archbishop had confessed to him, how he mistook himself in the said commission, and therefore submitted himself to the king's mercy; wherefore the king, lords, and sir Thomas Percy, proctor for the clergy, adjudged the fact of the said archbishop to be treason, and himself a traitor, and therefore it was ordered, that the said archbishop should be banished, his temporalities seized, his lands and goods forfeited, as well in use as in possession.[1]

The Archbishop proved a traitor.

The king further prescribed, that the said archbishop should take his passage within six weeks of next Friday (Michaelmas eve) at Dover, toward the parts of France.[2]

See Appendix.

Thus having hitherto sufficiently touched and comprehended such things as have happened in the reign of this king, necessary for the church to know, by course of story we come now to the twenty-second[3] year of king Richard's reign, which is A. D. 1399. In that year happened the strange and also the lamentable deposing of this king Richard II. aforesaid, from his kingly sceptre: strange, for that the like example hath not often been seen in seats royal: lamentable, for that it cannot but be grievous to any good man's heart, to see him either so to deserve, if he were justly deposed, or if he were unjustly deprived, to see the kingly title there not able to hold its right, where, by force, it is compelled to give place to might.

A.D.1399. The deposing of king Richard II., [29th Sept. A.D.1399. 23 R. II.]

As concerning the order and process of king Richard's deposing, for that it is not greatly pertinent to my argument, and also that it is sufficiently contained in Robert Fabian, and in the king's records, in the chronicle of St. Alban's, and in other histories at large, it were here tedious and superfluous to intermeddle with repeating thereof. What were the conditions and properties of this king, partly before hath been touched; in whom, as some good virtues may be noted, so also some vices may seem to be mixed withal, but especially this, that he, starting out of the steps of his progenitors, ceased to take part with them who took part with the gospel. Whereupon it so fell, not by the blind wheel of fortune, but by the secret hand of Him who directeth all estates, that, as he first began to forsake the maintaining of the gospel of God, so the Lord began to forsake him: and where the protection of God beginneth to fail him, whom God once giveth over to man's punishment, there can lack no causes to be charged withal. So that to me, considering the whole life and trade of this prince, among all other causes alleged in stories against him, none seemeth to be of more weight to us, or more hurtful to him, than this forsaking of the Lord and his word: although, to such as list more to be certified in other causes concurring withal, many and sundry defects in that king may appear in stories, to the number of thirty-three articles alleged, or forced rather against him: in which as I cannot deny, but that he was worthy of much blame, so to be displaced there-for from his regal seat and rightful state of the crown, it may be thought perhaps the causes not to be so rare, or so material in a prince; who either could, or else would, have served, had not he given over before to serve the Lord and his word, choosing rather to serve the humour of the pope and bloody prelates, than to further the Lord's proceedings in preaching of his word. And then, as I said, how can

Vices and virtues mixed in king Richard.

What it is to forsake the maintenance of the gospel.

Thirty-three articles laid against king Richard.

(1) Tit. 16. (2) Ibid. 17. (3) The 22 Rich. II. ended on June 21st, A.D. 1399.—Ed.

enemies lack, where God standeth not to befriend? or what cause can be so little, which is not able enough to-cast down, where the Lord's arm is shortened to sustain? Wherefore, it is a point of principal wisdom in a prince, not to forget, that as he standeth always in need of God's helping hand, so always he have the discipline and fear of Him before his eyes, according to the counsel of the godly king David, Psalm ii. *Richard II.* A.D. 1399. God's favour necessary.

And thus much touching the time and race of this king Richard, with the tragical story of his deposing; the order and manner whereof purposely I omit, only contented briefly to lay together a few special things done before his fall, such as may be sufficient, in a brief sum, both to satisfy the reader inquisitive of such stories, and also to forewarn other princes to beware of the like dangers. In such as write the life and acts of this prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the favouring and advancing of certain persons about him, and ruled all by their counsel, who were then greatly abhorred and hated in the realm, the names of whom were Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, whom the king made duke of Ireland; Alexander Nevile, archbishop of York; Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk; Robert Trisilian, lord chief justice; Nicholas Brembre, with others. The king led with lewd counsel.

These men, being hated and disdained by divers of the nobles and of the commons, the king also, by favouring them, was less favoured himself; insomuch, that the duke of Gloucester, named Thomas Woodstock, the king's uncle, with the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Derby, stood up in arms against those counsellors and abusers (as they named them) of the king. Insomuch that the king for fear was constrained, against his mind, to remove out of his court, Alexander Nevile, archbishop of York; John Ford, bishop of Durham; friar Thomas Rushoke, bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor; with the lord Harringworth, lord Burnell and Beamond, lord Vere, and divers others.

And furthermore, in the parliament, the year following, Robert Trisilian, the justice, was hanged and drawn: also Nicholas Brembre, knight, James Salisbury also, and James Barnese[1], both knights; John Beauchamp, the king's steward, and John Blake, esquire, in like manner. All these, by the counsel of the lords being cast in the parliament, against the king's mind did suffer; which was in the eleventh of his reign, he being yet under governors: but consequently, after the same, the king, claiming his own liberty, being come to the age of twenty, began to take more upon him. And this was one thing that stirred up the king's stomach against the nobles.[2] The nobles up in arms against certain of his counsellors. [A.D. 1388.]

Secondly: Another thing that stirred him up so much against the Londoners, was this, for that he would have borrowed of them a thousand pounds, and they denied him, to their double and triple disadvantage, as after ensued upon it.[3] Another occasion besides this, between the king and the Londoners, happened thus, by reason of one of the bishop of Salisbury's servants, named Roman, and a baker's man, who then carrying a basket of horse-bread in Fleet-street, the aforesaid Roman took a horse-loaf out of the basket. The baker asking him why he did so, the bishop's lusty yeoman turned back again and brake his head: whereupon the neighbours came out, and would have Preparatives to the king's deposing. See Appendix.

(1) It is 'Barners,' at p. 215.—Ed. (2) Ex Chron. Albanensi. (3) Ibid.

Richard II. A.D. 1399.

arrested this Roman, but he escaped away unto the bishop's house. Then the constable would have had him out; but the bishop's men shut fast the gates, that they should not approach. Thus much people gathered together, threatening to burst open the gates, and fire the house, unless they had the aforesaid party to them brought out: whereby much ado there was, till at length the mayor and sheriffs came and quieted the rage of the commons, and sent every man home to his house, charging them to keep peace. Here as yet was no great harm done; and if the bishop, for his part, had been quiet, and had not stirred the coals of debate, which were well slaked already, all had been ended without further perturbation. But the stomach of the bishop (whose name was John Waltam, being then treasurer of England) not having digested the wrong, although his own man had done it, having no great cause so to do, the aforesaid bishop went to Thomas Arundel, at that time archbishop of York, and lord chancellor of England, to complain of the Londoners. Where is to be noted, or rather revealed, by the way, a privy mystery, which although it be not in this story touched by the writers, yet it touched the hearts of the bishops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriously known to be favourers of Wickliff's side, as partly before this is to be seen, and in the story of St. Alban's more plainly doth appear, where the author of the said history, writing upon the fifteenth year of king Richard's reign, reporteth in these words of the Londoners, that they were,[1] "not right believers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers; sustainers of the Lollards, depravers of religious men, withholders of tithes, and impoverishers of the common people," &c.[2]

Waltam bishop of Salisbury, a make-bate.

Londoners favourers of Wickliff's doctrine.

Thus the Londoners, being noted and suspected of the bishops, were the more maliced, no doubt, of the said bishops, who were the more ready to find and take all occasions to work against them, as by their doing herein may well appear: for the bishop of Salisbury, and the archbishop of York, having no greater matter against them than was declared, with a grievous complaint went to the king, complaining of the mayor and sheriffs of London. What trespass the mayor and sheriffs had done, as ye have heard before, so may you judge. Now what followed after let us hear. The king, incensed not a little with the complaint of the bishops, conceived eftsoons, against the mayor and sheriffs, and against the whole city of London, a great stomach; insomuch, that the mayor and both the sheriffs were sent for, and removed from their office. Sir Edward Darlington[3] was then made warden and governor of the city; who also, for his gentleness showed to the citizens, was deposed, and another, named Sir Baldwin Radington, placed in that room. Moreover, so much grew the king's displeasure against the city, that he also removed from London the courts and terms, to be kept at York, that is to say, the chancery, the exchequer, the king's bench, the hanaper, and the common pleas; where the same continued from Midsummer till Christmas, to the great decay of the city of London; which was A. D. 1392.

Londoners complained of to the king by the bishops. Beati pacifici!

The court removed from London to York.

Thirdly: Another great cause which purchased the king much evil will amongst his subjects, was the secret murdering of his own uncle,

(1) 'Male creduli in Deum et traditiones avitas. Lollardorum sustentatores, religiosorum detractatores, decimarum detentores, et communis vulgi depauperatores,' &c.
(2) Ex histor. D. Albani, cujus sic habet initium, anno gratiæ, &c.
(3) See Appendix.

named Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, of whom mention was made before; where was declared, how the said duke, with the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Derby, with others, were up in armour against certain wicked counsellors about the king. Whereupon the king, watching afterwards his time, came to Chelmsford, and so to the place near by, where the duke lay; where, with his own hands, he arrested the said duke his uncle, and sent him down by water immediately to Calais; and there, through the king's commandment, by secret means he was put to death, being strangled under a feather bed, the earl marshal being then the keeper of Calais, whereby great indignation rose in many men's hearts against the king.

Richard II. A. D. 1399.

The king arresting his own uncle, caused him to be put wrongfully to death.

With the same duke of Gloucester, also, about the same time, were arrested and imprisoned the earl of Warwick and the earl of Arundel, who, being condemned by parliament, were then executed; whereby great grudge and great indignation rose in the hearts of many against the king. A. D. 1397.

Fourthly, to omit here the blank charts[1] sent over all the land by the king, and how the king was said to let out his realm to farm: over and beside all these above premised, befell another matter, which was the principal occasion of this mischief; the banishment, I mean, of Henry, earl of Derby, made duke of Hereford a little before (being son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who died shortly after the banishment of his son, and lieth buried in the church of St. Paul, in London), and the duke of Norfolk, who was before earl of Nottingham, and afterwards, by this king, made duke of Norfolk the year before. At that time the king made five dukes, a marquis, and four earls; to wit, the duke of Hereford, who was before earl of Derby; the duke of Awmerle[2], who was before earl of Rutland; the duke of Southrey[3], who was before earl of Kent; the duke of Exeter, who was before earl of Huntingdon; and this duke of Norfolk, being before earl of Nottingham, as is aforesaid, &c. The occasion of banishing the first-named dukes was this:

Earl of Nottingham made duke of Norfolk.

About this present time the duke of Hereford did impeach the duke of Norfolk upon certain words spoken against the king: whereupon, casting their gloves one against the other, they agreed to fight out the quarrel, a day being appointed for the same at Coventry. But the king took up the matter into his own hands, banishing the duke of Norfolk for ever (who afterwards died at Venice); and the other duke, who was the duke of Hereford, for ten years. Beside these, also was exiled into France, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, by act of parliament in the same year, for points of treason, as ye have heard before expressed, p. 216; all which turned to the great inconvenience of this king, as in the event following may appear.

He and the duke of Hereford banished.

Arundel banished as a traitor by parliament.

These causes and preparatives thus premised, it followed the year after, which was A. D. 1399, and the last year of this king, that the king, upon certain affairs to be done, took his voyage into Ireland. In the mean time Henry of Bolingbroke, and with him the earl of Derby, the duke of Hereford, and the aforesaid archbishop, Thomas Arundel (who before were both exiled), returning out of France to Calais, came into England, challenging for the aforesaid Henry the dukedom of Lancaster, after the death of his father. With them also came the son and heir of the earl of Arundel, being

(1) See Appendix.—Ed. (2) Albemarle.—Ed. (3) Surrey.—Ed.

Richard II. A D. 1399.

yet but young. These together setting out from Calais, arrived at Ravenspur in the north; at the knowledge whereof much people gathered unto them.

In the mean time, as the duke was hovering on the sea to enter the land, lord Edmund, duke of York, the king's uncle, to whom the king committed the custody of his realm, having intelligence thereof, called to him the bishop of Chichester named Edmund Stafford, chancellor of the realm; and William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, lord treasurer; also John Bushey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, and John Ruschell, with divers others, consulting with them what was best in that case to be done; who then gave their advice (whether wilful or unskilful, it is not known, but very unfruitful), that he should leave London, and go to St. Alban's, there to wait for more strength, able to encounter with the duke. But, as the people out of divers quarters resorted thither, many of them protested that they would do nothing to the harm and prejudice of the duke of Lancaster, who, they said, was unjustly expulsed. The rest of the council, John Bushey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, William Scrope, treasurer, hearing and understanding how the commons were minded to join with the duke of Hereford, left the duke of York and the lord chancellor, and fled to the castle of Bristol. Here it is to be understood, that these four were they, to whom, as the common fame ran, the king had let out his realm to farm; and were so hated by the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them more than of the king, this commotion was among the people.

What evil company doth about a king.

As this broil was in England, the noise thereof sounding to the king's ears, being then in Ireland, for hasty speed of returning into England, he left in Ireland both his business, and most of his ordnance also behind him; and so, passing the seas, landed at Milford Haven, not daring, as it seemed, to come to London.

Richard returneth from Ireland.

On the contrary side, unto Henry, duke of Hereford (being landed, as is said, in the north), came the lord Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Henry his son, the lord Radulph Nevile, earl of Westmorland, and other lords more to a great number, so that the multitude rose to sixty thousand able soldiers; who, first making toward the castle of Bristol, took the aforesaid Bushey, Grene, Scrope, and Bagot; of whom three incontinent were beheaded; Bagot escaping away fled to Ireland.

Forsaken of his subjects. What it is, for a prince to be beloved of his subjects.

The king, in the mean while, lying about Wales, destitute and desolate, without comfort or counsel; who neither durst come to London, neither would any man come to him; and perceiving, moreover, that the commons, that were up in such a great power against him, would rather die than give over that they had begun, for fear of themselves; seeing therefore no other remedy, called to him Lord T. Percy, earl of Worcester, and steward of his household, willing him, with others of his family, to provide for themselves in time; who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, commanding every man to shift for himself. Fabian, however, and some others say, that he did this of his own accord, contrary to his allegiance. The king, compassed on every side with miseries, shifted from place to place, the duke still following him; till at length, being at the castle of Conway, the king desired to talk with Thomas

Richard agrees to resign his crown

Arundel, archbishop, and with the earl of Northumberland; to whom he declared, that he would resign his crown, on condition that an honourable living might be for him provided, and life promised to eight persons. such as he would name. This being granted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the castle of Flint, whence, after talk had with the duke of Lancaster, he was brought the same night, by the duke and his army, to Chester, and from thence was conveyed secretly into the Tower, there to be kept till the next parliament. By the way, as he came near to London, divers evil-disposed men of the city being warned thereof, gathered themselves, thinking to have slain him, for the great cruelty he had used before toward the city; but, by the policy of the mayor and rulers of the city, the madness of the people was stayed. Not long after followed the duke, and also began the parliament: in which parliament the earl of Northumberland, with many other earls and lords were sent to the king in the Tower, to take of him a full resignation, according to his former promise; and so they did. This done, divers accusations and articles were laid and engrossed against the said king, to the number of thirty-three, some say thirty-eight, which, the matter in them contained not being greatly material, I overpass: and the next year after, he was had to Pomfret Castle, and there famished to death.

Richard II. — A. D. 1401.

The king committed to the Tower.

HENRY THE FOURTH.[1]

And thus king Richard by common assent being deposed from his rightful crown, the duke of Lancaster was led by Thomas Arundel, the archbishop, to the seat royal; who there standing up, and crossing himself on the forehead and the breast, spake in words as followeth: A. D. 1399.

In the name of God, Amen. I Henry of Lancaster claim the realm of England and the crown, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood, coming from that good lord king Henry III., and, through the right that God of his grace hath sent to me, with the help of my kin and of my friends to recover the same, which was in point to be undone for default of good governance, and due justice, &c.

The words of Henry claiming the crown.

After these words the archbishop, asking the assent of the people, being joyful of their new king, took the duke by the hand, and placed him in the kingly throne, which was A. D. 1399, and, shortly after, by the aforesaid archbishop he was crowned also king of England.[2]

King Henry enthroned and crowned.

Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, Parish Priest, a Martyr.

The next year after[3], followed a parliament holden at Westminster; in which parliament one William Sautre, a good man and a faithful A. D. 1401.

(1) Edition 1563. p. 141. Ed. 1570, p. 614. Ed. 1576, p. 498. Ed. 1583, p. 514. Ed. 1596, p. 474. Ed. 1684, Vol. i. p. 586.—Ed.

(2) Ex Chron. Albanensi. [The accession was on Sept. 30th; the coronation, Oct. 13th.—Ed.]

(3) "The next year after:" *read* "the next year but one after," i.e. A.D. 1401. See Appendix.—Ed.

Henry IV. A. D. 1401.

priest, inflamed with zeal for true religion, required that he might be heard for the commodity of the whole realm. But the matter being smelt before by the bishop, they obtained that the matter should be referred to the convocation, where the said William Sautre being brought before the bishops and notaries thereunto appointed, the convocation was deferred to the Saturday next ensuing.

Sir William's First and Second Examinations.

When Saturday was come, that is to say, the 12th day of February, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of his council provincial being assembled in the said chapter-house, against one sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, chaplain, personally then and there appearing by the commandment of the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, objected, that the said sir William, before the bishop of Norwich, had once renounced and abjured divers and sundry conclusions heretical and erroneous; and that after such abjuration made, he publicly and privily held, taught, and preached the same conclusions, or else such like, disagreeing to the catholic faith, and to the great peril, and pernicious example of others. And after this he caused such like conclusions, holden and preached, as is said, by the said sir William without renunciation, then and there to be read unto the said archbishop, by Master Robert Hall, chancellor unto the said bishop, in a certain scroll written, in tenor of words as followeth:

Sir William Chatris, otherwise called Sautre, parish priest of the church St. Scithe the virgin, in London, publicly and privily doth hold these conclusions underwritten:

The articles against William Sautre.

Imprimis, He saith, That he will not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross.

II. Item, That he would sooner worship a temporal king, than the aforesaid wooden cross.

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

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

V. Item, That he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate, than an angel of God

VI. Item, That if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas, or any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit; he is not bound to keep his vow, but he may distribute the expenses of his vow upon the alms of the poor.

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

VIII. Item, That after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.

To these conclusions or articles, being thus read, the archbishop of Canterbury required the same sir William to answer: and then the said William asked a copy of such articles or conclusions, and a competent space to answer unto the same: whereupon the said archbishop commanded a copy of such articles or conclusions to be delivered then and there unto the said sir William, assigning the Thursday then next ensuing for him to deliberate and make answer in. When Thursday, the said day of appearance was come, Master Nicholas Rishton, auditor of the causes and business belonging to the said archbishop (he being then in the parliament-house at Westminster, otherwise hindered), continued the said convocation with all matters arising, depending, and appertinent thereunto, by commandment of the said bishop until the next morrow at eight of the clock. When the morrow came, being Friday, the aforesaid sir William Sautre, in the chapter-house, before the said bishop and his council provincial then and there assembled, making his personal appearance, exhibited a certain scroll, con-

taining the answers unto certain articles or conclusions given unto him, as is aforesaid, by the said bishop; and said, that unto the aforesaid archbishop he delivered the same as his answer in that behalf, under the tenor of such words as follow.

I William Sautre, priest unworthy, say and answer, that I will not nor intend to worship the cross whereon Christ was crucified, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross; so understanding me, that I will not worship the material cross, or the gross corporal matter: yet, notwithstanding, I will worship the same as a sign, token, and memorial of the passion of Christ, 'adoratione vicaria.' And that I will rather worship a temporal king, than the aforesaid wooden cross, and the material substance of the same. And that I will rather worship the bodies of saints, than the very cross of Christ whereon he hung; with this addition, even if the very same cross were before me, as touching the material substance. And also that I will rather worship a man truly confessed and penitent, than the cross on which Christ hung, as touching the material substance.

The answer of William Sautre given up in writing.

The cross, materially, not to be worshipped.

And that also I am bound, and will rather worship him whom I know to be predestinate, truly confessed, and contrite, than an angel of God: for that the one is a man of the same nature with the humanity of Christ, and so is not a blessed angel. Notwithstanding I will worship both of them, according as the will of God is I should.

A man predestinate rather to be worshipped than an angel: that is to say, neither can be worshipped without idolatry.

Also, That if any man hath made a vow to visit the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul, or to go on pilgrimage unto St. Thomas's tomb, or any whither else, to obtain any temporal benefit or commodity, he is not bound simply to keep his vow upon the necessity of salvation; but he may give the expenses of his vow in alms amongst the poor, by the prudent counsel of his superior, as I suppose.

And also I say, that every deacon and priest is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonical hours, according to the primitive order of the church.

Also, touching the interrogation of the sacrament of the altar, I say, that after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, there ceaseth not to be very bread simply, but remains bread, holy, true, and the bread of life; and I believe the said sacrament to be the very body of Christ, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words.

How bread remaineth in the sacrament.

When all these answers were thoroughly, by Master Robert Hall[1], directly and publicly there read, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury inquired of the said sir William, whether he had abjured the aforesaid heresies and errors objected against him, as before is said, before Henry bp. of Norwich, or not; or else had revoked and renounced the said or such like conclusions or articles, or not? To which he answered and affirmed that he had not. And then consequently (all other articles, conclusions, and answers above written immediately omitted), the said archbishop examined the same sir William Sautre, especially upon the sacrament of the altar.

First, Whether in the sacrament of the altar, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, remaineth very material bread or not? Unto which interrogation, the same sir William somewhat waveringly said and answered, that he knew not that. Notwithstanding he said, that there was very bread, because it was the bread of life which came down from heaven.

After that the said archbishop demanded of him, whether, in the sacrament, after the sacramental words rightly pronounced of the priest, the same bread remaineth, which did, before the words were pronounced, or not. And to this question the aforesaid William answered in like manner as before, saying, that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life, &c.

After that, the aforesaid archbishop asked him, whether the same material bread before consecration, by the sacramental words of the priest rightly pronounced, be transubstantiated from the nature of bread into the very body of Christ, or not? Whereunto sir William said, that he knew not what that matter meant.

And then the said archbishop assigned unto the said sir William time to deliberate, and more fully to make his answer till the next day; and continued this convocation then and there till the morrow: which morrow, to wit, the

The convocation resumed.

(1) The archbishop's chancellor. Wilkins, Conc.—Ed.

Henry IV. A.D. 1401.

nineteenth day of February, being come, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, in the said chapter-house of St. Paul in London, before his council provincial then and there assembled, especially asked and examined the same sir William Sautre, there personally present, upon the sacrament of the altar, as before: and the same sir William, again, in like manner as before, answered.

After this, amongst other things, the said bishop demanded of the same William, if the same material bread being upon the altar, after the sacramental words being by the priest rightly pronounced, is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ or not? And the said sir William said, he understood not what he meant.

Then the said archbishop demanded, whether that material bread being round and white, prepared and disposed for the sacrament of the body of Christ upon the altar, wanting nothing that is meet and requisite thereunto, by virtue of the sacramental words being by the priest rightly pronounced, be altered and changed into the very body of Christ, and ceaseth any more to be material and very bread or not? Then the said sir William, deridingly answering, said, he could not tell.

Then consequently, the said archbishop demanded, whether he would stand to the determination of the holy church or not, which affirmeth, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration being rightly pronounced by the priest, the same bread, which before in nature was bread, ceaseth any more to be bread? To this interrogation the said sir William said, that he would stand to the determination of the church, where such determination was not contrary to the will of God.

Determination of the church so to be followed as it is joined to the will of God.

This done he demanded of him again, what his judgment was concerning the sacrament of the altar: who said and affirmed, that after the words of consecration, by the priest duly pronounced, remained very bread, and the same bread which was before the words spoken. And this examination about the sacrament, lasted from eight o'clock until eleven o'clock, or thereabouts, of the same day: insomuch that during all this time the aforesaid William would no otherwise answer, neither yet, touching the same sacrament, receive catholic information, according to the institution of the pope's church, and his christian faith. Wherefore the said Canterbury, by the counsel and assent of his whole covent then and there present, did promulgate and give sentence, by the mouth of Robert Hall, against the same sir William Sautre (being personally present, and refusing to revoke his heresies, that is to say, his true doctrine, but constantly defending the same), under the tenor of words as followeth:

The Sentence against William Sautre.

In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and legate of the see apostolical, by the authority of God Almighty, and blessed St. Peter and Paul, and of holy church, and by our own authority, sitting for tribunal or chief judge, having God alone before our eyes, by the counsel and consent of the whole clergy, our fellow brethren and suffragans, assistants unto us in this present council provincial, by this our sentence definitive, do pronounce, decree, and declare, by these presents, thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, parish priest pretensed, personally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of heresy, judicially and lawfully convicted as a heretic, and as a heretic to be punished.

This sentence definitive being thus read, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury continued[1] the same provincial council till Wednesday next, and immediately ensuing, to wit, the twenty-third[2] day of the same month of February; which being expired, the bishop of Norwich, according to the commandment of the said archbishop of Canterbury, presented unto the aforesaid William Sautre, by a certain friend of his, being present at the same council, a certain process enclosed and sealed with his seal, giving the names of credible witnesses sealed with their seals, the tenor whereof followeth in this wise:

(1) "Continued," adjourned.—Ed. (2) See the Appendix.—Ed.

A certain Process against William Sautre, presented by the Bishop of Norwich.

Henry IV. A. D. 1399.

Memorandum, That upon the last day of April, in the year of our Lord 1399, in the seventh indiction, and tenth year of the papacy of pope Boniface IX., in a certain chamber within the manor-house of the said bishop of Norwich, at South Elmham (where the register of the said bishop is kept), before the ninth hour, in a certain chapel within the said manor situate, and the first day of May then next and immediately ensuing, in the aforesaid chamber sir William Chatris, parish priest of St. Margaret's in the town of Lynn and of Tilney, appeared before the bishop of Norwich, in the presence of John de Derlington, archdeacon of Norwich, doctor of the decrees, friar Walter Dish, and John Rikinghal, professors in divinity; William Carlton, doctor of both laws, and William Friseby, with Hugh Bridham, public notaries, and there publicly affirmed and held the conclusions, as before is specified. See Appendix

All and singular the premises the aforesaid William affirmeth upon mature deliberation. And afterwards, to wit, the nineteenth day of May in the year, indiction, and papacy aforesaid, in the chapel within the manor-house of the said Henry bishop of Norwich, situate at South Elmham, the aforesaid sir William revoked and renounced all and singular the aforesaid his conclusions; abjuring and correcting all such heresies and errors, taking his oath upon a book before the aforesaid Henry the bishop of Norwich, that from that time forward he would never preach, affirm, nor hold, privily or apertly, the aforesaid conclusions; and that he would pronounce, according to the appointment of the said bishop, the aforesaid conclusions to be erroneous and heresies in the parish churches of Lynn and Tilney, and in other places, at the assignment of the said bishop; and further swore, that he would stand to the ordinance of the said bishop touching the premises, in the presence of the discreet and worshipful men before recited, with divers other more.

As concerning the first conclusion, that he said he would not worship the cross, &c., he confessed himself to have erred, and that the article was erroneous, and submitted himself. And as touching the second article, that he said he would rather worship a king, &c., he confessed himself to have erred, and the article to be erroneous, and submitted himself; and so forth of all the rest.

Then next after this, upon the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, in the churchyard of the chapel of St. James within the town of Lynn, the aforesaid William, in presence of the aforesaid bishop and clergy, and the people of the said town of Lynn standing round about, publicly declared in the English tongue, the aforesaid conclusions to be erroneous and heresies, that were contained in a certain scroll. And after this, the twenty-sixth day of May, in the year abovesaid, in the church of the hospital of St. John's in the town of Lynn, the said sir William, before the said bishop sitting as judge, swore and took his oath upon the holy evangelists, that he would never after that time preach openly and publicly the aforesaid conclusions, nor would hear the confessions of any of the subjects of his diocese of Norwich, without the special licence of the said bishop, &c. In the presence of friar John, archbishop of Smyrna, Master John Rikinghal, doctor of divinity, William Carlton, doctor of both laws, and Thomas Bulton, officer of the liberty of Lynn aforesaid, with divers others.

The tenor of the Scroll and Recantation of William Sautre.

Imprimis, Touching the first and second, where I said, that I would adore rather a temporal prince, and the lively bodies of the saints, than the wooden cross whereupon the Lord did hang: I do revoke and recant the same, as being therein deceived. The first and second articles.

To this I say, that the article is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it; which I renounce and ask forgiveness thereof, and say, that it is a precious relic, and that I shall hold it while I live; and that I swear here. The third article

I know well that I erred wrongfully by false information; for I wot well, Fourth.

Henry IV. A. D. 1401.

that a deacon or a priest is more bound to say his matins and hours, than to preach; for thereto he is bounden by right: wherefore I submit me, &c.

Touching that article,[1] I know right well that I erred by false information; wherefore I ask forgiveness.

Sixth. As concerning vows, I say that opinion is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it; for a man is bounden to hold his vow, &c.

Seventh. To the seventh article I say, that I did it by authority of priesthood, through which deed I acknowledge well that I have guilt and trespassed: wherefore I submit me to God and to holy church, and to you father, swearing that I shall never hold it more.

Eighth. To the eighth I say, that I held it by false and wrong information: but now I know well that it is heresy, and that bread, anon as the word of the sacrament is said, is no longer bread material, but that it is turned into Christ's very body; and that I swear here.

Ninth. I say, that this is false and erroneous, &c.

Tenth. I say as I said, &c.

See Appendix. This being done, the 23d of February aforesaid[2], A. D. 1401, in the Chapter house of St. Paul, in London aforesaid, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, in the convocation of his prelates and clergy, and such like men there being present, caused the afore recited process of the bishop of Norwich to be read openly and publicly to sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris. And afterwards he asked the said sir William, whether he plainly understood and knew such process, and the contents within the same; and he said, 'Yea.' And further he demanded of him, if he would or could say or object any thing against the process, and he said. 'No.' And after that incontinent, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury demanded and objected against the said sir William, as divers others more did; that after he had, before the bishop of Norwich, revoked and abjured, judicially, divers errors and heresies, among other errors and heresies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed, that in the same sacrament of the altar, after the consecration made by the priest, as he taught, there remained material bread; which heresy, amongst others, as errors also he abjured before the aforesaid bishop of Norwich.[3] Hereunto the aforesaid William answered smiling, or in mocking wise, saying and denying that he knew of the premises. Notwithstanding, he publicly affirmed, that he held and taught the aforesaid things after the date of the said process made by the said bishop of Norwich, and that in the same council also he held the same. Then finally it was demanded of the said sir William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into heresy, and why they should not further proceed unto his degradation according to the canonical sanctions: whereunto he answered nothing, neither could he allege any cause to the contrary.

Process against Sautre.

Whereupon the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, by the counsel and assent of the whole council, and especially by the counsel and assent of the reverend fathers and bishops, as also priors, deans, archdeacons, and other worshipful doctors and clerks then and there present in the council, fully determined to proceed to the degradation and actual deposing of the said William Sautre, as re-fallen into heresy, and as incorrigible, according to the sentence definitive put in writing, the tenor whereof is in words as followeth:

Sentence of Relapse.

In the name of God, amen. We, Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the see apostolical, and metropolitan of all England, do find and declare, that thou William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, priest, by us, with the counsel and assent of all and singular our fellow brethren and whole clergy, by this our sentence definitive declared in writing, hast been for heresy convicted and condemned, and art (being again fallen into heresy) to be deposed and degraded by these presents.

And from that day, being Wednesday, there was in the said council provincial nothing further prosecuted, but it was continued with all dependents till

(1) Meaning the Fifth. (2) See before p. 224.—Ed. (3) Ex Regist. Cantuar.

Henry IV. A.D. 1401.

the Friday next ensuing; which Friday approaching, Master Nicholas Rishton (by the commandment of the said archbishop of Canterbury, being then busied, as he said, in the parliament house) continued this council and convocation with all incidents, dependents, and occasions growing and annexed thereunto, to the next day, to wit, Saturday next and immediately after ensuing. Upon Saturday, being the 26th of the said month of February, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury sat in the bishop's seat of the aforesaid church of St. Paul in London, and solemnly apparelled in his pontifical attire, sitting with him as his assistants the reverend fathers, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Hereford, Exeter, St. David's, and Rochester, above-mentioned, commanded and caused the said sir William Sautre, apparelled in priestly vestments, to be brought and appear before him. That done, he declared and expounded in English to all the clergy and people there in great multitude assembled the whole of the foregoing process against the said sir William Sautre. Which things finished, he then and there fully recited and read through the aforesaid sentence of relapse which had been passed against the said sir William, as is premised. And for that he saw the said William in that behalf nothing abashed, he proceeded to his degradation and actual deposition, in form as followeth :—

See Appendix.

Sentence of Degradation pronounced on Sir William Sautre.

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. We Thomas, by God's permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, do thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, chaplain pretensed, clothed in the habit and apparel of a priest, a heretic and one relapsed into heresy, by our sentence definitive condemned, by the counsel, assent, and authority, and by the conclusion of all our fellow brethren, our co-bishops and prelates, and of the whole clergy of our provincial council, degrade and depose from the order of a priest. And in sign of thy degradation and actual deposition, for thine incorrigibility we take from thee the paten and chalice, and do deprive thee of all power of celebrating the mass, and also we pull from thy back the casule, and take from thee the priestly vestment, and deprive thee of all manner of priestly honour.

The paten and chalice taken from him.

Item, We Thomas, the aforesaid archbishop, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, deacon pretensed, clothed in the habit and apparel of a deacon, having the book of the Gospels in thy hands, a heretic, and one relapsed into heresy, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid, degrade and depose from the order of a deacon. And in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of the Gospels, and the stole, and do deprive thee of the power of reading the gospel, and of all and all manner of diaconal honour.

The book of the New Testament taken from him.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, sub-deacon pretensed, clothed in the habit and vestment of a sub-deacon, a heretic and one relapsed, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid, degrade and depose from the order of a sub-deacon; and in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the albe[1] and maniple,[2] and do deprive thee of all and all manner of sub-diaconal honour.

The albe taken from him.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, acolyte[3] pretensed, clothed in the habit of an acolyte, heretic and relapsed, by our sentence as is aforesaid condemned, degrade and depose from the order of an acolyte; and in sign of thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the candlestick and taper, and the urceolum,[4] and do deprive thee of all and all manner of honour of an acolyte.

The candlestick and taper taken from him.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, exorcist [or, holy water clerk] pretensed, clothed in the habit of an exorcist, being a heretic and relapsed, and by

(1) 'Albe,' a white linen tunic or cassock.—Ed.
(2) 'Maniple,' a kind of scarf worn about the wrists.—Ed.
(3) An inferior clerk, who waited on the priest, carried the bread and wine, or lighted the candles.—Ed.
(4) A pitcher used in the celebration of the popish services.—Ed.

Henry IV. A.D. 1401.

our sentence as is aforesaid condemned, degrade and depose from the order of an exorcist; and in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of exorcisms, and do deprive thee of all and all manner of honour of an exorcist.

The holy water book conjured from him. The legend book.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, reader pretensed, clothed in the habit of a reader, a heretic and relapsed, and by our sentence as is aforesaid condemned, degrade and depose from the order of a reader; and in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of the divine lections [that is, the book of the church legend], and do deprive thee of all and all manner of honour of a reader.

The surplice and church door keys taken from him.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William Sautre, sexton pretensed, clothed in the habit of of a sexton, and wearing a surplice, being a heretic and relapsed, by our sentence definitive condemned as aforesaid, degrade and depose from the order of a sexton; and in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, for the causes aforesaid do take from thee the keys of the church, and the surplice, and do deprive thee of all honour and commodity of a sexton.[1]

Privilege of clergy taken from him.

Moreover, by the authority of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and our own, and by the authority, counsel, and assent of our whole council provincial above written, we do degrade and depose thee, William Sawtre alias Chatrys, from the orders, benefices, and privileges, and the habit and fellowship of the church, for thy pertinacy incorrigible, before the secular court of the high constable and marshal of England, being here personally present before us; and do strip and deprive thee of all and singular clerkly honours and distinctions whatsoever, by these writings. Also, in sign of thy actual degradation and deposition, we have caused thy crown and clerical tonsure in our presence to be rased away, and utterly to be abolished, like unto the form of a secular lay man; and a coloured cap to be put upon the head of the same William, as a secular lay man; beseeching the court aforesaid, that they will regard favourably the said William unto them thus recommitted.

The priest's cap taken from his head, maketh up all in all.

Thus William Sautre, the servant of Christ, being utterly thrust out of the pope's kingdom, and metamorphosed from a clerk to a secular layman, was committed, as ye have heard, unto the secular power: which so done, the bishops, yet not herewith contented, cease not to call upon the king, to cause him to be brought forth to speedy execution. Whereupon the king, ready enough and too much to gratify the clergy, and to retain their favours, directeth out a terrible decree against the said William Sautre, and sent it to the mayor and sheriffs of London to be put in execution; the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth.

see Appendix.

The cruel Decree of the King against William Sautre.[2]

The decree of our sovereign lord the king and his council in the parliament, against a certain newly-sprung-up heretic.

To the mayor and sheriffs of London, &c. Whereas the venerable father Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the consent, assent, and counsel of his co-bishops and fellow-brethren, his suffragans, and of the whole clergy of his province in his provincial council assembled, the due order of law in this behalf required being observed in all points, hath pronounced by his definitive sentence one William Sautre, sometime chaplain, condemned of heresy, and formerly abjured by him in form of law, but now relapsed into the heresy aforesaid, to be a manifest heretic, and therefore hath decreed that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all clerical prerogative and privilege, and hath decreed the said William to be left to the secular court; and hath really so left him, according to the laws and

(1) "Ostiarius," which Foxe here translates "door-keeper," but thrice before "sexton."—Ed.
(2) For the Latin copy of this decree, see edition 1563, p. 142, also Rymer's Fœdera.—Ed.

canonical sanctions set forth in this behalf, and that holy mother church hath no further to do in the premises:—We therefore—as zealous of religion and a lover of the catholic faith, being desirous to maintain and defend holy church and the rights and the liberties of the same, and as far as in us lieth to pluck up by the roots such heresies and errors of our realm of England, and with condign correction to punish all heretics or such as be convict; seeing that such heretics convict and condemned in form aforesaid ought, both according to divine and human law, and the canonical institutions in this behalf accustomed, to be burned with fire—do command you as strictly as we can, firmly enjoining you, that you cause the aforesaid William, being in your custody, in some public and open place within the liberties of the city aforesaid (the cause aforesaid being published unto the people), to be committed to the fire, and him in the same fire really to be burned, for detestation of his crime, and the manifest example of other Christians: and hereof ye are not to fail, upon the peril that will fall thereupon.

Henry IV. A.D. 1401.

Preposterous zeal without knowledge.

Teste Rege, apud Westm. 26th Feb. An. regni sui 2do [A.D. 1401.]

Thus it may appear how kings and princes have been blinded and abused by the false prelates of the church, insomuch that they have been their slaves and butchers, to slay Christ's poor innocent members. See, therefore, what danger it is for princes not to have knowledge and understanding themselves, but to be led by other men's eyes, and especially trusting to such guides, who, through hypocrisy, both deceive them, and, through cruelty, devour the people.

Admonition to princes.

As king Henry IV., who was the deposer of king Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints for standing against the pope; so was this William Sautre, the true and faithful martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wickliff's time, that I find to be burned in the reign of the aforesaid king, which was in the year of our Lord, 1401.

Henry IV. the first English king that tormented with fire.

After the martyrdom of this godly man, the rest of the same company began to keep themselves more closely for fear of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the pope's prelacy. Such was the reign of this prince, that to the godly he was ever terrible, in his actions immeasurable, of few men heartily beloved; but princes never lack flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his reign very quiet, but full of trouble, of blood and misery. Such was their desire of king Richard again, in the reign of this king, that many years after he was rumoured to be alive (of them which desired belike that to be true, which they knew to be false), for which divers were executed. For the space of six or seven years together almost no year passed without some conspiracy against the king. Long it were here to recite the blood of all such nobles and others, which was spilled in the reign of this king, as the earl of Kent,[1] the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Huntingdon, named John Holland, &c., as writeth the story of St. Alban's. But the English writers differ something in their names, and make mention of four earls, of Surrey, of Exeter, of Salisbury, and lord Spencer, earl of Gloucester.[2]

Much murder and beheading in the time of king Henry IV.

And the next year following sir Roger[3] Clarendon, knight, with two of his servants, and the prior of Laund, with eight friars, were hanged and quartered. And after these Henry Percy the younger; the earl of Worcester, named Thomas Percy, his uncle; the lord of Kinderton, and lord Richard de Vernon. The earl of Northumber-

(1) It is to be doubted. (2) Ex lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti. (3) See Appendix.—Ed.

Henry IV. A.D. 1405.

land scarce escaped with his pardon, A.D. 1403: in which year the prison in Cornhill, called the Tun, was turned into the Conduit there now standing.

To let pass others hanged and quartered the same time, as Blunt, knight, and Benet Kely, knight, and Thomas Wintersel, esq.; also the same year were taken and executed sir Bernard Brookes, knight, sir John Shilley, knight, sir John Mandelin and William Frierby. After all these, lord Henry, earl of Northumberland, and lord Bardolf, conspiring the king's death, were taken in the north and beheaded, which was in the eighth year of this king Henry.

Archbishop of York and Lord Mowbray against king Henry IV.

Lord Bardolf, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, against the king.

This civil rebellion of so many nobles and others against the king, declared what grudging hearts the people then bore toward this king Henry; among whom I cannot omit here also the archbishop of York, named Richard Scrope, who, with the Lord Mowbray, marshal of England, gathered a great company in the north country against the aforesaid king, to whom also was joined the help of lord Bardolf, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland: [1] and to stir up the people the more willingly to take their parts, they collected certain articles against the said king, to the number of ten, and fastened them upon the doors of the churches and monasteries, to be read by all men in English;[2] which articles if any be disposed to understand, forasmuch as the same also contain a great part of the doings between king Henry and king Richard aforesaid, I thought, for the better opening of the matter, hereunder to insert the same, in such form as I found them in the story of 'Scala mundi' expressed.[3]

Articles against King Henry IV., set upon Church Doors.

A.D. 1405.

In the name of God, amen. Before the Lord Jesus Christ, judge of the quick and dead, &c. We, A. B. C. D. &c., not long since, became bound by oath, upon the sacred evangelical book, unto our sovereign lord Richard, late king of England and France, in the presence of many prelates, potentates, and nobility of the realm, that we, so long as we lived, should bear true allegiance and fidelity toward him and his heirs succeeding him in the kingdom by just title, right, and line, according to the statutes and custom of this realm of England; by virtue whereof we are bound to foresee that no vices or heinous offences arising in the common-weal, do take effect or wished end, and we ought to give ourselves and our goods to withstand the same, without fear of the sword or death whatsoever, upon pain of perjury, which pain is everlasting damnation. Wherefore we, seeing and perceiving divers horrible crimes and great enormities daily, without ceasing, to be committed by the children of the devil and Satan's soldiers, against the supremacy of the Church of Rome, the liberty of the church of England, and the laws of the realm; against the person of king Richard and his heirs; against the prelates, noblemen, religion, and commonalty; and finally against the whole weal public of the realm of England, to the great offence of the majesty of Almighty God, and to the provocation of his just wrath and vengeance toward the realm and people of the same: and fearing also the destruction both of the church of Rome and England, and the ruin of our country to be at hand, having before our eyes the justice and the kingdom of God, calling always on the name of Jesus, having an assured confidence in his clemency, mercy, and power, have here taken unto us certain articles, subscribed in form following, to be propounded, tried, and heard before the just judge, Jesus Christ, and the whole world, to his honour, the delivery of the church, the clergy and commonalty, and to the utility and profit of the weal public. But if (which God forbid) by force, fear, or violence of wicked persons we shall be cast into prison, or by violent death prevented, so as in this world we shall not be able to prove the said articles as we would wish, then do we appeal to the high celestial

(1) Ex Chron. D. Albani. (2) Ex Hist. Scala Mundi.
(3) They are printed in Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 362.—Ed.

Judge, that he may judge and discern the same, in the day of his supreme judgment. *Henry IV.*

First: We depose, say, except, and intend to prove, against the lord Henry Darby, son of the lord John of Gaunt, late duke of Lancaster, and commonly called king of England (himself pretending the same, although without all right and title thereunto), and against his adherents, fautors, and accomplices, that ever they have been, are, and will be, traitors, invaders, and destroyers of God's church, in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our sovereign lord Richard, late king of England, his heirs, his kingdom, and common-wealth, as shall hereafter manifestly appear. A. D. 1405.

Second: We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, for that he had conceived, devised, and conspired, certain heinous crimes and traitorous offences against his said sovereign lord Richard, his state and dignity, as manifestly did appear in the contention between the said lord Henry, and the lord Thomas, duke of Norfolk, begun at Coventry, but not finished thoroughly. Afterwards he was sent into exile by sentence of the said king Richard, by the agreement of his father, the lord John, duke of Lancaster, by the voice of divers of the lords temporal, and nobility of the realm, and also by his own consent, there to remain for a certain time appointed unto him by the said lords; and withal he was bound, by oath, not to return into England before he had obtained favour and grace of the king. Not long after, when the king was departed into Ireland, for reformation of that country, appertaining to the crown of England, but as then rebelling against the same, the said lord Henry in the mean time, contrary to his oath and fidelity, and long before the time limited unto him was expired, with all his fautors and invaders secretly entered into the realm, swearing and protesting before the face of the people, that his coming into the realm in the absence of the king was for no other cause, but that he might, in humble sort, with the love and favour of the king, and all the lords spiritual and temporal, have and enjoy his lawful inheritance descending unto him of right after the death of his father: which thing as it pleased all men, so cried they, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' But how this blessing afterwards turned into cursing, shall appear in that which followeth: and also ye shall understand his horrible and wicked conspiracy against his sovereign lord king Richard, and divers other lords as well spiritual as temporal; besides that his manifest perjury shall well be known, and that he remaineth not only forsworn and perjured, but also excommunicate, for that he conspired against his sovereign lord our king: wherefore we pronounce him, by these presents, as well perjured, as excommunicate.

King Henry perjured.

Thirdly: We depose, &c., against the lord Henry, that he the said lord Henry, immediately after his entry into England, by crafty and subtle policy caused to be proclaimed openly throughout the realm, that no tenths of the clergy, fifteenths of the people, sealing up the cloth, diminution of wool, impost of wine, or other extortions or exactions whatsoever, should hereafter be required or exacted; hoping by this means to purchase unto him the voice and favour of the prelates spiritual, the lords temporal, the merchants, and the commonalty of the whole realm. After this he took by force the king's castles and fortresses, spoiled and devoured his goods wheresoever he found them, crying, 'havock,' 'havock.' The king's majesty's subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, he spoiled and robbed; some he took captive and imprisoned them; and some he slew and put to miserable death; whereof many were bishops, prelates, priests, and religious men: whereby it is manifest, that the said lord Henry is not only perjured, in promising and swearing that there should be hereafter no more exactions, payments, or extortions within the realm, but also excommunicate, for the violence and injury done to prelates and priests: wherefore, by these presents we pronounce him, as before, as well perjured, as excommunicate.

Charged with untruth.

Fourthly: We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that he, hearing of the king's return from Ireland into Wales, rose up against his sovereign lord the king with many thousands of armed men, marching forward with all his power towards the castle of Flint, in Wales, where he took the king and held him prisoner, and so led him captive as a traitor unto Leicester; from whence he took his journey towards London, misusing the king by the way both he and his, with many injuries and opprobrious contumelies and scoffs: and in the end committed him to the Tower of London, and held a parliament, the king

Charged with treason against his sovereign.

Henry IV. A. D. 1405.

being absent and in prison; wherein, for fear of death, he compelled the king to yield and resign unto him all his right and title to the kingdom and crown of England. After which resignation being made, the said lord Henry, standing up in the parliament house, stoutly and proudly before them all, said and affirmed, that the kingdom of England and crown of the same, with all thereunto belonging, did pertain unto him at that present, as of very right, and to no other; for that the said king Richard, by his own deed, was deprived for ever of all the right, title, and interest that ever he had, hath, or may have in the same. And thus at length, by right and wrong, he exalted himself unto the throne of the kingdom; since which time, our common-weal never flourished nor prospered, but altogether hath been void of virtue, for that the spiritualty was so oppressed, exercise and warlike practices have not been maintained, charity is waxed cold, and covetousness and misery have taken place, and finally mercy is taken away, and vengeance supplieth the room: whereby it doth appear, as before is said, that the said lord Henry is not only perjured and false by usurping the kingdom and dominion belonging to another, but also excommunicate for the apprehending, unjust imprisoning, and depriving his sovereign lord the king of his royal crown and dignity: wherefore, as in the articles before, we pronounce the said lord Henry to be excommunicate.

Fifthly: We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that he the same lord Henry with the rest of his favourers and complices, heaping mischief upon mischief, have committed and brought to pass a most wicked and mischievous fact, yea, such as hath not been heard of at any time before: for, after that they had taken and imprisoned the king, and deposed him by open injury against all humane nature, yet, not content with this, they brought him to Pomfret castle, and there imprisoned him, where fifteen days and nights they vexed him with continual hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally bereft him of life, with such a kind of death as never before that time was known in England, but by God's providence it is come to light. Who ever heard of such a deed, or who ever saw the like of it? Wherefore, O England! arise, stand up, avenge the cause, the death and injury, of thy king and prince: which if thou do not, take this for certain, that the righteous God will destroy thee by strange invasions and foreign power, and avenge himself on thee for this so horrible an act: whereby doth appear not only his perjury, but also his excommunication most execrable, so that, as before, we pronounce the said Henry not only perjured, but also excommunicate.

King Henry charged with murdering his prince.

Sixthly: We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that after he had attained to the crown and sceptre of the kingdom, he caused forthwith to be apprehended divers lords spiritual, bishops, abbots, priors, and religious men of all orders, whom he arrested, imprisoned, and bound, and against all order brought them before the secular judges to be examined; not sparing the bishops whose bodies were anointed with sacred oil, nor priests, nor religious men, but commanding them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded by the temporal law and judgment, notwithstanding the privilege of the church and holy orders, which he ought to have reverenced and worshipped, if he had been a true and lawful king; for the first and chiefest oath in the coronation of a lawful king is, to defend and keep inviolate the liberties and rights of the church, and not to deliver any priest or religious man into the hands of the secular power, except for heresy only, and that, after his degradation, according to the order of the church. Contrary unto all this hath he done; so that it is manifest by this article, as before in the rest, that he is both perjured, and excommunicate.

Charged with violating the orders of holy church.

Seventhly: We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that not only he caused to be put to death the lords spiritual and other religious men, but also divers of the lords temporal and nobility of the realm, and chiefly those that studied for the preservation of the common-weal, not ceasing as yet to continue his mischievous enterprise, if by God's providence it be not prevented, and that with speed. Amongst all others of the nobility, these first he put to death; the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Huntingdon, the earl of Gloucester, the lord Roger Clarendon, the king's brother, with divers other knights and esquires; and afterwards, the lord Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, and the lord Henry Percy,[1] son and heir to the earl of Northumberland; which lord Henry he not only slew, but to the uttermost of his power again and again he caused him to be slain. For after that he was once put to death, and delivered to the lord of

Charged with tyranny.

(1) Slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, July 21st. A.D. 1403.—Ed.

Furnile* to be buried, who committed his body to holy sepulture, with as much honour as might be, commending his soul to Almighty God with the suffrages of the blessed mass and other prayers, the said lord Henry, most like a cruel beast still thirsting for his blood, caused his body to be exhumed and brought forth again, and to be reposed between two mill-stones in the town of Shrewsbury, there to be kept with armed men; and afterwards to be beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried into divers cities of the kingdom: wherefore, for so detestable a fact, never heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former articles, excommunicate.

Henry IV. A. D. 1405.

* "Furnyvale," Ang. Sacra.

Eighthly: We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, for that after his attaining to the crown he willingly ratified, allowed, and approved, a most wicked statute set forth and renewed in the parliament holden at Winchester; which statute is directly against the church of Rome, and the power and principality thereof given by our Lord Jesus Christ unto blessed St. Peter and his successors, bishops of Rome; unto whom belongeth, by full authority, the free disposing of all spiritual promotions, as well superior as inferior; which wicked statute is the cause of many mischiefs, viz., of simony, perjury, adultery, incest, misorder, and disobedience; for that many bishops, abbots, priors, and prelates (we will not say by virtue, but rather by error of this statute), have bestowed the benefices vacant upon young men, rude and unworthy persons, who have compacted with them for the same, so that scarce one prelate is found that hath not covenanted with the party promoted, for the half yearly, or, at the least, the third part of the said benefice so bestowed. And by this means the said statute is the destruction of the right of St. Peter, the church of Rome and England, the clergy and universities, the whole common-weal, and maintenance of wars, &c.

Charged with evil government.

Ninthly: We say and depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that after he had tyrannously taken upon him the government of the realm, England never flourished since, nor prospered, by reason of his continual exactions of money, and oppressions yearly of the clergy and commonalty; neither is it known how this money so extorted is bestowed, when neither his soldiers nor his gentlemen are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges and wonderful toil and labour, neither yet the poor country people are satisfied for the victuals taken of them; and, nevertheless, the miserable clergy, and more miserable commonalty, are forced still to pay by menaces and sharp threatenings: notwithstanding he swore, when he first usurped the crown, that hereafter there should be no such exactions or vexations, neither of the clergy nor laity: wherefore, as before, we pronounce him perjured, &c.

Charged with oppression and perjury.

In the tenth and last article we depose, say, and openly protest by these presents, for ourselves, and all our assistants in the cause of the church of Rome and England, and in the cause of king Richard, his heirs, and the clergy and commonalty of the whole realm, that neither our intention is, was, nor shall be, in word or deed to offend any state either of the prelates spiritual, lords temporal, or commons of the realm; but rather, foreseeing the perdition and destruction of this realm to approach, we have here brought before you certain articles concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspectly considered by the whole assembly, as well by the lords spiritual as temporal, and the faithful commons of England: beseeching you all, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, the righteous judge, and for the merits of our blessed lady, the mother of God, and of St. George our defender, under whose displayed banner we wish to live and die, and under pain of damnation, that ye will be favourable to us, and to our causes which are three in number; whereof the first is, that we exalt unto the kingdom the true and lawful heir, and him to crown in kingly throne with the diadem of England. And secondly, that we revoke the Welshmen, the Irishmen, and all others our enemies unto perpetual peace and amity. Thirdly and finally, that we deliver and make free our native country from all exactions, extortions, and unjust payment; beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to grant his blessing, the remission of their sins, and life everlasting to all that assist us to their power in this godly and meritorious work: and unto all those that are against us we threaten the curse of Almighty God, by the authority committed unto us by Christ and his holy church, and by these presents we pronounce them excommunicate.

Three causes declared.

These articles being seen and read, much concourse of people daily

Henry IV. A.D. 1410.

resorted more and more to the archbishop. The earl of Westmoreland (being then not far off, with John, the king's son) hearing of this, mustered his soldiers with all the power he was able to make, and bent towards the archbishop; but seeing his part too weak to encounter with him, he useth practice of policy, where strength would not serve. And first, coming to him under colour of friendship dissembled, he laboured to seek out the causes of that great stir: to whom the archbishop again answered, that no hurt was intended thereby, but profit rather to the king and commonwealth, and maintenance of public peace; but, forasmuch as he stood in great fear and danger of the king, he was therefore compelled so to do. And withal he showed unto him the contents of the articles aforesaid; which when the earl had read, setting a fair face upon it, he seemed highly to commend the purpose and doings of the bishop, promising, moreover, that he would help also forward in that quarrel to the uttermost of his power, and he required upon the same a day to be set, when they, with equal number of men, might meet together, in some place appointed, to have further talk of the matter. The archbishop, easily persuaded, was content, although much against the counsel of the earl marshal, and came; where the articles being openly published and read, the earl of Westmoreland with his company pretended well to like the same, and to join their assents together. This done, he exhorted the archbishop, that forasmuch as his garrison had been now long in armour and from home, he would therefore discharge the needless multitude of his soldiers, and dismiss them home to their works and business, and they would together drink and join hands in the sight of the whole company. Thus they shaking hands together, the archbishop sendeth away his soldiers in peace, not knowing himself to be circumvented, before he was immediately arrested by the hands of the earl of Westmoreland: and, shortly after, the king coming with his power to York, he was there beheaded the Monday in Whitsun-week, and with him also lord Thomas Mowbray, marshal, with divers others, moreover, of the city of York, who had taken their parts; after whose slaughter the king proceedeth further to persecute the earl of Northumberland, and lord Thomas Bardolph, who then did fly to Berwick. From thence they removed to Wales. At length, within two years after, fighting against the king's part, they were slain in the field, A.D. 1408: in which year divers others in the north parts, for favouring the aforesaid lords, were likewise condemned by the king, and put to death; among whom the abbot of Hales, for the like treason, was hanged.

Earl of Westmoreland against the archbishop.

Falsehood in fellowship.

The archbishop of York craftily circumvented.

The archbishop of York, lord Mowbray, and many Yorkshiremen executed. [June 8th, A.D. 1405.]

Feb. 28th, A.D. 1408. Abbot of Hales hanged.

The king, after the shedding of so much blood, seeing himself so hardly beloved of his subjects, thought to keep in yet with the clergy, and with the bishop of Rome, seeking always his chiefest stay at their hands; and therefore he was compelled in all things to serve their humour, as did appear as well in condemning William Sautre before, as also in others, which consequently we have now to treat of; in the number of whom cometh now, by the course of time, to write of one John Badby, a tailor and a layman, who, by the cruelty of Thomas Arundel, archbishop, and other prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this king's reign, A.D. 1410, as by their own registers appeareth, and followeth by this narration to be seen.[1]

A.D. 1410.

(1) Foxe has quite misplaced Badby's martyrdom. See the Appendix.—Ed.

John Badby, Artificer, a Martyr.[1]

Henry IV. A.D. 1410.

In the year of our Lord 1410, on Saturday,[2] being the first day of March, in the afternoon, the examination following, of one John Badby, tailor, being a layman, was made in a certain house or hall within the precinct of the preaching friars of London, in an outer cloister, on the crime of heresy, and other articles repugnant to the determination of the erroneous church of Rome, before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and other his assistants, as the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Exeter, Norwich, Salisbury, Bath, Bangor; the bishop of St. David's, and also Edmund, duke of York, Thomas Beaufort, chancellor of England, lord de Roos, clerk of the rolls, and a great number of other lords, both spiritual and temporal, being then at the self-same time present: Master Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the instrument read by the aforesaid Master Morgan, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is such.

The Articles against John Badby, and his Examination and Monition thereon.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it manifest to all men by this present public instrument, that in the year after the incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the church of England 1408 [otherwise in the year 1409], in the second indiction, in the third year of the popedom of the most holy father in Christ and Lord, lord Gregory XII., by the divine permission pope, the second day of January, in the chapel of the Carnaria of St. Thomas the Martyr, nigh unto the cathedral church of Worcester, being situate in the said diocese, in the presence of me the public notary, and of the witnesses under written, the aforesaid John Badby, a layman, of the said diocese of Worcester, appearing personally before the reverend father in Christ and Lord, lord Thomas, by the grace of God bishop of Worcester, sitting in the said chapel for chief judge, was detected of and upon the crime of heresy being heretically taught and openly maintained by the aforesaid John Badby: that is, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated by the priest upon the altar, is not the true body of Christ by virtue of the words of the sacrament; but that after the sacramental words spoken by the priests to make the body of Christ, the material bread doth remain upon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ after the sacramental words spoken by the priests. The sacrament of Christ body.

Which John Badby being examined, and diligently demanded by the aforesaid reverend father concerning the premises, in the end did answer, That it was impossible that any priest should make the body of Christ, and that he believed firmly that no priest could make the body of Christ by such words sacramentally spoken in such sort. And also he said expressly, That he would never, while he lived, believe that any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, unless that first he saw manifestly the like body of Christ to be handled in the hands of the priest upon the altar, in his corporal form. And furthermore he said, That John Rakier, of Bristol, had as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ, as any priest had. Moreover he said, that when Christ sat at supper with his disciples, he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his disciples; and he said expressly, that he did not this thing. And also he spake many other words, teaching and fortifying the heresy in the same place, both grievous, and also out of order, and horrible to the ears of the hearers, sounding against the catholic faith.

Upon which occasion the same reverend father admonished and requested the said John Badby oftentimes, and very instantly to charity; forasmuch as he would willingly that he should have forsaken such heresy and opinions holden, taught, and maintained by him in such sort against the sacrament; to renounce,

(1) Ex Regist. T. Arundel.

(2) See the Appendix.— Ed.

Henry IV. A.D. 1409.

and utterly abjure them, and to believe other things which the holy mother the church doth believe: and he informed the said John on that behalf both gently, and yet laudably. Yet the said John Badby, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantly by the said reverend father, said and answered expressly, That he would never believe otherwise than before he had said, taught, and answered. Whereupon, the aforesaid reverend father, bishop of Worcester, seeing, understanding, and perceiving the aforesaid John Badby to maintain and fortify the same heresy, being stubborn, and proceeding in the same stubbornness, pronounced the said John to be before this time convicted of such a heresy, and that he hath been and is a heretic; and in the end declared it in these words.

I cannot blame ye that ye are so angry, for it was not for your profit.

The Sentence of the Bishop of Worcester against John Badby, with the Attestation of the Notaries.

'In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, bishop of Worcester, do accuse thee John Badby, being a layman of our diocese, of and upon the crime of heresy, before us sitting for chief judge, being oftentimes confessed and convicted of and upon that which thou hast taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou dost teach, boldly affirm, and defend: that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated upon the altar by the priest, is not the true body of Christ; but after the sacramental words, to make the body of Christ, by virtue of the said sacramental words pronounced, to have been in the crime of heresy; and we do pronounce thee both to have been, and to be, a heretic, and do declare it, finally, by these writings.'

A rabble of monks and friars about the condemnation of John Badby. Quare fremuerunt gentes? Psal. ii.

These things were done accordingly, as is above written and recited, in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforesaid; there being present at the same time John Malune, prior of the cathedral church of Worcester; John Dudle, monk; and John Haule, sub-prior of the said church: Thomas Penings, of the order of the Carmelites; Thomas Fekenham, of the order of the preaching friars; William Pomfret, of the order of the Minorites, being professors and masters in divinity: William Hailes, Gualter of London, John Swippedew, being public notaries; and William Beauchamp and Thomas Gerbis, being knights; Richard Wish, of Tredington; Thomas Wilby, of Hembury; John Weston, of Yewley, being parsons of churches; and Thomas Baleinges, master of St. Wolston, in Worcester; and also Henry Haggely, John Penerel, Thomas Trogmorton, and William Wasleborn, esquires, of the dioceses of Worcester and Norwich, and many other worshipful and honest men being witnesses, and called specially to the things aforesaid.

Scribes with Pharisees.

And I John Chew, clerk of the diocese of Bath and Wells, and, by the authority apostolical, public notary of the said bishop, have, in testimony of the premises, put my hand and seal to the examination, interrogation, monition, and answer of the same John Badby, and to his obstinacy, and also to the proceedings of all and singular other doings as is aforesaid, which against him, before the said bishop, were handled and done, in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforesaid, who, with the before-named witnesses, was personally present; and the same, even as I heard them and saw them to be done (being occupied with other matters), I caused to be written and published, and into this public form have compiled the same. I, the aforesaid notary, am also privy unto the words and examinations interlined between seven or eight lines of the beginning of this instrument; which lines I also, the aforesaid notary, do approve and make good.

The answer of John Badby to the articles.

And I Walter London, clerk of the diocese of Worcester, and, by the authority apostolical, public notary, to all and singular the aforesaid things as before by the aforesaid notary are recited, and in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforesaid were handled and done, being with other the before-recited witnesses personally present, and to all and every of the same (as I saw and heard them to be done, being thereunto faithfully desired and required), in testimony of the premises, have signed and subscribed according to the accustomed manner.'[1]

(1) Hæc ex Reg. Cant.

And when the articles, in the aforesaid instrument contained, were, by the archbishop of Canterbury, publicly and vulgarly read and approved; he publicly confessed and affirmed, that he had both said and maintained the same. And then the archbishop, to convince the constant purpose of the said John Badby, commanded the same articles again to be read, often instructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the sooner to the religion that he was of. And, furthermore, the said archbishop said and affirmed there openly to the same John, that he would, if he would live according to the doctrine of Christ, gage his soul for him at the judgment day. And after that again he caused those articles, in the said instrument expressed, to be read by the aforesaid Philip Morgan, and the said archbishop himself expounded the same in English as before; whereunto John Badby answered: as touching the first article, concerning the body of Christ, he expressly said, That after the consecration at the altar, there remaineth material bread, and the same bread which was before: notwithstanding, said he, it is a sign or sacrament of the living God.

Substance of bread not changed in the sacrament.

Also, when the second article was expounded unto him, 'That it is impossible for any priest,' &c. To this article he answered and said, That it could not sink into his mind, that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, unless he should deny the incarnation of Christ.

Also being examined on the third article concerning 'Jack Rakier,' he said, That if Jack Rakier were a man of good living, and did love and fear God, he hath as much power so to do, as hath the priest; and said further, that he hath heard it spoken by some doctors of divinity, that if he should receive any such consecrated bread, he were worthy to be damned, and were damned in so doing.

Furthermore he said, That he would believe the Omnipotent God in Trinity; and said moreover, that if every host being consecrated at the altar were the Lord's body, that then there be twenty thousand gods in England. But he believed, he said, in one God Omnipotent; which thing the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury denied not.

And when the other conclusion was expounded, 'That Christ sitting with his disciples at supper,' &c. To this he answered and said, That he would greatly marvel, that if any man had a loaf of bread, and should break the same, and give to every man a mouthful, the same loaf should afterwards be whole.

When all these things were thus finished, and all the said conclusions were often read in the vulgar tongue, the aforesaid archbishop demanded of him, whether he would renounce and forsake his opinions and such like conclusions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Christ and catholic faith? He answered, That, according to that he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words which before he had made answer unto. Then the archbishop oftentimes required the said John, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that he would forsake those opinions and conclusions, and that henceforth he would cleave to the christian faith; which thing to do, in the audience of all the lords and others that were present, he expressly denied and refused.

Constancy of John Badby before the archbishop.

After all this, when the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London had consulted together, to what safe keeping the said John Badby, until the Wednesday next, might be committed, it was concluded, that he should be put into a certain chamber or safe house within the mansion of the friars preachers, and so he was; and then the archbishop of Canterbury said, that he himself would keep the key thereof in the mean time. And when the aforesaid Wednesday was arrived, being the fifth day of March, and that the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury with his fellow-brethren and suffragans were assembled in the church of St. Paul in London, the archbishop of Canterbury, taking the episcopal seat, called unto him the archbishop of York, Richard London, Henry Winchester, Robert Chichester, Alexander Norwich, and the noble prince Edmund the duke of York; Ralph earl of Westmoreland; Thomas Beaufort, knight, lord chancellor of England; and the lord Beaumond, with other noble men, as well spiritual as temporal, that stood, and sat by, whom to name it would be long; before whom the said John Badby was called personally to answer unto the articles premised in the aforesaid instrument: who when he came personally before them, the articles were read by the official of the court of Canterbury; and by the archbishop, in the vulgar tongue

The bishops make sure work.

The archbishop both judge and jailor.

Astiterunt reges terræ, et principes convenerunt in unum adversus, &c. Ps. ii.

Henry IV. A. D. 1410. expounded publicly and expressly: and the same articles as he had before spoken and deposed, he still held and defended, and said, that whilst he lived, he would never retract the same. And, furthermore, he said (specially to be noted,) that the lord duke of York, personally there present, as is aforesaid, and every man else for the time being, is of more estimation and reputation, than the sacrament of the altar, by the priest in due form consecrated.

And whilst they were thus in his examination, the archbishop considering and weighing that he would in no wise be altered, and seeing, moreover, his countenance stout, and heart confirmed, so that he began to persuade others as it appeared, in the same: these things considered, the arch-prelate, when he saw that by his allurements it was not in his power, either by exhortations, reasons, or arguments, to bring the said John Badby from his constant truth to his catholic faith (executing and doing the office of his great Master), proceeded to confirm and ratify the former sentence given before by the bishop of Worcester against the said John Badby, pronouncing him for an open and public heretic. And thus, shifting their hands of him they delivered him to the secular powers, and desired the said temporal lords then and there present, very instantly, that they would not put the same John Badby to death for that his offence, nor deliver him to be punished or put to death, in the presence of all the lords above-recited.

Note here murdering wolves in sheep's clothing.

These things thus done and concluded by the bishops in the forenoon, in the afternoon the king's writ was not far behind, by the force whereof John Badby, still persevering in his constancy unto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there, being put in an empty barrel, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, having dry wood put about him. And as he was thus standing in the pipe or tun, for as yet Perillus's bull was not in ure[1] among the bishops, it happened that the prince, the king's eldest son, was there present, who, showing some part of the good Samaritan, began to endeavour and essay how to save the life of him, whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. He admonished and counselled him, that, having respect unto himself, he should speedily withdraw himself out of these dangerous labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatenings, which might have daunted any man's stomach. Also Courtney, at that time chancellor of Oxford, preached unto him, and informed him of the faith of holy church.

The prince laboureth to turn Badby.

The sacrament solemnly brought at the burning of Badby.

In the mean season the prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield brought, with all solemnity, the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and so showed the sacrament to the poor man being at the stake. And then they demanding of him how he believed in it, he answered, That he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the tun put over him, and fire put unto him. And when the innocent soul felt the fire, he cried "Mercy!" calling belike upon the Lord; with which horrible cry the prince being moved, commanded them to take away the tun, and quench the fire. This commandment being done, he asked him if he would forsake heresy, to take him to the faith of holy church? which thing, if he would do, he should have goods enough; promising also unto him a yearly stipend out of the king's treasury, so much as should suffice for his sustentation[1].

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

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Henry IV. A.D. 1401.

But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, as also contemning all men's devices, being fully determined rather to suffer any kind of torment, were it never so grievous, than so great idolatry and wickedness, refused the offer of worldly promises, being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly desire. Wherefore, when as yet he continued unmoveable in his former mind, the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the pipe or tun, and that he should not afterwards look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant champion of Christ, he persevered invincibly to the end, not without a great and most cruel battle, but with much greater triumph of victory; the Spirit of Christ having always the upper hand in his members, maugre the fury, rage, and power of the whole world. For the manifestation of which torment, we have here set forth the picture of his burning, in such manner as it was done.

John Badby constant to the end.

This godly martyr, John Badby, having thus consummated his testimony and martyrdom in fire, the persecuting bishops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themselves as yet either not strong enough, or else not sharp enough, against the poor innocent flock of Christ, to make all things sure and substantial on their side, in such sort as this doctrine of the gospel now springing should be suppressed for ever, laid their conspiring heads together; and having now a king for their own purpose, ready to serve their turn in all points (during the time of the same parliament above-recited yet continuing), the aforesaid bishops and clergy of the realm exhibited a bill[1] unto the king's majesty, subtilely declaring, what quietness had been maintained within this realm by his most noble progenitors, who always defended the ancient rites and customs of the church, and enriched the same with large gifts, to the honour of God and the realm: and, contrariwise, what trouble and disquietness had now risen by divers, as they termed them, wicked and perverse men, teaching and preaching openly and privily a certain new, wicked, and heretical kind of doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of holy church. Whereupon the king, always oppressed with blind ignorance, by the crafty means and subtle pretences of the clergy, granted in the said parliament, by consent of the nobility assembled, a statute to be observed, called 'Ex Officio,' as followeth:

All the power of man set against the gospel.

The gospel of Christ counted as wicked and heretical.

The cruel Statute 'Ex Officio.'[2]

That is to say, that no man within this realm, or other dominions subject to the king's majesty, presume to preach publicly or privily, without license first sought and obtained of the diocesan (curates in their own churches, and persons heretofore privileged, and others allowed by the canon law, only excepted): nor that any hereafter do preach, teach, and inform in secret or openly, or make or write any book, contrary to the catholic faith or the determination of holy church: nor make any conventicles, or keep and exercise schools by any means, touching this sect, and their most wicked doctrines and opinions. And further, that no man hereafter do by any means favour any such preacher, or any maker of such conventicles, or any maker or writer of such books; or any such teacher, informer, or stirrer up of the people, nor in any wise maintain

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) See the Harleian MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 420. Art. 12. "Excerpta ex Registro Thomæ Arundell: de Lollardis. 67. (i. e. Statutum Regium in Parliamento editum contra Hereticos, vulgo dictum 'Ex Officio.')" Also see the Appendix.—Ed.

Henry IV. A.D. 1401.

or sustain any of them: And that all and singular persons having any books or writings containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions shall, within forty days after the proclamation of this present ordinance and statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered, all the said books and writings unto the diocesan of the place. And if any person or persons, of what sex, state, or condition soever he or they be, shall hereafter do or attempt any thing in the premises, or any of them, contrary to this royal ordinance and statute aforesaid, or shall not deliver the said books in form aforesaid: that then the diocesan of the same place, in his own diocese, by authority of the said ordinance and statute, shall cause to be arrested and detained under safe sustody in his own prisons the said person or persons, in this behalf defamed or evidently suspected, or any of them, until he or they so offending have canonically purged him or themselves of the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf; or until he or they have abjured, according as the laws ecclesiastical require, the said wicked sect, preachings, doctrines, and heretical and erroneous opinions:

A bloody law of king HenryIV.

so that the said diocesan, by himself or his commissaries, proceed publicly and judicially to all effect of the law against the said persons so arrested and remaining under his safe custody; and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the said arrest (all delays and excuses set apart), according to the canonical sanctions. And if any person, in any case above expressed, shall be canonically convicted before the diocesan of the place or his commissaries, that then the said diocesan may cause the said person so convicted (according to the measure and quality of his fault) to be kept in his own prisons, so long as to his discretion shall seem expedient.

And further, the said diocesan (except in cases wherein, according to the canonical sanctions, the party offending ought to be left to the secular court) may charge the said person to pay a fine of money unto the king's majesty, such as he shall think competent, for the measure and quality of his fault. In which case the said diocesan shall be bound to give notice of the said fine into the king's majesty's exchequer, by his letters patent under his seal; to the intent that the said fine may be levied by the king's authority and to his use, of the goods of the person so convicted.

And further, if any person within the said realm and dominions shall be sententially convicted before the diocesan or his commissaries of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schools, and heretical and erroneous informations, or any of them; and will refuse duly to abjure the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, opinions, schools, and informations; or if, after abjuration once made by the said party, he be pronounced as relapsed by the diocesan of the place or his commissaries, so that by the canonical sanctions he ought to be left to the secular court, whereupon credence shall be given to the diocesan or his commissaries in this behalf: That then the sheriff of the same county, and the mayor and sheriffs, or the sheriff, mayor, or bailiffs of the city, town, or borough of the same county, next to the said diocesan, or his said commissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required, to join with the said diocesan or his commissaries in giving sentence against the said persons, or any of them; and, after the said sentence so pronounced, shall

A bloody statute.

receive them, and any of them, and cause the same to be burned in an eminent place before the people; to the intent that this kind of punishment may strike a terror on the minds of others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical and erroneous opinions, or the authors and favourers thereof, be not maintained or in any wise tolerated (which God forbid!) within the said realm and dominions, against the catholic faith, and the christian religion, and the determinations of holy church. In all which and singular the premises, concerning the ordinance and statute aforesaid, let the sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs of the said counties, cities, towns, and boroughs, be attendant on, aiding, and favouring the said diocesans and their commissaries.

By this bloody statute, so severely and sharply enacted against these simple men, here hast thou, gentle reader! a little to stay with thyself, and to consider the nature and condition of this present world, how it hath been set and bent ever from the beginning, by all might, counsel, and ways possible, to strive against the ways of God,

and to overthrow that, which he will have set up. And although the world may see, by infinite stories and examples, that it is but in vain to strive against him, yet such is the nature of this world (all set in malignity), that it will not cease still to be like itself. *Henry IV.* A. D. 1401.

The like law and statute in the time of Dioclesian and Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth; and for the more strength was written also in tables of brass, to the intent that the name of Christ should utterly be extinguished for ever: and yet the name of Christ remaineth; whereas that brazen law remained not three years. That law written then in brass, although it differ in manner and form from this our statute 'Ex officio,' yet to the same end and cruelty, to spill the blood of saints, there is no difference between the one and the other; neither is there any diversity touching the first original doer and worker of them both: for the same Satan which then wrought his uttermost against Christ, before he was bound up, the same also now, after his loosing out, doth what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent; for then, with outward violence, as an open enemy, he did what he could; now, by a more covert way, under the title of the church, he impugneth the church of Christ, using a more subtle way to deceive, under gay pretensed titles, but no less pernicious in the end whereto he shooteth; as well appeareth by this bloody statute 'Ex officio,' the sequel whereof cost afterwards many a christian man's life, as, in process of story, remaineth more hereafter, Christ willing, to be declared. The law of Maximinus and the statute 'ex officio' compared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this statute of the king aforesaid, concurreth also another constitution made much about the same time by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel: so that no industry nor policy of man here did lack to set the matter forward, but specially on the bishops' parts, who left no means unattempted, how to subvert the right ways of the Lord. *See Appendix.*

First, In most diligent and exquisite execution of the king's statute set forth: the execution whereof they did so exactly apply, that marvel it is to consider, all other laws of kings commonly, be they never so good, to be so coldly kept, and this only, among all the rest, so nearly followed. But herein is to be seen the diligence of the Romish prelates, who never let any thing fall, that maketh for the dignity of their estate.

Secondly, Beside their vigilant care in seeing the king's statute to be executed, no less industrious also were they in adding thereunto more constitutions of their own, as from time to time appeareth as well by other archbishops hereafter, and by pope Martin, as also by this constitution here present made by Thomas Arundel, the archbishop.

But before we enter on the relation of these aforesaid constitutions of the clergymen, here cometh in more to be said and noted touching the aforesaid statute 'Ex officio,' to prove the same not only to be cruel and impious, but also to be of itself of no force and validity for the burning of any person for the cause of religion; for the disproof of which statute we have sufficient authority remaining as yet in the Parliament Rolls to be seen in her majesty's Court of Records: which here were to be debated at large, but that upon special occasion we have deferred the ample discourse thereof to the

Henry IV. A.D. 1409.

cruel persecution of the lord Cobham hereafter ensuing; as may appear in the defence of the said lord Cobham against Nicholas Harpsfield, under the title and name of 'Alanus Copus.' And thus referring them for the examination of this statute to the place aforesaid, let us now return to Thomas Arundel, and his bloody constitutions above-mentioned: the style and tenor whereof, to the intent the rigour of the same may appear to all men, I thought hereunder to adjoin, in words as followeth:

The cruel Constitution of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop, against the Gospellers, or followers of God's Truth.

Thirteen articles.

Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the see apostolic: to all and singular our reverend brethren, fellow bishops, and our suffragans; and to abbots, priors, deans of cathedral churches, archdeacons, provosts and canons; also to all parsons, vicars, chaplains, and clerks in parish churches, and to all laymen, whom and wheresoever dwelling within our province of Canterbury, greeting, and grace to stand firmly in the doctrine of the holy mother church.

It is a manifest and plain case, that he doth wrong and injury to the most reverend council, who so revolteth from the things being in the said council once discussed and decided; and whosoever dareth presume to dispute of the supreme or principal judgment here in earth, in so doing incurreth the pain of sacrilege, according to the authority of civil wisdom and manifold tradition of human law. Much more then, they, who, trusting to their own wits are so bold to violate, and with contrary doctrine to resist, and in word and deed to contemn, the precepts of laws and canons rightly made and proceeding from the key-bearer and porter of eternal life and death, bearing the room and person not of pure man, but of true God here in earth; which also have been observed hitherto by the holy fathers, our predecessors, unto the glorious effusion of their blood, and voluntary sprinkling out of their brains,[1] are worthy of greater punishment, deserving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members, from the body of the church militant. For such ought to consider what is in the Old Testament written, 'Moses and Aaron among his priests,' that is, were chief heads amongst them; and in the New Testament, among the apostles there was a certain difference: and though they were all apostles, yet was it granted of the Lord to Peter, that he should bear pre-eminence above the other apostles;[2] and also the apostles themselves would the same, that he should be the chieftain over all the rest; and being called Cephas, that is, Head, should be as a prince over the apostles, unto whom it was said, 'Thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.' As though he would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to err and stray out of the way of faith, of just living, or right conversation, do thou confirm and reduce him into the right way again,[3] which thing, no doubt, the Lord would never have said unto him, if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient unto him. And yet, all this notwithstanding, we know and daily prove what we are sorry to speak, how the old sophister, the enemy of mankind (foreseeing and fearing lest the sound doctrine of the church, determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers, should withstand his malice, if it might keep the people of God in unity of faith under one head of the church), doth therefore endeavour, by all means possible, to extirpate the said doctrine, feigning vices to be virtues. And so, under false pretences of verity dissimuled, he soweth discord among catholic people, to the intent that some going one way, some another, he, in the mean time, may gather to himself a church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the universal mother, holy church: in which, Satan, transforming himself into an angel of light, bearing a lying and deceitful balance in his hand, pretendeth great righteousness, in contrarying the ancient doctrine of the holy mother

Blasphemy not of pure man, but of true God.

Scripture clerkly applied.

Κέφας ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Mark this, you grammarians. Mark well the pope's divinity.

How aptly he painteth the proceedings of his own popish church.

(1) He meaneth here of Becket his predecessor, who had his brains beat out in the time of king Henry II. [See vol. ii p. 246.—Ed.]
(2) This gear hangeth together like Germans' lips.
(3) An argument far fet, that true doctrine consisteth in making one head of the church.

church, and refusing the traditions of the same, determined and appointed by holy fathers; persuading men, by feigned forgeries, the same to be nought, and so inducing other new kinds of doctrine, leading to more goodness, as he by his lying persuasions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willeth nor mindeth any goodness, but rather that he may sow schisms, whereby divers opinions, and contrary to themselves, being raised in the church, faith thereby may be diminished, and also the reverend holy mysteries, through the same contention of words, may be profaned by Pagans, Jews, and other infidels, and wicked miscreants. And so that figure in the Apocalypse, chap. vi. is well verified, speaking of him that sat on the black horse, bearing a pair of balances in his hand; by which heretics are understood, who, at the first appearance, like to weights or a balance, make as though they would set forth right and just things, to allure the hearts of the hearers; but afterwards appeareth the black horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. For they, under a diverse show and colour of a just balance, with the tail of a black horse sprinkling abroad heresies and errors, do strike; and, being poisoned themselves, under colour of good, raise up infinite slanders, and, by certain persons fit to do mischief, do publish abroad, as it were, the sugared taste of honey mixed with poison, thereby the sooner to be taken: working and causing, through their sleight and subtleties, that error should be taken for verity, wickedness for holiness and for the true will of Christ. Yea, and moreover, the aforesaid persons thus picked out, do preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the seed, before the seed discreetly be separate from the chaff; who, not pondering the constitutions and decrees of the canons provided for the same purpose against such pestilent sowers, do prefer sacrifice diabolical (so to term it), before obedience to be given to the holy church militant.

Henry IV. A. D. 1409.

The figure of the black horse in the Apocalypse doctorly expounded.

We, therefore, considering and weighing that error which is not resisted seemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his bosom too wide, who resisteth not the viper, thinking there to thrust out her venom; and willing, moreover, to shake off the dust from our feet, and to see to the honour of our holy mother church, whereby one uniform holy doctrine may be sown and planted in the church of God, namely, in this our province of Canterbury, so much as in us doth lie, to the increase of faith and service of God, first rooting out the evil weeds and offendicles which, by the means of perverse preaching and doctrine, have sprung up hitherto, and are likely more hereafter to grow; purposing by some convenient way, with all diligence possible, to withstand them in time, and to provide for the peril of souls which we see to rise under pretence of the premises; also, to remove all such obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped, by the advice and assent of all our suffragans and other prelates, being present in this our convocation of the clergy, as also of the procurators of them that be absent, and at the instant petition of the procurators of the whole clergy within this our province of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part; adding thereunto punishment and penalties condign, as be hereunder written.

Behold the true image of wolves under sheep's clothing

We will and command, ordain and decree: That no manner of person, secular or regular, being authorized to preach by the laws now prescribed, or licensed by special privilege, shall take upon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any means preach unto the clergy or laity, whether within the church or without, in English, except he first present himself, and be examined by the ordinary of the place, where he preacheth: and so being found a fit person, as well in manners as knowledge, he shall be sent by the said ordinary to some one church or more, as shall be thought expedient by the said ordinary, according to the quality of the person. Nor any person aforesaid shall presume to preach, except first he give faithful signification, in due form, of his sending and authority; that is, that he that is authorized, do come in form appointed him in that behalf, and that those that affirm they come by special privilege, do show their privilege unto the parson or vicar of the place where they preach. And those that pretend themselves to be sent by the ordinary of the place, shall likewise show the ordinary's letters made unto him for that purpose, under his great seal. Let us always understand, the curate (having the perpetuity) to be sent of right unto the people of his own cure: but if any person aforesaid shall be forbidden by the ordinary of the place, or any other superior, to preach, by reason of his errors or heresies which before, peradventure, he hath preached and taught;

The first constitution.

No priests to preach, but by limitation of the prelates.

Henry IV. A.D. 1409.

that then, and from thenceforth, he abstain from preaching within our province, until he have purged himself, and be lawfully admitted again to preach by the just arbitrement of him that suspended and forbade him; and shall always, after that, carry with him, to all places wheresoever he shall preach, the letters testimonial of him that restored him.

Moreover the parish priests or vicars temporal, not having perpetuities, nor being sent in form aforesaid, shall simply preach in the churches where they have charge, only those things which are expressly contained in the provincial constitution set forth by John, our predecessor, of good memory, to help the ignorance of the priests, which beginneth, 'Ignorantia Sacerdotum;' which book of constitutions we would should be had in every parish church in our province of Canterbury, within three months next after the publication of these presents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the priests themselves yearly, and at the times appointed. And, lest this wholesome statute might be thought hurtful to some, by reason of payment of money, or some other difficulty, we therefore will and ordain, that the examinations of the persons aforesaid, and the making of their letters by the ordinary, be done gratis and freely, without any exaction of money at all by those to whom it shall appertain. And if any man shall willingly presume to violate this our statute grounded upon the old law, after the publication of the same, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, 'ipso facto:' whose absolution we specially reserve, by tenor of these presents, to us and our successors. But, if any such preacher, despising this wholesome statute, and not weighing the sentence of greater excommunication, do, the second time, take upon him to preach, saying and alleging, and stoutly affirming, that the sentence of greater excommunication aforesaid cannot be appointed by the church in the persons of the prelates of the same, that then the superiors of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the communion of all faithful Christians.

A jolly mean to bring the world into such darkness.

And that the said person hereupon lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure after the manner of the church) be pronounced a heretic by the ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for a heretic and schismatic, and that he incur 'ipso facto' the penalties of heresy and schismacy, expressed in the law; and, chiefly, that his goods be adjudged confiscate by the law, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. And that his fautors, receivers, and defenders, being convicted, in all cases be likewise punished, if they cease not off within one month, being lawfully warned thereof by their superiors.

The second constitution.

Furthermore, no clergyman, or parochians[1] of any parish or place within our province of Canterbury, shall admit any man to preach within their churches, church-yards, or other places whatsoever, except first there be manifest knowledge had of his authority, privilege, or sending thither, according to the order aforesaid: otherwise the church, church-yard, or what place soever, in which it was so preached, shall 'ipso facto' receive the ecclesiastical interdict, and so shall remain interdicted, until they that so admitted and suffered him to preach, have reformed themselves, and obtained the place so interdicted to be released in due form of law, either from the ordinary of the place, or else his superior.

The third constitution.

What tyranny is this, to bind the preacher's mouth what to say.

Moreover, like as a good householder casteth wheat into the ground, wel ordered for that purpose, thereby to get the more increase, even so we will and command, that the preacher of God's word, coming in form aforesaid, preaching either unto the clergy or laity, according to his matter proponed, shall be of good behaviour, sowing such seed as shall be convenient for his auditory: and chiefly preaching to the clergy, he shall touch the vices, commonly used amongst them; and to the laity, he shall declare the vices commonly used amongst them; and not otherwise. But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall he be sharply punished by the ordinary of that place, according to the quality of that offence.

The fourth constitution.

Item, Forasmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole, we do decree and ordain, that no preacher aforesaid, or any other person whatsoever, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, confession of sins, or any other sacrament of the church, or article of the

(1) 'Parochian,' a parishioner, a layman. See Appendix.—Ed.

faith, than what already is discussed by the holy mother church; nor shall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the church, nor shall, to his knowledge, privily or apertly pronounce blasphemous words concerning the same; nor shall teach, preach, or observe any sect, or kind of heresy whatsoever, contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the church. He that shall wittingly and obstinately attempt the contrary after the publication of these presents, shall incur the sentence of excommunication 'ipso facto:' from which, except in point of death, he shall not be absolved, until he have reformed himself by abjuration of his heresy, at the discretion of the ordinary in whose territory he so offended, and have received wholesome penitence for his offences. But if the second time he shall so offend, being lawfully convicted, he shall be pronounced a heretic, and his goods shall be confiscated, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. The penance before-mentioned, shall be after this manner: if any man, contrary to the determination of the church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our constitutions provincial, do openly or privily teach or preach any kind of heresy or sect, he shall, in the parish church of the same place where he so preached, upon one Sunday or other solemn day, or more, at the discretion of the ordinary, and as his offence is more or less, expressly revoke what he so preached, taught, or affirmed, even at the time of the solemnity of the mass, when the people are most assembled; and there shall he effectually, and without fraud, preach and teach the very truth determined by the church; and, further, shall be punished after the quality of his offence, as shall be thought expedient, at the discretion of the ordinary.

Henry IV. A.D. 1409.

A bar for the preachers.

Item, Forasmuch as a new vessel, being long used, savoureth after the head, we decree and ordain, that no schoolmasters and teachers whatsoever, that instruct children in grammar, or others whosoever, in primitive sciences, shall, in teaching them, intermingle any thing concerning the catholic faith, the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments of the church, contrary to the determination of the church; nor shall suffer their scholars to expound the holy Scriptures (except the text, as hath been used in ancient time); nor shall permit them to dispute openly or privily concerning the catholic faith, or sacraments of the church. Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be grievously punished by the ordinary of the place, as a favourer of errors and schisms.

The fifth constitution. A caveat for schoolmasters.

Item, For that a new way doth more frequently lead astray, than an old way, we will and command, that no book or treatise made by John Wickliff, or others whomsoever, about that time, or since, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in schools, halls, hospitals, or other places whatsoever, within our province of Canterbury aforesaid, except the same be first examined by the university of Oxford or Cambridge; or, at least, by twelve persons, whom the said universities, or one of them, shall appoint to be chosen at our discretion, or the laudable discretion of our successors; and the same being examined as aforesaid, to be expressly approved and allowed by us or our successors, and in the name and authority of the university, to be delivered unto the stationers to be copied out, and the same to be sold at a reasonable price, the original thereof always after to remain in some chest of the university. But if any man shall read any such kind of book in schools or otherwise, as aforesaid, he shall be punished as a sower of schism, and a favourer of heresy, as the quality of the fault shall require.

The sixth constitution. Books of John Wickliff forbidden.

Item, It is a dangerous thing, as witnesseth blessed St. Jerome, to translate the text of the holy Scripture out of the tongue into another; for in the translation the same sense is not always easily kept, as the same St. Jerome confesseth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred: we therefore decree and ordain, that no man, hereafter, by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatise; and that no man read any such book, libel or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wickliff, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or, if the case so require, by the council provincial. He that shall do contrary to this, shall likewise be punished as a favourer of error and heresy.

The seventh constitution. He confesseth that St. Jerome erred in his translation. And yet the said archbishop commendeth queen Ann, for having

Item, For that Almighty God cannot be expressed by any philosophical terms, or otherwise invented of man: and St. Augustine saith, that he hath oftentimes revoked such conclusions as have been most true, because they have

Henry IV. A. D. 1409.

been offensive to the ears of the religious; we do ordain and specially forbid, that any manner of person, of what state, degree, or condition soever he be, do allege or propone any conclusions or propositions in the catholic faith, or repugnant to good manners (except necessary doctrine pertaining to their faculty of teaching or disputing in their schools or otherwise), although they defend the same with ever such curious terms and words. For, as saith blessed St. Hugh of the sacraments, 'That which oftentimes is well spoken, is not well understood.' If any man, therefore, after the publication of these presents, shall be convicted wittingly to have proponed such conclusions or propositions, except (being monished) he reform himself in one month, by virtue of this present constitution, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication 'ipso facto,' and shall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, until he hath confessed his fault openly in the same place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the said conclusion or proposition in one church or more, as shall be thought expedient to the ordinary.

the Scripture in English.

The eighth constitution. Terms and propositions in disputing to be observed.

Item, No manner of person shall presume to dispute upon the articles determined by the church, that are contained in the decrees, decretals, or constitutions provincial, or in the general councils; but only to seek out the true meaning thereof, and that expressly, whether it be openly or in secret; and none shall call in doubt the authority of the said decretals or constitutions, or the authority of him that made them; or teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: and, chiefly, concerning the adoration of the holy cross, the worshipping of images, of saints, going on prilgrimage to certain places, or to the relics of saints, or against the oaths, in cases accustomed to be given in both common places, that is to say, spiritual and temporal. But by all it shall be commonly taught and preached, that the cross and image of the crucifix, and other images of saints, in honour of them whom they represent, are to be worshipped with procession, bowing of knees, offering of frankincense, kissings, oblations, lighting of candles, and pilgrimages,[1] and with all other kind of ceremonies and manners that have been used in the time of our predecessors; and that giving of oaths in cases expressed in the law, and used of all men to whom it belongeth, in both common places, ought to be done upon the book of the gospel of Christ. Contrary unto this whosoever doth preach, teach, or obstinately affirm, except he recant in manner and form aforesaid, shall forthwith incur the penalty of heresy, and shall be pronounced a heretic, in all effect of law.

The ninth constitution. Authority of the pope's decretals not to be doubted under pain of heresy. Adoration of the cross.

Item, We do decree and ordain, that no chaplain be admitted to celebrate in any diocese within our province of Canterbury, where he was not born, or received not orders; except he bring with him his letters of orders, and letters commendatory from his ordinary, and also from other bishops in whose diocese of a long time he hath been conversant, whereby his conversation and manners may appear; so that it may be known, whether he hath been defamed with any new opinions touching the catholic faith, or whether he be free from the same: otherwise, as well he that celebrateth, as he that suffereth him to celebrate, shall be sharply punished at the discretion of the ordinary.

The tenth constitution. No priest to celebrate without his letters of orders.

Finally, Because those things which newly and unaccustomably creep up, stand in need of new and speedy help, and where more danger is, there ought to be more wary circumspection and stronger resistance; and not without good cause, the less noble ought discreetly to be cut away, that the more noble may the more perfectly be nourished: considering, therefore, and in lamentable wise showing unto you, how the ancient university of Oxford, which as a fruitful vine was wont to extend forth her fruitful branches to the honour of God, the great perfection and defence of the church, now partly being become wild, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being indiscreetly eaten of ancient fathers, that thought themselves skilful in the law of God, hath set on edge the teeth of their children: and our province being infected with divers and unfruitful doctrines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of Lollardy, to the great reproof and offence of the said university, being known in foreign countries, and to the great irksomeness of the students there, and to the great damage and loss of the church of England, which in times past by her virtue, as with a strong wall, was wont to be defended, and now is like to run into ruin not to be recovered: at the supplication, therefore, of the whole clergy of our pro-

The eleventh constitution. Oxford famous for sincere religion.

(1) With all abomination.

vince of Canterbury, and by the consent and assent of all our brethren and suffragans, and other the prelates in this convocation assembled, and the proctors of them that are absent, lest the river being cleansed, the fountain should remain corrupt, and so the water coming from thence should not be pure, intending most wholesomely to provide for the honour and utility of our holy mother the church and the university aforesaid: we do ordain and decree, that every warden, provost, or master of every college, or principal of every hall within the university aforesaid, shall, once every month at the least, diligently inquire in the said college, hall, or other place where he hath authority, whether any scholar or inhabitant of such college or hall, etc. have holden, alleged, or defended, or by any means proponed, any conclusion, proposition, or opinion, concerning the catholic faith, or sounding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the church, otherwise than appertaineth to necessary doctrine; and if he shall find any suspected or defamed herein, he shall, according to his office, admonish him to desist. And if, after such monition given, the said party offend again in the same or such like, he shall incur 'ipso facto' (besides the penalties aforesaid) the sentence of greater excommunication. And nevertheless, if it be a scholar that so offendeth the second time, whatsoever he shall afterwards do in the said university shall not stand in effect. And if he be a doctor, a master, or bachelor, he shall forthwith be suspended from every scholar's act, and in both cases shall lose the right that he hath in the said college or hall, whereof he is, 'ipso facto;' and by the warden, provost, master, principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he shall be expelled, and a catholic, by lawful means, forthwith placed in his place. And if the said wardens, provosts, or masters of colleges, or principals of halls, shall be negligent concerning the inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and defamed, by the space of ten days from the time of the true or supposed knowledge of the publication of these presents, that then they shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, and nevertheless shall be deprived 'ipso facto' of all the right which they pretend to have in the colleges, halls, etc., and the said colleges and halls, to be effectually vacant: and after lawful declaration hereof made by them to whom it shall appertain, new wardens, provosts, masters, or principals, shall be placed in their places, as hath been accustomed in colleges and halls being vacant in the said university. But if the wardens themselves, provosts, masters, or principals aforesaid, be suspected and defamed of and concerning the said conclusions or propositions, or be favourers and defenders of such as do therein offend, and do not cease, being thereof warned by us, or by our authority, or by the ordinary of the place: that then by law they be deprived, as well of all privilege scholastical, within the university aforesaid, as also of their right and authority in such college, hall, etc., besides other penalties beforementioned, and that they incur the said sentence of greater excommunication.

Inquisition to be made through colleges and halls of Oxford.

I would the like were used now, for the banishment of papistry.

But if any man, in any case of this present constitution, or any above expressed, do rashly and wilfully presume to violate there our statutes in any part thereof, although there be another penalty expressly there limited, yet shall he be made altogether unable and unworthy by the space of three years after, without hope of pardon, to obtain any ecclesiastical benefice within our province of Canterbury: and nevertheless, according to all his demerits and the quality of his excess, at the discretion of his superior, he shall be lawfully punished.

The twelfth constitution.

And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertain, considering with ourselves, that although there be a kind of equality in the crimes of heresy and offending the prince, as is avouched in divers laws, yet the fault is much unlike, and that to offend the divine Majesty requireth greater punishment than to offend the prince's majesty: and where it is sufficient, for fear of danger that might ensue by delays, to convince by judgment the offender of the prince's majesty, proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a citation sent by messenger, by letters, or edict not admitting proof by witnesses, and sentence definitive to be: we do ordain, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offenders in the premises, and for the better reformation of the church divided and hurt, that all such as are defamed, openly known, or vehemently suspected, in any of the cases aforesaid, or, in article of the catholic faith, sounding contrary to good manners, by the authority of the ordinary of the place or other superior, be cited personally to appear, either by letters, public messenger being sworn, or by edict openly set at that place where the said

The thirteenth constitution.

Easier to offend against the prince's law than against the bishop's.

Henry IV. A.D. 1409.

offender commonly remaineth, or in his parish church, if he have any certain dwelling house; otherwise, in the cathedral church of the place where he was born, and in the parish church of the same place where he so preached and taught: and afterwards, certificate being given that the citation was formerly executed against the party cited being absent and neglecting his appearance, it shall be proceeded against him fully and plainly, without sound or show of judgment, and without admitting proof by witnesses and other canonical probations. And also, after lawful information had, the said ordinary (all delays set apart) shall signify, declare, and punish the said offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in form aforesaid; and further, shall do according to justice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding.

Given at Oxford.

Who would have thought, by these laws and constitutions, so substantially founded, so circumspectly provided, so diligently executed, but that the name and memory of this persecuted sort should utterly have been rooted up, and never could have stand? And yet (such be the works of the Lord, passing all men's admiration) all this notwithstanding, so far was it off that the number and courage of these good men were vanquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in registers recorded, that these aforesaid persons, whom the king and the catholic fathers did so greatly detest for heretics, were in divers countries of this realm dispersed and increased; especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolk, in Herefordshire, in Shrewsbury, in Calice, and divers other quarters besides, with whom the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, the same time had much ado, as by his own registers doth appear. Albeit, some there were that did shrink; many did revolt and renounce, for danger of the law, among whom was John Purvey, who recanted at Paul's cross (of whom more followeth,[1] the Lord willing, to be said) in the year 1401.[2] Also John Edward, priest of the diocese of Lincoln, who revoked in the Green-yard at Norwich; Richard Herbert and Emmot Willy of London; also John Becket, who recanted at London; Item, John Seynons of Lincolnshire, who was caused to revoke at Canterbury. The articles, which commonly they did hold, and which they were constrained to abjure, most especially were these which follow:

The Articles of divers who were constrained to abjure[3]

First, That the office of the Holy Cross (ordained and celebrated by the whole church) doth contain idolatry.

Item, They said and affirmed, that all they who do reverence and worship the sign of the cross, do commit idolatry, and are reputed as idolaters.

Item, They said and affirmed, that the true flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not in the sacrament of the altar, after the words spoken by the priest truly pronounced.

Item, They said and affirmed the sacrament of the altar to be sacramental bread, not having life, but only instituted for a memorial of Christ's passion.

Item, They said and affirmed, that the body of Christ, which is taken on the altar, is a figure of the body of Christ as long as we see the bread and wine.

Item, They said and affirmed, that the decree of the prelates and clergy in the province of Canterbury, in their last convocation, with the consent of the king and the nobles in the last parliament, against him that was burnt lately in the city of London, was not sufficient to change the purpose of the said John, that the substance of material bread is even as it was before in the sacrament of the altar, no change being made in the nature of bread.

(1) See infrà, p. 285.—Ed. (2) See Appendix.—Ed. (3) Ibid.—Ed.

Henry IV. A.D. 1407.

[1]Item, That any lay-man may preach the gospel in every place, and may teach it by his own authority, without the license of his ordinary.

Item, That it is sin to give any thing to the preaching friars, to the Minorites, to the Augustines, to the Carmelites.

Item, That we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

Item, That the confession of sins to the priest[2] is unneedful.

Item, That every good man, though he be unlearned, is a priest.

Item, That the infant, though he die unbaptized, shall be saved.

Item, That neither pope, nor prelate, neither any ordinary, can compel any man to swear by any creature of God, or by the holy gospels of God.

Item, That as well the bishop and the simple man, the priest and the lay-man, be of like authority, as long as they live well.

Item, That no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any prelate.

William Thorpe: that constant servant of God.

Thus much briefly being signified by the way, touching these who have been forced in time of this king to open abjuration, next cometh to our hands the worthy history of Master William Thorpe, a warrior valiant under the triumphant banner of Christ, with the process of his examinations before the aforesaid Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury; written by the said Thorpe, and storied by his own pen, at the request of his friends, as by his own words, in the process hereof, may appear; in whose examination, which seemeth first to begin A. D. 1407, thou shalt have, good reader, both to learn and to marvel: to learn, in that thou shalt hear truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the adversary dissolved; to marvel, for thou shalt behold here in this man, the marvellous force and strength of the Lord's might, spirit, and grace, working and fighting in his soldiers, and also speaking in their mouths, according to the word of his promise, Luke xxi. To the text of the story we have neither added nor diminished, but, as we have received it copied out, and corrected by Master William Tindal (who had his own hand writing), so we have here sent it, and set it out abroad. Although for the more credit of the matter, I rather wished it in his own natural speech, wherein it was first written, notwithstanding, to put away all doubt and scruple herein, this I thought before to pre-monish and testify to the reader, touching the certainty hereof, that they be yet alive who have seen the self-same copy in its own old English, resembling the true antiquity both of the speech and of the time, the name of whom, as for record of the same to avouch, is Master Whitehead; who, as he hath seen the true ancient copy in the hands of George Constantine, so hath he given credible relation of the same both to the printer and to me. Furthermore, the said Master Tindal (albeit he did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our manner), yet not fully in all words but that something doth remain, savouring of the old speech of that time. What the causes were, why this good man and servant of Christ, William Thorpe, did write it, and pen it out himself, it is sufficiently declared in his own preface, set before his book, which is here prefixed in manner as followeth:

This history first set forth and corrected by Master William Tindal.

(1) Their article commonly was thus: that who so taketh upon him the office of a priest, though he have no cure of souls, nor license of his ordinary, is bound to preach the gospel. [See Appendix.]

(2) The editions previous to 1596 read erroneously, 'To the people.'—Ed.

Henry IV.

A. D. 1407.

The Preface of William Thorpe.

The Lorde God that knoweth all thinges, woteth well that I am right sorrowfull for to wryte or to make knowen this sentence beneath written, whereby, of mine euen christen set, in hie state and dignitie, so great blyndnesse and malice may be knowen, that they which doe presume of them selfe to distroie vices, and to plant in men, vertues, neither dredę to offende God, nor luste to please him, as their workes showe. For certes the bidding of God and his lawe, which, in the praysing of his most holie name, hee commaundeth to be knowen and kept of all men and women, yonge and olde, after the conning and power that hee hath giuen to them; the prelates of this lande and their ministers, with the couent of priests chiefly consenting to them, enforce them moste buselie to withstande and destroie the holie ordinance of God. And there thorowe, God is greatlie wroth and moued to take harde vengeaunce, not onlie vpon them that doe the euill, but also on them that consent to these Antichristes limmes; which knowe or might knowe, their malice and falshod, and dresse them not to withstand their malice and their great pryde. Neuerthelesse, foure things moueth me to wryte this sentence beneth.

God's laws must be known and followed.

Four causes.

The first thing that moueth me hereto is this: that where as it was knowen to certaine frendes, yᵗ I came from ye prison of Shrewesburie, and as it befell in dede that I should to the prison of Caunturbury, then diuers friendes, in diuers places, spake to me full hartely and full tenderly: and commanded me then, if it so were that I should be examined before the archbishop of Caunturburie, that if I myght in anie wyse, I should write mine apposing, and mine answering. And I promised to my speciall frendes, that if I might, I would gladlie doe their biddings as I might.

The first cause.

The second thing that moueth me to write this sentence is this: diuers frendes which haue heard that I haue bene examined before the archebishop, haue come to me in pryson, and counselled me beselie, and coueted greatlie that I shoulde doe the same thyng. And other brethren haue sent to me, and required on Gods behalfe, that I shoulde wryte out and make knowen, both mine apposing and mine answering, for the profite that (as they say) vpon my knowledging may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I should be besie in all my wittes, to goe as nere the sentence and the wordes as I could, both that were spoken to me, and that I spake: Upauenture this writing may come another time, before the archbishop and his counsell. And of this counselling I was right glad, for in my conscience I was moued to doe this thing, and to aske hitherto the speciall helpe of God. And so then I considering the great desire of diuers frendes of sondrie places, according all in one, I occupied all my minde and my wits so besilie, that throwe God's grace I perceiued, by their meaning and their charitable desire, some profite might come there throwe. For sothfastenesse and truth hath these conditions: where euer it is impugned, it hath a sweet smell, and thereof comes a swete sauor; and the more violentlie the enemies dresse themselfs to oppresse and to withstand the truth, the greater and the sweter smell cometh thereof. And therefore, this heauenly smell of God's worde, will not as a smoke passe awaie with the wind: but it will descend and rest in some clene soule, that thursteth there after. And thus some dele by this writing may be perceiued, through Gods grace, how that the enemies of the truth (standing boldely in their malice), enforce them to withstande the fredom of Christe's gospel, for which fredom Christ became man, and shed his harte bloud. And therefore it is great pitie and sorrowe, that manie men and women doo their owne weyward will, nor besie them not to knowe nor to doo the pleasant will of God.

The second cause

Truth leaveth always a sweet smell behind it.

The men and women that heare the truth and sothfastnesse, and heare or knowe of this (perceiuing what is nowe in the church), ought here through, to be the more moued in all their wits, to able them to grace, and to set lesser pryce by themselfe, that they, without tarying, forsake wilfullie and bodelie all the wretchednesse of thys lyfe, since they knowe not howe sone, nor when, nor where, nor by whom, God will teache them and assay their patience. For no doubt, who that euer wil liue piteously, that is charitablie in Christ Jesu, shall suffer nowe here in this life persecution, in one wyse or another. That is, if we shal be saue, it behoueth vs to imagin full besilie, the vilitie and foule-

Godly counsel given, if it may be followed.

Persecution followeth the true church.

nesse of sinne, and howe the Lord God is displeased therefore: and so of this vilitie, of hideousnesse of sin, it behoueth vs to besie vs in all our wittes, for to abhorre and hold in our mind a great shame of sinne euer, and so than we owe to sorrow hartaly therefore, and euer flying all occasion thereof. And then behoueth vs to take vpon vs sharpe penaunce, continuing therein, for to obteine of the Lorde forgiuenesse of our foredone sinnes, and grace to abstayne vs hereafter from sinne. And but if we inforce vs to do this wilfullie, and in conuenient tyme, the Lorde (if he will not vtterlie destroye and cast vs awaie) will in diuers maners moue tyrantes against vs, for to constraine vs violentlie to doo penaunce, whiche we would not doo wilfully. And truste that this doyng is a speciall grace of the Lorde, and a great token of lyfe and mercie. And no doubt, who euer wil not applie himself (as is said before) to punish himselfe wilfullie, neither will suffer paciently, mekelie, and gladlie, the rodde of the Lorde, how so euer that he will punishe him: theyr wayward willes and their impacience, are vnto them earnest of euerlasting damnacyon. But because there are but fewe in numbre that do able them thus faithfullie to grace, for to liue here simplie and purelie, and without gall of malice and of grudginge: herefore the louers of this worlde hate and pursue them that they know pacient, meke, chaste, and wilfullie poore, hating and flying all worldlye vanities and fleshlie lustes. For surelie, their vertuous condicions are euen contrarie to the maners of this world.

Henry IV. A.D. 1407.

The cause why persecution is suffered to come.

The third thing that moueth me to wryte this sentence is this, I thought I shall busie me in my selfe to doo faithfullie, that all men and women (occupying all their businesse in knowing and in kepinge of Gods commaundementes) able them so to grace, that they might vnderstand truelie the truth, and haue and vse vertue and prudence, and so deserue to be lightned from aboue with heauenlie wisdome; so that all their words and their works may be hereby made pleasaunt sacrifice vnto the Lorde God: and not onely for healpe of their owne soules, but also for edification of holie church. For I dout not, but all they that wil applie them to haue this foresaid businesse, shall profiet full mekill both to frendes and foes. For some enemies of the truth, throwe the grace of God, shall, throwe charitable folkes, be made astonied in their conscience, and peraduenture conuerted from vices to vertues: and also, they that labour to know and to kepe faithfullie the biddinges of God, and to suffer pacientlie all aduersities, shall hereby comfort manie friends.

The third cause.

Edification of others, necessary to be considered.

And the fourth thinge that moueth me to wryte thys sentence is this: I knowe by my soden and unwarned apposing and answering, that al they that wil, of good hart without fainıng, able them self wilfullie and gladlie, after their conning and their power, to follow Christ paciently, traueling busilie, priuilie, and apertlie in worke and in word, to withdrawe whosoeuer that they may from vyces, planting in them (if they may) vertues, comforting them and furthering them that standeth in grace; so that therewith they be not borne vp in vaine glorie, throwe presumption of their wisdome, nor inflamed with anie worldlie prosperitie, but euer meke and pacient; purposing to abide stedfastlie in the wil of God; suffering wilfullie and gladly without anie grutching what soeuer rodde the Lord will chastise them with: then, this good Lord will not forget to comfort all such men and women in all theyr tribulacions, and at euerie poynt of temtacion that anie ennemie purposeth for to do against them. To such faithfull louers speciallie, and pacient followers of Christ, the Lord sendeth his wisedome from aboue, to them which the aduersaries of the truth may not knowe nor vnderstand. But through their olde and newe vnshamefast sinnes, those tyrantes and enemies of southfastnesse, shal be so blinded and obstinate in euill, that they shal wene them self to doo pleasaunt sacrifices vnto the Lorde God in their malicious and wrongful persewing and destroying of innocent mens and womens bodies: whiche men and women, for their vertuous liuing, and for their true knowledging of the truthe, and their pacient, wilfull, and glad suffering of persecution for righteousnesse, deserue, thorow the grace of God, to be heyres of the endles blisse of heauen. And for the feruent desire and great loue that those men haue, as to stand in sothfastnesse and witnesse of it, though they be sodeinlie and vnwarnedly brought forth to be apposed of their aduersaries, the Holie Ghost yet that moueth and ruleth them through his charitie, will, in that houre of their answering, speake in them and shewe his wisdome, that all their enemies shall not again say, nor again stand, lawfullie.

The fourth cause.

The assistance of God never failed them that are persecuted.

Henry IV. A.D. 1407.

And therefore, al they that are stedfast in the faith of God, yea whiche thorow diligent keping of his commaundements and for their pacient suffring of whatsoeuer aduersitie that commeth to them, hope surelie in his mercie, purposing to stand continuallie in perfict charitie; for those men and women, drede not so the aduersities of this life, that they wil feare (after their conning and their power) to knowledge prudentlie the truth of Gods words, when, where, and to whom, they thinke their knowledging may profite. Yea and though, therefore, persecution come to them in one wise or an other, certes they pacientlie take it; knowing their conuersation to be in heauen. It is an hei rewarde and a special grace of God, for to haue and inioy the euerlasting inheritance of heauen, for the suffering of one persecution, in so short time as is the terme of this life. For lo, this heauenlie heritage and endles reward, is the Lorde God him self, which is the best thing that may be. This sentence witnesseth the Lord God him self whereas he said to Abraham, 'I am thy mede:' And as the Lord said: he was and is the mede of Abraham: so he is of all other his saintes. This moste blessed and best mede, he graunte to vs all for his holie name, that made vs of naught, and sent his only most deare worthie sonne, our Lorde Jesu Christe, for to redeme vs with his moste precious hart bloud. Amen.

The Examination of William Thorpe, penned with his own Hand.

Examination of Thorpe, before Thomas Arundel, archb. *See Appendix.*

Knowen be it to al men that read or heare this wryting benethe, that on the Sondaye next after the feast of Saint Peter, that we cal Lammasse, in the yeare of our Lorde a thousand four hundred and seven, I William Thorpe, being in prison in y^e^ castel of Saltwode, was brought before Thomas Arundel, archbyshop of Canterbury, and chancelor then of England. And when that I came to him, he stoode in a great chamber and much people about him: and when that hee sawe me, he went faste into a closet, bidding all seculer men that folowed him to goe forth from him soone, so that no man was left than in that closet but the archebishop himselfe, and a phisitian that was called Malueren, parsone of Saint Dustanes in London, and two other persons vnknowen to me which were ministers of the lawe. And I, standing before them, by and by the archbishop said to me: William, I knowe wel that thou hast this twentie winter and more, traueiled about besilie in the north countrey and in other diuerse countries of England, sowing about false doctrine, hauing great businesse, if thou might, with thine vntrue teaching and shrewde will, for to infecte and poyson all this land. But, through the grace of God, thou art nowe withstandid and brought into my ward, so that I shall nowe sequester thee from thine euill purpose, and let thee to enuenime the shepe of my prouince. Neuertheles Saint Paul saith: If it may be, as muche as in vs is, wee are to haue peace with al men. Therfore, William, if thou wilt now mekely and of good hart, without any feining, knele downe and lay thy hand vpon a booke, and kisse it, promising faithfully, as I shal here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stande to mine ordinaunce,[1] and fulfil it duely by al thy conning and power, thou shalt yet find mee graciouse vnto thee.

Loitering prelates, cannot abide travelling preachers.

The grace of God, and of my lord of Canterbury, be two things.

Than said I to the archbishop: Sir, sinse ye deme me an heretike and out of beleue, will ye geue me here audience to tell my beleue. And he said: Yea tell on. And I said: I beleeue that there is not but one God Almightie, and in this godhead, and of this godhead, are three persones, that is, the Father, the Sonne, and the soothfast Holie Ghost. And I beleeue that all these three persones are euen in power, and in conning, and in might, full of grace and of all goodnesse. For whatsoeuer that the Father doth or can or will, that thing also the Sonne doth and can and will: and in all their power, conning, and will, the Holie Ghost is equall to the Father and to the Sonne.

Ouer this, I beleeue that through counsell of this most blessed Trinitie, in most conuenient time before ordeined for the saluation of mankinde, the seconde persone of this Trinitie, was ordeined to take the fourme of man, that is, the kinde of man. And I beleeue that this second persone our Lord Jesu Christ, was conceiued through the Holie Ghost, into the wombe of the most blessed Virgin Marie, without mans seede. And I beleeue, that after nine monethes, Christ was borne of this most blessed Virgine, without any paine or breaking of the closter of her wombe, and without filth of her virginitie.

(1) Your ordinance! and why not God's ordinance, if it please your grace?

Henry IV. A. D. 1407.

And I beleeue that Christe our Sauiour was circumcised in the eight daye after his byrth, in fulfilling of the lawe, and his name was called Jesus, which was so called of the angel, before that hee was conceiued in the wombe of Marie, his mother.

And I beleeue that Christ, as he was about thirty yeare olde, was baptised in the floud of Jordane, of John Baptist: and in the likenesse of a doue the Holy Ghost descended there vpon him, and a voice was harde from heauen, saying, Thou art my wel beloued Sonne, in thee I am full pleased.

And I beleeue that Christ was moued then by the Holy Ghost, for to go into ye desert, and there he fasted forty daies and forty nights without bodilie meat and drinke. And I beleeue that by and by, after his fasting, when the manhod of Christ hungred, the feend came to him, and tempted him in glutony, in vaine glorie, and in couetise: but in all those temptations, Christ concluded the feend, and withstode him. And then, without tarying, Jesu began to preache and to say vnto the people, Do ye penance, for the realme of heauen is now at hand. *See Appendix.*

I beleeue that Christ, in al his time here, liued moste holilie, and taught the will of his Father most truelie: and I beleeue that he suffred therefore, moste wrongfullie, greatest reprieues and despisinges.

And, after this, whan Christ wold make an end here of this temporal lyfe, I beleeue that in the daie next before that hee would suffer passion in the morne, in forme of bread and of wyne, he ordeined the sacrament of his flesh and his bloud, that is, his owne precious bodie, and gaue it to his apostles for to eate; commaunding them, and by them all their after-commers, that they should doe it in this forme that hee shewed to them: vse them self, and teach and comone forth to other men and women, this most worshipfull and holiest sacrament, in minde fulnesse of his holiest liuing, and of his moste true teaching, and of his wilfull and pacient suffring of the moste painefull passion. That is, under the creatures of bread and wine.

And I beleue that this Christ our Sauiour, after that hee had ordeined this moste worthy sacrament of his owne pretious bodie, he went forth wilfullie against his ennemies, and he suffered them most pacientlie to lay their handes most violentlie vpon him, and to bynd him, and to leade him forth as a theefe, and to skorne him and buffet him, and al to blow or file him with their spittinges. Ouer this, I beleeue that Christ suffred moste mekelie and pacientlie his ennemies, for to dinge out with sharpe scourges the bloud that was betweene his skinne and his fleshe: yea, without grudging, Christ suffered the cruell Jewes to crowne hym with most sharpe thornes, and to strike him with a rede. And after, Christ suffered wicked Jewes to draw him out vpon the crosse, and for to nayle hym there vpon foote and hande. And so, through his pitifull nayling, Christ shed out wilfullie, for man's life, the bloud that was in his vaines. And then Christ gaue wilfullie his spirite into the handes or power of his Father, and so, as he would, and when hee woulde, Christ died wilfullie, for man's sake, vpon the crosse. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfullie, painfully, and moste shamefully, put to death, as to the world, there was left bloud and water in his hart, as before ordeined, that he woulde shede out this bloude and this water for man's saluation. And therefore he suffered the Jewes to make a blinde knight to thruste him into the hart with a speare, and this the bloud and water that was in his hart Christ woulde shed out for man's loue, and after this, I beleeue that Christ was taken downe from the crosse and buried. And I beleeue that on the third daie, by ye power of his godhead, Christe rose againe from death to life. And the fortie day thereafter, I beleeue that Christ ascended up into heauen, and that he there sitteth on the right hande of the Father Almightie: and the tenth[1] daie after this vp goyng, he sent to his apostles the Holie Ghost, that he had promised them before: and I beleeue that Christ shall come and iudge al mankind, some to euerlasting peace, and some to euerlasting paines.

And as I beleue in the Father and in the Sonne, that they are one God Almightie, so I beleeue in the Holie Ghoste, that he is also with them the same God Almightie.

And I beleeue an holie church; that is, al they that haue bene, and that now are, and alwaies to the ende of the worlde shall be, a people the which What is the holy church.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 147, "the tenth daie:"—Ed. 1570, p. 631, "the fifteth daie." The "upgoyng," in the text, signifies the ascension—.Ed.

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shall endeuor them to know and to kepe the commaundementes of God, dredinge ouer all thing to offend God, and louing and seeking most to please him: and I beleue that all they that haue had and yet haue, and all they that yet shall haue, the foresayde vertues, surelie standing in the beleefe of God, hopyng stedfastlie in his mercifull doinges, continuing to their ende in perfecte charitie, wilfullie, patientlie, and gladly, suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ chieflie and his apostles, all these haue their names written in the boke of life.

The true notes of the true church.

Therefore I beleeue that the gadering togither of this people liuing now here in this life, is the holie church of God, fighting here on earth against the feende, the prosperitie of the world, and their fleshlie lustes. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this church before sayd, and euery parte thereof, neither coueteth, nor willeth, nor loueth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to doe his pleasing wil; mekelie, gladlie, and wilfullie, with all mine heart, I submitte my selfe vnto this holie church of Christ, to bee euer buxome and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of euery member thereof, after my knowledge and power by the helpe of God. Therefore I knowledge nowe, and euermore shall, if God wyll, that with all my hart and with all my might, I will submit me onlie to the rule and gouernaunce of them, whome, after my knowledge, I may perceiue, by the hauing and vsing of the beforesayd vertues, to be members of the holie church. Wherefore these articles of belefe, and al other (both of the olde law and of the newe, which after the commaundemente of God any man ought to beleue), I beleue verilie in my soule, as a sinfull deadlie wretche of my cunnyng and power ought to beleue: praying the Lorde God, for his holie name, for to increase my belefe, and to helpe my vnbelefe.

See Appendix.

What heresy in this belief, I pray you my lord?

And for because, to the praysing of God's name, I desire, aboue all thinges, to bee a faithfull member of holie church, I make this protestation before you all foure that are now here present, coueting that all men and women that now be absent knewe the same: that what thing soeuer before this time I haue saide or done, or what thing here I shall do or say, at any time hereafter, I beleeue, that all the olde lawe and newe lawe giuen and ordened by counsell of the three persones of the Trinitie, were geuen and written to the saluation of mankind. And I beleeue, that these lawes are sufficient for man's saluation. And I beleue euery article of these lawes, to the intent, that these articles, ordeined and commanded of these three persons of the most blessed Trinitie, are to be beleeued.

The Old Testament and New.

And therefore, to the rule and the ordinaunce of these, Gods lawes, meekely, gladlie, and wilfullie, I submit me with all mine hart: that whosoeuer can or will, by authoritie of Gods lawe, or by open reason, tell me that I haue erred or now erre, or any tyme hereafter shall erre in any article of belefe (from which inconuenience God kepe me for his goodnesse), I submitte me to be reconciled and to be buxum and obedient unto these lawes of God, and to euerie article of them. For, by authoritie specially of these lawes, I will, through the grace of God, be vnited charitablie vnto these lawes. Yea Sir, and ouer this, I beleeue and admitte all the sentences, authorities, and reasons, of the saintes and doctours, according vnto holy scripture, and declaryng it trulie.

Doctors so to be followed, as they follow the word.

I submit me wilfullie and meeklie, to be euer obedient after my conning and power, to all these saintes and doctours, as they are obedient in work and in worde to God and to his law; and further not (to my knowledge), not for any earthlie power, dignitie, or state, thorough the helpe of God. But Sir, I praie you tell me, if, after your bidding, I shall lay my hande vpon the boke, to what entent? to sweare thereby? And the archbishop said to me: Yea, wherefore else? And I said to him: Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thinge coupled together of diuers creatures, and to sweare by any creature, bothe Gods lawe and mans lawe is against it.

To swear by a book, whether it be lawful.

But Syr, this thyng I saye here to you before these your clerkes, with my foresayd protestation, that howe, where, when, and to whom, men are bound to sweare or to obey, in any wise, after Gods lawe, and saints and true doctours according vnto God's lawe, I will, through Gods grace, bee euer readie thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you Sir, for the charitie of God, that ye will, before that I sweare (as I haue here rehearsed to you), tell me howe or whereto that I shall submit me: and shewe me whereof that yee will correct mee, and what is the ordinance that yee will thus oblige mee to fulfill.

And the archbishop said vnto me: I will shortlie that nowe thou sweare here to me, that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollardes holde, and is slaundered with: so that after this time, neither priuilie nor apertlie, thou holde any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworne) rehearse to thee here. Nor thou shalt fauour no man nor woman, yong nor olde, that holdeth any of these foresaide opinions; but after thy knowledge and power, thou shalte force thee to withstande all such distroublers of holie church in euerie diocesse that thou commest in; and them that will not leaue their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them vp, publishing them and their names, and make them knowne to the bishop of the dioces that they are in, or to the bishop's ministers. And, ouer this, I will that thou preach no more vnto the tyme that I knowe, by good witnesse and true, that thy conuersation be such, that thy hart and thy mouth accord truelie in one, contrarying all the lewd learning that thou hast taught here before.

How, where, and when to swear.

And I, hearing these wordes, thought in my heart, that this was an vnlefull askyng, and deemed my selfe cursed of God, if I consented hereto; and I thought howe Susan saide, Anguish is to mee on euerie side. And in that I stoode still and spake not, the archbishoppe saide to me: Answere one wise or other. And I said, Sir, if I consented to you thus as yee haue herebefore rehearsed to me, I should become an appealer, or euerie bishoppe's espie, somoner of all Englande. For and I should thus put vp, and publishe, the names of men and women, I should herein deceiue full many persons: Yea Sir, as it is likelie, by the dome of my conscience, I should herein be cause of the death both of men and women, yea both bodilie and ghostlie. For many men and women that stand nowe in the waie of saluation, if I should, for the learning and reading of their beleeue, publish them therefore, up to the bishops or to their vnpitious ministers, I knowe some deale by experience, that they should be so distroubled and diseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of them (I thinke) woulde rather chuse to forsake the waie of truth then to be trauailed, skorned, slaundered, or punished, as bishops and their ministers nowe vse, for to constraine men and women to consent to them.

See Appendix.

Behold the popish proceedings whereto they tend.

But I finde in no place in holie Scripture, that this office that ye would nowe enfeaffe me with, accordeth to any priest of Christe's sect, nor to any other christian man: and, therefore, to doe this, were, to me, a full noious bond to be bounden with, and ouer grieuous charge. For I suppose that if I thus did, many men and women woulde, yea Sir, might iustlie to my confusion, say to me, that I were a traytor to God and to them, since (as I thinke in mine hart) many men and women trust so mikle in this case, that I would not, for sauing of my life, doe thus to them. For if I thus should doe, full many menne and women would (as they might full truelie) saie that I had falselie and cowardlie forsaken the truth, and slaundered shamefullie the word of God. For, if I consented to you to do here after your will, for bonchefe or mischiefe that may befall vnto me in this life, I deme in my conscience, that I were worthy, heerefore, to be cursed of God, and also of all his saintes: from which inconuenience, keep me and all christian people, Almightie God! nowe and euer for his holie name.

No marvel why; for Christ and Antichrist, how can they agree?

And then the archbishop saide vnto me: Oh, thine heart is full harde indurate as was the heart of Pharao, and the diuell hath ouercomen thee and peruerted thee, and he hath so blinded thee in al thy wits, that thou hast no grace to knowe the truth, nor the measure of mercie that I haue profered to thee. Therfore, as I perceiue nowe by thy foolish answere, thou hast no will to leaue thine old errours. But I say to thee, leud losell,[1] other quicklie consent thou to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my decrees; or, by saint Thomas, thou shalt be degraded, and followe thy fellow[2] into Smithfield. And at this saying, I stood still and spake not; but I thought in mine hart that God did to me great grace, if he would, of his great mercie, bring me to such an ende. And, in mine heart, I was nothing afraide with this manasing of the archbishop. And I considered there, twoe thinges in him. One, that he was not yet sorrowfull for that hee hadde made William Sawtre wrongfullie to bee burnt; and, as I considered that the archbishoppe thirsted yet after more shedding out of innocent bloud. And fast, therefore, I was moued in all my wittes, for to holde the archbishop nother for prelate nor for priest of God. And, for that mine inwarde man was thus altogether departed from the arch-

It is pretty when Pharaoh judgeth Moses hard-hearted. Where learned you, my lord, to call your brother Raca?

(1) "Losell," a lost person.—Ed.

(2) He meaneth God's martyr, William Sautre.

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bishop, me thought I shoulde not haue any dread of him; but I was right heauie and sorrowfull, for that there was no audience of secular men by: but in my heart I praied the Lord God, for to comfort me and strength mee against them that there were against the soothfastnesse, and I purposed to speake no more to the archbishop and his clerkes then me need behoued. And all thus I praide God for his goodnesse to geue mee, then and alwaie, grace to speake, with a meeke and an easie spirit; and whatsoeuer thing that I should speake, that I might thereto haue true authorities of Scriptures, or open reason. And, for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the archbishop's clerkes saide vnto me: What thing musest thou? Do thou as my lord hath nowe commanded to thee heere.

See Appendix.

The order and manner of his bringing up.

And yet I stood still, and answered him not. And then, soon after, the archbishop saide to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I haue said to thee? And I said then to him: Sir, my father and my mother, on whose soules God haue mercie (if it bee his will), spent mikle money, in diuers places, about my learning, for the intent to haue made mee a priest to God. But when I came to yeares of discretion, I had no will to be priest, and therefore my friendes were right heauie to me, and then methought their grudging against me was so painefull to me, that I purposed therefore, to haue left their companie. And when they perceiued this in me, they spake sometime full faire and pleasant words to me; but, for that they might not make me to consent, of good heart, to be a priest, they spake to me ful oftentimes verie greeuous words, and manased me in diuers manners, shewing to me full heauie cheere. And thus one while in faire manner, another while in greeuous, they were long time (as me thought) full busie about me, or I consented to them to be a priest.

But at the last, when, in this matter, they would no longer suffer myne excusations, but either I should consent to them, or I should euer beare their indignation, yea their curse (as they saide), then I, seeing this, praied them that they would giue me licence for to goe to them that were named wise priestes, and of vertuous conuersation, to haue their counsell, and to knowe of them the office and the charge of priesthoode. And hereto my father and my mother consented full gladlie, and gaue me their blessing and good leaue to goe, and also money to spend in this iourney. And so that I went to those priestes whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holie liuing, and best learned, and most wise of heauenlie wisedome; and so I communed with them vnto the time that I perceiued, by their vertuous and continual occupations, that their honest and charitable workes passed their fame which I had hearde before of them.

Wherefore Sir, by the example of the doctrine of them, and speciallie for the godlie and innocent workes which I perceiued then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power I haue exercised me then and in this time, to know perfectlie God's lawe, hauing a will and desire to liue thereafter, which willeth that all men and women shoulde exercise themselues faithfullie thereabout. If than Syr, other for pleasure or displeasure of them that are nother so wise, nor of so vertuous conuersation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other man's knowledge in this lande, as these men were, of whome I tooke my counsell and information, I should now forsake thus suddenlie, and shortlie, and vnwarned, all the learning that I haue exercised my selfe in this thirtie winter and more, my conscience should euer be herewith out of measure vnquieted; and as Syr, I knowe well, that manie men and women should be there-through greatlie troubled and slaundered; and as I said Syr, to you before, for mine vntruth and false cowardnesse, manie a one shoulde bee put into full great reproofe: yea (Sir, I dread that manie one as they might then iustlie) would curse me full bitterlie; and Syr, I feare not but the curse of God, which I should deserue herein, would bring me to a full euill ende, if I continued thus. And if, thorough remorse of conscience, I repented me any time, returning into the waie which you doe your diligence to constraine me nowe to forsake, yea Sir, all the bishoppes of this lande, with full manie other priestes, would defame me, and pursue me as a relapse; and they that nowe haue (though I be vnworthie) some confidence in mee, hereafter would neuer trust to me, though I coulde teach and liue neuer so vertuouslie, more then I can or may. For if, after your counsell, I left vtterlie all my learning, I should heereby first wound and defile mine owne soule, and also I shoulde, here-through, giue occasion to many men

and women of full sore hurting: yea Syr, as it is likelie to mee, if I consented to your will, I shoulde herein, by mine euill example in it, as farre as in mee were, slea manie folke ghostlie, that I shoulde neuer deserue for to haue grace of God, to the edifying of his church, neither of my selfe, nor of none other man's life, and vndone both before God and man. *Henry IV.* A. D. 1407.

But Syr, by example chieflie of some whose names I wil not nowe rehearse, of H., of I. P., and B., and also by the present doing of Philip Rampington, that now is become B. of Lincolne, I am now learned (as many moe hereafter through God's grace shall be learned) to hate and to flee all such slaunder that these foresaid men chieflie haue defiled principally themselues with. And in it that in them is, they haue enuenomed al the church of God, for the slanderous reuoking at the crosse of Paules, of H. P., and of B., and how now Philip Rampington pursueth Christes people. And the faining that these men dissemble by worldlie prudence, keeping them cowardlie in their preaching and communing, within the bondes and tearmes, which, without blame, may be spoken and shewed out to the most worldlie liuers, will not be vnpunished of God: for to the point of truth that these men shewed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their liues. But by example, eache one of them, as their words and their works shewe, busie them through their faining, for to slander and to pursue Christ in his members, rather then they will be pursued. Philip Repington made bishop, and a persecutor. *See Appendix.*

And the archbishop said to me: These men the which thou speakest of nowe, were fooles and heretikes, when they were counted wise men of thee and other such losels. But now they are wise men, though thou and such other deeme them vnwise: neuertheles I wist neuer none that right said, that any whils were enuenomed with your contagiousnesse, that is, contaminated and spotted doctrine.

And I saide to the archbishoppe: Sir, I thinke well that these men and such other are nowe wise as to this world; but as their wordes sounded sometime, and their workes shewed outwardlie, it was like to moue me that they had earnest of the wisedome of God, and that they should haue deserued mikle grace of God, to haue saued their owne soules and manie other mens, if they had continued faithfullie in wilfull pouertie, and in other simple vertuous liuing; and speciallie if they had, with these foresaid vertues, continued in their busie fruitfull sowing of God's word; as, to many mennes knowledge, they occupied them a season in al their wits, ful busily to know y^e^ pleasant will of God, trauelling al their members ful busily for to do therafter, purelie and chieflie to the praising of the most holie name of God, and for grace of edification and saluation of christen people. But woe worth false couetise, and euill counsell, and tyrannie, by which they, and manie men and women, are led blindlie into an euill end. Happy be they that continue to the end. Woe worth false covetousness.

Then the archbishop said to me: Thou and such other losels of thy sect, would shaue your beards full neare for to haue a benefice. For, by Jesu, I know none more couetous shrewes then ye are, when that ye haue a benefice. For loe, I gaue to John Purueie a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his couetousnesse for tithes and other misdoinges, then I did of all men that were aduanced within my dioces. It is pity these prelates cannot swear. Covetousness joined with popishness.

And I saide to the archbishop: Sir, Purueie is neither with you now for the benefice that you gaue him, nor hee holdeth faithfullie with the learning that he taught and writ before time: and thus he sheweth himselfe neither to be hot nor colde, and therefore he and his fellowes, maie sore dread that if they turn not hastilie to the waie that they haue forsaken, peraduenture they be put out of the number of Christs chosen people.

And the archbishop said: Though Purueie be nowe a false harlot, I quite me nowe to him: but come he more for such cause before me, or we depart, I shall know with whom hee holdeth. But I saie to thee: Which are these holie men and wise, of whom thou hast taken thine information?

And I said: Sir, Maister John Wickliffe was holden of full mainie men, the greatest clearke that they knewe then liuing; and therewith hee was named a passing rulie man and an innocent in his liuing: and, herefore, great men communed oft with him, and they loued so his learning, that they writ it, and busilie inforced them to rule themselues therafter. Therefore Sir, this foresaid learning of M. John Wickliffe is yet holden of full manie men and women, the most agreeable learning vnto the liuing and teaching of Christ and of his apostles, and most openlie shewing and declaring how the church of Christ A worthy commendation of Master John Wickliff.

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hath beene, and yet shoulde bee, ruled and gouerned. Therefore, so many men and women couet this learning, and purpose, through God's grace, to conforme their liuing like to this learning of Wickliff. M. John Aston taught and writte accordinglie and full busilie, where and when, and to whom that he might, and he vsed it himselfe right perfectlie vnto his liues end. And also Philip of Rampington, while he was a canon of Leicester,[1] Nicholas Herford, Dan Geffrey of Pickering, monke of Byland and a maister of diuinitie, and John Puruaie, and many other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writ busilie this foresaide learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homelie and communed with them long time and oft: and so, before all other men, I chose wilfullie to be informed of them and by them, and speciallie of Wickliffe himselfe, as of the most vertuous and godlie wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him speciallie, and of these men, I tooke the learning that I haue taught, and purpose to liue thereafter (if God will) to my liues end. For though some of those men be contrarie to the learning that they taught before, I wote wel y^t^ their learning was true which they taught; and therefore, with the helpe of God I purpose to hold and to vse the lerning which I heard of them, while they sate on Moises chaire, and speciallie while they sate on the chaire of Christ. But after the workes that they now do, I will not do, with God's helpe. For they feine, and hide, and contrarie the truth, which before they taught out plainlie and trulie. For, as I knowe well, when some of those men haue bene blamed for their slanderous dooing, they grant not that they haue taught a misse or erred before time, but that they were constrained, by paine, to leaue to tell out the sooth, and thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, then to suffer a while here persecution bodilie, for soothfastnesse that Christ shed out his hart bloud for. And the archbishop saide: That learning that thou callest truth and soothfastnesse, is open slaunder to holie church, as it is proued of holie church. For, albeit that Wickliffe, your author, was a great clearke, and though that many men held him a perfect liuer, yet his doctrine is not approued of holie church, but manie sentences of his learning are damned, as they well worthie are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was first, canon, and afterward, abbot of Leicester, which is nowe bishoppe of Lincolne, I tell thee, that the daie is commen, for which he fasted the eeuen. For neither hee holdeth nowe, nor will holde, the learning that he taught, when hee was a canon of Leicester; for no bishoppe of this lande pursueth now more sharplie them that holde thy waie, then he doth.[2]

See Appendix.

The testimony for Wickliff out of the mouth of his own aduersary.

Many such vigils have our popish calendars.

And I saide: Sir, full manie men and women wondereth vpon him, and speaketh him mikle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemie of the truth.

And the archbishop said to me: Wherfore tariest thou me thus here with such fables? wilt thou shortlie (as I haue said to thee) submit thee to me or no?

And I said: Sir, I tell you at one word, I dare not, for the dread of God, submit me to you, after the tenor and sentence that ye haue aboue rehearsed to me. And thus, as if he had beene wroth, he saide to one of his clerkes: Fetch hither quicklie, the certification that came to me from Shrewesburie vnder the bailiffes seale, witnessing the errors and heresies, which this losel hath venimouslie sowne there. Then hastilie the clerke tooke out and laide forth on a cupbord, diuers rolles and writinges, among which there was a little one, which the clearke deliuered to the archbishop. And by and by the archbishoppe read this roll conteining this sentence: "The thirde Sundaie after Easter, A. D. 1407., William Thorpe came vnto the towne of Shrewesburie, and through leaue granted vnto him to preach, he saide openlie, in S. Chads church, in his sermon, that the sacrament of the aultar, after the consecration, was material bread. And that images should in no wise be worshipped; and that men should not goe on pilgrimages; and that priests haue no title to tithes; and that it is not lawfull for to sweare in any wise."

The sacrament after consecration, material bread.

And when the archbishop had red thus this roll, he rolled it vp againe, and said to me: Is this wholesome learning[2] to be among the people.

And I said to him: Sir, I am both ashamed on their behalfe, and right sorrowfull for them that haue certified you these things thus vntrulie; for I preached neuer, nor taught thus, priuilie nor apertlie.

(1) Repington became a persecutor, after he was made bishop.
(2) Wholesome enough for man's soul, though not for your kitchen.

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And the archbishop said to me: I will giue credence to these worshipfull men which hane written to me, and witnessed vnder their seales there among them. Though nowe thou deniest this, weenest thou that I will giue credence to thee? Thou losell! hast troubled the worshipfull communaltie of Shrewsburie, so that the bailiffes and communaltie of that town haue written to me, praying me that am archbishop of Canterbury, primate and chancellor of Englande, that I will vouchsafe to graunt them, that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthie) to suffer open iouresse for thine heresies, that thou may haue thy iouresse openlie there among them:[1] so that all they whom thou and such other losels haue there peruerted, may, through feare of thy deed, be reconciled againe to the vnitie of holie church; and also they that stand in true faith of holie church, may, thorough thy deed, be more established therein. And, as if this asking well pleased the archbishop, hee saide: By my thrift, this hartie praier, and feruent request, shall be thought on.

O Shrewsbury! thou hast a cause to repent thee, in that thou wouldest not receive the truth when it was offered thee.

But certainlie, nother the praier of the men of Shrewesburie, nor the manasing of the archbishop made me any thinge afraide; but in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly reioced, and yet doth. I thanke God for the grace that I then thought, and yet thinke, shall come to all the church of God here-thorow, by the speciall merciful doing of the Lord. And, as hauing no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting stedfastlie in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpose for to knowledge the soothfastnesse, and to stand thereby after my cunning and power, I said to the archbishop: Sir, if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt not to proue by likelie euidence, that they that are famed to be out of the faith of holie church in Shrewsburie, and in other places also, are in the true faith of holie church.[2] For, as their wordes sound, and their workes shew to mans iudgement (dreading and louing faithfullie God), their will, their desire, their loue, and their busines, are most set to dread to offend God, and to loue for to please him in true and faithful keeping of his commandements. And again, they that are said to be in the faith of holie church in Shrewesburie and in other places, by open euidence of their proud, enuious, malicious, couetous, lecherous, and other foule wordes and workes, neither know, nor haue will to know, nor to occupie their wits truely and effectuouslie in the right faith of holie church. Wherefore all these, nor none that followe their maners, shall any time come verilie in the faith of holie church, except they inforce them more truely to come in the waie which now they despise. For these men and women that are nowe called faithfull, and holden iust, nother knowe, nor will exercise themselfe to know (of faithfulnesse), one commandment of God. And thus full many men and women nowe, and speciallie men that are named to be principall lims of holy church, stir God to great wrath, and deserue his curse for that they call or hold them iust men, which are ful vniust; as their vicious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous and shamful workes, shewe openlie and witnesse. And therefore such vicious men and vniust, in their owne confusion, call them vniust men and women, which, after their power and cunning, busie themselues to liue iustlie after the commandment of God. And where Sir ye saie, that I haue distroubled the communaltie of Shrewesburie, and many other men and women with my teaching: if this be, it is not to be wondred of wise men, since all the communaltie of the cittie of Jerusalem was distroubled of Christes owne person, that was verie God and man, and ye most prudent preacher that euer was or shall be. And also all the synagogue of Nazareth was moued against Christ, and so fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the synagogue rose vp and cast Christ out of their citie, and led him vp to the top of a mountain for to cast him downe there headlong: also accordinglie hereto, the Lord witnesseth by Moises, that he shall put dissention betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and pursueth his people. Who, Sir, is he that shall preach the truth of Gods worde to the vnfaithfull people, and shall let the soothfastnesse of the gospell, and the prophecie of God Almightie, to be fulfilled.

See Appendix

A sure trust in God's truth confoundeth the malice of tyrants

Shrewsbury! except thou turn from thy wicked ways, thou canst not receive the truth.

Jerusalem troubled by the preaching of Christ.

And the archbishop saide to me: It followeth of these thy words, that thou and such other thinkest, that yee do right well for to preach and teach as ye

(1) The Romish church must be established, by persecuting of true preachers.
(2) If the touch-stone might try, truth should be known.

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doe, without authoritie of any bishop. For you presume, that the Lord hath chosen you only for to preach, as faithfull disciples and speciall followers of Christ.

And I said: Sir, by authoritie of Gods law, and also of saints and doctors, I am learned to deeme, that it is euerie priests office and duty for to preach busilie, freely, and truelie the worde of God. For no doubt euerie priest should purpose first in his soule, and couet, to take the order of priesthoode cheefly for to make knowne to the people the worde of God, after his cunning and power; approuing his words euer to be true by his vertuous workes, and for this intent we suppose that bishops and other prelates of holie church should chieflie take and vse their prelacie, and for the same cause bishoppes should giue to priests their orders. For bishoppes should accept no man to priesthood, except that he had good will and full purpose, and were well disposed, and well learned to preach. Wherefore Sir, by the bidding of Christ, and by the example of his most holy liuing, and also by the witnessing of his holie apostles and prophets, wee are bound, vnder full great paine, to exercise vs, after our cunning and power (as euerie priest is likewise charged of God), to fulfill duelie the office of preesthood. We presume not here of our selues for to be esteemed (neither in our owne reputation nor in none other mans) faithfull dysciples, and speciall followers of Christ. But Sir, as I said to you before, we deeme this, by authoritie chiefly of Gods word, that it is the chiefe dutie of euerie priest, to busie them faithfullie to make the law of God knowne to his people, and so to commune the commandment of God charitablie, how that we may best, where, when, and to whom that euer we may, is our verie dutie. And, for the will and businesse that we owe of due debt to doe iustlie our office thorough the stirring and speciall helpe (as we trust) of God, hoping stedfastlie in his mercie, we desire to be the faithfull disciples of Christ: and we pray this gratious Lord, for his holie name, that he make vs able so to please him with deuout prayers, and charitable priestlie works, that we may obtain of him to follow him thankefully.

The word of God ought truly to be preached.

If this lesson had been well followed, the world had not been brought to such darkness by blind and dumb priests.

An effectuous prayer, God grant, in all ministers.

And the archbishop said to me: Lewd losel! whereto makest thou such vaine reasons to me? Asketh not Saint Paule, How should priestes preach, except they be sent? But I sent thee neuer to preach; for thy venemous doctrine is so knowne throughout England, that no bishop will admit thee to preach by witnessing of their letters. Why then, lewd idiot! wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent, nor licensed of thy soueraign to preach? Saith not Saint Paule, that subiects ought to obey their souereignes, and not onelie good and vertuous, but also tyrants that are vicious?

See Appendix.

Why? he preached without the bishop's license.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, as touching your letter of licence or other bishops, which ye say we shoulde haue to witnesse that we were able to be sent for to preach, wee knowe well that neither you Sir, nor any other bishop of this land, will grant to vs any such letters of licence, but if we should oblige vs to you, and to other bishops, by vnlefull oathes, for to passe not the bounds and termes which ye Sir, or other bishops, will limit to vs. And since in this matter your termes be some too large, and some too strait, we dare not oblige vs thus to bee bounden to you for to keepe the termes, which you wil limit to vs, as you doe to friers and such other preachers; and therefore, though we haue not your letter Sir, nor letters of anie other bishops written with inke vpon parchment, we dare not therefore leaue the office of preaching (to which preaching, all priests, after their cunning and power, are bounden by diuers testimonies of Gods lawe, and great doctors) without anie mention making of bishoppes letters. For, as mikle as we haue taken vpon vs the office of priesthood (though we are vnworthie thereto), we come and purpose to fulfill it with the help of God, by authoritie of his owne lawe, and by witnesse of great doctors and saints, accordinglie hereto trusting stedfastlie in the mercie of God. For that he commandeth vs to doe the office of priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witnesse, if we, by example of his holie liuing and teaching, speciallie occupie vs faithfullie to do our office iustlie: yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithfull or vnfaithfull) shall be our letters, that is, our witnes bearers; for the truth where it is sowne, may not be vnwitnessed. For all y^{t} are conuerted and saued by learning of Gods word, and by working thereafter, are witnesse bearers, that the truth and soothfastnesse which they heard and did after, is cause of their saluation. And again, all vnfaithfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do thereafter: also all they

He answereth to the question concerning the letter of license.

The inconveniences of seeking of the bishop's letter or license.

The witness of the preachers is the good life of the followers

that might haue heard the truth and would not heare it, because that they would not do thereafter. All these shall beare witnes against themselues, and the truth which they would not heare, or else heard it and despised to doe thereafter, through their vnfaithfulnesse, is and shal be cause of their damnation. Therefore Sir, since this aforesaid witnessing of God, and of diuers saintes and doctors, and of all the people, good and euill, sufficeth to all true preachers, we thinke that we doe not the office of priesthood, if that we leaue our preaching; because that we haue not, or may not haue, dulie bishoppes letters, to witnesse that we are sent of them to preach. This sentence approueth Saint Paule, where he speaketh of himselfe, and of faithfull apostles and disciples, saieing thus: We need no letters of commendations, as some preachers do, which preach for couetousnesse of temporall goods, and for mens praising. And where ye saie Sir, that Paule biddeth subiects obeie their soueraignes, that is sooth, and may not be denied. But there is two maner of soueraignes, vertuous soueraignes and vicious tyrantes. Therefore, to these last soueraignes, neither men nor women that be subiect, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous soueraigns and charitable, subiects owe to obeie wilfullie and gladlie, in hearing of their good counsell, in consenting to their charitable biddinges, and in working after their fruitfull workes.

Two kinds of sovereigns. He meaneth prelates that be unvirtuous.

This sentence Paule approueth where he saith to subiects: Be ye mindfull of your soueraignes, that speake to you the word of God; and followe you the faith of them, whose conuersation you knowe to be vertuous. For, as Paule saith after, these soueraignes, to whom subiects owe to obey in following of their maners, work busilie, in holie studieng, how they may withstand and destroie vices, first in themselues, and after in all their subiects, and howe they maie best plant in them vertues. Also these soueraignes, make deuout and feruent praiers for to purchase grace of God, that they and their subiects maie, ouer all thing, dread to offend him, and to loue for to please him. Also these soueraignes to whom Paule biddeth vs obeie, as it is saide before, liue so vertuouslie, that all they that will liue well, maie take of them good example, to know and to keep the commandements of God. But, in this foresaid wise, subiectes ought not to obeie, nor to be obedient to tyrants, while they are vicious tyrants, since their will, their counsell, their biddings, and their workes are so vicious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though such tyrants be maisterfull and cruell in boasting and menacing, in oppressions and diuers punishings, S. Peter biddeth the seruants of such tyrants, to obeie meeklie such tyrants, suffering patientlie their malicious cruelnesse. But Peter counselleth not anie seruant or subiect, to obeie to anie lord, or prince, or soueraign, in anie thing that is not pleasing to God.

Two manner of obeying: 1. In following their doings and examples. 2. In suffering their wrongs. Well reasoned, my lord, and like a clerk.

And the archbishop saide vnto me: If a soueraigne bid his subiect do that thing that is vicious, this soueraigne herein is to blame; but the subiect, for his obedience, deserueth meede of God: for obedience pleaseth more to God than anie sacrifice.

See Appendix.

And I said: Samuel the prophet said to Saule, the wicked king, that God was more pleased with the obedience of his commandement, then with anie sacrifice of beasts. But Dauid saith, and S. Paule, and S. Gregorie accordinglie together, that not onlie they that do euill, are worthie of death and damnation; but also they that consent to euill doers. And Sir, the law of holie church teacheth in the decrees, that no seruant to his lord, nor childe to the father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monke to his abbot, ought to obeie, except in lefull things, and lawfull.

Obedience not to be given, except in things lawful.

And the archbishop saide to me: All these alledginges that thou bringest forth are not else but proud presumptuousnesse; for hereby thou inforcest thee to proue, that thou and such other are so iust, that ye ought not to obeie to prelates. And thus, against the learning of Saint Paule that teacheth you not to preach but if ye were sent, of your owne authoritie ye will go forth and preach, and doe what ye list.

All is presumption that standeth against your masterful ambition.

And I said: Sir, presenteth not euerie priest the office of the apostles, or the office of the disciples of Christ? And the archbishop said, Yea. And I said: Sir, as the tenth chapter of Matthew, and the last chapter of Mark witnesseth, Christ sent his apostles for to preach. And the tenth chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seuentie disciples for to preach, in euerie place that Christ was to come to: and S. Gregorie, in the common lawe, saith, that euerie man that goeth to priesthoode, taketh vpon him the office of preaching: for, as he saith, that priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard

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the voice of preaching; and, as other more gloses vpon Ezechiel witnesse, that the priest that preacheth not busilie to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And, though the people be saued by other speciall grace of God then by the priestes preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordeined to preach, and preach not, as before God, they are mansleyers. For, as farre as in them is, such priestes as preach not busilie and truelie, sleieth all the people ghostlie, in that they withholde from them the word of God, that is y^e^ life and sustenance of mens soules. And S. Isidore said, priestes shall be damned for wickednesse of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners. For all the worke or businesse of priestes standeth in preaching and teaching; that they edifie all men, as well by cunning of faith, as by discipline of workes, that is, vertuous teaching; and, as y^e^ gospell witnesseth, Christ sayd in his teaching: I am borne and comen into this worlde, to beare witnesse to the truth; and he that is of the truth, heareth my voice.

Priests that preach not, be slayers of the people

Then Sir, since by the word of Christ speciallie, that is his voice, priests are commanded to preach, and whatsoeuer priest that it be, that hath not good will and full purpose to doe thus, and ableth not himselfe, after his cunning and power, to doe his office by the example of Christ and of his apostles, whatsoeuer other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For lo, S. Gregorie saith, That thing left, that a man is bound chieflie to doe, whatsoeuer other thing that a man dooth, it is unthankfull to the Holy Ghost; and therefore, saith Lincolne, the priest that preacheth not the word of God, though he be seen to haue none other default, he is Antichrist and Sathanas, a night theefe and a daie theefe, a sleyer of soules, and an angell of light turned into darkenesse. Wherefore Sir, these authorities and other well considered, I deeme my selfe damnable, if I, either for pleasure or displeasure of any creature, applie mee not diligentlie to preach the word of God. And in the same damnation I deeme all those priestes, which, of good purpose and will, enforce them not busilie to do thus, and also all them that haue purpose or will to let any priest of this businesse.

Priests not only sent, but commanded to preach.

Whatsoever a man doth, leaving that undone which he is chiefly bound to do, is sin.

And the archbishop said to those three clearks that stoode before him: Loe Sirs, this is the maner and businesse of this losell and such other, to picke out such sharpe sentences of holy Scripture and doctors, to maintaine their sect and lore against the ordinance of holy church. And therefore, losell! it is thou that couetest to haue again the Psalter that I made to bee taken from thee at Canturburie, to record sharpe verses against vs. But thou shalt neuer haue that Psalter, nor none other booke, till that I know that thy hart and thy mouth accord fullie, to be gouerned by holy church.

Yet this bishop plucketh him not by the beard, nor burneth off his hand, as Bonner did.

See Appendix.

And I said, Sir, all my will and power is, and euer shall be (I trust to God), to be gouerned by holie church.

And the archbishop asked me what was holie church.

And I said: Sir, I told you before, what was holy churche: but since ye aske me this demand, I cal Christ and his saints, holie church.

And the archbishop said unto me: I wote well that Christ and his saints are holie church in heauen; but what is holie church in earth?

Two parts of holy church.

And I said, Sir: though holie church be euery one in charitie, yet it hath two parts. The first and principall part hath ouercomen perfectlie all the wretchednesse of this life, and raigneth ioyfullie in heauen with Christ. And the other parte is here yet in earth, busilie and continuallie fighting, day and night, against temptations of the fiend, forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world, despising and withstanding their fleshlie lustes; which onelie are the pilgrimes of Christ, wandering toward heauen by stedfast faith and grounded hope, and by perfect charitie. For these heauenlie pilgrimes may not, nor wil not, be letted of their good purpose, by the reason of any doctors discording from holie Scripture, nor by the floudes of any tribulation temporall, nor by the winde of any pride, of boast, or of manasing of any creature; for they are all fast grounded vppon the sure stone, Christ, hearing his worde and louing it, exercising them faithfullie and continuallie in all their wits to doe thereafter.

And the archbishop said to his clerkes: See ye not how his hart is indurate, and how he is trauelled with the deuill, occupying him thus busilie to alledge such sentences to maintaine his errors and heresies? Certaine, thus he would occupie vs here all day, if we would suffer him!

One of the clerkes answered: Sir, he saide right-nowe, that this certification

that came to you from Shrewesburie, is vntrulie forged against him. Therefore, Sir, appose you him now here in all the points which are certified against him, and so we shall heare of his owne mouth his answeres, and witnesse them.

And the archbishop took the certification in his hande, and looked thereon awhile, and then he said to me: Loe here it is certified against thee, by worthy men and faithfull of Shrewesburie, that thou preachest there openlie, in S. Chads church, that the sacrament of the aultar was material bread after the consecration: what saiest thou? was this truelie preached?

Well helped forward master clerk.

And I said: Sir, I tell you trulie that I touched nothing there of the sacrament of the aulter, but in this wise, as I will, with God's grace, tell you here. As I stood there in the pulpit, busying me to teach the commandment of God, there knilled a sacring bell, and therefore mickle people turned away hastilie, and with noise ran fro towards me. And I, seeing this, said to them thus: Good men! ye were better to stand here still and to heare God's word; for certes the vertue and the meede of the most holie sacrament of the aulter standeth mickle more in the beleefe thereof that ye ought to haue in your soule, then it doth in the outward sight thereof. And therefore, ye were better to stand still, quietlie to heare God's worde, because that through the hearing thereof, men come to very true beleefe. And otherwise, Sir, I am certain I spake not there of the worthie sacrament of the aulter.

The virtue of the sacrament standeth in the belief, more than in the outward sign.

And the archbishop saide to me: I beleue thee not, whatsoeuer thou saist, since so worshipfull men haue witnessed thus against thee. But, since thou deniest that thou sayedst thus there, what saist thou now? resteth there, after the consecration in the hoast, materiall bread or no?

Material bread.

And I said: Sir, I know in no place in holie Scripture where this terme materiall bread is written; and therefore, Sir, when I speak of this matter, I vse not to speake of material bread.

See Appendix.

Then the archbishop said to me: How teachest thou men to beleeue in this sacrament?

And I said: Sir, as I beleeue my selfe, so I teach other men.

He said: Tell out plainlie thy beleefe thereof.

And I saide, with my protestation: Sir, I beleue that the night before that Christ Jesu woulde suffer (wilfullie) passion for mankinde on the morne after, he tooke bread in his holie and most worshipfull hands, lifting vppe his eies, and giuing thankes to God his Father, blessed this bread and brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying to them: Take eate of this all you, this is my bodie. And that this is and ought to be all mens beleefe, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Paule, witnesseth. Other beleefe Sir, I haue none, nor will haue, nor teach; for I beleeue, that this sufficeth in this matter. For in this beleefe, with God's grace, I purpose to liue and die, knowledging as I beleeue and teach other men to beleeue, that the worshipfull sacrament of the aultar, is the sacrament of Christ's flesh and his bloud in forme of bread and wine.

And the archbishop saide to me: It is sooth that this sacrament is very Christes bodie in forme of bread; but thou and thy sect teachest it to be substance of bread. Thinke you this true teaching?

And I said: Neither I, nor any other of the sect that yee damne, teach any otherwise then I haue tolde you, nor beleeue otherwise, to my knowing. Neuerthelesse Sir, I aske of you for charitie, that ye will tell me here plainely, howe yee shall vnderstand the text of Saint Paule, where he saith thus: This thing feele you in yourself, that is in Christ Jesu, while he was in the forme of God. Sir, calleth not Paule here the forme of God, the substance or kind of God? also Sir, saieth not the church, in the houres of the moste blessed virgine accordinglie hereto, where it is written thus: Thou author of health! remember, that sometime thou tooke of the vndefiled virgin, the forme of our bodie? Tell me for charitie, therefore, whether the forme of our bodie be called here the kind of our bodie or no?

The papists have no other defence for them but only the church.

And the archbishop said to me: Wouldest thou make mee to declare this text after thy purpose, since the church now hath determined, that there abideth no substance of bread after the consecration, in the sacrament of the aulter? Beleeuest thou not this ordinance of the church?

And I said: Sir, whatsoeuer prelates haue ordained in the churche, our beleefe standeth euer whole. I haue not heard, that the ordinance of men vnder beleefe, should bee put into beleefe.

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And the archbishop said to me: If thou hast not learned this before, learne now to knowe that thou art out of beleefe, if in this matter and other, thou beleeuest not as the holie church beleeuest. What say doctors treating of this sacrament?

Every ordinance of church-men bindeth not our faith. The greatest doctors of the church be apostles. St. Paul, the canon of the mass, and St. Austin, calleth it bread.

And I said: Sir, Saint Paule, that was a great doctor of holie church, speaking to the people, and teaching them in the right beleefe of this most holie sacrament, calleth it bread, that we breake: and also in the canon of the masse after the consecration, this moste worthy sacrament is called holie bread; and euerie priest in this land, after that he hath receiued this sacrament, saith in this wise: That thing that we haue taken with our mouth, we pray God that wee may take it with a pure and cleane minde. That is, as I vnderstand, we praie God that we may receiue, through verie beleefe, this holie sacrament worthily. And Sir, Saint Augustine saith: That thing that is seene, is bread; but that mens faith asketh to be informed of, is very Christs body. And also, Fulgence, an ententife doctor saith: As it were an error to say that Christ was but a substance, that is verie man, and not verie God, or to say that Christ was verie God, and not very man; so is it (this doctor saith) an errour to saie, that the sacrament of the aultar is but a substance. Also Sir, accordingly hereto, in the Secret of the mid masse on Christmase daies, it is written thus: 'Idem refulsit Deus, sic terrena substantia nobis conferat quod diuinum est;' which sentence, Sir, with the secret of the fourth ferie, 'quatuor temporum Septembris:' I pray you, sir, declare here openlie in English.

My lord can revile apace, he can declare but a little. Choke him up my lord.

And the archbishop said to me: I perceiue well enough where about thou art, and howe the deuill blindeth thee, that thou may not vnderstand the ordinance of holie church, nor consent thereto. But I command thee now, answere me shortlie: Beleuest thou that after the consecration of this foresaid sacrament, there abideth substance of bread, or not?

And I saide: Sir, as I vnderstande, it is all one to grant or beleeue, that there dwelleth substance of bread, and to grant and to beleeue, that this most worthie sacrament of Christs owne bodie is accident without subiect.[1] But Sir, for as mickle as your asking passeth my vnderstanding, I dare neither denie it nor grant it, for it is schoole matter, about which I busied me neuer for to know it; and therefore I commit this terme 'accidens sine subiecto' to those clerkes which delight them so in curious and subtle sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and strange matters, and wade and wander so in them, from argument to argument, with 'pro' and 'contra,' till that they wot not where they are, and vnderstand not themselues. But the shame that these proud sophisters haue to yeeld them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fooles, and to bee concluded shamefullie before God.

Templum Domini. Templum Domini!

And the archbishop said to me: I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtle arguments of clerkes, since thou art vnable thereto; but I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holie church.

The church stood sound till the fiend broke loose.

And I said: Sir, by open euidence and great witnesse, a thousand yeare after the incarnation of Christ, the determination which I haue here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy church, as sufficient to the saluation of all them that would beleeue it faithfullie, and worke thereafter charitablie. But Sir, the determination of this matter, which was brought in since the feend was loosed by friar Thomas Aquine,[2] speciallie calling the most worshipfull sacrament of Christes owne bodie an accident without subiect: which terme, since I know not that Gods law approueth it in this matter, I dare not grant; but vtterlie I denie to make this friars sentence, or any such other, my beleefe, doe with me God! what thou wilt.

It is happy he did not fly in his face, as Bonner did.

And the archbishop said to me: Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise or that I leaue thee. But what saiest thou to this second point that is recorded against thee by worthie men of Shrewesburie, saying that thou preachedst there, that images ought not to be worshipped in any wise?

And I said: Sir, I preached neuer thus, nor, through Gods grace, I will not at any time consent to think nor to saie thus, neither priuilie nor apertlie. For loe, the Lorde witnesseth by Moses, that the thinges which he made were right good, and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be, good and worship-

(1) To grant real being of the body without bread, is as much as to grant the accident to be without the subject.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed

full in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them to, they are all praisable and worshipfull, and speciallie man, that was made after the image and likenesse of God, is full worshipfull in his kind, yea this holie image that is man, God worshippeth. And herefore euerie man shoulde worshippe other, in kinde, and also for heauenlie vertues that men vse charitablie. And also I say, wood, tin, golde, siluer, or any other matter that images are made of: all these creatures are worshipfull in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the caruing, casting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit that this doing be accept of man of highest state and dignitie, and ordained of them to be a calender to lewd men, that neither can, nor wil be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderfull and diuers workings, yet this imagerie ought not to bee worshipped in forme, nor in the likenesse of mans craft.[1] Neuerthelesse, that euerie matter the painters paint with, since it is Gods creature, ought to be worshipped in the kinde, and to the end, that God made and ordained it to serue man.

Man a worshipful image of God.

Then the archbishop said to me: I grant well that no bodie ought to doe worship to any such images for themselues. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted therein, and so brought therethrough to mans mind: and thus the images of the blessed Trinitie, and of the Virgin Marie, Christs mother, and other images of saints, ought to be worshipped. For loe, earthlie kings and lords, which vse to send their letters ensealed with their armes, or with their priuie signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men.[2] For when these men receiue their lords letters, in which they see and knowe the wils and biddings of the lords, in worship of their lords they do off their caps to these letters. Why not then, since in images made with mans hande we may read and know many diuers thinges of God, and of his saintes, shall we not worship their images?

See Appendix.

The image of the Trinity.

And I saide: With my foresaid protestation I saie, that these worldlie vsages of temporall lawes that ye speake now of, may be done in case without sinne. But this is no similitude to worship images made by mans hand, since that Moyses, Dauid, Salomon, Baruch, and other saintes in the Bible, forbid so plainelie the worshipping of all such images.[3]

Then the archbishop said to mee: Lewd losell! in the olde law, before that Christ tooke mankind, was no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie, neither shewed to man nor knowne of man; but nowe, since Christ became man, it is lefull to haue images to shew his manhood.[4] Yea, thogh many men which are right great clerks and other also, held it an error to paint y^e^ Trinitie, I saie it is well don to make and to paint the Trinitie in images;[5] for it is great mouing of deuotion to men, to haue and to behold the Trinity, and other images of saints, carued, cast, and painted. For beyond the sea, are the best painters that euer I saw. And Sirs, I tell you, this is their maner, and it is a good maner:[6] when that an image maker shall carue, cast in mold, or paint any images, he shall goe to a priest, and shriue him as cleane, as if he should then die; and take penance, and make some certaine vow of fasting, or of praying, or pilgrimages doing, praying the priest speciallie to pray for him, that he may haue grace to make a faire and deuout image.

And I said: Sir, I doubt not, if these painters that ye speak of, or any other painters, vnderstood truely the text of Moyses, of Dauid, of the wise man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors, these painters shoulde bee moued to shriue them to God with full inward sorrowe of heart, taking vpon them to doe right sharpe penance for the sinnefull and vaine craft of painting, caruing, or casting they had vsed; promising God faithfullie, neuer to doe so after; knowledging openlie, before all men, their reproueable learning. And also Sir, these priests, that shriue (as you doe saie) painters, and enioyne them to doe penance, and pray for their speed, promising to them helpe of their praiers for to be curious in their sinnefull craftes, sin herein more greeuouslie then y^e^ painters. For these priests do comfort and giue them counsell to doe that thing, which,

(1) Though man accept the painting or carving of images, yet is it not the right way to learn to serve God.
(2) A similitude of the king's seal or letters, to prove the worship of images.
(3) No similitude to be made between earthly things and spiritual, namely, when God's word doth express to the contrary.
(4) So you say, my lord, but God saith contrary, in his commandments.
(5) Painters' devotion and the pope's divinity do well agree.
(6) Preparation of the painters to make a fair and a devout image.

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of great paine, yea vnder the paine of Gods cursse, they should vtterlie forbid them. For certes Sir, if the wonderfull working of God, and the holie liuing and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophetes, were made knowne to the people by holie liuing and true, and busie teaching of priests, these things, Sir, were sufficient bookes and kalenders to knowe God by, and his saints, without any images made with mans hande. But certes, the vicious liuing of priestes, and their couetousnesse, are chief cause of this error, and all other viciousnesse that raigneth among the people.

The true books and calenders to know God.

Then the archbishoppe said unto me: I holde thee a vicious priest and acurst, and all them that are of thy sect, for al priests of holie churche, and all images that mooue menne to deuotion, thou and such other goe about to destroy. Losell! were it a faire thinge to come into the churche and see therein none image?[1]

And I saide: Sir, they that come to the church for to pray deuoutlie to the Lord God, may in their inward wittes be the more feruent, that all their outward wits bee closed from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all distraunce and lettings. And, since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodilie, and haue beleeued faithfullie in him, it sufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing of Gods word, and to do thereafter) for to beleeue in God, though they neuer see images made with mans hande after any person of the Trinitie, or of any other saint.

The right service of a Christian

And the archbishop said to me, with a feruent spirite: I saie to thee, losell! that it is right well done to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie; yea,[2] what saist thou? is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image?

And I said: Sir, ye saide right, now, that in the olde lawe, or Christ tooke mankind, no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie was shewed to men; wherefore Sir, yee saide, it was not then lefull to haue images: but now ye say, since Christ is becomen man, it is lefull to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie, and also of other saints. But Sir, this thing woulde I learn of you: since the Father of heauen, yea and euery Person of the Trinitie was, without beginning, God Almightie, and many holie prophets that were deadlie men were martyred violentlie in the old law, and also many men and women then died confessors: why was it not then as lefull and necessarie as now, to haue made an image of the Father of heauen, and to haue made and had other images of martyrs, prophetes, and holy confessors, to haue bene kalenders to aduise men and moue them to deuotion, as ye saie that images now doe?[3]

The synagogue of Antichrist will have authority

And the archbishop said: The sinagogue of the Jewes had not authoritie to approue those thinges as the church of Christ hath now.

And I saide: Sir, Saint Gregorie was a great man in the newe lawe, and of great dignitie, and, as the common lawe witnesseth, he commended greatlie a bishop, in that he forbad vtterlie the images made with mans hande should be worshipped.

See Appendix.

And the archbishop said: Ungratious losell! thou sauourest no more truth then an hound. Since at the rood at the Northdore at London, at our Ladie at Walsingham, and manie other diuers places in England, are many great and praisable miracles done, should not the images of such holie saints and places, at the reverence of God, and our Ladie, and other saints, be more worshipped then other places and images, where no miracles are done?

And I said: Sir, there is no such vertue in any imagerie, that any images should herefore be worshipped; wherefore I am certain that there is no miracle done of God, in any place in earth, because that any images made with mannes hande should be worshipped.[4] And herfore Sir, as I preached openlie at Shrewesburie and other places, I saie now here, before you: That no bodie shoulde trust that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand, and therefore no bodie should vowe to them, nor seeke them, nor kneele to them, nor bowe to them, nor praie to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kisse them, nor ensence them. For loe the most worthy of such images, the brasen serpent (by Moyses made, at Gods bidding), the good king Ezechias destroied worthilie and thankfully, and all because it was ensenced. Therefore Sir, if men take good heede to the writing and to the learning of S. Augustine, of

A christian man ought not to vow, seek, nor bow, nor pray, nor offer to kiss an Image.

(1) A better sight, my lord, than to see blind stocks there to be worshipped.
(2) My lord, your yea will not answer God's nay.
(3) Note this, ye worshippers and maintainers of images.
(4) Miracles importing worship to be done to images may well be suspected not to come of God.

S. Gregorie, and of Saint John Chrysostome, and of other saints and doctors, how they spake and wrote of miracles that shall be done now in the last end of the world, it is to dreyd, that for the vnfaithfulnes of men and women, the fiend hath great power for to worke many of the miracles that nowe are done in such places. For both men and women delight nowe more to heare and know miracles, then they do to know Gods word, or to heare it effectuously. Wherfore, to the great confusion of al them that thus do, Christ saith: The generation of adulterers requireth tokens, miracles, and wonders. Neuerthelesse, as diuers saintes say, nowe, when the faith of God is published in Christendome, the word of God sufficeth to mans saluation, without such miracles: and thus also the word of God sufficeth to all faithful men and women, without any such images. But good sir, since the Father of heauen, that is God in his godhead, is the most vnknowne thing that may be, and the most wonderfull spirit, hauing in it no shape or likenesse of any members of any deadly creature, in what likenes, or what image, may God the Father be shewed or painted?

For the unfaithfulness of men, the devil may work miracles.

The word of God sufficeth us to salvation, without miracles.

And the archbishop said: As holy church [1] hath suffered the images of the Trinitie, and al other images to be painted and shewed, it sufficeth to them that are members of holie church. But since thou arte a rotten member, cut away from holie church, thou fauorest not the ordinance thereof. But since the daie passeth, leaue we this matter.

The third article. Pilgrimage.

And then he said to me: What saiest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shreusburie, that pilgrimage is not lefull; and ouer this, thou saidest that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canturburie, to Beuerley, to Karlington, to Walsingam, and to any such other places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in wast.

Two kinds of pilgrimage.

And I said: Sir, by this certification I am accused to you that I should teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I saide neuer thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and full pleasant to God; and therefore, sir, howsoeuer mine enemies haue certified you of me, I told at Serewsburie of two maner of pilgrimages.

And the archbishop saide to me: Whome calest thou true pilgrimes?

The true pilgrimage is to travail in heavenly things. *See Appendix.*

And I said: Sir, with my protestation, I call them true pilgrimes trauelling towarde the blisse of heauen, which, in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, doe busie them faithfullie for to occupie all their wits bodelie and ghostlie, to knowe truely, and to keepe faithfullie the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seauen deadlie sins, and euerie branch of them: ruling them vertuouslie (as it is said before) with al their wits; doing discreetlie, wilfullie, and gladly, all the works of mercie, bodely and ghostly: after their cunning and power, abling them to the gifts of the Holie Ghost; disposing them to receiue them in their soules, and to hold therein, the right blessinges of Christ: busieng them to knowe and to keepe the seauen principall vertues, and so then they shall obteine heere, through grace, for to vse thankefullie to God, all the conditions of charitie. And then, they shall be moued with the good Spirit of God, for to examine oft and diligentlie their conscience, that neither wilfullie nor wittinglie they erre in any article of beleefe; hauing continuallie (as frailtie will suffer) all their businesse to dread and to flee the offence of God, and to loue ouer all thing, and to seeke euer to doe, his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimes I said, whatsoeuer good thought they any time thinke, what vertuous worde that they speake, and what fruitfull worke that they worke: euerie such thought, worde, and worke, is a step, numbred of God, towarde him into heauen. These foresaide pilgrimes of God, delight sore when they heare of saintes or of vertuous men and women, how they forsooke wilfullie the prosperitie of this life, howe they withstoode the suggestion of the fiende, how they restrained their fleshly lustes, howe discreet they were in their penance doing, howe patient they were in all their aduersities, howe prudent they were in counselling of men and women, moouing them to hate all sinne, and to flie them, and to shame euer greatlie thereof, and loue all vertues, and to drawe to them, imagining howe Christ, and his followers, by example of him, suffered scornes and sclaunder, and howe patientlie they abode and tooke the wrongful manasing of tyrantes: howe homelie they were and seruisable to poore men, to relieue and

Every good work, is a good step to heaven.

The manner and examples of saints.

(1) 'Holy church' of your own building.

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comfort them bodelie and ghostlie, after their power and cunning; and howe deuout they were in praiers, howe feruent they were in heauenlie desires, and howe they absented them from spectacles of vaine sayinges and hearings; and how stable they were to let and destroie all vices, and howe laborious and ioyfull they were, to sowe and to plante vertues. These heauenlie conditions and such other haue the pilgrimes, or endeuour them for to haue, whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

And againe, I saide, as their workes shewe, the most parte of men and women that goe now on pilgrimages, haue not these foresaide conditions, nor loueth to busie them faithfullie for to haue. For, as I well know, since I haue full oft assaid, examine, whosoeuer will, twenty of these pilgrimes, and hee shall not find three men or women that know surely a commandement of God, nor can say their Pater Noster and Aue Maria, nor their Creed readily in any maner of language. And, as I haue learned, and also know somewhat by experience, of these same pilgrimes, telling the cause, whie that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimage: It is more for the health of their bodies, then of their soules; more for to haue riches and prosperitie of this worlde, then for to be enriched with vertues in their soules; more to haue here worldly and fleshlie friendship, then for to haue friendship of God, and of his saints in heauen: for whatsoeuer thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, nor of any other saint, cannot be had, without keeping of Gods commandements. Further, with my protestation, I saie now as I said in Shrewsbury, though they that haue fleshly wils, trauell far their bodies and spend mikle mony, to seeke and to visite the bones or images (as they saie they do) of this saint or of that, such pilgrimage-going is neither praiseable nor thankfull to God, nor to any saint of God, since, in effect, all such pilgrimes despise God and all his commandements and saints. For the commandements of God they will nother know nor keepe, nor conforme them to liue vertuously by example of Christ and of his saintes. Wherefore sir, I haue preached and taught openlie, and so I purpose all my life time to doe with Gods helpe, saying, that such fond people waste blamefullie Gods goods in their vaine pilgrimages, spending their goods vpon vitious hostelars, which are oft vncleane women of their bodies; and at the least, those goods, with the which they should doe workes of mercie, after Gods bidding, to poore needie men and women.

See Appendix.

Pilgrimage displeasant to God.

Goods evil bestowed in pilgrimage.

The inconvenience that cometh by pilgrimage.

These poore mens goods and their liuelode, these runners-about offer to rich priests, which haue mikle more liuelode then they neede: and thus those goods they wast wilfullie, and spend them vniuslie, against Gods bidding, vpon strangers, with which they should helpe and relieue, after Gods wil, their poore needie neighbours at home. Yea and ouer this follie, oft times diuers men and women of these runners thus madlie hither and thither into pilgrimage, borrow hereto other mens goods; yea and sometime they steale mens goodes hereto, and they paie them neuer againe. Also Sir, I knowe well that when diuers men and women will goe thus after their own willes, and finding out one pilgrimage, they will ordaine with them before, to haue with them both men and women that can well sing wanton songes, and some other pilgrimes will haue with them bagge pipes; so that euerie towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the iangling of their Canturburie bels, and with the barking out of dogges after them, that they make more noice, then if the king came there away, with all his clarions, and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a moneth out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an halfe yeare after, great ianglers, tale-tellers, and liers.

And the archbishop said to me: Leud losell! thou seest not far inough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great trauaile of pilgrimes, therefore thou blamest that thing that is praisable. I say to thee, that it is right wel done, that pilgrims haue with them both singers and also pipers;[1] that when one of them that goeth barefoot, striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleede, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosom a bagpipe, for to driue awaie with such mirth, the hurt of his fellow: for with such solace, the trauaile and wearinesse of pilgrimes, is lightly and merely borne out.[2]

(1) Well spoken, my lord, for Lincolnshire bag-pipes.
(2) And why then blamed Bonner Philpot, for singing in the stocks?

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And I said: Sir, S. Paule teacheth men to weepe with them that weepe.

And the archbishop saide: What ianglest thou against mens deuotion? Whatsoeur thou or such other saie, I saie that the pilgrimage that now is vsed, is to them that do it, a praiseable and a good meane to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee vnable to know this grace, for thou enforcest thee to let the deuotion of the people; since by authoritie of holie scripture, men may lefullie haue and vse such solace as thou reprouest. For Dauid, in his last Psalme, teacheth men to haue diuers instruments of musicke, for to praise therewith God.

A new found way to grace, of the bishop's making.

And I said: Sir, by the sentence of diuers doctors expounding the Psalmes of David, that musicke and minstrelsie that Dauid and other saints of the olde lawe spake of, ought nowe nother to be taken nor vsed by the letter; but these instruments, with their musicke, ought to be interpreted ghostly: For all those figures are called vertues and grace, with which vertues men should please God, and praise his name; for S. Paule saith, all such things befell to them in figure. Therefore, Sir, I vnderstand, that the letter of this psalme of Dauid and of such other Psalmes and sentences, doth slaie them that take them now litterallie. This sentence, as I vnderstand sir, Christ approueth himselfe, putting out the minstrels, or that hee would quicken the dead damsell.

Instruments and music of the Old Testament, how they are to be applied and used in the New Testament.

And the archbishop saide to me: Leud losel! is it not lefull to vs to haue organes in the church, for to worship there-withall God? And I said: Ye sir, by mans ordinance; but by the ordinance of God, a good sermon to the peoples vnderstanding were mikle more pleasant to God.[1]

Organs in the church.

And the archbishop said, that organes and good delectable songs, quickned and sharpned more mens wits then should any sermon.

But I said: Sir, lustie men and worldly louers, delite and couet and trauail to haue all their wits quickned and sharpened with diuers sensible solace: but all the faithfull louers and followers of Christ, haue al their delite to heare Gods word, and to vnderstand it truely, and to worke thereafter faithfully and continuallie. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to loue to please him in all thinges, quickneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Christs chosen people, and ableth them so to grace, that they ioy greatlie to withdrawe their eares and all their wits and members, from al worldly delite and from all fleshlie solace. For S. Jerome (as I thinke) saith, No bodie maie ioy with this world and raigne with Christ.

See Appendix.

And the archbishop (as if he had beene displeased with mine answere) said to his clerks: What gesse ye that this idiot wil speake there, where he hath no dread; since hee speaketh thus now here in my presence: Well, well, by God, thou shalt be ordained for. And then he spake to me all angerlie:

You swear, my lord!

What saiest thou to this fourth point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsburie, that priests haue no title to tithes.

The fourth article concerning priests tithes.

And I said: Sir, I named there no word of tithes in my preaching. But more then a month after that I was arested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of tithes. And I saide to him: Sir, in this towne are many clerkes and priestes, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be seculars; therefore aske ye of them this question. And this man said to me: Sir, our prelates say, that we also are obliged to paie our tithes of all things that renue to vs; and that they are accursed, that withdraw any part wittinglie fro them of their tithes. And I said, Sir, to that man, as with my protestation I saie nowe before you, that I wonder that any priest dare saie men to be accursed, without ground of Gods worde. And the man said: Sir, our priests say, that they curse men thus by authoritie of Gods lawe. And I said: Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore Sir, I praie you that yee will aske the most cunning clerke of this towne, that ye may know where this sentence of cursing them that tithe not, is now written in Gods law; for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this man would not go fro me, to aske this question, of an other body, but required me there, as I would answere before God, if in this case, that cursing of priests were lawfull and approued of God? And shortlie herwith came to my mind the learning of S. Peter, teaching priests speciallie to hallow the Lord Christ in their harts; being euermore redie (as far as in them is) to answere through faith and hope to them that aske

A paradox without God's word

(1) A fit comparison, my lord, and like yourself.

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of them a reason. And this lesson Peter teacheth men to vse with a meeke spirit and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore Sir, I said to this man in this wise: In the old law, which ended not fully till the time that Christ rose vp againe from death to life, God commanded tithes to be giuen to the Leuits, for the great busines and dailie trauaile that pertained to their office. But priests, becanse their trauaile was mikle more easie and light, then was the office of the Leuites, God ordained the priests should take for their liuelode, to do their office, the tenth part of those tithes that were giuen to the Leuites. But now (I said), in the new lawe, neither Christ nor any of his apostles tooke tithes of the people, nor commaunded the people to paie tithes, neither to priestes nor to deacons. But Christ taught the people to doe almes, that is, works of mercy to poore needy men, of surplus (that is, superfluous of their temporall goods) which they had, more then them needed reasonably to their necessary liuelode. And thus (I said) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Christ liued and his apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the worde of God to the people, that they might not trauel otherwise for to get their liuelood. But, after Christs ascension, and when the apostles had receiued the Holie Ghost, they trauailed with their hands, for to get their liueloode, when that they might thus do for busie preaching. Therefore, by example of himselfe, S. Paule teacheth all the priestes of Christ for to trauaile with their hand, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus, all these priestes whose priesthood God accepteth nowe, or will accept, or did in the apostles time, and after their decease, will do to the worldes end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the thousand yeare of our Lord Jesus Christ, 211. yeare, one Pope Gregorie the X. ordained new tithes first to be giuen to priestes now in the new lawe. But Saint Paule, in his time, whose trace or example all priestes of God enforce them to followe, seeing the couetousnesse that was among the people, desiring to destroie the foule sinne, through the grace of God and true vertuous liuing and example of himselfe, wrought and taught all priests for to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willinglie, and gladly in high pouertie. Wherefore, Paule saith thus: The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the gospell, shall liue of the gospell. But we (saith Paule) that couet and busie vs to be faithfull followers of Christ, vse not this power. For lo (as Paule witnesseth afterward), when he was ful poore and needie, preaching among the people, he was not chargeous vnto them, but with his hands he trauailed not onely to get his own liuing, but also the liuing of other poore and needie creatures. And since the people was neuer so couetous, nor so auarous (I gesse) as they are nowe, it were good counsell that all priests tooke good heede to this heauenly learning of Paule, following him here in wilfull pouertie, nothing charging the people for their bodily liuelode.[1] But, because that many priests do contrarie to Paule in this foresaid doctrine, Paule biddeth the people take heede to those priests, that follow him as he had giuen them example. As if Paule would say thus to the people: Accept ye none other priests then they, that liue after the forme that I haue taught you. For certain, in whatsoeuer dignitie or order that any priest is in, if he conforme him not to follow Christ and his apostles in wilful pouerty, and in other heauenly vertues, and speciallie in true preaching of Gods word, though such a one be named a priest, yet hee is no more but a priest in name; for the worke of a verie priest such a one wanteth. This sentence approueth Augustine, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Lincolne plainly.

And the archbishop said to me: Thinkest thou this wholesom learning[2] for to sow openly, or yet priuilie among the people? Certain, this doctrine contrarieth plainly the ordinance of holy fathers[3] which haue ordained, granted, and licenced priests to be in diuers degrees, and to liue by tithes and offrings of the people, and by other dueties.

And I said: Sir, if priestes were now in measurable measure and number, and liued vertuouslie, and taught busilie and truly the word of God by example of Christ and of his apostles, without tithes, offerings, and other duties that priests now chalenge and take, the people would giue them freely sufficient liuelode.[4]

A difference to be put between the old law and the new.

Christ commandeth alms, not tithes, except tithes be alms.

Tithes, by whom and when they were first commanded in the new law. *See Appendix.*

Paul, having power to take, yet used it not.

If priests were covetous then, what be they now?

(1) This rule, with the rule of begging friars, can not stand together.
(2) Wholesome enough, my lord, if your taste were good to favor it.
(3) But it contrarieth not the ordinance neither of God nor of his word.
(4) If priests would not slack in their duty, they should not lack in having sufficient.

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And a clerke said to me: How wilt thou make this good, that the people will giue freely to priestes their liuelode; since that now, by the law, euery priest can scarsely constrain the people to giue them their liuelode?[1]

And I saide: Sir, it is nowe no wonder though the people grudge to giue priests the liuelode that they aske. Mekil people know now, how that priests should liue, and how that they liue contrary to Christ and to his apostles. And therefore, the people is ful heauy to pay (as they do) their temporall goods to parsons, and to other vicars and priestes, which should be faithfull dispensatours of the parishes goods; taking to themselues no more, but a scarse liuing of tithes nor of offrings, by the ordinance of the common law. For whatsoeuer priests take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other duety or seruice), the priests ought not to haue therof no more, but a bare liuing: and to depart the residue to the poore men and women specially of the parish of whom they take this temporall liuing. But the most deale of priests now wasteth their parishes goods, and spendeth them at their own wil, after the world, in their vaine lusts; so that in fewe places poore men haue duely (as they should haue) their owne sustenance, nother of tithes nor of offrings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priests take of the people in diuers maners, aboue that they neede for needefull sustenance of meat and clothing. But the poore needy people are forsaken and left of priestes to be sustained of the parishners,[2] as if the priests tooke nothing of the parishners for to help the people with.

Why the people be slack in their tithes.

Priests being content with a sufficiency ought to part the residue to the poor. *See Appendix.*

And thus sir, into ouer great charges of the parishners they pay their temporall goods twice, where once might suffice, if priests were true dispensatours. Also Sir, the parishners that paie their temporal goods (be they tithes or offerings) to priests that do not their office among them iustly, are parteners of euery sinne of those priestes; because that they sustaine those priests folly in their sinne, with their temporall goods. If these things be well considered, what wonder is it then sir, if the parishners grudge against these dispensators?

Whether tithes are to be paid to priests doing not their duty.

Then the archbishop said to me: Thou that shouldest be iudged and ruled by holy church, presumptuously thou deemest holie church to haue erred in the ordinance of tithes and other dueties to be paied to priests. It shall be long or thou thriue, losel, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother.[3] How darest thou speake this (losel) among the people? Are not tithes giuen to priests for to liue by?

And I said: Sir, S. Paule saith, that tithes were giuen in the old law to Leuites and to priests, that came of the linage of Leuy. But our priestes, he saith, came not of the linage of Leuy, but of the linage of Juda, to which Juda no tithes were promised to be giuen. And therfore Paule saith: Since the priesthoode is changed from the generation of Leuy to the generation of Juda,[4] it is necessarie that changing also be made of the law. So that priests liue now, without tithes and other duty that they claime, following Christ and his apostles in wilfull pouerty, as they haue giuen them example. For since Christ liued, all the time of his preaching, by pure almes of the people, and by example of him, his apostles liued in the same wise, or else by the trauaile of their hands, as is said aboue; euery priest, whose priesthood Christ approueth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and in worke, that a disciple ought not to be aboue his maister; but it sufficeth to a disciple to bee as his maister, simple and pure, meeke and patient: and by example specially of his maister Christ, euerie priest should rule him in all his liuing; and so, after his cunning and power, a priest should busie him to enforme and to rule whom soeuer he might charitablie.

And the archbishop said to me, with a great spirit: Gods curse[5] haue thou, and mine, for this teaching! for thou wouldest herby, make the olde lawe more free and perfect then the newe lawe. For thou saiest that it is leful to Leuites and to priests to take tithes in the old lawe, and so to enioie their priuiledges: but to vs priests in the new law, thou saist, it is not lawful to take tithes. And

(1) Fallax argumentum secundum non causam ut causam.
(2) Priests did so then, but our priests do not so now.
(3) Ghostly mother! nay, an unghostly stepdame, to all God's children!
(4) By the law, none could challenge tithes, but the seed of Levi. Our priests be not of the seed of Levi: ergo, by the law, our priests cannot challenge tithes. As the priesthood is changed, so is the law changed.
(5) Bless, but curse not, saith St. Paul!

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thus thou giuest to Leuits of the old law, more freedome than to priests of the new law.[1]

And I saide: Sir, I maruell that ye vnderstand this plaine text of Paule thus. Ye wot well, that the Leuites and priests in the old law that tooke tithes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his apostles that tooke no tithes. And Sir, there is a doctor (I thinke that it is Saint Jerome) that saith thus: The priests that chalenge now in the new law, tithes, say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans loue. Wherefore this doctor saith this sentence: Since tithes were the hires and wages limited to Leuites and to priests of the old law, for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for slaying and fleing of beastes, and for burning of sacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the hoste of Israell, and other diuers obseruances that pertained to their office: those priestes that will chalenge or take tithes, denie that Christ is come in the flesh, and do the priests office of the old lawe, for whome tithes were granted: for else (as this doctor saith) priests take nowe tithes wrongfullie.

The difference of the freedoms between the old and new laws.

For what cause tithes were given in the old law.

And the archbishop said to his clerks: Heard you euer losel speake thus? Certaine this is the learning of them all, that wheresoeuer they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holie church.

If you take away tithes, you undo the church

And I saide: Sir, why call you of taking the tithes, and of such other duties that priestes chalenge now (wrongfullie), the freedom of holie church; since neither Christ nor his apostles, chalenge nor tooke such dueties? Therefore these takinges of priests now, are not called iustly the freedome of holie church; but all such giuing and taking ought to be called, and holden, the slanderous couetousnes of men of the holie church.

And the archbishop saide to me: Why, losell! wilt not thou and other that are confedered with thee, seeke out of holie Scripture and of the sence of doctours, all sharpe authorities against lords, knights, and squiers, and against other secular men, as thou doest against priests?

And I saide: Sir, whatsoeuer men or women, lords or ladies, or any other that are present in our preaching speciallie, or in our commoning, after our cunning, we tell out to them their office and their charges: but sir, since Chrysostome saith that priests are the stomack of the people, it is needfull in preaching, and also in commoning, to be most busie about this priesthood.[2] Since, by the vitiousnesse of priests, both lords and commons are most sinfullie infected and led into the worst. And because that the couetousnesse of priests and pride, and the boast that they haue and make of their dignitie and power, destroieth not onely the vertues of priesthoode in priests themselues, but also, ouer this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both vpon the lordes, and vpon the commons, which suffer their priests charitablie.

The viciousnes and pride of priests infecteth all the world.

And the archbishop saide to me: Thou iudgest euerie priest proud, that will not go araied as thou doest. By God, I deme him to be more meeke that goeth euery day in a scarlet gown, than thou in thy threed-bare blewe gowne. Whereby knowest thou a proud man?

A spiteful meekness, that is, in scarlet gowns.

And I said: Sir, a proud priest may be known, when he denieth to follow Christ and his apostles in wilful pouertie and other vertues, and coueteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladlie, and gathereth together with pletyng, manasing, or with flattering, or with simony, any worldly goods: and most, if a priest busie him not chefly in himselfe, and after in all other men and women, after his cunning and power to withstand sin.

The signs and marks of proud priests.

And the archbishop said to me: Though thou knewest a priest to haue all these vices, and though thou sawest a priest a fornicator, wouldst thou therefore deme this priest damnable? I saie to thee that in the turning about of thy hand, such a sinner may be verilie repented.

And I said: Sir, I will not damne any man for any sinne that I know done or may be done, so that the sinner leaueth his sinne. But, by authoritie of holie Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as ye shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sin; and most speciallie, a priest that should be an example to all other for to hate and flie sinne. And in how short time that euer ye say that such a sinner may be repented, he ought not, of him that knoweth his

(1) He goeth near you, my lord, when he toucheth your tithes.
(2) Thorpe! preach against whom thou wilt, so thou touch not this scab.

sinning, to be iudged verelie repentant, without open euidence of great shame and harty sorrow for his sinne. For whosoeuer (and specially a priest) that vseth pride, enuy, couetousnesse, lechery, simony, or any other vices, sheweth not as open euidence of repentance, as he hath giuen euill example and occasion of sinning, if he continue in any such sinne as long as he may, it is likelie that sinne leaueth him, and he not sinne. And as I vnderstand, such a one sinneth vnto death, for whom no bodie oweth to praie, as S. John saith.

Clerkly spoken, and like a Parasite.

And a clerke saide then to the archbishop: Sir, the lenger that ye appose him, the worse he is; and the more ye busie you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kind, that he shameth not only to be himselfe a foule nest, but without shame he busieth him to make his nest fouler.

Forget nothing, I pray you, my lord.

And then the archbishop said to his clerke: Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him, for there is an other point certified against him, and I will heare what he saith thereto.

And so than he said to me: Loe it is here certified against thee, that thou preachedst openly at Shrewsburie, that it is not lawfull to sweare in any case.

And I saide: Sir, I preached neuer so openly, nor I haue taught in this wise in any place. But Sir, as I preached in Shrewsburie, with my protestation I say to you now here, that by the authoritie of the Gospell of S. James, and by witnes of diuers saints and doctors, I haue preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lefull in any case to sweare by any creature. And ouer this Sir, I haue also preached and taught, by the foresaid authorities, that no bodie should sweare in any case, if that without othe, in any wise, hee that is charged to sweare, might excuse him to them that haue power to compell him to sweare, in lefull thing and lawfull. But if a man may not excuse him without oth, to them that haue power to compell him to sweare, than he ought to sweare onely by God, taking him only that is soothfastnesse, for to witnes the soothfastnes.

And then a clerke asked me, if it were not leful to a subiect, at the bidding of his prelate, for to kneele down and touch the holy gospel booke, and kisse it, saying: So helpe me God, and this holidome; for he should, after his cunning and power, doe all things that his prelate commandeth him.[1]

See Appendix.

And I said to them: Sirs, ye speake here full generallie or largely. What if a prelate commanded his subiect to doe an vnlawful thing, should he obey thereto?

And the archbishop saide to me: A subiect ought not to suppose, that his prelate will bid him do an vnlawful thing.[2] For a subiect ought to thinke that his prelate will bid him doe nothing but that hee will aunsweare for before God, that it is lefull: and then, though the bidding of the prelate bee vnlefull, the subiect hath no perill to fulfill it, since that he thinketh and iudgeth, that whatsoeuer thing his prelate biddeth him do, that it is leful to him for to do it.

A communication betwixt a lawyer and a divine.

And I said: Sir I trust not thereto. But to our first purpose. Sir, I tell you, that I was once in a gentlemans house, and there were then two clerkes there, a maister of diuinitie, and a man of law, which man of law was also communing in diuinitie. And among other thinges, these men spake of othes, and the man of law said: At the bidding of his soueraigne, which had power to charge him to sweare, he would lay his hand vpon a booke, and heare his charge; and if his charge to his vnderstanding were vnlefull, he would hastely withdraw his hand from the book; and if he perceived his charge to be lefull, he woulde holde still his hande vpon the booke, taking there onely God to witnesse, that he would fulfill that lefull charge, after his power. And the maister of diuinitie saide then to him thus: Certaine, he that laieth his hand vpon a booke in this wise, and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commanded, is obliged thereby, by booke-othe, then to fulfill his charge. For no doubt he that chargeth him to laie his hand thus vpon a booke (touching the booke, and swearing by it, and kissing it, promising in this forme to do this thing or that), will saie and witnesse, that hee that toucheth thus a booke, and kisseth it, hath sworne vppon that booke. And all other men that see that man thus doe, and also all those that heare hereof, in the same wise will saie and witnesse, that this man hath sworne vpon a booke. Wherefore, the maister of diuinitie saide, it was not lefull neither to giue nor to take any such charge vpon a booke; for

(1) Well said, Sir John, of you; your holy mother stroke your head.
(2) These prelates would be thought to be good, be they never so bad.

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euery booke is nothing else, but diuers creatures which it is made of. Therefore, to sweare vpon a booke, is to sweare by creatures: and this swearing is euer vnleful. This sentence witnesseth Chrysostome plainely, blaming them greately that bring forth a booke for to sweare vpon; charging clerks that in no wise they constraine any bodie to sweare, whether they thinke a man to sweare true or false.

To swear by a book is to swear by creatures.

And the archbishop and his clerkes scorned me, and blamed me greatlie for this saying. And the archbishop manased me with great punishment and sharpe, except I left this opinion of swearing.[1]

And I said: Sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Sauiour, and of S. James, and of Chrysostome, and of other diuers saints and doctors.

Than the archbishop bad a clerk read this homily of Chrysostome, which homily this clerke held in his hand, written in a roule; which roule the archbishop caused to be taken from my fellow at Canturburie. And so then this clerke read this role, till he came to a clause where Chrysostome saith, That it is sin to sweare well.

And then a clerke (Malueren as I gesse)[2] saide to the archbishop: Sir, I praie you wete of him, how he vnderstandeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sinne to sweare well.

And so the archbishop asked me, how I vndersood here Chrysostome.

And certaine, I was somwhat afraid to answere hereto; for I had not busied me to studie about the sense thereof; but, lifting vp my mind to God, I praied him of grace, and as fast as I thought howe Christ saide to his apostles: When for my name ye shall be brought before judges, I shall giue into your mouth, wisedome that your aduersaries shall not against saie. And trusting faithfullie in the word of God, I said: Sir, I know well that many men and women, haue nowe swearing so in custome, yt they know not, nor will not knowe, that they do euil for to sweare as they do; but they thinke and saie, that they do well for to sweare as they doe, though they know well that they sweare vntrulie. For the say, they may, by their swearing (though it be false), voide blame or temporal harme, which they should haue, if they sweare not thus. And Sir, many men and women maintaine stronglie that they sweare well, when that thing is sooth that they sweare for. Also, full many men and women say nowe, that it is well done to sweare by creatures, when they may not (as they saie) otherwise be beleeued. And also, full manie men and women nowe saie, that it is well done to sweare by God, and by our ladie, and by other saints, for to haue them in minde. But, since all these sayings are but excusations and sinne, me thinketh Sir, that this sense of Chrysostome may be alleaged wel against all such swearers, witnessing that all these sin greeuouslie, though they thinke themselues for to sweare, in this foresaid wise, wel: for it is euill done and great sinne, for to sweare truth, when in any maner, a man may excuse himselfe without othe.

Christ promiseth and giveth mouth and utterance.

What it is, to swear well.

And the archbishop saide, that Chrysostome might bee thus vnderstand.

See Appendix.

And then a clerke said to me: Wilt thou tarrie my lord no lenger, but submit thee here meekelie to the ordinance of holie church,[3] and laie thy hand vpon a book, touching the holie gospel of God, promising not onlie with thy mouth, but also with thine hart, to stand to my lords ordinance?

And I said: Sir, haue I not told you here, how that I heard a maister of diuinitie saie, that in such case it is al one to touch a booke, and to sweare by a booke?

And the archbishop said: There is no maister of diuinitie in England so great, that if he hold this opinion before me, but I shall punish him as I shall doe thee, except thou sweare as I shall charge thee.[4]

And I said: Sir, is not Chrysostome an ententife doctor?

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I saide: If Chrysostome proueth him worthie greate blame, that bringeth forth a booke to sweare vppon, it must needes follow, that he is more to blame that sweareth on that booke.

(1) Here now lacked Bonner, to scratch him by the face.
(2) Either Malveren, or else Sir Brian Blowcole. (3) Pope-holy church.
(4) It is happy that he called not for a candle, and made a Scœvola of him, as Bonner did of Tomkins.

And the archbishop said: If Chrysostome ment accordinglie to the ordinance of holie church, we will accept him.[1]

And then said a clerke to me: Is not the worde of God and God himselfe equipollent, that is, of one authoritie?

And I said, Yea.

Then he said to me: Whie wilt thou not sweare then by the gospel of God, that is God's word;[2] since it is all one to sweare by the word of God, and by God himselfe?

Thorpe refuseth not to swear.

And I saide: Sir, since I may not now otherwise be beleeued, but by swearing, I perceiue (as Austen saith) that it is not speedeful that ye that should be my brethren, should not beleeue me: therefore I am redie, by the word of God (as the Lord commanded me by his word) to sweare.

Then the clerke saide to me: Laie then thine hand vpon the booke, touching the holie gospell of God, and take thy charge.

And I said: Sir, I vnderstand that the holie gospel of God may not be touched with mans hand.

And the clearke said, I fonded, and that I said not truth.

And I asked this clerke, whether it were more, to reade the gospell, or to touch the gospell?

And he said, it was more to read the gospell.

Whether the book be the gospel.

Then I said: Sir, by authoritie of S. Hierome, the gospell is not the gospell for reading of the letter, but for the beliefe that men haue in the word of God. That it is the gospell that we beleeue, and not the letter that we read; for because the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the gospel, but the sentence that is verilie beleeued in mans heart, is the gospel. For so Hierome saith: The gospel, that is the vertue of Gods word, is not in the leaues of the booke, but it is in the roote of reason. Neither the gospel (he saith) is in the writing aboue of the letters, but the gospell is in the marking of the sentence of Scriptures. This sentence approueth S. Paule, saying thus: The kingdome of God is not in worde, but in vertue. And Dauid saith: The voice of the Lord that is his word, is in vertue. And after, Dauid saith: Through the worde of God the heauens were formed, and in the spirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them. And I praie you Sir, vnderstand ye wel how Dauid saith, then, in the spirit of the mouth of the Lorde, is all the vertue of angels and of men.

And the clerke said to me: Thou wouldest make vs to fond with thee. Say we not that the gospels are written in the masse booke?[3]

And I said: Sir, though men use to saie thus, yet it is an vnperfect speech; for the principall part of a thing is properlie the whole thing. For loe, mans soule that may not nowe be seene here, nor touched with any sensible thing, is properlie man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root therof, that may not be seene; for do away the roote, and the tree is destroied. And Sir, as ye said to me right now, God and his word are of one authoritie. And Sir, S. Hierome witnesseth, that Christ (verie God and verie man) is hid in the letter of the law: thus also Sir, the gospell is hid in the letter. For Sir, as it is ful likely many diuers men and women here in the earth, touched Christ, and saw him, and knew his bodelie person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew ghostly his godhead, right thus Sir, many men now touch, and see, and write, and read the Scriptures of God's law, which neither see, touch, nor read effectuallie, the gospell. For, as the godhead of Christ (that is, the vertue of God) is knowne by the vertue of beliefe, so is the gospell, that is, Christ's word.

The gospel is not the letter, but hid in the letter.

And a clerke said to me: These be full mistie matters[4] and vnsauerie, that thou shewest here to us.

And I said: Sir, if ye, that are maisters, know not plainelie this sentence, ye may sore dread that the kingdome of heauen be taken from you, as it was from the princes of priestes and from the elders of the Jewes.

And then a clerke (as I gesse Malueren), said to me: Thou knowest not thine equiuocations; for the kingdome of heauen hath diuers vnderstandings. What callest thou the kingdome of heauen in this sentence, that thou shewest here?

(1) It is happy that Chrysostome was not here, or else ye would have had him by the back.
(2) But that word cannot be touched.
(3) This clerk was well seen in the mass book.
(4) Misty matters, for your blind eyes.

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And I said: Sir, by good reason and sentence of doctors, the realm of heauen is called here, the vnderstanding of God's word.

And a clerke said to me: From whom thinkest thou that this vnderstanding is taken away?

The kingdom of God taken for the understanding of God's word.

And I saide: Sir, by authoritie of Christ himselfe, the effectuall vnderstanding of Christ's word is taken awaie from all them chieflie, which are great lettered men, and presume to vnderstand high things, and will be holden wise men, and desire maistership and high state and dignitie;[1] but they wil not conforme them to the liuing and teaching of Christ and of his apostles.

Then the archbishop said: Well, well, thou wilt iudge thy soueraignes. By God, the king doth not his dutie, but he suffer thee to be condemned.

Help down with him, Sir John.

And then an other clerke said to me: Why, on Fridaie that last was, counsailedst thou a man of my lords, that he should not shriue him to no man but only to God?

And with this asking I was abashed; and then, by and by, I knew that I was subtillie betraied of a man that came to me in prison on the Fridaie before, communing with me in this matter of confession.[2] And certaine, by his wordes I thought, that this man came then to me of ful feruent and charitable will; but now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me, God forgiue him, if it be his will! And with all my heart, when I had thought thus, I saide to this clerke: Sir, I praie you that yee would fetch this man hither, and all the wordes, as neere as I can repete them, which that I spake to him on Fridaie in the prison, I wil rehearse now heer before you all, and before him.

And (as I gesse) the archbishop saide then to me: They that are nowe here, suffice to repeate them. How saidst thou to him?

A false brother.

And I saide: Sir, that man came and asked me in diuers things, and, after his asking, I answered him (as I vnderstood) that good was. And, as he shewed to me by his words, he was sorie of his liuing in court, and right heauie for his owne vicious liuing, and also for the viciousnes of other men, and speciallie of priests euill liuing: and herefore he said to me, with a sorrowfull heart (as I gessed), that hee purposed fullie within short time for to leaue the court, and to busie him to know God's lawe, and to conforme all his life thereafter. And when he had said to me these words, and moe other which I would rehearse and he were present, he praied me to heare his confession. And I saide to him: Sir, wherefore come ye to me, to bee confessed of me? ye wote wel that the archbishop putteth and holdeth me here, as one vnworthy either to giue or to take any sacrament of holie church.

Auricular confession.

And he said to me: Brother, I wote well, and so wote many other moe, that you and such other are wrongfullie vexed, and therfore I common with you the more gladly. And I said to him: Certain I wote well that any men of this court, and specially the priests of this houshold, would be ful euil apayd both with you and me, if they wist that yee were confessed of mee. And he said, that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them: and, as me thought, he spake these words and many other, of so good will and of so high desire, for to haue knowne and done the pleasant wil of God. And I said to him, as with my foresaid protestation I say to you nowe here: Sir, I counsaile you, for to absent you from all euill company, and to draw you to them that loue and busie them to know and to keepe the precepts of God; and then the good spirit of God will mooue you for to occupy busilie all your wits in gathering together of all your sins, as far as ye can bethinke you, shaming greatlie of them and sorrowing hartelie for them. Yea Sir, the Holy Ghost will then put in your hart a good will and a feruent desire for to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate euer and to flie (after your cunning and power) all occasion of sinne: and so then, wisedome shall come to you from aboue, lightening, with diuers beames of grace and of heauenly desire, all your wits, enforming you how ye shal trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord, knowledging to him onely all your vicious liuing, praying to him euer deuoutlie of charitable counsell and continuance; hoping without doubt, that if ye continue thus, busying you faithfullie to know and to keepe his biddings, that he will (for he onely, may) forgiue you all your sinnes. And this man said to me: Though God forgiue men their

See Appendix.

A crafty train of a popish dissembler.

(1) This salt was somewhat too sharp for their rotten flesh to abide.
(2) Note here the crafty practice of this holy church.

sinnes, yet it behoueth men to be assoiled of priests, and to do the penance that they enioine them. *Henry IV.* A. D. 1407.

And I saide to him: Sir, it is all one to assoile men of their sinnes, and to forgiue men their sinnes. Wherfore, since it pertaineth onely to God to forgiue sinne, it sufficeth, in this case, to counsell men and women for to leaue their sinne, and to comfort them that busie them thus to do, for to hope stedfastly in the mercie of God. And againeward, priests ought to tel sharply to customable sinners, that if they will not make an ende of their sinne, but continue in diuers sins while that they may sinne, all such deserue paine without any end. And herefore, priests should euer busie them to liue well and holilie, and to teach the people busilie and truly the word of God, shewing to all folke, in open preaching and in priuie counselling, that the Lord God only forgiueth sinne. And therfore, those priests that take vpon them to assoile men of their sinnes, blaspheme God; since that it pertaineth onely to the Lord, to assoile men of all their sinnes. For no doubt a thousand yeare after that Christ was man, no priest of Christ durst take vpon him to teach the people, neither priuily nor apertly, that they behoued needes to come to be assoiled of them, as priests now do. But, by authoritie of Christ's word, priests bound indurate customable sinners, to euerlasting paines, which in no time of their liuing would busie them faithfullie to knowe the biddings of God, nor to keepe them. And againe, all they that would occupy al their wits to hate and to flie all occasion of sinne, dreading ouer all things to offend God, and louing for to please him continuallie: to these men and women priestes shewed, how the Lord assoileth them of all their sinnes. And thus Christ promised to confirme in heauen, all the binding and loosing that priests, by authoritie of his word, bind men in sinne, that are indurate therein, or loose them out of sinne here vpon earth, that are verely repentant. And this man, hearing these words, said, that he might well, in conscience, consent to this sentence. But he said: Is it not needefull to the lay people that cannot thus doe, to go shrive them to priests? And I said: If a man feele himselfe so distroubled with any sinne, that he cannot, by his own wit, auoid this sin without counsell of them that are herein wiser than he: in such a case, the counsell of a good priest is full necessarie. And if a good priest faile, as they do now commonlie, in such a case S. Augustine saith, that a man may lawfullie commune and take counsell of a vertuous secular man. But certaine, that man or woman is ouerladen and too beastlie, which cannot bring their own sinnes into their mind, busying them night and daie for to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a sigh for them after their cunning and power. And Sir, ful accordinglie to this sentence, vpon Middlent Sundaie (two yeare as I gesse now agone), I heard a monke of Feuesam, that men called Morden, preach at Canturburie at the crosse within Christ-Church Abbey, saying thus of confession: That as, through the suggestion of the feend without counsell of any other bodie, of themselues many men and women can imagine and find meanes and waies inough to come to pride, to theft, to lecherie, and other diuers vices; in contrariwise this monke saide: Since the Lorde God is more readie to forgiue sinne than the feend is, or may be, of power to moue any bodie to sin, than whosoeuer wil shame and sorrow hartelie for their sinnes, knowledging them faithfullie to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counsell of any other bodie than of God and of himselfe (through the grace of God), al such men and women may find sufficient meanes to come to God's mercy, and so to be cleane assoiled of all their sinnes. This sentence I said Sir, to this man of yours, and the selfe wordes, as neere as I can gesse.

God only forgiveth sin, man only can counsel to leave sin.

Shrift and confession to priests.

A good secular man may be counsellor, where a priest faileth.

Morden, preaching of confession.

Hearty repentance to God needeth no confession to a priest.

And the archbishop said: Holie church approueth not this learning.[1]

And I said: Sir, holy church of which Christ is head in heauen and in earth, must needes approue this sentence. For loe, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be sufficientlie taught to know and keepe the commandements of God, and to hate and to flie continuallie all occasion of sin, and to loue and to seeke vertues busilie, and to beleeue in God stablie, and to trust in his mercie stedfastlie, and so to come to perfect charity, and continue therin perseuerantlie: and more the Lord asketh not of any man here nowe in this life. And certaine, since Jesu Christ died vpon the crosse wilfully to make men free, men of the church are too bold and too busie to make men thral, binding them

Christ giveth freedom, the pope giveth thraldom.

(1) No, nor any thing else, that is good.

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vnder the paine of endles curse (as they saie) to do many obseruances and ordinances, which neither the liuing nor teaching of Christ, nor of his apostles, approueth.

And a clerke said then to me: Thou shewest plainlie here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that trauell to sow the popple among the wheat. But I counsell thee to goe awaie cleane from this learning, and submit thee lowly to my lord, and thou shalt find him yet to be gratious to thee.

And as fast then, an other clerke saide to me: How wast thou so bold at Paules Crosse in London, to stand there hard, with thy tippet bounden about thine head, and to reproue in his sermon the worthie clerke Alkerton, drawing awaie all that thou mightest? yea, and the same daie at afternoone, thou, meeting the worthie doctor in Watling streete, calledst him false flatterer and hypocrite.

And I said: Sir, I thinke certainely that there was no man nor woman that hated verilie sinne, and loued vertues (hearing the sermon of the clerke at Oxford, and also Alkertons sermon), but they said, or might iustly saie, that Alkerton reproued that clerke vntruely, and slandered him wrongfullie and vncharitablie. For, no doubt, if the liuing and teaching of Christ chieflie, and of his apostles, be true, no bodie that loueth God and his law wil blame any sentence that the clerke then preached there; since, by authoritie of Gods word, and by approved saints and doctors, and by open reason, this clerke approued all things clearlie that he preached there.

And a clerke of the archbishops said to me: His sermon was false, and that, he sheweth openlie; since he dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.

And I said: Sir, I thinke that he purposeth to stand stedfastly therby, or else he sclaundereth fouly himselfe, and also many other that haue great trust that hee will stand by the truth of the gospell. For I wote wel, this sermon is written both in Latin and English, and many men haue it, and they set great price thereby. And Sir, if ye were present with the archbishop at Lambeth, when this clerke appeared and was at his answere before the archbishop, ye wote well that this clerke denied not there his sermon, but two days he maintained it before the archbishop and his clerkes.

And then the archbishop, or one of his clerkes, saide (I wote not which of them): That harlot shall be met with, for that sermon; for no man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, praiseth any such preaching.

And then the archbishop said: Your cursed sect is busie, and it ioieth, right greatly, to contrary and to destroie the priuilege and fredome of holie church.

True freedom of holy church not destroyed, but increased, by true preachers.

And I said: Sir, I know no men that trauell so busily as this sect dooth, which you reproue, to make rest and peace in holie church. For pride, couetousnesse, and simonie, which distrouble most holy church, this sect hateth and fleeth; and trauaileth busilie to moue al other men, in like maner, vnto meeknesse, and wilfull pouertie, and charitie, and free ministring of the sacraments: this sect loveth and vseth, and is full busie to moue all other folkes thus to do. For these vertues, owe all members of holy church, to their head Christ.

Then a clerke said to the archbishop: Sir, it is farre daies, and ye haue farre to ride to night; therefore make an end with him, for hee will none make. But the more Sir, that ye busie you for to draw him toward you, the more contumax he is made, and the further fro you.

Take my lord's blessing, and stand up.

And then Malueren said to me: William, kneele down, and praie my lorde of grace, and leaue all thy phantasies, and become a child of holie church.

And I saide: Sir, I haue praied the archbishop oft, and yet I praie him for the loue of Christ, that hee will leaue his indignation that he hath against me; and that he will suffer me, after my cunning and power, for to doe mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to do it. For I couet nought else but to serue my God to his pleasing, in the state that I stand in, and haue taken me to.

My lord hath haste, for being benighted. *See Appendix.*

And the archbishop said to me: If of good hart thou wilt submit thee now here meeklie, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsel, obeying meeklie and wilfullie to mine ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable and best to thee for to do thus. Therefore tarrie thou me no lenger; grant to do this that I haue said to thee now here shortlie, or denie it vtterlie.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, owe we to beleeue that Jesu Christ was and is, verie God and verie man?

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, owe we to beleeue that all Christes liuing and his teaching is true in euerie point?

And he said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, owe we to beleeue, that the living of the apostles, and the teaching of Christ and all the prophets, are true, which are written in the Bible for the health and saluation of good people?

And he said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, owe all christen men and women, after their cunning and power, for to conforme all their liuing to the teaching speciallie of Christ, and also to the teaching and liuing of his apostles and of prophetes, in things tha are pleasant to God, and edification of his church?

And he said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsell of any bodie, to bee accepted or obeied vnto, except this doctrin, these biddings, or this counsel, may be granted and affirmed by Christ's liuing and his teaching speciallie, or by the liuing and teaching of his apostles and prophets?

And why compel you this man to the contrary? Thorpe content to submit himself to the ordinance of councils.

And the archbishop said to me: Other doctrine ought not to bee accepted, nor we owe not to obeie to any man's bidding or counsel, except we can perceiue that his bidding or counsel accordeth with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets.

And I said: Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counsels of holie church, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to withstand the priuy suggestions, and the aperte temptations of the fiende? and also waies and healefull remedies to slea pride and all other deadly sinnes, and the braunches of them, and soueraigne meanes to purchase grace, for to withstand and ouercome all the fleshlie lusts and mouings?

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, whatsoeuer thing ye or any other body bid or counsell me to do, accordingly to this foresaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the helpe of God, I will meekely, with all my heart, obey thereto.

And the archbishop said to me: Submit thee than now here meekly and wilfully, to the ordinance of holie church, which I shall shew to thee.

And I said: Sir, accordingly as I haue here now before you rehearsed, I will now be readie to obeie full gladlie to Christ, the head of the holie church, and to the learning, and biddings, and counsels, of euerie pleasing member of him.

Then the archbishop, striking with his hand fiercely vpon a cupbord,[1] spake to me with a great spirit, saying: By Jesu, but if thou leaue such additions, obliging thee now here, without any exception, to mine ordinance, or that I go out of this place, I shall make thee as sure, as any theefe that is in the prison of Lanterne: aduise thee now what thou wilt do. And then, as if he had beene angred, he went fro the cupbord where he stood, to a window.

And then Malueren and an other clerke came nearer me, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly; and an other while they manassed me, and counselled full busily to submitte me, or else, they said, I should not escape punishing ouer measure: for they said, I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then damned. But now they said, Thou maist eschew al these mischiefes, if thou wilt submit thee wilfully and meekly to this worthie prelate, that hath cure of thy soul. And for the pittie of Christ (said they) bethinke thee, how great clerks the bishop of Lincoln, Herford, and Puruey were, and yet are, and also B., that is a well vnderstanding man, which also haue forsaken and reuoked all the learning and opinions, that thou and such other hold. Wherefore, since each of them is mikle wiser then thou art, we counsell thee for the best, that by the example of these foure clerkes, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.

See Appendix.

The multitude not to be followed in evil.

And one of the bishops clerkes said then there, that hee heard Nicoll Herford say, that since he forsooke[2] and reuoked all the learning and Lollards opinions, he hath had mikle greater fauour and more delite to hold against them, then euer he had to hold with them, while he held with them.

(1) If Bonner had been here, he would not have stroken the cupboard.
(2) See what man is, God giving him up to himself.

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And therefore Malueren said to me: I vnderstand, and thou wilt take thee to a priest, and shriue thee cleane,[1] forsake all such opinions, and take the penance of my lord heere, for the holding and teaching of them, within short time, thou shalt be greatly comforted in this doing.

And I said to the clerkes, that thus busilie counselled me to follow these foresaid men: Sirs, if these men, of whome ye counsel me to take example, had forsaken benefices of temporall profite, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of couetousness and of fleshly lusts, and had taken vpon them simple liuing, and wilfull pouertie, they had herein giuen good example to me and to many other, to haue followed them. But now, since all these foure men, haue slanderously and shamefully done the contrarie, consenting to receiue, and to haue and to hold temporall benefices, liuing now more worldly and more fleshlie then they did before, conforming them to the maners of this world, I forsake them herein, and in all their foresaid slanderous doing. For I purpose, with the helpe of God (into remission of my sinnes, and of my foule cursed liuing), to hate and to flee priuily and apertly, to follow these men, teaching and counselling, whom so euer that I may, for to flee and eschew the way that they haue chosen to go in, which wil lead them to the worst end (if in conuenient time they repent them not), verely forsaking and reuoking openly the slander that they haue put, and euery day yet put, to Christs church. For certaine, so open blasphemy and slander as they haue spoken and done, in their reuoking and forsaking of the truth, ought not, nor may not, priuilie be amended duly. Wherefore, Sirs, I pray you that ye busie you not for to moue me to follow these men, in reuoking and forsaking of the truth and sothfastnes as they have done and yet doe: wherein, by open euidence, they stirre God to great wroth, and not only against themselues, but also against all them that fauor them, or consent to them herein, or that communeth with them, except it be for their amendment; for whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, nowe they haue obliged them, by oth, for to slander and pursue Christ in his members. Wherefore (as I trust stedfastly in the goodnesse of God) the worldly couetousnes, and the lustie liuing, and the sliding from the truth, of these runnagates, shall be to me, and to many other men and women, an example and an euidence, to stand more stifly by the truth of Christ.

Other men's examples are so to be followed, as they be the followers of Christ.

For certaine, right many men and women, doe marke and abhorre the foulnesse and cowardnes of these foresaid vntrue men, how that they are ouercome and stopped with benefices, and withdrawn from the truth of Gods word, forsaking vtterly to suffer therfore bodily persecution. For by this unfaithfull doing and apostasie of them (specialle that are great lettered men, and haue knowledged openly the truth, and now, either for pleasure or displeasure of tyrantes, haue taken hire and temporall wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, slandering and pursuing them that couet to follow Christ in the way of righteousnes), many men and women therefore are now moued. But many mo, thorow the grace of God, shall be moued hereby for to learne the truth of God, and to do therafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Promotions and great livings, choke truth.

Men following the ways of Balaam.

Than the archbishop said to his clerks: Busie you no lenger about him, for he and other such as he is are confedered so together, that they will not sweare to be obedient, and to submit them to prelates of holy church. For nowe since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word, that he will not sweare, and that this fellow counselled him, that hee should not sweare to me. And, losell! in that thing that in thee is, thou hast busied thee to loose this young man; but, blessed be God, thou shalt not haue thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him, to be buxum and obedient to the ordinance of holy church, and weepeth full bitterlie, and curseth thee full heartily, for the venemous teaching which thou hast shewed to him, counselling him to do thereafter.

Thorpe's fellow refuseth to swear to the prelates.

And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be right sory, for long time thou hast busied thee to peruert whomsoeuer thou mightest. Therefore, as many deathes thou art worthie of, as thou hast giuen euill counsels. And therefore, by Jesu, thou shalt go thether, where Nicoll Harford and Thomas Puruey were harbored. And I undertake, or this day eight-daies, thou shalt be right glad for to do what thing that euer I bid thee to do. And, losell! I shall assay, if I can make thee there as sorrowful as,

See Appendix.

(1) As clean from thrift as from sin.

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it was told me, thou wast glad of my last going out of England. By St. Thomas, I shall turne thy ioy into sorrow.

And I said: Sir, there can no bodie proue lawfully, that I ioied euer, of the maner of your going out of this land.

But Sir, to say the soth, I was ioyfull when ye were gone; for the bishop of London, in whose prison ye left me, found in me no cause for to hold me lenger in his prison, but, at the request of my frends, he deliuered me to them, asking of me no maner of submitting.

Arundell going out of England.

Then the archbishop said to me: Wherefore that I yede out of England, is vnknowne to thee; but bee this thing well knowne to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me againe, and brought me into this land, for to destroie thee and the false sect that thou art of; as, by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leaue a steppe of you in this land.[1]

The gentleness of the bishop of London.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, the holy prophet Jeremy said to the false prophet Anany: When the word that is the prophecie of a prophet, is knowne or fulfilled, then it shall be knowne, that the Lord sent the prophet in truth.

A notable answer of Thorpe to the bishop.

And the archbishop, as if he had not beene pleased with my saying, turned him awayward hether and thether, and said: By God, I shall set vpon thy shinnes a paire of pearles,[2] that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.

These, and many moe wonderous and conuicious wordes were spoken to me, manassing me and all other of the same sect, for to be punished and destroyed vnto the vttermost.

See Appendix.

And the archbishop called then to him a clerke, and rowned with him: and that clerke went forth, and soone he brought in the constable of Saltwood Castle, and the archbishop rowned a good while with him: and then the constable went forth, and then came in diuers seculars, and they scorned me on euerie side, and manassed me greatly.[3] And some counselled the archbishop to burne me by and by, and some other counselled him to drowne me in the sea, for it is neare hand there.

And a clerke, standing beside me there, kneeled downe to the archbishop, praying him that he would deliuer me to him for to say mattins with him; and he would vndertake, that within three daies, I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my prelate.

And the archbishop said, that he would ordaine for me himselfe.

And then after, came againe the constable, and spake priuilie to the archbishop. And than the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And whan we were gone forth thence, we were sent after againe. And when I came in againe before the archbishop, a clerke bad me kneele downe, and aske grace, and submit me lowlie, and I should find it for the best.

Obedience to God and to his law would not serve.

And I said then to the archbishop: Sir, as I haue said to you diuers times to daie, I will wilfullie and lowlie obey and submit me to be ordeined euer, after my cunning and power, to God and to his law, and to euery member of holy church, as far forth as I can perceiue that members accord with their head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authoritie, speciallie of Gods law.

And the archbishop said: I wist well he would not, without such additions, subbmit him.

And then I was rebuked, scorned, and manassed on euerie side: and yet after this, diuers persons cried vpon me to kneele downe and submit me, but I stoode still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me and to me many great words, and I stoode and heard them manasse, cursse and scorne me: but I said nothing.

In patience and silence possess your souls.

Then a while after, the archbishop said to me: Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy church?

And I said: Sir, I will full gladlie submitte me, as I haue shewed you before.

And then the archbishop bad the constable to haue me forth thence in haste.

Thorpe cast in prison.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foule vnhonest prison, where I came neuer before. But, thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had sparred fast the prison doore after them, by and by after, I,

(1) So promised Winchester in queen Mary's time, but that passed his power to perform.
(2) Such pearls would better beseem, my lord, your golden shoes.
(3) 'At illi clamabant dicentes, Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum.'

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therein by my selfe, busied me to thinke on God, and to thanke him for his goodnesse. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not onely for that I was then deliuered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the manassing of mine enemies; but much more I reioysed in the Lord, because that through his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering speciallie, and among the manassing of mine aduersaries, that, without heauinesse and anguish of my conscience, I passed awaie from them. For, as a tree layd vpon an other tree, ouerthwart or on crosse wise, so was the archbishop and his three clerkes alwaies contrairie to me, and I to them.

Comforted and strengthened of the Lord, after his conflict with the bishop.

Now, good God! for thine holie name, and to the praising of thy most blessed name, make vs one together, if it be thy will (by authority of thy word, that is true perfite charitie), and els not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing reade or heare, praie hartelie to the Lord God, that he, for his great goodnesse that can not be with toong expressed, graunt to us and to all other, which, in the same wise, and for the same cause speciallie, or for anie other cause, be at distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfite charitie. Amen.

Besides this examination here above described, came another treatise also to our hands of the same William Thorpe, under the name and title of his testament; which rather by the matter and handling thereof might seem to be counted a complaint of vicious priests; which treatise or testament, in this place we thought not meet to be left out.

The Testament of William Thorpe.

Matthew, an apostle of Christ, and his gospeller, witnesseth truly in the holy gospel, the most holy living, and the most wholesome teaching of Christ. He rehearseth how that Christ likeneth them that hear his words, and keep them, to a wise man that buildeth his house upon a stone, that is, a stable and a sad ground. This house is man's soul, in which Christ delighteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is, established faithfully, in his living and in his true teaching, adorned or made fair with divers virtues, which Christ used and taught without any meddling of any error, as are chiefly the conditions of charity.

Christ dwelleth in a faithful soul.

This aforesaid stone is Christ, upon which every faithful soul must be builded; since, upon none other ground than upon Christ's living and his teaching, any body may make any building or housing wherein Christ will come and dwell. This sentence witnesseth St. Paul to the Corinthians, showing to them that no body may set any other ground than is set, that is Christ's living and teaching. And because that all men and women should give all their business here in this life, to build them virtuously upon this sure foundation, St. Paul, acknowledging the fervent desire, and the good will of the people of Ephesus, wrote to them comfortably, saying, 'Now ye are not strangers, guests, nor yet comelings, but ye are the citizens, and of the household of God, builded above upon the foundadament of the apostles and prophets. In which foundament, every building that is builded or made through the grace of God, it increaseth or groweth into an holy temple;' that is, every body that is grounded or builded faithfully in the teaching and living of Christ, is there through made the holy temple of God.

He is the stone whereon we must build.

How we are made the temple of God.

This is the stable ground and steadfast stone Christ, which is the sure cornerstone, fast joining, and holding mightily together, two walls. For through Christ Jesus, the mean or middle person of the Trinity, the Father of Heaven, is pitiously or mercifully joined and made one together to mankind; and through dread to offend God, and fervent love to please him, men be inseparably made one to God, and defended surely under his protection. Also this aforesaid stone Christ, was figured by the square stones of which the temple of God was made; for as a square stone, wheresoever it is cast or laid, abideth and lieth stably; so Christ and every faithful member of his church, by example of him, abideth and dwelleth stably in true faith, and in all other heavenly virtues in all adversities that they suffer in this valley of tears.

Mark what we have by Christ.

The property of a square stone.

For lo! when these aforesaid square stones were hewen and wrought for to be laid in the walls or pillars of God's temple, no noise or stroke of the workman was heard. Certain, this silence in working of this stone figureth Christ chiefly, and his faithful members, who, by example of him, have been, and yet are, and ever to the world's end shall be, so meek and patient in every adversity, that no sound, nor yet any grudging, shall at any time be perceived in them.

Nevertheless, this chief and most worshipful corner-stone, which only is the ground of all virtues, proud beggars reproved; but this despite and reproof Christ suffered most meekly in his own person, to give example of all meekness and patience to all his faithful followers. Certain, this world is now so full of proud beggars, who are named priests; but the very office of working of priesthood, which Christ approveth true, and accepteth, is far from the multitude of priests that now reign in this world.

Christ an example of all perfect meekness.

For, from the highest priest to the lowest, all, as they say, study, that is, they imagine and travail busily, how they may please this world and their flesh. This sentence with many such others dependeth upon them, if it be well considered: either God, the Father of heaven, hath deceived all mankind by the living specially and teaching of Jesu Christ, and by the living and teaching of his apostles and prophets; or else all the popes that have been since I had any knowledge or discretion, with all the college of cardinals, archbishops and bishops, monks, canons, and friars, with all the contagious flock of the commonalty of priesthood, who have, all my life time, and mickle longer, reigned and yet reign, and increase damnably from sin to sin, have been, and yet be, proud, obstinate heretics, covetous sinners, and defouled adulterers in the ministering of the sacraments, and specially in the ministering of the sacrament of the altar. For, as their works show, whereto Christ biddeth us take heed, the highest priests and prelates of this priesthood, challenge and occupy unlefully temporal lordships; and, for temporal favour and meed, they sell and give benefices to unworthy and unable persons;[1] yea, these simoners sell sin, suffering men and women, in every degree and estate, to lie and continue from year to year in divers vices slanderously. And thus, by evil example of high priests in the church, lower priests under them are not only suffered, but they are maintained, to sell full dear to the people, for temporal meed, all the sacraments.

Priests seek the pleasure of this world.

The lives of the popes, and Christ and his apostles.

And thus all this aforesaid priesthood is blown so high, and borne up in pride and vain glory of their estate and dignity, and so blinded with worldly covetousness, that they disdain to follow Christ in very meekness and wilful poverty, living holily, and preaching God's word truly, freely, and continually, taking their livelihood at the free will of the people, of their pure alms, where and when they suffice not, for their true and busy preaching, to get their sustenance with their hands. To this true sentence, grounded on Christ's own living, and the teaching of his apostles, these aforesaid worldly and fleshly priests will not consent effectually; but, as their works and also their words show, boldly and unshamefacedly these beforenamed priests and prelates covet and enforce them mightily and busily, that all holy scriptures were expounded and drawn accordingly to their manners, and to their ungrounded usages and findings; for they will not (since they hold it but folly and madness) conform their manners to the pure and simple living of Christ and his apostles, nor will they follow freely their learning. Wherefore all the emperors and kings, and all other lords and ladies, and all the common people in every degree and state, who have before time known, or might have known, and also all they that now yet know, or might know, this aforesaid witness of priesthood, and would not; nor yet will enforce them, after their cunning and power, to withstand charitably the aforesaid enemies and traitors of Christ, and of his church: all these strive with Antichrist against Jesus, and they shall bear the indignation of God Almighty without end, if in convenient time they amend them not and repent them verily, doing therefor due mourning and sorrow, after their cunning and power. For, through presumptuousness and negligence of priests and prelates (not of the church of Christ, but occupying their prelacy unduly in the church), and also through flattering and false covetousness of other divers named priests, lousengers and loumderers are wrongfully made and named hermits, and have leave to defraud poor and needy creatures of their livelihood, and to live, by their false winning

Fleshly priests.

They hunt after this, with tooth and nail.

An exhortation to see priesthood amended.

Prelates and priests negligent in their duty.

See Appendix.

(1) When priests forget God's truth, ye see whither they run headlong. The great infect the small.

Henry IV. A. D. 1407.

and begging, in sloth and in other divers vices. And also by these prelates, these coker-noses are suffered to live in pride and hypocrisy, and to defoul themselves both bodily and ghostly. Also by the suffering and counsel of these aforesaid prelates and other priests, are made both vain brotherhoods and sisterhoods, full of pride and envy, which are full contrary to the brotherhood of Christ, since they are cause of mickle dissension, and they multiply and sustain it uncharitably: for, in lusty eating and drinking, unmeasurably and out of time, they exercise themselves. Also this vain confederacy of brotherhood is permitted to be of one clothing, and to hold together.

And in all these ungrounded and unlawful doings, priests are partners, and great meddlers and counsellors; and over this viciousness, hermits and pardoners, Ankers and strange beggars, are licensed and admitted by prelates and priests, to beguile the people with flatterings and leasings slanderously against all good reason and true belief; and so to increase divers vices in themselves, and also among all them that accept them, or consent to them.

And thus the viciousness of these aforenamed priests and prelates hath been long time, and yet is, and shall be cause of wars, both within the realm and without. And in the same wise these unable priests have been, and yet are, and shall be, the chief cause of pestilence of men, and murrain of beasts, and of barrenness of the earth, and of all other mischiefs, to the time that the lords and commons able them, through grace, to know and to keep the commandments of God, enforcing them then, faithfully and charitably, by one assent, to redress and make one this aforesaid priesthood, to the wilful, poor, meek and innocent living and teaching, specially of Christ and his apostles.

Therefore all they that know, or might know the viciousness that reigneth now cursedly in these priests, and in their learning, if they suffice not to understand this contagious viciousness, let them pray to the Lord heartily for the health of his church, abstaining them prudently from the indurate enemies of Christ and of his people, and from all their sacraments, since to all them that know them, or may know them, they are but fleshly deeds and false; as St. Cyprian witnesseth in the first question of decrees, and in the first cause, Cap. 'Siquis inquit:' for, as this saint and great doctor witnesseth there, not only vicious priests, but also all they that favour them, or consent to them in their viciousness, shall together perish with them, if they amend them not duly; as all they perished, that consented to Dathan and Abiram. For nothing were more confusion to these aforesaid vicious priests, than to eschew them prudently in all their unlawful sacraments, while they continue in their sinful living slanderously, as they have long time done, and yet do. And no body needs to be afraid, though death did follow by one way or other, to die out of this world, without taking of any sacrament of these aforesaid Christ's enemies, since Christ will not fail to minister, himself, all lawful and healful sacraments, and necessary at all time, and especially at the end, to all them that are in true faith, in steadfast hope, and in perfect charity.

But yet some mad fools say, to eschew slander, they will be shriven once in the year, and communed of their proper priests, though they know them defouled with slanderous vices. No doubt but all they that thus do or consent, privily or apertly, to such doing, are culpable of great sin; since St. Paul witnesseth, that not only they that do evil are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to evil doers. Also, as their slanderous works witness, these aforesaid vicious priests despise and cast from them heavenly cunning that is given of the Holy Ghost. Wherefore the Lord throweth all such despisers from him, that they neither use, nor do, any priesthood to him.

No doubt, then, all they that wittingly or wilfully take, or consent that any other body should take, any sacrament of any such named priest, sin openly and damnably against all the Trinity, and are unable to any sacrament of health.

And that this aforesaid sentence is altogether true, 'Unto remission of all my sinful living, trusting steadfastly in the mercy of God, I offer to him my soul.'

And to prove also the aforesaid sentence true, with the help of God, I purpose fully, to suffer meekly and gladly my most wretched body to be tormented where God will, of whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, and what temporal pain and death he will; to the praising of his name, and to the edification of his church.

And I that am a most unworthy and wretched caitiff, shall now, through the

special grace of God, make to him pleasant sacrifice with my most sinful and unworthy body: beseeching heartily all folk that read or hear this end of my purposed testament, that, through the grace of God, they dispose verily and virtuously all their wits, and able in like manner all their members, to understand truly, and to keep faithfully, charitably, and continually, all the commandments of God, and so then to pray devoutly to all the blessed Trinity, that I may have grace, with wisdom and prudence from above, to end my life here in this aforesaid truth, and for this cause; in true faith, and steadfast hope, and perfect charity. Amen.

The end of William Thorpe uncertain.

What was the end of this good man, and blessed servant of God, William Thorpe, I find as yet in no story specified. By all conjectures it is to be thought that the archbishop Thomas Arundel, being so hard an adversary against those men, would not let him go; much less it is to be supposed, that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the bishop; neither doth it seem that he had any such recanting spirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned; wherefore it remaineth most likely to be true, that he, being committed to some straight prison, according as the archbishop, in his examination before, did threaten him there (as Thorpe confesseth himself), was so straightly kept, that either he was secretly made away with, or else he died there by sickness.

The like end also I find to happen to John Ashton, another good follower of Wickliff, who, for the same doctrine of the sacrament, was condemned by the bishops; and, because he would not recant, he was committed to perpetual prison, wherein the good man continued till his death: A. D. 1382.

See Appendix.

The Story of John Purvey.

John Purvey prisoned after his recantation.

Furthermore, in the said examination of William Thorpe mention was made, as ye heard, of John Purvey, of whom also something we touched before; promising of the said John Purvey more particularly to entreat in order and process of time. Of this Purvey Thomas Walden writeth thus in his second tome: "John Purvey," saith he, "was the library of Lollards, and glosser upon Wickliff. He said that the worshipping of Abraham was but a salutation." And in his third tome he saith, "This John Purvey, with Herford, a doctor of divinity, were grievously tormented and punished in the prison of Saltwood, and at length recanted at Paul's Cross at London, Thomas Arundel being then archbishop of Canterbury. Afterwards again, he was imprisoned under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1421." Thus much writeth Walden. The works of this man which he wrote, were gathered by Richard Lavingham, his adversary, which I think worthy to be remembered. First, as touching the sacrament of the last supper, the sacrament of penance, the sacrament of orders, the power of the keys, the preaching of the gospel, of marriages, of vows, of possessions, of the punishing and correcting of the clergy, of the laws and decrees of the church, of the state and condition of the pope and the clergy: of all these generally, he left divers monuments gravely and exactly written, part

Henry IV. whereof here, in the end of his story, we thought to exhibit, being translated out of Latin into English.

A. D. 1401. The articles which he taught, and afterwards was forced to recant at Paul's Cross, were these hereafter following:

Articles of John Purvey, which he afterwards recanted.

See Appendix. 1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there is not, neither can be, any accident without the subject; but there verily remaineth the same substance, and the very visible and corruptible bread, and likewise the very same wine, which, before the consecration, were set upon the altar to be consecrate by the priest; like as when a pagan or infidel is baptized, he is spiritually converted into a member of Christ through grace, and yet remaineth the very same man which he before was, in his proper nature and substance.

2. That auricular confession, or private penance, is a certain whispering, destroying the liberty of the gospel, and newly brought in by the pope and the clergy, to entangle the consciences of men in sin, and to draw their souls into hell.

3. That every layman being holy and predestinated unto everlasting life, albeit he be a layman, yet is he a true priest before God.[1]

4. That divers prelates and others of the clergy do live wickedly, contrary to the doctrine and example of Christ and his apostles: therefore they who so live, have not the keys either of the kingdom of heaven, or yet of hell; neither ought any Christian to esteem their censure any more than as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the pope should, peradventure, interdict the realm, yet could he not hurt, but rather profit us, forasmuch as thereby we should be dismissed from the observation of his laws, and from saying of service according to the custom of the church.

5. That if any man do make an oath or vow, to keep perpetual chastity, or do any thing else whereunto God hath not appointed him (giving him grace to perform his purpose), the same vow or oath is unreasonable and indiscreet, neither can any prelate compel him to keep the same, except he will do contrary unto God's ordinance. But he ought to commit him unto the governance of the Holy Ghost and of his own conscience; forasmuch as every man, who will not fulfil his vow or oath, cannot do it for that cause.

The charge of priests

6. That whosoever taketh upon him the office of priesthood, although he have not the charge of souls committed unto him according to the custom of the church, not only may, but ought, to preach the gospel freely unto the people; otherwise he is a thief, excommunicated by God, and by the holy church.

Against transubstantiation.

7. That pope Innocent III., and six hundred bishops, and a thousand other prelates, with all the rest of the clergy, who together with the same pope agreed and determined, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the accidents of the said bread and wine do remain there without any proper subject of the same; who also ordained, that all Christians ought to confess their sins once a year unto a proper priest, and to receive the reverend sacrament at Easter, and made certain other laws at the same time: All they, saith he, in so doing, were fools and blockheads, heretics, blasphemers, and seducers of christian people. Wherefore we ought not to believe the determinations of them, or of their successors; neither ought we to obey their laws or ordinances, except they be plainly grounded upon the holy Scripture, or upon some reason which cannot be impugned.

Other Articles drawn out of Purvey's Books more at large, by Richard Lavingham.

As touching the sacrament of thanksgiving, Purvey saith, That that chapter of repentance and remission, "Omnis utriusque sexus," wherein it is ordained, that every faithful man ought once every year at least, that is to say, at

(1) He speaketh of priests here, and not of public ministers, appointed in the church.

Easter, to receive the sacrament of the eucharist, is a beastly thing, heretical and blasphemous. *Henry IV.* A.D. 1401.

Item, That pope Innocent III. was the head of Antichrist, who, after the letting loose of Satan, invented a new article of our faith, and a certain feigned verity touching the sacrament of the altar; that is to say, that the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, or else a heap of accidents without a substance: but Christ and his apostles do teach manifestly, that the sacrament of the altar is bread and the body of Christ together, after the manner that he spake. And in that he calleth it bread, he would have the people to understand, as they ought with reason, that it is very and substantial bread, and no false nor feigned bread. The sacrament of the popish altar.

And although Innocent, that Antichrist, doth allege, that in the council of Lyons, where this matter was decided, were six hundred bishops with him, and one thousand prelates, who were in one opinion of this determination, all those notwithstanding, he calleth fools, according to that saying of Eccles. i. 'Of fools there are an infinite number.' And so in like manner he calleth them false Christs and false prophets, of whom Christ speaketh in Matthew xxiv. 'Many false Christs and false prophets shall arise, and deceive many.' And, therefore, every christian man ought to believe firmly, that the sacrament of the altar is very bread indeed, and no false nor feigned bread. And although it be very bread indeed, yet notwithstanding, it is the very body of Christ in that sort he spake, and called it his body; and so it is very bread, and the very body of Christ. And as Christ, concerning his humanity, was both visible and passible, and by his divinity was invisible and impassible; so likewise this sacrament, in that it is very bread, may be seen with the corporal eye, and may also abide corruption. But although a man may see that sacrament, yet notwithstanding cannot the body of Christ in that sacrament be seen with the corporal eye, although it be the body of Christ in that manner he spake it; for, that notwithstanding, the body of Christ is now incorruptible in heaven. So the sacrament of the cup is very wine, and the very blood of Christ, according as his manner of speaking was. Also Innocent III., with a great multitude of his secular priests, made a certain new determination, 'That the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance,' whereas neither Jesus Christ, nor any of his apostles taught this faith, but openly and manifestly to the contrary; neither yet the holy doctors, for the space of a thousand years and more, taught this faith openly.

Pope Innocent, the head of Antichrist.

The sacrament in substance, bread; in signification, the body of Christ.

Transubstantiation not openly taught one thousand years after Christ.

Therefore when Antichrist, or any of his shavelings, doth ask of thee that art a simple Christian, whether this sacrament be the very body of Christ or not? affirm thou it manifestly so to be. And if he ask of thee whether it be material bread, or what other bread else? say thou, That it is such bread as Christ understood and meant by his proper word; and such bread as the Holy Ghost meant in St. Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he brake: and wade thou no further therein. If he ask thee how this bread is the body of Christ? say thou, As Christ understood the same to be his body, who is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no untruth; say thou also as the holy doctors do say, That the terrestrial matter or substance may be converted into Christ, as the pagan or infidel may be baptized, and hereby spiritually be converted, and be a member of Christ, and so, after a certain manner, become Christ, and yet the same man remain still in his proper nature. For so doth St. Augustine grant that a sinner, forsaking his sin, and being made one spirit with God by faith, grace, and charity, may be converted into God, and be, after a manner, God (as both David and St. John do testify), and yet be the same person in substance and nature, and in soul and virtue be altered and changed. But yet men of more knowledge and reason may more plainly convince the falsity of Antichrist both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the Holy Ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keep the manifest and apparent words of the holy Scripture, and the plain sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly commit that unto the Spirit of God, which passeth their understanding; then may they safely offer themselves to death, as true martyrs of Jesus Christ. *See Appendix.*

The sacrament, both bread and the body, in divers respects.

As touching the sacrament of penance, that chapter 'Omnis utriusque sexus,' by which a certain new-found auricular confession was ordained, is full, he saith, of hypocrisy, heresy, covetousness, pride, and blasphemy; and he reproveth the same chapter *verbatim*, and that by the sentences of the same

Aurtcular confession and penance.

Henry IV A.D. 1401.

process: also, that the penance and pains limited by the canons be unreasonable and unjust, for the austerity and rigorousness which they contain, more than are taxed by God's law. He also doth exemplify of the solemn and public denial of penitents to be received into orders, according to the decree of the general council, Distinctione 50. cap. 'Ex pœnitentibus:' also of the seven-fold penitence of a priest committing fornication, according to the chapter, 'Presbyter,' Dist. 82. And further he showeth another example of the penitence of priests, according to that chapter, 'Qui presbyterum,' &c., where the decretal of the general council saith, 'That such a one ought to remain continuing his life in the wars, and not to marry;' and how Innocent III. brought in a new-found confession, whereby the priests do oppress the simple laymen, and that many other things they do, compelling them to confess themselves to blind and ignorant priests, in whom is nothing else but pride and covetousness, having such in contempt as are learned and wise. Also that the decretal of Innocent III., touching the aforesaid auricular or vocal confession, was brought in and invented to intricate and entangle men's consciences with sin, and to draw them down to hell; and furthermore, that such manner of confession destroyeth the evangelical liberty, and doth hinder men from inquiring after and retaining the wise counsel and doctrine of such as be good priests, who know faithfully how to observe God's precepts and commandments, and who would willingly teach the people the right way to heaven: for which abuse all christian men, and especially all Englishmen, ought to exclaim against such wicked laws.

See Appendix.

The order of priesthood.

As touching the sacrament of order, Purvey saith, That all good Christians are predestinate, and be ordained of God, and made true priests to offer Christ in themselves, and to Christ, themselves; as also to teach and preach the gospel to their neighbours,[1] as well in word, as in example of living. But the worldly shavelings do more magnify the naked and bare signs of priesthood (invented by sinful men) than the true and perfect priesthood of God, grounded by a true and lively faith, annexed with good works. Also, if it were needful to have such shavelings,[2] God knoweth how, and can make, when it pleaseth him, priests (without man's working and sinful signs; that is to say, without either sacraments or characters) to be known and discerned of the people by their virtuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God; for so made he the first-made priests and elders before the law of Moses; and so made he Moses a priest before Aaron, and before the ceremonies of the law, without man's operation at all; and even so hath God made all such as are predestinate, to be his priests. But such as be true Christians receive none such as priests, unless they follow Christ and his apostles; neither do they believe that they make the sacrament of the altar (which they affirm to be God's body) when it pleaseth them, lest haply God be not with them, forasmuch as they do this thing for covetousness' sake, or else to brag of their own power. And therefore such as be simple men, will worship that sacrament in this doubtfulness, with a silent condition; that is, if it be made by God's authority, and have their devotion to the body of Christ in heaven. Also, that such as be elders, if they be God's priests, be bishops, prelates, and curates of their christian brethren, whom they may lead to heaven by the example of their holy conversation, and by preaching the gospel, although they make no sacrifice to that Antichrist of Rome for their confirmation, neither be they dedicated to the world by secular divine things, and by consuming the livings of the poor, as be those secular bishops, prelates, and curates. Also, that although there were no pope, according as the custom of the church is, yet Christ, who is the head of his church, doth ordain such a pope as pleaseth him; and that is, whosoever is most humble and lowly, and best doth the office of a true priest, although he be unknown to the world; and although there were no such proud bishop above all the rest as the church doth use, yet all the priests might well govern the church by common assent, as once they did, before such worldly pride crept in amongst the bishops, &c. And, admit that no such priests were, according to the accustomed use now, of receiving of order and tonsure by such a mitred bishop and his tonsure, yet Christ knoweth both how to make and choose such as shall well please him both in conversation of life, and sincere preaching of the gospel, in ministering to his people all necessary sacraments.

Priests here have a private, not a public understanding.

What if there were no pope known? yet the church could stand.

Tonsure makes not priest.

(1) He meaneth of private preaching to their neighbours.
(2) True ministers may be made without shaving.

And every holy man who is a minister of Christ, although he be not shaven, is a true priest ordained of God, although no mitred bishop ever laid his character upon him: so that the pope and prelates do make more estimation of their characters (as tonsures and crowns by them invented), than of the true and perfect priesthood ordained of God; whereas all those that are predestinate, are true priests made of him.

The pope's censures like the blast of Lucifer.

As touching the authority of the keys and censures, no christian man ought to esteem Satan (whom men call the pope), and his unjust censures, more than the hissing of a serpent, or the blast of Lucifer. Also, that no man ought to trust or put confidence in the false indulgences of covetous priests, which indulgences do draw away the hope, which men ought to repose in God, to a sort of sinful men, and do rob the poor of such alms as are given to them. Such priests be manifest betrayers of Christ and of the whole church, and be Satan's own stewards, to beguile christian souls by their hypocrisy and feigned pardons. Also, forasmuch as those prelates and clergymen live so execrable a life, contrary to the gospel of Christ and examples of his apostles, and teach not truly the gospel, but only lies and the traditions of sinful wicked men, it appeareth most manifestly, that they have not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but rather the keys of hell; and they may be right well assured, that God never gave unto them authority to make and establish so many ceremonies and traditions which be contrary to the liberty of the gospel, and are blocks in christian men's ways, that they can neither know nor observe the same his gospel in liberty of conscience, and so attain a ready way to heaven.

Popish priests have not the keys of heaven but rather of hell.

Also, that all manner of religious men, notwithstanding the chapter 'Religiosi,' touching the privileges in the 'Clementines,' may lawfully minister all sacraments to them that are worthy the same; forasmuch as the same is a work of charity, which it is only the will and ordinance of the pope and his fautors, in this case, to hinder and let. Item, If the pope shall interdict this our realm, that cannot hurt us, but much profit us, because that thereby he should separate us from all his wicked laws, and from the charges of sustaining so many thousand shavelings, who, with small devotion, or none at all, patter and chatter a new-found song, 'Secundum usum Sarum:' so that not whatsoever the pope in his general council bindeth on earth, is bound of God in heaven, either for that he bindeth unreasonably, and contradictorily doth against himself, or else, for that he hath forsaken the judgment of God.

The pope's curse hurteth not, but profiteth.

As touching the preaching of the gospel, whosoever receiveth or taketh upon him the office of a priest, or of a bishop, and dischargeth not the same by the example of his good conversation and faithful preaching of the gospel, is a thief, excommunicated of God and of holy church. And further, if the curates preach not the word of God, they shall be damned, and if they know not how to preach, they ought to resign their benefices: so that those prelates who preach not the gospel of Christ, although they could excuse themselves from the doing of any other evil, are dead in themselves, are Antichrists, and Satans transfigured into angels of light, night-thieves, man-quellers by daylight, and betrayers of Christ's people.

Gossopry not sufficient cause to restrain matrimony.

Concerning the sacrament of matrimony: notwithstanding any spiritual kindred or gossopry, a man and woman may lawfully marry together by the law of God, without any dispensation papistical. And in the same place he saith, that if our realm do admit one not born in matrimony, or illegitimate, to the imperial crown, so that he doth well discharge the office of a king, God maketh him a king, and by consequence doth reject another king or heir of the kingdom, being born in matrimony and legitimate: so for such spiritual kindred there ought no divorce to be made. Also, notwithstanding the chapter 'Si inter', 'de sponsalibus,' if any man shall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tense, by an oath taken, and afterwards shall, with another woman, make the like contract by the words of the present tense, that then the second contract standeth. Also if a man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tense, upon his oath taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another, not altering the words, and hath carnal connexion upon the same, the first contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the second. Also if a man, before witness, assure himself to a woman by a contract made in the present tense, and hath children by the same woman, and afterwards the same man marrieth another woman, with the like words in the

The first marriage, lawfully before witness made, standeth.

Henry IV. A.D. 1401.

present tense before witness, although the first witnesses be dead, or else by bribes corrupt, and the second bring his witnesses before the judge to prove the second contract, the first contract yet standeth in force, although the pope, allowing the second contract, doth compel them to live in adultery, against the commandment of God. Also he condemneth the decretal of the restitution of things stolen, cap. 'Literas tuas,' which willeth that a man and woman having carnal connexion in the degree of consanguinity forbidden, and no witness thereof, if the woman will depart from the man, she shall be compelled by the censures to remain with him, and to yield her debt. Also, in case where a man hath made contract with two women, with one secretly, having no witness, and with the other openly, having witness, then were it better to acknowledge the insufficiency of the law, and to suffer men to be ruled by their own consciences, than by the censures to compel them to commit, and live in adultery.

Keeping and making vows.

As touching the keeping and making of vows: that vow or oath is beastly, and is without all discretion made, which to perform and keep, a man hath no power, but by grace given him of God; because that some such there be, whom God doth not accept to persevere in the state of chastity and perpetual virginity; and such a one cannot keep his vow, although he make the same. Also that every one making a vow of continency or chastity, when, making the same, he shall not be accepted of God, doth very indiscreetly, and as one without all reason maketh the same, when he is not able of himself, without the gift of God, to fulfil his promise, according to that saying of the wise man, chapter viii. 'No man hath the gift of continency, unless that God give it unto him:' for otherwise, if God help not such a one to perform the vow or oath which he hath made and taken, no prelate can compel him, unless he do contrary to God's ordinance; but he ought to commit himself to the government of God's Holy Spirit, and his own conscience.

Possessions of the church.

As to the possessions of the church, in another treatise it is declared, how the king, the lords, and commons, may, without any charge at all, keep fifteen garrisons, and find fifteen thousand soldiers (having sufficient lands and revenues to live upon) out of the temporalties gotten into the hands of the clergy, and feigned religious men, who never do that which pertaineth to the office of curates to do, nor yet to secular lords. And, moreover, the king may have, every year, twenty thousand pounds to come freely into his coffers, and above. Also he may find or sustain fifteen colleges more, and fifteen thousand priests and clerks with sufficient living, and a hundred hospitals for the sick, and every house to have one hundred marks in lands. And all this may they take of the aforesaid temporalties, without any charge to the realm; whereunto the king, the lords, and the commons are to be invited: for otherwise, there seemeth to hang over our heads a great and marvellous alteration of this realm, unless the same be put in execution. Also, if the secular priests and feigned religious, who be simoniacs and heretics, who feign themselves to say mass, and yet say none at all, according to the canons, which to their purpose they bring and allege, 1 quæst. 3. 'Audivimus,' et cap. 'Pudenda,' et cap. 'Schisma;' by which chapter such priests and religious do not make the sacrament of the altar: that then all Christians, especially all the founders of such abbeys, and endowers of bishoprics, priories, and chanteries, ought to amend this fault and treason committed against their predecessors, by taking from them such secular dominions as are the maintenance of all their sins: and also that christian lords and princes are bound to take away from the clergy such secular dominion as nousleth and nourisheth them in heresies, and ought to reduce them unto the simple and poor life of Christ Jesus and his apostles.

Belly-cheer of ill-disposed prelates and of monasteries, not to be nourished with temporalties and appropriations.

And further, that all christian princes, if they will amend the malediction and blasphemy of the name of God, ought to take away their temporalties from that shaven generation, which most of all doth nourish them in such malediction. And so in like wise the fat tithes from churches appropriate to rich monks, and other religious, feigned by manifest lying, and other unlawful means; likewise ought they to debar their gold to the proud priest of Rome, who doth poison all Christendom with simony and heresy. Further, that it is a great abomination that bishops, monks, and other prelates, be so great lords in this world; whereas Christ, with his apostles and disciples, never took upon them secular dominion, neither did they appropriate unto them churches, as these men do, but led a poor life, and gave a good testimony of their priesthood. And

therefore, all Christians ought, to the uttermost of their power and strength, to swear that they will reduce such shavelings to the humility and poverty of Christ and his apostles; and whosoever doth not thus, consenteth to their heresy. Also that these two chapters of the immunity of churches are to be condemned, that is, cap. 'Non minus,' and cap. 'Adversus;' because they do decree, that temporal lords may neither require tallages nor tenths of any ecclesiastical persons.

Correction of the clergy.

Now to the correction of the clergy. By the law of God, and by reason, the king and all other Christians may take revenge of Italy, and of all the false priests and clerks within the same, and reduce them unto the humble ordinance of Jesus Christ. Also that the law of Silvester the pope, which is declared in 2 q. 5. cap. 'Præsul,' and cap. 'Nullam,' is contrary to the law of Christ, and either Testament: and that the proud and ambitious Silvester, by his law, so defended two cardinals who were not to be defended by the law of Christ, that by no means they might be convinced, although they were both vicious and evil: and that although Christ sustained and suffered the judgment of unjust temporal judges, our mitred prelates in these days so magnify themselves beyond Christ and his apostles, that they refuse and will none of such judgments: also that, those decretals of accusations, cap. 'Qualiter et quando,' which do prohibit that any clerks should be brought before a secular judge to receive judgment, do contain both heresy, blasphemy, and error, and bring great gain and commodity to Antichrist's coffers.

Punishing of adultery belongeth to secular magistrates rather than to prelates.

Futhermore, that all christian kings and lords ought to exclaim against the pope and those that be his fautors, and banish them out of their lands, till such time as they will obey God and his gospel, kings, and other ministers of God's justice. Also that bishops and their favourers, that say it appertaineth not to kings and secular lords, but unto them and their officials, to punish adultery and fornication, do fall into manifest treason against the king, and heresy against the Scripture. Also that it appertaineth to the king to have the order both of priests and bishops, as these kings Solomon and Jehoshaphat had.

Furthermore, that chapter 'Nullus judicum,' 'de foro competenti,' by which secular judges are forbidden, without the bishop's commandment, to condemn any clerk to death, is manifestly against the holy Scripture, declaring that kings have power over clerks and priests, to punish them for their deserved crimes. Also that the decree of Boniface, 'De pœnis,' in 6. cap. 'Felicis,' made against the prosecutors, strikers, and imprisoners of cardinals, is contrary both to the holy Scripture, and to all reason. Also that by the law of God and reason, a secular lord may lawfully take a cardinal and put him in prison for committing the crime of open simony, adultery, and manifest blasphemy. Also that the chapter 'Si Papa,' dist. 40, which saith that the pope ought to be judged of none, unless he be 'devius a fide,' is contrary to the gospel, which saith, 'If thy brother sin against thee, correct him.' Also whereas St. Gregory and St. Augustine called themselves the servants of God's servants, this proud bishop of Rome, who will not be judged by his subjects (who be in very deed his lords, if they be just and good men), doth destroy the order of God's law, and all humility, and doth extol himself above God and his apostles.

Good kings ought to depose wicked popes.

Also that christian kings ought not only to judge this proud bishop of Rome, but also to depose him, by the example that Cestrensis, lib. 6. cap. 8. declareth of Otho the emperor, who deposed John XII., and did institute Leo in his place. And further, he maketh an exhortation to the princes to judge the church of Rome, which he calleth the great and cursed strumpet, of whom St. John writeth in the Apocalypse, chap. xvii.

Lastly, touching the laws and determinations of the church, Christians have reasonable excuses and causes to repel the statutes of the pope and of his shavelings, which be not expressly grounded on the holy Scriptures, or else upon reason inevitable. Also he saith, that the law of consecration, which is set forth, distinctione 2. cap. 'Seculares,' and cap. 'Omnis homo,' and cap. 'Et si non frequentius,' and cap. 'In cœna Domini:' that such secular men as do not receive the sacrament of the altar at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, are not to be counted amongst the number of Christians, nor to be esteemed as Christians: whereby it followeth that all clerks and laymen that observe not the same, it seemeth they go straight to hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the custom and use in receiving is contrary to the same, then may we bless such rebellion and disobedience to the pope, and his law; for otherwise we should flee to hell without any stay or

Henry IV. A. D. 1401.

let. Hereby we may conclude, that all Christians ought well to practise this school of disobedience against the pope and all his laws (not founded upon the Scripture), which do let men to climb to heaven by the keeping of charity, and the liberty of the gospel. Also that christian men have great cause to refuse the laws and statutes of these worldly clerks, which the people call the papal laws, and bishoplike statutes, for the covetousness and voluptuousness of them; without which the church and congregation of God might safely run towards heaven by the sweet yoke of the Lord, as it did a thousand years before the said laws were prescribed and sent to the universities, and withdrew men from studying of the holy Scripture, for the desire of benefices and worldly goods. Also, that simple men do reverently receive the sentences of the doctors and other laws, so far forth as they be expressly grounded upon the holy Scripture or good reason. Also that whereas the pope's laws, and laws of his ministers and clerks be both contrary to themselves, and have not their foundation either in the Scripture, or yet in reason, simple men ought to bid them farewell. Also that when all the apostles' faith failed them in the time of the Lord's passion, faith then resting in the blessed virgin, much more might that proud priest of Rome, with all his rabble, easily err in the faith; and yet is the christian faith preserved whole and safe in the faithful members of Christ, who are his true church, but the pope and all his rabblement cannot prove that they be any part of his church. Also that the pope with all his fautors may as well be deceived by a lying spirit, as were Ahab and all his prophets; and that one true phophet, as was Micaiah, may have the verity showed unto him, 'contra Concilium.' Also that all good Christians ought to cast from them the pope's laws, saying, 'Let us break their bands in sunder, and let us cast from our necks those heavy yokes of theirs.' Also that where these prelates do burn one good book for one error, perhaps, contained in the same, they ought to burn all the books of the canon-law, for the manifold heresies contained in them.

The pope's laws contrary to themselves.

He and his cardinals no part of the true church.

The canon law full of heresy.

And thus much out of a certain old written book in parchment, borrowed once of J. B., which book, containing divers ancient records of the university, seemeth to belong sometime to the library of the university, bearing the year of the compiling thereof, 1396, which computation if it be true, then was it written by Purvey, ere that he recanted before Thomas Arundel, archbishop, at Saltwood, where he was imprisoned. Hereunto I have thought good to annex a certain godly and most fruitful sermon of like antiquity, preached at Paul's Cross much about the same time, which was A. D. 1388, by a certain learned clerk, as I find in an old monument, named R. Wimbeldon. Albeit among the ancient registers and records belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury, I have an old worn copy of the said sermon, written in very old English, and almost half consumed with age, purporting the said author hereof, bearing also the aforesaid name; the true copy of which sermon, in his own speech wherein it was first spoken and preached at the Cross, on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, and afterwards exhibited to the archbishop of Canterbury, being then, as it seemeth, William Courtney, here followeth.

See Appendix.

A Sermon no lesse godly than learned, preached at Paules Crosse on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, anno 1388, by R. Wimbeldon.[1]

'Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.'—Lucæ xvi. 2.

My dere frends, ye shullen vnderstond, that Christ, autor and doctour of trueth, in his booke of the gospell (likening the kingdome of heauen to an housholder) saith on this manner: 'Like is the kingdome of heauen to an housholding man, that went out first on the morow to hire workemen into his vine:

(1) This sermon appears to have produced considerable excitement, both at the period of its delivery, and also at its publication. It is commonly called "a godlie and famous sermon, preached in the yeere of our Lord 1388, at Paule's Crosse, on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, by R. Wimbeldon; and found hyd in a vvall." The text: Luke xvi "Redde rationem villicationis tuæ." ".Come, give a reconing of thy Baylywicke." Casley, in his Catalogue of MSS. in the Royal Library, p. 273.

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also, about ye third, sixt, nienth, and eleuent houres, he went out, and found men stonding idel, and said to them, * Why[1] stande ye here vnoccupied?* Go ye into mine vineyerde, and that right is I wille geue you. When the day was agoo, he clepid his stuward and high to geue eche man a peny.'

The spirituall vnderstonding of this householder, is our Lord Jesu Christ, that is head of the houshold of holy church, and thus clepith men in diuerce houres of the day, that is, in diuerce agees of the werld; as in time of law of kind,[2] he cleped, by enspiring Abel, Ennok, Noe, and Abraham; in time of the old law, Moses, Dauid, Isay, and Jeremy, * with the prophets; * and in time of grace, apostles, martyrs, and confessours and virgines. Also he cleped men in diuers agees, some on childhode, as Iohn Baptist; some on state of wexing, as Iohn the Euangelist; some in state of manhood, as Peter and Andrew; and some in old agee, as Gamaliel, and Ioseph of Arimathie; and all these he clepeth to trauaile in his vine, that is, the church, and that on diuers manner. For, right as ye see, that in tilling of the materiall vine there ben diuers labours, for some kutten awey the void branches, some maken forkis and railes to beren vp the vine, and some diggen away the old earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter; and all this offices ben so necessary to the vine, that if any of them faile, it shal harme greatly, other[3] destroy the vine; for but if[4] the vine be kutte, she shall waxe wilde, but if she be rayled, she shall be ourgo with netles[5] and wedis; and but if the rote be fatted with dong, she for feblenes shuld wax baraine. Right so in the church, beth nedefull these three offices, priesthood, knythode, and laborers. To priesthood it falleth to kut away the void braunches of sinnes with the swerd of her tong. To knighthode it falleth to letten wrongs and thefftes[6] to ben done, and to maintaine Goddis law, and them that ben teachers thereof, and also to kepe the londe from enemies of other londes. And to labourers it falleth to trauail bodelich, and with their sore swete, geten out of the earth bodilech lifelode for hem and other partes. And these states beth also nedefull to the church, that none may well ben without other: for if priesthod lacked, the people, for default of knowing of Goddis law, should waxe wilde in vices, and deyen gostely: and if the knithod laked, and men to rulin the puple by law and hardinesse, theeues and enemies shulden so encres, that no man shuld liue in peace: and if the laborers were nought, both knightes and priestes must become acre men and herdis; and els, they shuld, for defaut of bodily sustenance, deye. And, therefore, saith clerke Auicenne, that euery vnreasonable best, if he haue that, that kind[7] hath ordeined for him, as kind hath ordeined it, he has suffisance to liue by himselfe without any help of other of the same kind. And if there were but one horse, other one shepe in the world; yet, if he had grasse and corne, as kind hath ordeined for such beasts, he shuld liue well enow. But, if there ne were but o[8] man in the world, though he had all that good that is therein, yet, for defaut, he shuld deie, or his life shuld be wors than if he were naught: and the cause is this, for that thing that kind ordeineth for a mans sustenance, without other arraieng than it hath of kind, accordeth nought to him. As though a man haue corne as it commeth from the earth, yet it is no meate according to him, vnto it be, by mans craft, chaunged into bread; and though he haue flesh other fish, yet, while it is rawe as kind ordeined it, till it be by mans trauaile sodden, rosted, or baken, it corded not to mans lifelode. And right so wolle, that the sheepe beareth, mot, by mannis diuers craftis and trauailes, be chaunged or[9] it be able to cloth any man; and certis, o man, by himselfe, shuld neuer doo all these

The calling of God is diverse.

See Appendix

mentions, "Tho. Wimbleton's two sermons at Paul's Cross, on Luke xvi. 2, preached A. D. 1388." In the Catalogue of MSS. at Sidney College, Cambridge, is "A Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, an. 1389, on Quinquagisima Sunday, by Tho. Wimbledon." In the Catalogue of Caius College, Cambridge, is 'R. Wimbledon Concio: extat quoq: Anglice 1593, 8vo." In the Bodleian Library, is the same document, "by R. Wimbleton, an. 1388." This sermon was first printed by John Kynge, without date, between 1550 and 1561. See Herbert's edition of Ames's Typographical Antiquities, vol. 2, p. 1098. In the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, the title of the sermon is as follows: "A Sermon no lesse frutefull then famous. Made in the yeare of our Lord God M.CCC.LXXXVIII. In these our later dayes moste necessary to be knowen. Neyther addinge to, nor diminishing from. Saue the olde and rude English thereof mended here and there." The phraseology and orthography which Foxe adopted in the first, do not occur in the subsequent copies of this sermon. In that edition, p. 175, he says, "neither is there any name expressed thereon," and, "it seemeth to be of Wickliffe's doing;" in the second and following edition he acknowledges it as R. Wimbledon's Sermon.—Ed.

(1) The sentences in asterisks are from the Edition of 1563.—Ed.
(2) "Law of kind," nature.—Ed. (3) "Other," or.—Ed. (4) "But if," unless.—Ed.
(5) Ed. 1570, Thistles.—Ed. (6) "Thefftes;" "the hestes." Ed. 1563.—Ed.
(7) "Kind," nature.—Ed. (8) "O," one.—Ed. (9) "Or," ere, before.—Ed.

Henry IV. labours. And therefore, saith this clerke, it is neede that some be acre men, some bakers, some makers of cloth;[1] and some marchaunts, to fetch that, that one londe fetteth from an other, as there it is plentie.

A.D. 1388. And certis, this shuld be a cause, why euery state should loue other; and men of o craft, shuld not despise ne hate men of none other craft, sith they be so nedefull euerich to other; and oft thelke crafts that ben most vnhonest, might worst ben forbore. And o thing I dare well say, that he that is neither trauailing in this world on studieng, on praiers, on preaching for helpe of the people (as it falleth to priests), neither ruling the people, mainteining ne defending fro enemies (as it falleth to knights,) neither traueling on earth, in diuerse craftes (as it falleth to labourers), whan the day of reckening commeth, that is, the end of this life, right as he liued here withouten trauaile, so he shall there lack the reward of the 'penie,' that is, the endles ioie of heauen; and, as he was here liuing after none state ne order, so he shall be put than in that place that no order is in, but euerlasting horror and sorrow, that is, in hell. Herfore, euerich man see to what state God hath cleped him, and dwell he therein by trauile, according to his degree. Thou that art a laborer or a crafty man, do this truelly. If thou art a seruant or a bondman, be suget and lowe, in drede of displeasing of thy Lord. If thou art a marchaunt, disceiue nought thy brother in chaffering. If thou art a knight or a lord, defend the poore man and needy fro hands that will harme them. If thou art a iustice or a iudge, go not on the right hand by fauour, neither on the left hand, to punish any man for hate. If thou art a priest, vndernime,[2] praye, and reproue, in all maner patience and doctrine. Vndernime thilke that ben negligent, pray[3] for thilke that bene obedient, reproue tho that ben vnobedient to God, so euery man trauaile in his degree: for, whan the euenhis come, that is, the end of this worlde, than euerye man shall take reward, good or euill, after that he hath trauailed here.

Job x. 2Cor.xvii. 1 Pet. ii. 1 Thes.iv. Prov. viii. 2 Tim. iv.

The words that I haue taken to make of my sermon, be thus much to say, 'Yeld reconing of thy bayly.[4] Christ, autour of pity, the louer of the saluation of his people, in the process of this gospell enfourmeth euery man what is his bayly, by maner of a parable of a bayly that he speaketh of, to aray him to answer of the goods that God hath taken him, when the day of straight reconing shall be come, that is, the day of dome. And so I, at this time, thorowe the helpe of God, following Him that is so great a maister of authoritie, because that I know nothing that should more draw away mans vnreasonable loue fro the passing ioy of this world, then the minde of the dreadfull reconing. As much as suffice, I shall shew you how ye shall dispose you to auoide the vengeaunce of God, when there shal be time of so straight doome, that we shall geue reconing of euery idle word that we haue ispoken. For than it shall be said to vs, and we shall not flee it: 'Yelde reconing of thy bayly.'

Nota.

But, for forther process of this first party of this sermon, yee shall wete that there shall be three baylifes that shall be cleped to this straight reconing: twaine, to answer for themselfe and for other. That bene, priests, that haue cure of mens soules, and temporall men, that haue gouernayle of people. And the third baylyf shall acount onely for himselfe, and that is, euerye christen man, of that he hath receiued of God. And euery of these shull aunswer to three questions: to the first question, How hast thou entred? the second, How hast thow ruled? and to the third, How hast thou liued? And if thou canst well assoile these three questions, was there neuer none earthly lord that euer so well rewarded his seruant without comparison, as thy lord God shal reward thee: that is, with blisse, and ioy, and life that euer shall last. But, on that other side, and thou wilt now be recheles of thine owne welfare, and take none heede of this reconing: if that day take thee sodainly, so that thou passe hence in deadly sinne (as thou wotst neuer what shall fall thee), all the toungs that euer were, or euer shall be, mow not tell the sorrow and wo, that thou shalt euer be in, and suffer. Therfore the desire of so great ioy, and the dread of so great paine, though loue ne dread of God were not in thine hart, yet should thou make thee afeard to sinne, for to thinke that thou shalt giue reckoning of thy bayly.

Three questions.

Therfore, as I say to thee, the first question that shall be proposed to the first

(1) "Makers of cloth," "men of occupations." Ed. 1563.—Ed.
(2) "Vndernime," &c., "instruct, praise, and reprove." Ed. 1563.—Ed.
(3) "Pray *for*," "praise." Ed. 1563.—Ed. (4) "Bayly," villicatio; bailiwick, or stewardship.—Ed

bayly (that is a prelate, other a curat of mens soules) is this: How hast thou entred? [Matt. xxii.] 'friend, how entredst thou hether?' who brought thee into this office? truth or symony? God or the deuill? grace or mony? the flesh or the spirit? Give thou thy reconing if thou canst. If thou canst not, I rede[1] that thou tary for to learne; for, vp hap ere night thou shalt be cleped. And if thou stande dombe for vnkunning, or els for confusion of thy conscience, thou fall into the sentence that anon followeth: 'Binde his hands and his feete, and cast him into the vtterward of darkness; there shall be weeping and grenning[2] of teeth.' Therfore I rede thee, thou aduise thee how thou shalt answer to the question: How hast thou entred? whether by cleping,[3] or by thine owne procuring: for that thou wouldest trauaile in Gods gospell, other for thou wouldest be richly arayed? Answere now to thy owne conscience, as thou shalt answer to God, thou that hast take now the order of prieste (whether thou be curate or none). Who stirred thee to take vpon thee so high an estate? whether for thou wouldest liue as a priest ought to do, studying of Gods law to preach, and most hartely to pray for the people; or for to liue a delicious life vpon other mens trauale, and thy selfe trauale nought.

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Against simony.

Why, also, setten men their sonnes either their cousins to schole? whereto? but for to get them great aduancements, or to make them the better to know how they shoulden serue God. This, men may see openly, by the sciences that they set them to. Why, I pray you, put men their sonnes to the law ciuill, or to the kings court to write letter and writs, rather than to philosophy or diuinity, but for the hope that these occupations should be euer means to make them great in the world. I hope that there will no man say, that they ne should better learne the rule of good liuing in the booke of God's law, than in any bookes of man's worldly wisedome? But, certes, now it is sothe that Iohn Chrysostom saith: 'Mothers be louing to the bodies of their children, but the soule they despise; they desire them to wel fare in this world, but they take none hede[4] what they shall suffer in the tother. Some ordeinen fees for their children, but none ordeine them to godward. The lust[5] of their bodies they wol decre by, but the health of their soule they reke nought of. If they see them poore or sicke, they sorrow and sigheth; but though they see them sin, they sorrow not. And in this they shew that they brought forth the bodies, but not the soules.'[6]

And, if we take heede truly what abhominations be scattered and spread abrode in holy church now adayes among priests, we shul wel wit that they come not all to the folde of Christ, by Christes cleping, for to profit, but by other wayes, to get them worldly welth: and this is the cause of lesing of soules that Christ bought so deare, and of many errours among the people. And, therefore, it is iwrit in the booke of Mourning, where the prophet speaketh thus to God [Lam. i. 10.]: 'The enemy hath put his hand to all things desirable to him; for he hath let lawles folke enter into the sanctuary, of the which thou hadst commanded, that they should not enter into the church.' This enemy is Sathanas, as his name sowneth, that hath put his hand to all that him liketh. What sinne, I pray you, will the fiend haue sow on men, that nis now yvsed? In what plenty is now pride, enuy, wrath, and couetise? Whan were they so great as they be now? and so of all other sinnes. And why, trowest thou? But for there be a lawles people entred into thy sanctuarie, that neither keepe in themselfe the law of God, ne konne teachen other. And to euery such, saith God by the prophet [Ose iv.], 'For that thou hast put away cunning,[7] I shall put thee away, that thou shall vse no priesthoode to me.' Lo that God expresly heere in holy writ forbiddeth men to take the state of pristhoode on them, but they haue cunning that needeth them. Thou, than, that canst neither rule thy selfe ne other after the law of God, beware how thou wilt answer to God, at his dreadfull dome, when he shall say to thee, that which I tooke to my theame: 'Yeld the reckening of thy bayly, how thou hast entred.'

The rash making of ministers.

The second question, that euery curate and prelate of holy chirch shall

(1) "Rede," counsel.—Ed.
(2) "Grenning," or, as in Ed. 1563, "grenting," i. e. grinding. See Todd's Johnson, "Grint."—Ed.
(3) "Cleping," calling.—Ed.
(4) "Take none heed;" "pass not," Ed. 1563.—Ed.
(5) "The lust," &c.; "the losse of their bodies they will sore bewail." Ed. 1563.—Ed.
(6) Johannes Chrysostomus, Homilia xxvii.
(7) "Cunning:" knowledge.—Ed.

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answer to, is this: How hast thou ruled? that is to say, the soules of thy suggets, and the goods of poore men: geue now thine account. First, how thou hast gouerned God's folke that were take thee to keepe? Whether art thou an herd, or an hired man, that doost all for loue of bodelich hire; as a father, or as a wolfe that eaten his sheepe and keepeth them nought? Say, whom hast thou turned from his cursed liuing, by thy deuout preaching? whom hast thou taught the law of God, that was earst vncunning? There shall ben heard a grieuous accusing of fatherles children, and a hard alledging[1] that priests haue liueden by *their* wages, and not done away their sins. Yelde also rekoning how thou hast ruled, and spended the goods of poore men. Harke what S. Bernard saith: 'Dread clarks, dread the ministers of the church, the which ben in the place of saints, that they do so wickedly, nought holding them apayd with such wages that were sufficient to them.' That ouerplus that needy men should be sustained by, they be not ashamed to wast in the house of their pride and leachery, and withholden to themselfe wickedly and cursedly that which should be the lifeloode of poore men. With double wickednes truly they sinne: first, for they receuen other mens goods, and saith, they misuse holy things in their vanities and in their filthes. Euery such bayly therefore beware, for anone, to the last farthing he shall recken with Christ. Trowest thou not then, that thou ne shalt be disalowed of God, of that thou hast mispended[2] in feeding of fat palfreys, of hounds, of haukes, and if it so be, that is worst of all, on lecherous women? Heare what is said of such: 'They had led their dayes in wealths; and, in a poynt, they bene gone downe into hell.' Thinke, therefore, I rede thee, that thou shalt yelde reckening of thy bayly.

Bernard. Sermo 23. in Cant. § 12.

The third question that this bayly shall aunswere to, is this: How hast thou liued? what light of holynes hast thou shewed, in thy liuing, to the people, or what mirrour hast thou ben of holynes to them? geue now thy reconing, how thou hast liued, as a priest or as a leude[3] man, as a man or as a beast That is to wonder truely, how the life of priestes is chaunged! They be clothen as knights; they speaken as vnhonestly as carels, other of winning as marchaunts; they riden as princes: and all that is thus spended, is of the goods of poore men, and of Christ's heretage. Therefore, saith an holy doctor, 'The clay of Egypt was tough and stinking,[4] and medled with bloud. The slates were hard to be vndoe, for they were baked with fire of couetise, and with the light[5] of lust. In this trauaileth rich men, in this they wake, awaiting poore men. In these trauaileth prelates, that ben too much blent[6] with too much shining of riches, that make them houses like churches in greatnes, that with diuers paintries coloren their chambers, that with diuers clothings of colours make images gay: but the poore man, for default of clothes, beggeth, and, with an empty wombe, cryeth at the doore. And if I shall the sooth say,' saith this doctor, 'oft time poore men be robbed for to clothe the trees and stones.' Of such speaketh the prophet, 'How art thou heere, or as who art thou?'[7] Here thou art occupying the place of Peter and of Poule, or of Thomas or of Martine. But how? As Iudas among the apostles, as Symon Magus among the disciples; as a candle new queint,[8] that stincheth al the house in steed of a light lanterne; as a smoke that blindeth mens eien, in place of clean fire. If thou contrarie thus the forme of liuing that Christ and his disciples left to priests, Lo, what saith the prophet Ieremy: 'They haue entred, and they haue had, and nought ben obedient.' They hauen, with false title or with their false and corrupt intention, had poore mens goods to their misusing; and they haue not be obedient to the law of God in their owne liuing. Therfore it is writ, that the hardest dome shal fall on such. An hard dome, for they haue mis-entred; an harder dome, for they haue misruled; and the hardest dome, for they haue so cursedlie liued. Thinke, therefore, I rede, how thou wilt giue reckning of thy baily!

Jer. xxxi. Cap. vi.

(1) "Alledging;" "a strait alledging of al the floke that thou hast take of them thy liuing, through their labour and sweat, and do nothing therfor; but let them goo astray, wandring for pasture and water, and none geuen them by thee." Ed. 1563, p. 177.—Ed.

(2) "Mispended;" and in bringing vp of yonge idle fellowes nourished or taught, as it were, in a schole, to blaspheme God in al manner of poyntes of euil liuynge, in feeding," &c. Ed. 1563. p. 177.—Ed.

(3) "Leude man;" a layman, unlearned —Ed. (4) "Stinking;" "stycking." Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(5) "Light," &c.; "layre or earthe of lustes." Ib.—Ed. (6) "Blent;" "blineded." Ib —Ed.

(7) Esa. xxii. Quis tu hic, aut quasi quid hic? (8) "Queint;" quenched.—Ed.

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The second bayliff that accounteth at this dome for himselfe, and also for other, is hee that keeping hath of any communite, as kings, princes, maiers, and shireues, and iustices: and these shull also answer to the same three questions. The first question: How hast thou hentred (that is to say, into thine office)? other for helpe of the people, to destroy falshed and fortheren truth, other for desire of winning, or worldly worship? If thou take such an office more for thine owne worldlie profit than for the helpe of the comunite, thou art a tyrant, as the philosopher seith. For it is to feare least there bene too many that desiren such states, that they may the rather oppresse thilk that they hateth, and take gifts to spare to punish thilke that hauen trespassed; and so maketh them parteners of their sinnes; and for bribes they work all things. And many such, when they ben so high, they reck nought that they beth poore mens brethren; but they weene to passe them in kind, as they passeth in worldlie worshippe, that is but winde *and[1] vanity:* of which God saith by the prophet, 'They hauen raigned, but nought of me; they haue bene princes, but I know nought.' So we read of Roboam, that was the son of king Salomon: what time he was first king *avanced in his heart,* the people of Israell comen to him and said, 'Thy father, in his last daies, put on vs great charge. Wee pray thee some deale make it lighter, and we willen serue thee. And the king took counsaile of the old wise men, and they counsailden to answer them faire, and that should bee for the best. But he left these old wise mennis counsaile, and did after the counsaile of children that were his playferen, and saide to the people when they came againe, My left finger is greater than my father's riegge.[2] My father grieued you somewhat, but I wil echen more thereto.' And the people heard this, and rebeleden to him, and tooke them another king; and sith, the kingdome came neuer whole again. And therefore it is good that euerie ruler of cominalties, that they be not lad by follies, ne by none other eare-rowner,[3] that he ne haue an eygh of loue to the comontie that he hath to rule. For wete ye wel, bee he neuer so high, that he shal come afore his higher, to yeeld reconing of his bayly.

Kings, princes, and magistrates admonished. How hast thou entered? Ose. viii. II. Chron. x.

The second question is, How hast thou ruled the people and the office that thou haddest to gouerne? thou that hast bene a iudge in causes of poore men, how hast thou kept this hest of God? 'Thou shalt not take heed to the person of a poore man, to be to him the harder for his pouertie, ne thou shalt not behold a rich mans semblance, to spare or to fauour him in his wrong for his riches?' O Lord! what abusion is there among officers of both lawes now a daies. If a great man pleadeth with a poore man, to haue ought that he holdeth, euerie officer shall be readie to hie al that he may, that the rich man might haue such an end as he desired. But if a poore man plead with a rich man, than there shal be so many delaies, that though the poor man's right be open to all the countrey, for pure faut of spending, he shal be glad to cease. Shriues and bailiffes willen retourne poore men's writs, with 'tarde venit,' but gif they feelen meed in their hands: and yet I heare say (men that hauen seyen both lawes), that ilke court that is cleped Christ's court, is much more cursed. Therfore it is writ, 'Giftes they taken out of mens bosoms, to ouerturne the right way of dome;' but it is to dread the word of Christ: 'In what dome ye deeme, ye should be demed, when ye comen to yelde a reconing of your bayly.'

How hast thou ruled. Deut. ix. Prov. xiii. Matt. vii.

The third question is, How hast thou liued, that thou deemest and punishest other men for their trespas? A great doctor saith: 'Thee behoueth to flee the wickednesse of other men, that thou chastisest them for their trespas. For if thy selfe do vnlawfullich, in deming other men, thou damnest thy selfe, syth thou doest that thou damnest.' And Poul saith, 'Why teachest thou nought thy selfe, that thou teachest other? why stealest thou, that teachest nought other men to steale?' Saint Gregory saith: 'He shal not take gouernaile of other, that can not goe before them in good liuing. And when any man stand before him in dome, he must take heed to fore what Judge *he* shal stand him selfe, to take his dome after his deedes.' But it is to dread, that many fareth as twe false priestes, that woulden haue damned to death holie Susan, for she would not assent to their leacherie; of the which it is writ, 'They turned away their eyen, for they would not see heauen, ne haue minde of rightful domes.' So it happeth oft, they that were more worthy to bee hanged, damneth them

How hast thou lived. Rom. ii. Susan.

(1) The asterisks denote, that words are introduced from the Edition of 1563.—Ed.
(2) "Riegge;" back-bone.—Ed. (3) "Eare-rowner;" whisperer.—Ed.

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that be lesse worthy; as a clerke telleth of Socrates the philosopher. Saith he, 'Upon a day a man asked of him, why he laughed. And he saide, For I see great theeues leaden a little theefe to hanging.' I pray thee, whether is he a greater theefe that benimeth[1] a man his house and his lande from him and from his heires for euermore, other he that, for making of great need, stealeth a sheepe or a calfe?'[2] Whether trowe wee nought, that it happeth such extortioners to bee otherwhile iudges, and demeth men thus: but I rede thee, that thus deemest other, thinke on that dome thou shalt come to, to yelde the rekening of thine bayly.

Socrates.

The third bailey. The third admonition in general to every christian man.

The third baylife that shal be cleped to this dredfull acount shal bee euery christian man, that shall geue rekening to his Lord God, for goods that he hath had of hys. And heere I will speake but of the first question, that is this: How entrest thou? And heere, by the waie, ye that haue gotten any worldly good, other take by extortion, by rauine, by vsurie, other by deceit, 'Wo shall be to him at this dreadful day,' as Sainct Austen sayth. If he be cast into the fire, that hath nought giuen of his owne good, where, trowest thou, shal he be castin, that hath reued other mens from them? And if he shulle brenne with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked, where trowest shal he brenne that hath made him naked that was earst clothed? But, as Sainct Gregorie saith, 'Two things maketh men to liue thus by rauaine of other neighbors; that they desire heynes, and dread pouerty.'[3]

Zach. v.

And what vengeance falleth of this sinne of couetise, I may see by figure in holy writ, when the angel sayd to prophet Zacharie, 'Rere vp thine eien, and see what is, that goeth out. And the prophet said, What is it? Then the angell saide, This is the potte going out; this is the eize[4] of hem on all the earth. And there was a weight of lead I bore, and there was a woman sitting in the middle of this pot: and the angell saide, This is impietie. And he tooke her, and cast her into the middle of this pot; and he tooke the gobbette of lead, and cast it into the pots mouth. And the prophet lift vp his eie, and he saw two women comming out, and spirits in her wingis, like two kytes other gledes;[5] and they carerid vp this pot betweene heauen and the earth. And than the prophet spake to the angell, Whider wol these beare this pot? And he saide, Into the lond of Sennaar.' This pot is couetise; for right as a pot hath a wide open mouth, so couetise gapeth after worldlie good. And right as the licour in the pot profiteth nought to the pot, but to men that draweth and drinketh therof; so worldly good, oft, profiteth not to churles, but to other that commeth after; as it is written, 'He that hath money, shall haue no fruite of it.' And this couetise is the eie of couetous men, for they ben blinde to see how they should see to goe to heauen, but to winning of worldly thinges they see many waies, like to owles and nightcrowes, that seene better by night than by day. The gobbet of lead, is the sinne of obstination. The woman that sat in the pot, is vnpittie, as the angell saide, that followeth vnrighteousnesse and auarice. For, through auarice, a man leeseth the pity that he should haue of the mischiefe of his soule. For, oft time, men leese the life of their soule, by deadlie sin that they doo to haue worldlie winning; and also they leese the pitie that they shoulde haue of their body, putting themselves to many great bodelie trauayls and perils both by sea and land; and all maketh couetise. This pot is stopped with the gobbet of lead, when vnpitie is thus, by sinne of obstination, closed in couetise, that he may not goe out of the chinches[6] harte by penance. For, as Iob saith, 'When he is fulfilled, he shal be stopped.'

Expositio.

Eccles. v.

Job xxii.

The twoe women that bare vp this pot, are pride, and lust of flesh, that be cleped, in holie writ, 'the twey daughtren of the water-leche, crying, bring, bring.' And they had wings: the first wing is grace spirituall, as cunning, wisdome, and counsell, with such other many; for which gifts many men wexe proud. The second wing is bodily grace, as strength, fairehood, gentrie, and many other such, whereof men wexe proud. The winges of the second woman, that is, fleshlie desire, beth gluttonie and sloth. Of gluttony speaketh Saint Gregory: 'When the wombe is fulfilled, the prickes of lecherie beth meued.' And of slouth Saint Austine saith: 'Lot, the while he dwelled in businesse among shrewes in Sodome, hee was a good man: but, when he was in the

(1) "Binimeth," depriveth.—Ed. (2) Valerius Maximus, lib. vii. (3) Moral'. Greg. viii.
(4) "Eize," resemblance.—Ed. (5) "Gledes," hawks.—Ed.
(6) "The chinche," the keeper. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

hil, slowe,[1] for sykkernes,[2] he, in his drunkennes, lay by his daughtren.'[3] And these women had winges like kytes, that, with a crying voice, seecheth their meate, as Bartholomeus saith.[4] And thus fareth couetise of men, witnessing Saint Austine, what is the greedines of fleshlie desire: 'In asmuch as the rauenous fyshes haue sometime measure, yet when they hunger they rapin, and when they fulfil they spare; but only couetise of men may not bee fulfilled. For euer he taketh, and neuer hath inough: neither hee dreadeth God, neither shame of men: he ne spareth his father, ne knoweth his mother, ne accordeth with his brethren, neyther keepeth truth with his friend: he ouerpresseth widowes and fatherlesse children. Freemen he maketh bond, and bringeth forth false witnes, and occupieth dead mens things, as he shulden neuer die.' 'What madness [5] is this,' saith this doctour, 'thus to leese life and grace, and get death of soule? win gold, and leese heauen?' And herefore saith the prophet: 'Haue trauaile in the midst, and leaue vnrighteousnesse.' Also Innocent, speaking of the harmes that come of couetoise, saith thus; 'O howe manie men hath couetise deceiued and spilt? When couetise Balaam would, for giftes that the king profered him, haue cursed Gods people, his owne asse reproued him, and hurt his foote against a wall: and yet was ouercome and led away with couetousnesse, which enforced him what he might.[6] Achor was stoned to death, for couetise made him steal gold and clothes, against the commandement of God. Giesy was smit with mesilrie, for he sold Naamans heal, that came of Gods grace. Iudas, for couetise, sold Christ, and afterward hoong himselfe. Anany, and Zaphira, his wife, were dead sodainlie, for they forsoken to giue Peter their money that they had.

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And couetise maketh, also, that rich men eat the poore, as beastes done their losous[7] holding them lowe. This may we see all day in deed, I dread: for if a ritch man haue a field, and a poore man haue in the middest, or in the side thereof, one acre; and a rich man haue all a streete, saueth o house that some poore brother of his oweth; he ceaseth neuer till hee get it out of the poore mans hand, either by praier, or by bying, or by pursuing of disceit. Thus fared it by king Achab, that, through his false queenes ginne,[8] slow the poor man Naboth, for that he woulde not sell him his vineyarde that was nye to the kinges palace. Vppon which proces, thus saith Saint Ambrose:[9] 'How farre will ye ritch men stretch your couetise? will ye dwell alone vpon the earth, and haue no poore man with you?' Why put ye out your fellowe by kind, and challenge to your selfe the possession comen by kinde? In commune to all, rich and poore, the earth was made. Why will ye ritch, chalenge proper right herein? Kinde knoweth no riches, that bringeth forth al men poore: for we be not got with rich clothes, ne borne with gold ne with siluer. Naked hee bringeth them to this world, needie of meat, and of drink, and clothing. Naked the earth taketh vs, as she, naked, brought vs hither. Shee cannot close with vs our possession in the sepulchre; for kind maketh no difference betweene poore and rich, in comming hither, ne in going hence. All in o maner he bringeth foorth; all in o maner he closeth in graue. Who so will make difference of poore and ritch, abyde till they haue a little while leyne in the graue. Than open, and looke among dead bones, who was ritch, and who was poore; but if it be thus: that mo clothes rotteth with the ritch then with the poore, and that harmeth to them that beth on liue, and profitte not to them that beene dead. Thus saith the doctour, of such extortion, as it is writ: 'Other mens fields they repeth, and fro the vine of him that the harme oppressed, they plucke away the grapes.' They leueth men naked, and taketh away her clothis that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and liften vp this pot bytwene heauen and earth. For couetous men nother haueth charitie to their brethren vpon earth, neyther to God in heauen; and they bare this pot into the lond of Sennaar, that is to say, into the lond of Stenche, that is hell: 'for there shall be stench, in steed of sweet smelling,' as Isay sayth.

Job xxiv

Beware, I rede, that ye nought haue to doe with this pot, ne with the woman therein; and, on all maner, that ye be nought weddid to hir, for than ye must

(1) "Slowe," idle.—Ed. (2) "Sykkernes," security.—Ed.
(3) August. 'de conflictu virtutis et vitiorum.' (4) Bartholomeus 'de proprietatibus rerum.'
(5) Ed. 1563. Later Edits. corruptly, "manhood;" see Appendix.—Ed. (6) Edition 1563.—Ed.
(7) "Lesous," &c., "even so as beastes eate grasse, keping it under," Ed. 1563.—Ed.
(8) "Ginne," snare.—Ed. (9) Ambrosius 'de suo libello de Naboth.'

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be both one. This is thilke foule lecherous woman the kinges and marchauntis of the earth haue done leacherie with, and of her vertue they haueth be made rich; whose damnation is written in the booke of Priuities[1] in these words: 'In o day shall come all this vengeances of her death; weping, and hunger; and fire shal brenne her; for strong is God that shall venge him on her. And than shulleth weepe and howle vppe on her the kinges of the earth, that haueth done lechery with her, and haueth liued in delices, when they shulle see the smoke of her brenning, stonding aferre, weping and weyling, and saying: 'Alas! alas! thilke great city that was clothed with bis,[2] and purpre, and brasile,[3] and ouergilte with gold, and pretious stones, and pearle; for in one houre all these great riches shal be destroyed.' Then shall they sey, that shal be damned with her: 'We haue erred fro the waie of trouth and rightwisnes, light haue not shined to vs, and the sonne of vnderstonding haue not resen to vs: we haue be made weery in euerich way of wickednes and of lust, and haue gone hard waies; but the waies of God we knew nought. What hath pride profited to vs, or the boast of riches what hath it brought to vs? All this is a shadow of death, and we mow now shew no token of holinesse; in our wickednes we be wasted awaie.' Thinke therefore, I rede, that thou shalt yelde rekening of thy bayly.

See Appendix.

Here endeth the first part of this sermon, and beginneth the second part

The Second Part of this Sermon.

• Here[4] should be asked, 'How haste thou gouerned thy wife, thy children, and seruants? haste thou brought them vp after the laues of God, and continued them there in, as much as lyeth in thy pouer? But if thou haste brought them vp after an other waye, or suffered them to goo at there owne will, thynke not but thou muste geue accomptes therefore, when shal be said, 'Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.' But and if thou wilt auoyd al the straight and harde accomptes, I councell thee, whatsoeuer thou be, to fal and cleaue vnto the mercy and goodnesse of God through Christs demerits, with a liuelye faith, and repentyng hart of thine iniquities. And now, therefore, be ware of thy life in time past, and amend. And if thou doo not, and that in time, who shal graunt thee pardon and release of this thy accompte.' •

In which second part, with the helpe of God, I wil shew first, who shall clepe vs to this reckening: afterward, to fore what iudge we shall reckyn: and last, what punishing shall be do, to them that ben found false seruantes and wicked, and what reward shall be giue, to them that be found good and true.

Matt. xxvii

For the first, ye shall wetoen that there shall bee twey domes. The first doome anone after the departing of body and of soule, an this shall bee speciall: and of this reckening or doome speaketh the gospell of Luke. The second reckening or doome shal be anone after the generall resurrection, and shal bee vniuersal: and of this is to speken in the gospell. To the firste euery man shal be cleped after other, as the worlde passeth. To the secunde shall come o togedre, in the stroke of an eye, al mankinde. To the first, men shall be cleped with three sumners other sergeauntes: the first is sicknesse, the second is age,[5] and the third is death: the first warneth, the second threateneth, and the third taketh. This is a kindlie order, but otherwise it faileth; for sume we seeth dyeth, that neuer wist what was sicknesse ne age, as children that ben suddenlie slaine; and sume, ye the most part that deyeth now a daies, deyeth byfore her kind agee of deeth. Therefore I say, that the first that clepeth to this speciall reckning is sicknesse that foloweth all mankind, so that euery man hath it; and sum is sicknesse that sume men haueth, but nought all. Yet the first sicknesse is double, for sume is withinne, in the mightes of the soule, and sume is without, in feblenesse of the body that needis mo bee stroyed, whan time by hem selfe is cause of corruption, as philosophie saith, that, thereby, feeblenesse and sicknes. And so may we see hereby, though that a man shut out of the house of his hart all manner of worldlie and fleshlie thoughts, yet

Three summers Sickness, age, death.

(1) "Priulties," the Apocalypse.—Ed.
(2) "Bis," fine linen.—Ed.
(3) "Brasile," red colour.—Ed.
(4) This addition to the sermon of R. Wimbledon is found only in the first edition of the / and Monuments, p. 179.—Ed.
(5) "Age;" 'Elde,' is used for age in edition 1570.—Ed.

rnneth shall a man, for ought that he can doo, thinke on God onlie, the space of o Pater noster, but that some other thing that is passing, entreth into the soule, and draweth her from contemplation. But O Lorde God! what seekenes is this, an heauie burden on the sonnes of Adam, that on foule moock and fen of the world, we may thinke long ynow: but on that the soule shoulde most delectation haue, by kinde, mow wee nought thinke so little a space, but if the cokle enter among the whete. Of this seekenes speaketh Poule, where he saith: 'I see a law in my limmes fighting agenes the law of my sprite, and taking me into the law of sinne.' So that it fares by vs, as by a man that would looke ageyns the sunne, and may nought do it long for nothing. And forsooth that is for no default that is in the sunne, for she is most cleere in her selfe, and so, by reason, best should bee seyn; but it is for feeblenes of mans eye. Ryght so, syth Adam our first fader was put out of paradise, all his offspring haue ben thus sicke, as the prophet seyth: 'Our faders haue eate a bytter grape, and the teeth of the children be wexe an edge.'

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The second sicknesse, that is commune to all mankind, commith of feeblenes of the body, as hunger and thorst, colde and heate, sorrowe and werines, and many other, as Iob saith: 'A man that is ybore of a woman, lyuing a little while, is fulfilled with many miseases.' Yet there is other sicknesse that commeth to some men, but not to all, as lepyr, palsey, feuer, dropsie, blindnesse, and many other, as it was seyden to the people of Israell, in holie writ: 'But thou keepe the commaundements that be writ in this booke, God shal echen the sicknesse of thee and of thy seede, great sicknesse, and long abiding.' Yet ye shall vnderstond, that God sendeth otherwhile such sicknesse to good menne, and other while to shrewes. To good men God doth it for two causes, and that is sooth.

Job xiv.

Deut. vii.

Of sicknesse I wol to be vnderstond also of al maner of tribulations. The first cause, for they shoulde alway euer know, that they haue none perfection of themselfe, but of God onely, and to echen their meeknes. And thus saieth Poule; 'Least the greatnesse of reuelations rere me vppe into pride, is giuen a pricke of my fleshe, the angell of Sathanas to smite me on the necke. Wherefore I haue thrise prayed God, that he should go from me. And he answered me: My grace is suffisant to thee, for vertue is fulfilled in sicknes.' Where on thus sayn the glose: The fend, axing Iob to be tempted, was heard of God, and nought the apostle, axing his temptation to bee remoued. God heard him, that should be damned, and he heard nought him, that he should saue. For oft the sicke manne axit many thinges of the leche,[1] that he wol not geue him; and that is for to make him whole of sicknes.

Cor. xii.

Also God sendeth saincts, oft, sicknesse and persecution, to giue vs sinneful wretches example of patience: for if he suffer his saincts, to haue such tribulation in this world, and they thankin him thereof, much more wretchis, that God sendeth not the hundred aparty of their sorrowe, shulden beare it meekelie, sith we haue deserued a thousand so much as they haueth. Whereof Tobie, that one day when he was wery of burying of poore men the which shulden haue ley vnburied, and haue be etene of houndis and foules, as caraynes[2] of other vnreasonable bestes, when, for werinesse, he had leyde him to rest, through Goddis sufferance the swallowes that bredden aboue on his hous, maden ordure into his eyen, and he wexet blind. Thus it is writ of this temptation for soth: 'Therefore God suffered to come to him, that to them that comen after should be giuen ensample of patyence, as by the temptation of holy Iob. For sith, from his childhod, euermore hee drede God, and euer kept his hestes, hee was not agreeued ayenst God that the mischiefe of blindnesse fell to him, but vnmoueable dwelled in the dread of God, thanking him all the daies of his life.' Lo that Holy Writ sayth expresselie, that God suffered this holie man to haue that sicknesse, to giue them that shoulde come after him ensample of patience.

Tobit ii.

Also otherwhile, God sendeth sicknesse and tribulation to wicked men, and for two causes: first, for that they shoulde the rather dread God, and leaue their sinne; as it is writ: 'Their sicknesse hath bene multiplied, and after, they haue hyed to Godward.' For we see, oft, men in sicknes know theyr God, that neuer would haue turned to him while they hadde beene whole. Also God sendeth them sicknes oft to agast other men, least they followe their sinne; as

(1) "Leche," physician.—Ed. (2) "Caraynes," carrion.—Ed.

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the sicknesse of king Antioche,[1] whom God smote with such a sicknes that wormes fel out of hys body while he liued, in so far forth that he stanke so fowle, that his friendes were so weary of it, that they might not suffer it. And at the last, when he himselfe might not suffer his owne stinch, then he began to know himselfe, and said: 'It is rightfull to be subiect to God, and a deadly manne not to hold himselfe only euen with God.' And the story saith, hee asked mercie of God, and made a vow to God, that he woulde make the citie of Ierusalem free, and the Iewes to make them as free as the men of Athens; and that he would honour God's temple with *pretious stones,[2] and also* ary and multiply the holy vesselles, and finde of his owne rent and spenses perteyning to the sacrifice; and he would become a Iewe, and goe ouer all the londe to preach Goddes might: and yet God gafe him not such merce as he desired. And I trow certein that it was for good, in as much as God knew he would not afterward hold his couenant, or els for he axket it too late. What mede was it for him to forsake his wickednes, when he was vnmightie to do good or euill? *Neuerthelesse,[3] I trow he was not damned, in as much as he had such repentance; for repentance, in this life, come neuer too late if it be true:* but, by this vengeance that God tooke on this king, should men see, what it is to be vnobedient to God. And also it is to take heed, that when euer sicknesse commeth, euer it sheweth that he that suffereth this deadlie, shall nedes die: for though he may skape of his sicknes, yet he may not skape death. And so thou must needes come giue rekening of thy bayly.

Anti-ochus.

The second somnour. Properties of death.

The second somnour that shal clepe thee to this particular dome, is elde or age. And the condition of him is this; thogh that he tarie with thee, he wil not leue thee, till he bring thee to the third, that is death. But there be many that though they haue this somnor with them, they take none hede, though they see ther heare hore, ther backe crooke, ther breth stynke, ther teeth faile, ther yen derk, ther visage riuely, ther erene wexit heuy to her. What meaneth all this, but that age sumneth to the dome?

But what more madhead may be than a man to bee cleped, and drawe to so dreadfull a reckening there, where, but he answere well, he forfeteth both body and soule to damnation for euer. If, seing a litle worldly mirth on the way, he thinketh so mekill thereupon, that he forgetteth who draweth him,[4] or whether he draweth; so doth he that is smitten with age aliketh so on the false worldis wealth, that he forgetteth whether hee is away. Herefore, saith an holy doctour, that, among all abusions of the world, most is of an old man that is obstinate: for he thinketh not on his out going of this world, ne of passing into the lyfe that is to come; he heareth messengers of death, and he leueth hem not; and the cause is this: for the threefolde cord that such an old man is bounden with, is hard to breke. This cord is custome; that is of three plightes, that is, of ydle thought, vnhonest speach, and wicked deed; the which if they groweth in a man from the childhoode into mans age, they maketh a treble cord to binde the old man on custome of sin.' Herefore sayth Esay, 'Breake the bondes of sin.' Thinke herfore, whosoeuer that thou be that art thus sumned, that thou might not scape, that thou ne shalt yeld the rekening of thy baily.

The third somner, 'Distinctio mortis.'

Augustinus.

The third somner to this reckening, is death. And the condition of him is, that whan euer he come, first, other the second, other the last houre, he ne spareth neyther power ne yough,[5] ne he dreadeth no thretning; ne he ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift; ne he graunteth no respit; but withouten delay he bringeth forth to the dome. Herefore seyth Sainct Austen: 'Well ought euery man drede the day of his death: for in what state a mans last day findeth him, when he dyeth out of this wold, in the same state he bringeth him to his dome.' Herefore seyth the Wiseman: 'Sonne! thinke on thy last daye and thou shalt neuer sinne.' Therefore I rede, that thou thinke that thou shalt geue reconing of thy bayly.

The day of judgment.

I said also, that there shal be another doome, to the which all men shal come together * in [6] the twinkling of an eye,* and this shall be vniuersall. And right as

(1) Antiochus Epiphanes. See Josephus in the Lives of the Herods, p. 883.—Ed.
(2) Ed. 1563 p. 180.—Ed.
(3) These words between asterisks, which seem inconsistent with the sentiment expressed in the preceding sentence, are not inserted in the edition of 1563, but they appear in the subsequent editions.—Ed.
(4) "Draweth him," hath him by the sleeve. Ed. 1563.—Ed.
(5) "Neyther poure nor rych, aged nor yonge." Ed. 1563.—Ed. (6) Ed. 1563.—Ed.

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to the other dome, euery man shall bee cleped with these three sumnours; so to this dome, all this world shall be cleped with three general clepers. And right as the other three messengers tell a mans ende, so these tell the end of the world. The first cleper is the worldlie sicknesse; the second cleper is *age and* feeblenesse; and the thirde is the end. The sicknesse of the world thou shalt know by charity a cooling: his elde and feblenes thou shalt knowe by tokens fulfilling: and his end thou shalt know by Antichristes pursuing. First, I said, thou shalt know the worldes sicknes by charitie a cooling. Clerkes, that treate of kinde,[1] sayne, that a bodie is sicke, when his bodilie heate is to lite, or when his vnkindelie heate is too much. Sythe then all mankind is one bodie, whose kindly heate is charity (that is loue to God and to our neighbors), vnkindly heate is lustfull loue to other creatures. When therefore thou seest that the loue of men, to Godwarde and to their neighbour, is little and faint, and the loue of worldlie things and lustes of the flesh is great and feruent, then wit thou well, that vnkindly heate is too great, and kindly heate is too little.

To know the world's sickness.

That this be acknowlich of this sicknesse, I may prooue by autoritie of Christ; for he himselfe gaue them, as a signe of the drawing to the ende of the worlde. For that wickednesse shall be in plente, charitie shall acoole. Therefore, when thou seest charitie thus little in the worlde, and wickednes encrease, know well, that this worlde passeth and his wealth, and that this sumner is come. And thus seyth Seynt Poule; 'Wit ye wel, that in the last daies shall come perillous times. And there shal be men louing them selfe, that is to say, their bodies, *and[2] all things belonging thereto,* couetous by pride, vnobedient to father and mother, vnkynde fellowes, withouten affection, withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, vnmilde, withouten benignitie, traytors, rebels, swelling, louers of lustes more than of God, hauing a likenesse of pietie, and denying the vertue thereof. And these flee thou. If thou seest the people busied with such conditions, wit thou wel that the first sumnour warneth al the world, that the day of reconing draweth toward.

Mat. xvi.

2 Tim. iii.

The second sumnour that warneth all the world, is elde or age of the world and his feblenesse, and sheweth tokens fulfilling. But I know wel, that we be nought suffisaunt to know the times other the whiles that the Fader in Trinitie hath put on his owne power, to shew certeinlie the day, yeare, other houre, of this dome, sith this knowleche was hid fro the priuy apostles of Christ, and from Christes manhoode, as to shewe it to vs. Nathlesse, we inough, by authoritie of holy writ, with reasons and expositions of saintes, well and openly shewe, that this day of wrath is nigh. But yet, least any man sey in his hart, as it is written[3] of folie baylies, that they shall seien, 'My lord that is, tarryeth to come to the dome; and, vpon hope heereof, hee taketh to smite seruauntes and hynen of God, eate and drinke, and make him dronke;' I shall shewe that this day is at the honde, howe ny, neuerthelesse, can I not seie ne wole. For, if Poule sayde nowe for a thousande and three hundred yeere and passed moe, 'Wee ben thilke, into whome the endis of the worlde bencome,' much rather may wee seie the same, that been so much neere the ende than he was. Also Sainct Chrysostom sayth: 'Thou seest ouer al darknes, and thou doubtest that the day is go; first on the valeys is darknes, whan the day draweth downward. Whan, therefore, thou seest the valeies yderked, why doubtest thou whether it be nigh euen,[4] but if thou see the sun so low that derknes is vpon the hils, thou wolt seie, doubtles, that it is night.'

Luke xii.

1 Cor. x.

Chrysostome.

'Right so, if thou see first in the seculers and the lewd christen men beginneth derknesses of sinnes, and to haue the maistrie, it is token that this worlde endeth. But when thou seest priestes, that ben put on the high toppe of spirituall dignities, that shudden be as hilles abouen the commune people in perfect liuing, that derknesse of sinnes hath taken them, who douteth that the world nis at the end?' And also abbot Ioachim, in exposition of Ieremye, seyeth: 'Fro the yeare of our Lord 1200, all times beth suspect to me; and wee ben passed on this suspect time nigh 200 yeare.' Also mayden Hyldegare

A proper similitude.

Joachim.

Maid Hildegard.

(1) "Treate of kinde," wryte on natural thyngs. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(2) Words inclosed with asterisks are from the Edition 1563.—Ed.

(3) The following parable from Luke xii. 16, is retained in the Edition 1563, p. 181, instead of the above. "As it is written," &c. "of a sick man, a fowl belly-seruer, that said, I will gather al my frutes and my goods; and I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up in store for many yeres; take thine ease; eat and drink and be merry."—Ed.

(4) "Nigh euen;" nere night or no. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

Henry IV. A.D. 1388. in the booke of her Prophesie, *if[1] it be leful to give them credyt,* the thirde partie, the xi. vision, the seuenth chapter, meueth this reason: 'Right as on seauen daies God made the world, so, in 7000 yeare, the worlde shall passe. And right as in the sixt day man was made and fourmed; so in 6000 yeares he was brought againe and refourmed. And as in the seuenth daye the worlde was full made, and God lefte off his working; right so in the 7000 yeare, the number of them that shullen be saued shall be fulfilled, and rest shall bee to seyntes full in bodie and soule.' If that it be so as it seemeth to followe of this maydens wordes, that 7000 in passing of the world, accordeth to seauen daies in his making it, see what lacketh that these 7000 yeares ne beth fulfilled. For, if wee reken the number of yeares fro the natiuitie of Christ, to the yeares fro the beginning of the world to Christ, and thou wolt folowe Austine, Bede, and Orosie, and most probable doctors, treating of this matter: are passed now almost sixe thousande and sixe hundred, as it is open in a booke that is cleped 'Speculum Iudiciale.' So it suweth that this laste day is more than a halfe ago, if we shulden giue credence to this maydens reasun. But if we shull lene to the gospel, than wee shall finde, in the Gospell of Matthew, that the disciples axiden of Christ three questions: first, what time the citie of Ierusalem should be destroyed: the second, what token of his comming to the dome: and the third, what signe of the ending of the worlde. And Christ gaue them no certaine time of these thinges when they shoulden fall; but hee gaue them tokens, by which they might know when they drew nighe; and, so, as to the first question of the destruction of Ierusalem, he saide, 'When the Romaines come to besiege that citie, then, soone after, shee shall be destroied.'

Augus tine. Mat. xxiv Note.

And as to the second and the third, he gaue manie tokens, that is to say, that realme shall rise against realme, and people against people, and pestilences, and earthquakinges; the which we haue seene in our daies. But the last token that he gaue, was this; 'When ye seene the abhomination of elengenesse,[2] sayd of Danyel the prophet, standing on the sanctuarie, then who so readeth, vnderstond.' Vppon which text, thus argueth a doctour, in a booke that hee maketh of the End of the World: 'If the wordes of Danyel hauen authoritie (as God sayth that they hauen), it sufficeth of the number of the yeares of the ende of the worlde, that Daniell hath written. Now Danyell, in the twelfth chapter, speaking of this abhomination, putteth betweene the ceasing of the busie sacrifice of the Iewes, the which fell, when, by Titus and Vespasianus, Ierusalem was destroyed, and the people of Iewes were disparkled into all the world.' And this abhomination, that doctour sayne, shall be in the great Antichristes daies, 1290. Nowe prooueth this doctour, that a day must be taken for a yeare, both by autoritie of holy writ in the same place and in other, and also by reason. So it seemeth to this clerke, that the great Antichrist should come in the 1400 yeare fro the birth of Christ, *then any time els before* the which number of yeares is nowe fulfilled, not fully twelue yeares and a halfe lacking.[3] And this reason put not I as to shew any certaine time of his coming, sith I haue not that knowledge; but to shew that he is nye, but how nye I wot neuer. But take wee heede to the fourth part of the second vision of Saint Iohn, put in the booke of Reuelations; in the which, vnder the opening of the seauen seales, is declared the state of the church from the time of Christ, into the ende of the worlde. The opening of the foure first seales, shewe the state of the church, fro the time of Christ, to the time of Antichrist and his foregoers, the which is shewed in the opening of the other three seales.

See Appendix. Apoc. 6.

The opening of the first seale, telleth the state of the church in the time of the preaching of Christ and of his apostles: for the first beast, that is, the lyon, gaue his voice, that betokeneth the preachers of Christes resurrection and his ascension. For then yede out a white horse, and he that sate vpon him had a bowe in his hande; and hee yede out ouercoming to ouercome. By this white horse, we vnderstande the cleane life and conuersation that these preachers haden; and by the bowe, their true teaching, pricking sorrowe in mennes hearts for their sinnes, withouten flattering. And they wenten out of Iewry, that they comen of *winninge, and *ouercomming some of the Iewes, and

(1) For these, with other words similarly distinguished, see Edition 1563.—Ed.
(2) "Elengenesse," from Elenges, strange, foreigne; alluding to the Roman Eagle. In the Edition 1563, the phrase "Abhomination of holiness" is used.—Ed.
(3) Antichrist to come an. 1400. This sermon ergo was made an. 1388.
(4) In edition 1563, the words "and a halfe," are omitted.—Ed.

maken hem to leaue the trust that they hadden in the olde lawe, and to beleeue in Iesus Christ, and shewen his teaching. And they wenten out to ouercome the Paynemes, shewing to them that their images were no gods, but mens workes, vnmightie to saue themselfe or any other; drawing them to the beliefe of Iesus Christ, God and man. *Henry IV* A. D. 1388.

In the opening of the second seale, there cried the second beast, that is, a calfe: that was a beast wonted to be slaine, and offered to God in the olde lawe. This sheweth the state of the church in the time of martyrs that, for their stedfast preaching of Gods true lawe, shed their bloud, that is signified by the redde hors that went out at this seale opening; and this estate began at Nero, the cursed emperour, and dured vnto the time of Constantine the Great, that endowed the church; for in this time many of Christes seruantes, and namely the leaders of Gods flocke, were slaine. For, of two and twenty bishops of Rome that were betweene Peter and Siluester the First, I read but of foure, but that they weren martyrs for the lawe of Christ. And also in the time of Dioclesian the emperour, the persecution of the christen men was so great, that in thirtie daies weren slaine twentye two thousande men and women in diuers countreyes, for the lawe of God. Exposi-tio. Nero. Constan-tine the Great. Silvester.

The opening of the third seale, telleth the state of the church in time of heretikes; that beth figured by the blacke hors, for false vnderstonding of holy write; for than cryed the thirde beast, that is a man. For at that time was it need to preache the mysterie of Christes incarnation and his passion, ayenst these erretikis that feliden mis of these pointis: howe Christ tooke verreyly mans kinde of our lady, him being God as hee was bifore, and his moder beeing mayden byfore and after. The third seal. Exposi-tio.

The opening of the fourth seale, telleth the state of the church in the time of ypocritis: that beth signified by the pale hors, that beth signes of penaunce with outfoorth[1] to blinde the people. And he that sate vpon this horse, his name was Death; for they shulle slee gostly them that they leden[2] and teacheth to trust vpon other thing than God: and helle followeth him; for helle receiueth thilke that these disteineth. At that time shall it need, that the fourth beast, that is, the egle, make his cry, that flyeth highest of foules, to reare vp Gods gospell, and to preise that lawe aboue other; least mens witte, and their traditions, ouergone and treden downe the lawe of God, by enforming of these ypocritis: and this is the last state that is, other shal be in the church, before the comming *and[3] clear appearing* of the great *member of* Antichrist. The fourth seal. Exposi-tio.

The opening of the fift seale, telleth the state of the church that than shall followe, and the desire that louers of Goddis law shulleth haue, after the ende of this worlde, to be deliuered of this woe. The fifth seal.

The opening of the sixt seale telleth the state of the church in time of Antichristis times, the which state yee may know to be in the church, whan ye seth fulfilled that Saint Iohn prophesieth to fall on the opening of this, where he saith thus: 'After this I sawe four angelles stonding vpon four corners of the earth, holding the foure windes of the earth, that they blowen nought vpon the earth, ne vpon the sea, ne vpon eny tree.' These four angels beth the number of all the deuils ministers, that on that time shulleth, in the pleasaunce of their lorde Antichrist, stoppe the foure windis, that beth the foure gospelles to bee preached, and so let[4] the breath of the grace of the Holy Ghost to fall upon men morning for sinne, and calling them to amendment; and to other that wolden encrease in vertues; other vpon perfit men. The sixth seal.

What is there after this to fall, but that the mysterie of the seauenth seale bee shewed, that he come in his owne person: that Iesu Christ shall slee with the spirite of his mouthe, when the fiend shall shew the vtmost persecution that he and his seruauntis may doo to Christis limmes. And that shall be the third warning that the world shal haue to come to this dreadfull dome. The seventh seal.

In all this matter haue I nought seid of my selfe, but of other doctors that beth prooued. I seyd also, in my second principall part, that it were to wete, tofore what Iudge wee shull reken. Wherefore we shulleth wite, that God himselfe shall heere this rekening; he, that seeth all our dedis, and all our thoughtes, fro the beggining of our life to the ende; and he shall shewe there the hid thingis

(1) "With outfoorth," outwardly.—Ed.
(2) "Leden," &c.; "lead and teach to God by other wayes than by Christe." Edition 1563. So we read in John xiv. 6. "No man cometh unto the Father but by me."—Ed.
(3) For the words in asterisks, see Ed. 1563.—Ed. (4) "Let," hinder.—Ed

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of our hert, opening to al the world the rightfulnes of his dome: so that, with the might of God, euery mans dedis to all the world shall be shewed. And so it seemeth by the wordes of Seint Iohn, in the boke of Preuities, there he seith thus: 'I sawe dede men, litel and great, stonding in the sight of the throne, and bookes weren opened; and an other booke was opened that was of life, and dede men weren iudged after the thinges that weren written in the bokes, after their worchings.'

These bokes beth mens consciences, that now beth closed: but than, they shulleth bee opened to all the world, to reden therein both dedis and thoughtes. But the booke of life, is Christs liuing and doctrine, that is nowe hid to men that shulleth be damned through their owne malice, that demeth men to serue the world, rather than God. In the first booke shall be writ all that we haueth doe; in that other booke, shall bee write that wee shulden haue doo: and, than, shulle dede men bee demyd of thilke thingis that ben written in the bokis. For if the dedis that wee hauen doe, the which ben written in the bookis of our conscience, bee according to the booke of Christes teaching and his liuing, the which is the booke of life, we shulle be saued: and, else, wee shulle bee damned; for the dome shall be giuen after our workis. Looke, therefore, now what thing is written in the booke of thy conscience, while thou art here; and if thou findest ought contrarie to Christis life, other to his teaching, with the knife of penaunce and repentance scrape it away, and write it better; euermore hertly thinking that thou shalt yelde rekening of thy bayly.

Also I saide principallie that it were to witen, what reward shall be geue on that doome, to wise seruantes and good, and what to false seruauntes and wicked. For the which it is to wite, that our Lorde Iesu Christ shall come to the dome here into this world, in the same body that hee tooke of our ladye, hauing thereon the woundis that he suffred for our againe bieng. And all that euer shullen bee saued, taking againe their bodies clyuing to their head Christ, 'shull be rauished, metyng him in the ayre,' as Paule saith: they that shall be damned, lyen vpon the earth: as, in a tonne of wine, the dreggis dwellen byneth, and the cliere wine houeth aboue. Than shall Christ axe rekening of the deedes of mercy, reprouing false christen men for the leuyng of them, rehearsing the deedes of the same, and other truthis, by the which his true seruauntes than folowed hym. Than shulle thilke false seruauntes goe with the deuill, whom they haue serued in the earth, them swallowing into the endlesse fire: and right-full men shullen goe into euerlasting life. Then shall be fulfilled that is written in the booke of Priuities: 'Woe! woe! woe! to hem that dwellen in the earth.' Woe to the paynym, that gafe that worship to dead images wroght of mans handes, and to other creatures, that hee shoulde haue goue to God that him wrought! Woe to the Iewe that trusteth so muchil in the oulde lawe: than shall he see Maries son deeming the world, whom he despised and set on the crosse. Woe to the false christen man that knew the will of his Lorde, and fulfilled it nought.

Also woe for sinne of thinking to thee, that thou hast shutte out the meine[1] of God; that is, minde of his passion, holy contemplation of his goodnesse, and memorie of his benefites,* and[2] thanks therefore; and hast also excluded mekenes, petye, gentelnes, &c.,* fro the chaumber of thine hert, and hast made it an house of swyn, and a denne of theeues, by vncleane thoughtes and delightes; as thou here hast sperd God out of thine hert, so he shal spere thee out of heauen. Thou hast herberwid[3] the meine of the fiend, and with them in hell thou shalt euer abide. Woe also for sinne of speach, for thou might nought open thy foule and stinking mouth, with the which thou hast spoken vnhonestly, cursing, fraud, deceit, leasinges, forswearing, scorning, and backbiting, to praise God in the fellowship of saints: for louing[4] is nought comynlych in mouthes of sinners. For, in the which, gif thou haddest kept thy mouth cleane, thou shouldest haue songen, in fellowship of angelles, this blessed song: 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Omnipotens!' 'Holie, holy, holy, Lorde God Almightie!' Then yelling and weeping thou shalt cry in company of deuils; 'Ve, ve, ve, quante sunt tenebre!' 'Woe, woe, woe, how great beth these darknes!'

Woe also forsinne of deede. Thou hast bene proud: 'thy pride shall be

1) "Meine," company, or a family.—Ed.
2) See Edition 1563.—Ed.
3) "Herberwid," harboured.—Ed.
4) "Louing," praising. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

drawne to hell,' as Esay sayth, or thou hast bene brent with enuie of the deuill. 'Enuy entred into the world, and they shoulden folowen him that ben on his side,' as Salomon sayth. Or thou hast be stirred with wrath: and euerich man that beareth wrath to his brethren, is gilty in dome, as Christ, in the Gospell of Matthew, saith. Or thou hast be slow to good deedes: 'myssawe shall come to thee as a wayfaring man, and thy pouerti as a man armed;' as the booke of Prouerbes sayth. Or thou hast haunted lecherie, glotonie, or couetise: that, forsooth, wete ye, that 'euerych auouterer, or vncleane man, that is a glutton other chynch,[1] shall neuer haue heritage in the realme of Christ and of God,' as Poule saith; but 'fire, brimstone, and the spirit of tempestes;' that is, the fiende of hell, 'shulen bee a partie of their paine,' as it is written in the Psauler. When these damned men bee in this woe, they shullen sing this reuful song, that is ywritten in the booke of Mourning.[2] *Henry IV.* A. D. 1410. Note.

The ioy of our hart is a go,
Our quiet is turned into woe,
The crowne of our heade is fallen vs fro!
Alas for sinne that we haue doe!

But ioye, and ioye, and ioye, to them that be saued. Ioy in God, ioy in them selfe, ioy in other that ben saued. Also ioy, for theyr trauaile is brought to so gracious an end. Ioy, for they scaped the paine of hell; ioy for their blisse that they han in the sight of God. Cui sit honor et gloria, in secula seculorum, Amen.

And thus much concerning this worthy and fruitful sermon, which as by the ancientness of the phrase it seemeth to be preached much about the time of John Wickliff, so I thought here, by occasion of William Thorpe's examination, best to place the same, for the apt coherence both of the spirit, and of the matter. Especially having before our eyes the public utility of the reader, to whom, by the studious reading thereof, might rise plentiful matter of true christian information, both of the wholesome fearing of God, and of the right guiding of every christian man's life.

*Which thus being finished, now to continue and to proceed[3] * further in our story, after the examination of William Thorpe, and the martyrdom of William Sautre, and of John Badby thus described, as ye have heard; which last was in the year 1410.[4] By the way, here is to be considered, at least to be admonished, that all this while the schism in the church of Rome did yet continue, and so endured till the council of Constance, which was, in whole, the space of thirty-nine years; the origin whereof, as was said p. 17, first began at Urban VI., which Urban being dead A.D. 1389, next followed pope Boniface IX., who sat fourteen years.[5] He in selling his pardons was so impudent and so past shame, that he brought the keys of Peter, as saith Platina, into contempt. After him succeeded Innocent VII., and sat two years; who being dead, the cardinals consulted together, and seeing the foul enormity and inconvenience growing upon this contentious schism in their church of Rome (minding to provide some remedy for the same, after the best device they could), in their conclave where they were assembled for a new election of the pope, took this order, promising among themselves, with solemn vow made to God, to Mary the blessed virgin, to Peter and Paul, and to all the blessed company of saints: That if any of them, within the college or without the college, should be called to the high place of apostolical pre-eminence, he should effec- *See Appendix* The cardinals' device to cease the schism.

(1) "Chynch," a covetous person.—Ed.
(2) Lament. v. 16.—Ed.
(3) Edition 1570, p. 658.—Ed.
(4) See p. 234, note (1).—Ed.
(5) And eleven months. L'Art de Vér. des Dates.—Ed.

Henry IV. A. D. 1408.

tuously renounce the jurisdiction and title of his popedom, if or whensoever the contrary pope, for the time being, would in like manner renounce his place and title, and his cardinals in like manner condescend to the other cardinals of Rome; so that both these two colleges of cardinals agreeing together, one chief bishop might be chosen and taken out of them both, to be made the true pope: provided, moreover, that none should seek any releasement or absolution from the said promise, vow, and bond, once passed among them. Unto all which things furthermore, every one subscribed with his hand. These things thus prefixed and ratified upon the same, they proceeded to the election, in which was chosen Gregory XII., who, the same day of his election, in the presence of all the cardinals, confirmed the vow, sacrament, and promise made, subscribing the same with his hand in form as followeth: "And I, Gregory, this day, being the last of November, in the year of our Lord 1406, chosen and elected for bishop of Rome, do swear, vow, and promise, and confirm, all the premises above contained." This being done, shortly after, he was crowned, being of the age of eighty years. As the time thus passed, the people and cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the pope, according to his oath, would give over, with the other pope also. And not long after, the matter began indeed between the two popes to be attempted by letters from one to another, assigning both day and place, where and when they should meet together; but yet no effect did follow.[1]

See Appendix.

Oath and vow of pope Gregory XII.

The pope falsely perjured. Cardinals leave the perjured pope.

This so passing on, great murmuring was among the cardinals, to see their holy perjured father so to neglect his oath and vow aforenamed; insomuch that at length, divers of them did forsake the pope, as being perjured, as no less he was, sending, moreover, to kings and princes of other lands, for their counsel and assistance therein, to appease the schism. Amongst the rest, the cardinal of Bourdeaux was sent to the king of England; who, publishing divers propositions and conclusions (remaining in the registers of Thomas Arundel), disputeth, that the pope ought to be subject to laws and councils. Then king Henry, moved to write to Gregory the pope, directeth his letter hereunder ensuing, which was the year of our Lord 1408. The contents of the letter be these:[2]—

The Letter of King Henry IV. to Pope Gregory XII.

Most blessed father! if the discreet providence of the apostolical see would call to mind with what great perils the universal world hath been damnified, hitherto, under pretence of this present schism; and especially would consider, what slaughter of christian people, to the number of two hundred thousand, as they say, hath been, through the occasion of war raised up in divers quarters of the world; and now of late, to the number of thirty thousand soldiers, who have been slain through the dissension moved about the bishopric of Liege between two set up, one by the authority of one pope, the other by the authority of the other pope, fighting in camp for the title of that bishopric: certes, ye would lament in spirit and be sore grieved in mind for the same, so that with good conscience ye would relinquish rather the honour of the see apostolic, than suffer such horrible bloodshed hereafter to ensue, under the cloak of dissimulation; following herein the example of the true mother in the book of Kings, who, pleading before Solomon for the right of her child, rather would depart from the child, than the child should be parted by the sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected, by the new creation of nine cardinals, by you last

Two hundred thousand slain by schism of Rome.

Thirty thousand, slain in camp, fighting for the bishopric of Liege.

(1) Ex Chron. D. Albani.

(2) Walsingham.—Ed.

made, contrary to your oath, as other men do say, that you do but little heed or care for ceasing the schism, yet far be it from the hearing and noting of the world, that your circumspect seat should ever be noted and distained with such an inconstancy of mind, whereby the last error may be worse than the first.[1] *Henry IV.* A. D. 1409.

King Henry IV. to the Cardinals.

And to the cardinals likewise, the said king directeth another letter with these contents here following: 'We desiring to show what zeal we have had and have, to the reformation of peace of the church, by the consent of the states of the realm, have directed to the bishop of Rome our letters after the tenor of the copy herewith in these presents enclosed, to be executed effectually: wherefore we seriously beseech your reverend college, that if it chance the said Gregory to be present at the council of Pisa, and to render up his popedom, according to your desire, and his own oath, you then so ordain for his state totally, that chiefly God may be pleased thereby, and that both the said Gregory, and also we, who entirely love his honour and commodity, may have cause to give you worthily condign thanks for the same.'[2]

This being done in the year of our Lord 1408, afterwards in the year following the cardinals of both the popes, to wit, of Gregory and Benedict, by common advice assembled together at the city of Pisa,[3] for the reformation of unity and peace in the church. To that assembly a great multitude of prelates and bishops being convented, a new pope was chosen, named Alexander V.; but to this election, neither Gregory nor Benedict did fully agree, whereby there were three popes together in the Roman church; that is to understand, not three crowns upon one pope's head, but three heads in one popish church together. This Alexander, being newly made pope, scarcely had well warmed his triple-crown, but straight he giveth out full remission, not of a few, but of all manner of sins whatsoever, to all them that conferred any thing on the monastery of St. Bartholomew, by Smithfield, resorting to the said church any of these days following, to wit, on Maundy-Thursday, Good-Friday, Easter-even, the feast of the Annunciation, from the first even-song to the latter. But this pope, who was so liberal in giving remission of many years to other, was not able to give one year of life to himself, for within the twelvemonth he died: in whose stead stept up pope John XXIII.

A.D. 1409.

Council of Pisa. *See Appendix.*

Three popes together.

Vain remission by the pope's indulgence.

In the time[4] of this Alexander great stir began in the country of Bohemia, by the occasion of the books of John Wickliff, which, then coming to the hands of John Huss, and of others, both men and women, especially of the lay sort, and artificers, began there to do much good; insomuch that divers of them, not only men, but women also, partly by the reading of their books translated into their tongue, partly by the setting forward of John Huss, a notable learned man, and a singular preacher at that time in the university of Prague, were in short time so ripe in judgment, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to move questions, yea and to reason with the priests, touching matters of the holy Scriptures.

The gospel beginning to take root in Bohemia.

By reason whereof complaint was brought to the said pope Alexander V., who caused eftsoons the afore-named John Huss to be cited up to Rome: but when he came not at the pope's citation, then the

(1) Ex Chron. D. Albani, part ii. [Walsingham.] (2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid. [March 25th to August 7th, A.D. 1409. L'Art de Vér des Dates.—Ed.]
(4) Ex Cochlæo de Historia Hussitarum, lib. i. [Ed. 1549, p. 17.—Ed.]

Henry IV. A.D. 1410.

said pope Alexander addressed his letters to the archbishop of Prague, wherein he straitly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority apostolical, all manner of preachings or sermons to be made to the people, except only in cathedral churches, or colleges, or parish churches, or in monasteries, or else in their churchyards; and that the articles of Wickliff should in no case, by any person, of what state, condition, or degree soever, be suffered to be holden, taught, or defended, either privily or apertly; commanding, moreover, and charging the said archbishop, that he, with four bachelors of divinity, and two doctors of the canon law joined unto him, would proceed upon the same, and so provide, that no person in churches, schools, or any other place, should teach, defend, or approve any of the aforesaid articles, so that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be accounted a heretic, and, unless he shall revoke solemnly and publicly the said articles, and shall for ever abjure the books wherein the aforesaid articles be contained (so that they may be utterly abolished out from the eyes of the faithful), the same should be apprehended and imprisoned, all appellation set apart, the help also of the secular arm being called thereunto, if need shall require.—These were the contents of this mighty and fierce bull of pope Alexander.

Letter of pope Alexander V. to Sbinco, archbishop of Prague.

The pope's cruel bull against John Huss.

Against this bull, on the other side, John Huss, justly complaining, excepteth again and objecteth many things, as appeareth in his book, entituled 'De Ecclesia,' cap. 18; where he declareth this mandate of the pope to stand directly against the doings and sayings both of Christ and of his apostles; considering how Christ himself preached to the people, both in the sea, in the desert, in fields, in houses, in synagogues, in villages; and the apostles also, in all places, did the same, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared, moreover, the said mandate or bull of the pope to redound unto the great detriment of the church, in binding the word of God, that it might not have its free passage; also, the same to be prejudicial unto chapels newly erected for the word to be preached in them: "Wherefore," said he, "from this commandment or mandate of pope Alexander, I did appeal unto the said Alexander being better informed and advised; and, as I was prosecuting my appeal, the lord pope," saith John Huss, "immediately died."

John Huss objecteth against it.

The pope's bull contrary to Christ.

Notable judgment of God in striking the adversaries of the gospel.

Then Sbinco, the archbishop aforesaid, to whom this present bull was directed, when he saw the process, bulls, and mandates of the bishop of Rome to be thus contemned of John Huss and his fellows, neither having any hope of redress in Wenceslaus the king, who seemed to neglect the matter, went out of his country into Hungary, to complain unto Sigismund, king of Hungary, and brother to the said Wenceslaus. But this quarrelling archbishop, whether before, as the Bohemians say, or after, as Silvius saith, that he had spoken with Sigismund, immediately there, by the just judgment of God, died in Hungary, as the story saith, for sorrow; whereby a little more liberty and quiet was given by the Lord unto his gospel, newly beginning to take root among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquillity, there, did not long continue without trouble and persecution, neither could it in those furious days and reign of Antichrist; for after this Alexander succeeded pope John XXIII., who, likewise playing his part in this tragedy bent all his might and main to dis-

The gospel seldom long quiet.

Pope John XXIII.

turb the Bohemians, as more hereafter, Christ willing, shall be declared in further process of our history, coming to the year of our Lord, 1413.[1] *Henry IV.* A.D. 1410.

Thus the poor Christians, as ye see, like to the silly Israelites under the tyranny of Pharaoh, were infested and oppressed in every place, but especially here in England; and that, so much the more here, because the king, not like to Wenceslaus, went full and whole with the pope and his prelates against the gospellers; by reason whereof the kingdom of the pope and his members here in this realm began to be so strong, that none durst stir, or once mute[2] against them. The bishops, having the king so full on their side, armed, moreover, with laws, statutes, punishments, imprisonments, sword, fire, and faggot, reigned and ruled as they listed, as kings and princes within themselves. So strong were they of power, that no human force was able to stand against them; so exalted in pride, and puffed up in glory, that they thought all things to be subject to their reverend majesties. Whatsoever they set forth or decreed, it must of all men be received and obeyed. And such was their superstitious blindness and curious vanity, that whatsoever toy came once in their fantasy, it was straightways determined and established for a law by all men to be observed, were it ever so frivolous or superstitious; as well appeareth by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and others, who, having now a little leisure from slaying and killing the innocent people, martyrs, and confessors of the Lord, and having now brought their enemies, as they thought, under their feet, began to set up themselves, and to invent new customs, as the guises of the pope's church is, ever to intrude into the church of God some ceremony or custom of their own making, whereby the church of Christ hath been hitherto exceedingly pestered. So likewise this Thomas Arundel, thinking the church yet not sufficiently stuffed with ceremonies and vain traditions of men, bringeth in a new-found gaud,[3] commonly called 'The tolling of Aves,' in honour of our Lady, with certain 'Aves' to be said, and days of pardon to be given for the same; for the ratification whereof, under the pretence of the king's request, he directed his mandate to the bishop of London, well stuffed with words of idolatry, as by the reading thereof may appear, in form of terms as followeth.

Pride and glory of the clergy of England in those days.

Forty days of pardon given by Arundel.

A Mandate of Thomas Arundel, directed to the Bishop of London, to warn Men to worship the holy mother of God at the ringing of the morning bell, as at the ringing of Curfew.

See Appendix.

Thomas, &c. To the right reverend brother, the lord Robert, by the grace of God, bishop of London, greeting, &c. While we lift our eyes round about us, and behold attentively, with circumspect consideration, how the most high Word that was in the beginning with God, chose to him a holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly stock, in whose womb he took true flesh by mysterious inspiration, that the merciful goodness of the Son of God, that was uncreate, might abolish the sentence of condemnation, which all the posterity of mankind, that was created, had by sin incurred: amongst other labourers in the vineyard of the Lord of Sabbaoth, we sing to God our Saviour with great joy in him; carefully thinking, that though all the people of the christian religion did extol with voices of praises so worthy a virgin, by whom we received the beginnings of

Ringing of curfew

(1) See infrà, p. 405.—Ed. (2) "Mute," mutter.—Ed. (3) "Gaud," a bauble.—Ed.

Henry IV. A. D. 1410.

our redemption, by whom the holy day first shined to us, which gave us hope of salvation; and although all the same people were drawn to reverence her, who being a happy virgin, conceived the Son of God, the King of heaven, the Redeemer and Saviour of all nations, ministering light to the people that were miserably drowned in the darkness of death: we truly, as the servants of her own[1] inheritance, and as such as are written of, to be of her peculiar dower, as we are, by every man's confession, acknowledged to be, we, I say, ought more watchfully than others to show the endeavours of our devotion in praising her, who being hitherto merciful to us, yea, being even cowards, would that our power, being, as it were, spread abroad every where through all the coasts of the world, should, with a victorious arm, fear[2] all foreign nations; that our power, being on all sides so defended with the buckler of her protection, did subdue unto our victorious standards, and made subject unto us, nations both near at hand and far off.

These men make a Bellona of our Lady.

False help sought and set up of idolaters.

Likewise our happy estate, all the time that we have passed since the beginning of our lives, may be well attributed only to the help of her medicine; to whom also we may worthily ascribe now of late in these our times, under the mighty government of our most christian king, our deliverance from the ravening wolves, and the mouths of cruel beasts, which had prepared against our banquets a mess of meat mingled full of gall, and hated us unjustly, secretly lying in wait for us, in recompense of the good will that we showed to them. Wherefore, that she being on high, sitting before the throne of the heavenly Majesty, the defendress and patroness of us all, being magnified with all men's praises, may more plentifully exhibit to us, the sons of adoption, the teats[3] of her grace, in all those things that we shall have to do; at the special request of our lord the king himself, we command your brotherhood, straitly enjoining you, that you command the subjects of your city and diocese, and of all other suffragans, to worship our Lady Mary, the mother of God, and our patroness and protectress[4] evermore in all adversity, with such like kind of prayer and accustomed manner of ringing, as the devotion of Christ's faithful people is wont to worship her with, at the ringing of 'cor le feu;' and when before day in the morning ye shall cause them to ring, that with like manner of prayer and ringing she be every where honoured devoutly by the aforesaid our and your suffragans and their subjects as well religious as secular, in your and their monasteries and collegiate churches: that we so humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Father, the right hand of the heavenly Piety may mercifully come to the help, the protection, and the defence of the same our lord the king, who, for the happy remedy of quietness, and for our succour from tempestuous floods, is ready to apply his hands to work, and his eyes, with all his whole desire, to watching. We, therefore, coveting more earnestly to stir up the minds of all faithful people to so devout an exercise of God, &c., we grant by these presents, to all and every man, &c. that shall say the Lord's Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel five times at the morning peal with a devout mind, 'toties quoties' (how oft soever) forty days' pardon by these presents.

Papists' blasphemy, fighting against the grace of Christ. Ringing of curfew.

Forty days' pardon for five Aves.

Given under our seal, in our manor of Lambeth, the tenth day of February, anno nostræ translat. 4, A.D. 1399.[5]

See Appendix.

Heaping up ceremonies in the church.

By this frivolous and barbarous constitution, with many others of like sort heaped into the church by the papists, appear the proper nature and condition of this catholic generation; who, being themselves not greatly exercised nor experienced in any serious cogitation of spiritual matter, as it seemeth, take upon them to govern the spiritual church of Christ, whereof indeed they have no skill or very little: and, therefore, according to their unskilful handling, they lead and rule the church after such outward sights and ceremonies, seemly perhaps to their own gross affection, but not agreeing, nay rather clean contrary, to the right nature and condition of the spiritual house and kingdom of the Lord: and like as in their inventions they swerve

(1) If this be not blasphemous and derogatory to Christ, let the reader judge.
(2) "Intimidate."—Ed. (3) The papists would suck our Lady's paps.
(4) Will ye stand to this doctrine, ye catholics? (5) Ex Regist. Thom. Arundel. [See App.]

utterly from the right handling of all spiritual government, so, in their manners and form of life likewise, they do resemble little or no part almost of such as are, and ought to be, true pastors and ministers of the mystical body of Christ.

Pomp of the pope's church noted.

Examples hereof are plenty and plain in these Roman prelates to be noted, whoso, well considering the humble state and lowly spirit which ought to be in pastoral leaders of the church, will compare the same with the usual pomp of these glorious potestates.

As for example: What can be more convenient for a true pastor ecclesiastical, than humility of heart and spirit, according to the example of the head Bishop himself? so what greater show of arrogancy and pride could there be, than in this, whom I have oft named before, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury? who, passing by the high street of London, did not only look and wait for the ringing of the bells, for a triumph of his coming, but took great snuff, and did suspend all such churches in London (not only with the steeple and bells, but also with the organs), so many as did not receive his coming with the noise of bells, according as out of his own registers may appear, the words whereof written to his own somner,[1] I have hereto annexed in his own form, as followeth.

A Commission directed to the Somner, to suspend certain Churches of London, because they rung not their Bells at the presence of my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury.

See Appendix.

Churches of London suspended, for not ringing at the coming of the archbishop.

Thomas, by the permission of God, &c. To our well-beloved Thomas Wilton, our somner sworn, health, grace, and blessing. The comeliness of our holy church of Canterbury, over which we bear rule, deserveth and requireth, that while we pass through the province of the same our church, having our cross carried before us, every parish church in their turns ought, and are bounden, in token of special reverence that they bear to us, to ring their bells: which notwithstanding, yea on Tuesday last past, when we, betwixt eight and nine of the clock before dinner, passed openly on foot as it were, through the midst of the city of London, with our cross carried before us, divers churches, whose names are here beneath noted, showed towards us willingly, though they certainly knew of our coming, unreverence rather than reverence, and the duty that they owe to our church of Canterbury, ringing not at all at our coming. Wherefore we, being willing to revenge this injury, for the honour of our spouse,[2] as we are bounden, command you, that by our authority you put all those churches under our indictment, suspending God's holy organs and instruments in the same: which we also suspend by the tenor of these presents, till the ministers of the aforesaid churches be able hereafter to attain of us the benefit of more plentiful grace.—Given, &c.

What great reason was in this, why this archbishop either should thus look for the ringing of the bells, or why he should be so displeased with not ringing, I do not see. Belike, his mind, in the mean time, was greatly occupied with some great muse, as feeling of God's fear, with repentance and remembrance of his sins, with zealous care and solicitude for his flock, with the earnest meditation of the passion and life of our Saviour, who in this world was so despised; or else was set upon some grave study, while he so waited for the ringing of the bells, which were wont to be so noisome to all students. And why were not the trumpeters also shent as well, because

(1) "Somner," sumner, or summoner; a petty officer who calls a man to a court of justice; an apparitor.—Ed. (2) Oh injurious enemies to Christ's humility!

Henry IV. A.D. 1410.

they not did sound before his person? But and though the bells did not clatter in the steeples (and therefore his thunderbolt should have fallen upon the steeples which had deserved), why should the body of the church therefore be suspended? At least, the poor organs, me thinketh, had some part of wrong to be put to silence in the quire, because the bells rang not in the tower.

Organs suspended in the church, because the bells did not ring.

Of the like matter, also, we read in the said registers, falling between the bishop of Worcester and the priory of the same town, for not ringing at the bishop's coming into the church: whereupon much suit and contention was between them, till at length the archbishop of Canterbury took up the matter, moderating it, as in the said registers, fol. 441, appeareth to be seen as followeth:[1]

Variance between the Bishop and Prior of Worcester, for not ringing at the Bishop's coming.

Universis, &c. Thomas, &c. Whereas there happened variance lately between our reverend brother the lord bishop of Worcester on the one part, and the religious and discreet men the prior and covent of the same church on the other part, for not ringing of bells at the coming of our said brother to his aforesaid church, at length the parties, considering the great inconvenience that might come thereof, at our instance and request did agree on this manner; that as often as it shall happen our reverend brother to go to his aforesaid church, either to celebrate orders, or to visit his church in the head or in the inferiors, or to make cream and oil in the same church, also in the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, which is the chiefest feast in the abbey aforesaid; then the prior and the covent, and their successors for the time being, shall ring solemnly against his coming, or shall cause to be rung solemnly, without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to be made against the same: which agreement that it may be more firmly kept, we let you all understand by these presents, sealed with our seal.

Given at our palace of Canterbury, July 12, the tenth year of our government.

The like stir for bell-ringing and for processions had almost happened between the archbishop of Canterbury, successor to this Thomas Arundel, named Henry Chichesley, on the one part, and the abbey of St. Alban's on the other part, had not the abbot, in time submitting himself to the archbishop, so provided, that the ringing of their bells at his coming might not redound to any derogation of their liberties. Whereunto the archbishop granted by these his letters as followeth.

Letter of Henry Chichesley, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Abbot of St. Alban's, respecting the ringing of Bells and Processions.

Ringing in the archbishop, at St. Alban's.

Henry, &c., to the religious men, the abbot and covent of the monastery of St. Alban's, in the diocese of Lincoln, health, &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance between us, and you the abbot and covent, by reason of not giving reverence to us, being due to our province of Canterbury;[2] that is, for not ringing the bells, and meeting us with processions when we passed by divers places of our province, as well due of common custom, as of old use, and for the prerogative of the church of Canterbury, as also being due of every one being within the compass of this our said province, when and as often as we shall pass by their places; at length your lord abbot, coming personally to us, did grant both for you and the covent aforesaid, to do and to give of your

(1) Ex Registro Tho. Arundeli. (2) Ex Regist. Hen. Chichesley, fol. 365.

INJUNCTION OF PENANCE.

Ex Registro. W. Courtney; fol. 337. *b.*

gentleness all reverence and honour, with such reverence both to us and our church of Canterbury, as often as we pass by your monastery or the places nigh or adjoining thereto, or shall hereafter go by; so that it might not be prejudicial to your exemption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your privilege; and that it might not be challenged for duty hereafter. Wherefore we, desiring to keep you from damage, let you understand by these presents, that it is not our intent to derogate your exemptions or privilege whatsoever herein; nor by any means to be prejudicial to you by these your reverences or other duties, whatsoever you have or shall grant to us, of your devotion and liberality, both by you, and in places under your dominion. In witness whereof, &c.

Henry IV. A. D. 1410.

Dated the 28th day of January, $142\frac{3}{6}$, at St. Alban's, the twelfth year of our government. *See Appendix.*

To express, moreover, and describe, the glorious pomp of these prince-like prelates, in these blind days of popish religion reigning then in the church, I thought to adjoin hereunto another example not much unlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certain poor men cited up, and enjoined strait penance by William Courtney, predecessor of the said Thomas Arundel, for bringing litter to his horse, not in wains, as they should do, but in privy sacks, in a secret manner under their cloaks or coats: for which so heinous and horrible trespass, the said archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, did call and cite before him the said persons (pro litera, *i. e.* for litter, after his own Latin), and, after their submission, enjoined them penance; which penance what it was, and what were the names of the aforesaid parties, here followeth out of the said archbishop's registers,[1] both by his own words, and by picture of the persons in the same registers annexed and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and here is also to be seen.

Willam Courtney archbishop of Canterbury.

An Injunction of Penance, from the Register of William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Ignorance, the mother of error, so much hath blinded and deceived certain persons, to wit, Hugh Pennie, John Forstall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John White, tenants of the lord of Wengham, that against the coming of the aforesaid archbishop to his palace of Canterbury on Palm-Sunday-even, the year of our Lord 1390, where they, being warned by the bayliff to convey and carry hay, straw, and other litter, to the aforesaid palace, as they were bound by the tenor of their lands, which they hold of the see of Canterbury; refusing and disdaining to do their due service, as they were accustomed, brought their straw and other litter, not in carts and wains openly and sufficiently, but by piece-meal, and closely in bags or sacks, in contempt of their lord, and derogation of the right and title of the see of Canterbury. Whereupon they being cited and presented before the archbishop, sitting in judgment at his manor of Saltewood, yielded and submitted themselves to his lordship's

Penance enjoined for not bringing straw to my lord's horse.

(1) The registers of the archbishops of Canterbury, of which Foxe so wisely availed himself in compiling his Acts and Monuments of the Church, remain to this day indisputable proofs of his own veracity, and most instructive memorials of the pride and oppression of the church of Rome. The illustration on the opposite page differs slightly from that which is given by our author; it is, nevertheless, an exact copy from archbishop Courtney's Register, which, by the obliging permission of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, the editor was enabled to take, from the original document at Lambeth. Foxe adjoins to his illustration, the following verses, which must not be understood as forming an extract from the Register, but were probably the production of his own pen:—

"This bag full of straw, I bear on my back,
Because my lord's horse his litter did lack;
If ye be not good to my lord grace's horse,
Ye are like to go bare-foot before the cross."

The superscription in the archbishop's register is as follows: "Injunctio pœnitentiæ tenentibus domini nostri non curando sufficientem quantitatem fœni et straminis."—Ed.

Henry IV.

A. D. 1410.

pleasure, humbly craving pardon of their trespass. Then the aforesaid archbishop absolved the above-named Hugh Pennie, &c., they swearing to obey the laws and ordinances of holy church, and to do the punishment that should be appointed them for their deserts: that is, that they going leisurely before the procession, every one of them should carry openly on his shoulder his bag stuffed with hay and straw, so that the said hay and straw should appear hanging out, the mouths of the sacks being open.[1]

Excommunication and absolution abused.

NOTES OF CERTAIN PARLIAMENT MATTERS PASSED IN THE DAYS OF KING HENRY IV.

To proceed now further in the reign of this king, and to intreat also something of his parliaments as we have done of other before; first, we will begin with the parliament holden in the first year of his coming in.

1399 to 1413.

Moreover, forsomuch as our catholic papists will not believe yet the contrary, but that the jurisdiction of their father the pope hath ever extended throughout all the world, as well here in England, as in other places, here, therefore, speaking of the parliaments holden in this king's days concerning this matter, I refer them to the parliament of the said king Henry in his first year holden, and to the twenty-seventh article of the same, where they may read, in the tenth objection laid against king Richard, in plain words:

The pope's jurisdiction excluded out of this realm.

Whereas the crown of the realm of England, and the rights belonging to the same crown, as also the realm itself, have in all past time enjoyed such liberty, that neither the pope, nor any other out of the same kingdom, ought to intermeddle therein: it was objected unto the fore-named king Richard II., for procuring letters apostolical from the pope, to the corroborating and confirming of certain evil statutes of his, in the which letters heavy censures are denounced against whoever should presume in any respect to contravene the said statutes; all which seemed then to the parliament to tend against the crown and regal dignity, as also against the statutes and liberties of the said realm of England.[2]

In the eighth year, moreover, of this king's reign, it was likewise propounded in the parliament, that all such persons as should procure, or sue, in the court of Rome any process touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, should incur the pain of the statute of provisors, made in the thirteenth year of Richard II.: whereunto the king granted, that the statutes here-for provided should be observed.[3]

Item, In the said parliament there, it was put up by petition, that the king might enjoy half the profits of every parson's benefice, who is not resident

(1) Erroris mater ignorantia, quosdam Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, et Johannem White, tenentes domini de Wengham taliter obcœcavit, quod ante adventum dicti domini archiepiscopi ad palatium suum Cantuariæ in vigilia dominicæ in ramis palmarum, Anno Dom. 1390, de curando et ducendo ad dictum palatium, fœnum, stramen, sive literam, ('mark ye grammarians, litera for litter,') prout ex tenura terrarum, et tenementorum suorum, quas et quæ tenent de domino et ecclesia sua Cantuariæ astringuntur, per ballivum domini ibidem jussi et legitime præmoniti debita servitia more solito impendere dedignantes, stramen hujusmodi non in carrucis et vehiculis publice in sufficienti quantitate, sed modice in saccis sub latibulo, portantes ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt, in vilipendium domini ac subtractionem jurium ecclesiæ suæ Cantuar. Unde super hoc coram domino evocati, die Jovis in hebdomada Paschæ in castro suo de Saltwode pro tribunali sedente personaliter comparentes, ipsius judicio in hac parte se humiliter submiserunt, veniam et misericordiam pro commissis devote petendo. Et deinde dominus præfatus, præfatos Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, et Johannem White, de stando mandatis ecclesiæ, et fideliter peragendo pœnitentiam eis pro eorum demeritis injungendam, juratos absolvit in forma juris, injuncta eis et eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ pœnitentia salutari; videlicet, quod die dominica tunc proxime sequente, prædicti pœnitentes nudi capita et pedes, processionem apud ecclesiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum singulis saccis super humeris suis palam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno et stramine) ita quod stramen et fœnum hujusmodi ad ora saccorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis incessibus procederent humiliter et devote.—Ex regist. W. Courtney. [See the Appendix.]

(2) Act. Parl. An. 1. reg. Henry IV. § 27. [See the Appendix.]

(3) An. 8. reg. Hen. IV. § 116.

thereon. Thereunto the king answered, that the ordinaries should do their duties therein, or else he would provide further remedy to stay their pluralities.[1]

Item, In the said parliament it was required, that none do sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only in the king's courts.[2]

In the next year following, which was the ninth of this king, another petition of the commons was put up in parliament against the court of Rome, which I thought good here to express, as followeth:—

Petition to Parliament for Protection against the Court of Rome.

The wickedness of pope's provisors inciting and depriving beneficed men in England, their citation being not known in the realm.

The commons do beseech, that—forasmuch as divers provisors of benefices of holy church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their singular covetousness now newly imagining to destroy those that have been long time incumbents in divers their benefices of holy church peaceably, some of them by the title of the king, some by title ordinary, and some by title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of provisions, collations, and other grants made to the said provisors by the apostoil of the said benefices, have pursued processes in the said court by citation made beyond the sea, without any citations made within the realm in fact against the same incumbents, whereby many of the said incumbents, through such privy and crafty processes and sentences of privation and inhabilitation, have lost their benefices, and others have been put in the places of the said incumbents before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their benefices through such processes, to their perpetual destruction and mischief: and forasmuch as this mischief cannot be holpen without especial remedy be had by parliament:—the king would be pleased to consider the great mischief and danger that may so come unto divers his subjects without their knowledge, through such citations out of the realm, and thereupon to ordain, by the advice of the lords of this present parliament, that no presentée be received by any ordinary unto any benefice of any such incumbent for any cause of privation or inhabilitation, whereof the process is not founded upon citation made within the realm, and also that such incumbents may remain in all their benefices, until it be proved by due inquest in the court of the king, that the citations, whereupon such privations and inhabilitations are granted, were made within the realm: and that if such ordinaries, or such presentées, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they, and their proctors, fautors, and counsellors, do incur the pains contained in the statute made against provisors in the thirteenth year of the reign of Richard II., the late king of England, by processes to be made, as is declared in the statute made against such provisors in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of king Edward, grandfather to our lord the king that now is, any royal licenses granted or to be granted to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all other statutes made against provisors, and not repealed before this present parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points. Whereunto it was answered, that the king's council should have power by authority of parliament, in case that any man find himself grieved in particular, to pursue the matter; and that the said council, by the advice of the justices, do right unto the parties. This is to endure until the next parliament, reserving always unto the king his prerogative and liberty.[3]

Item, In the said parliament it was required, that no pope's collector thenceforth should levy any money within the realm for first-fruits of any ecclesiastical dignity, under pain of incurring the statute of provisions, A.D. 1408.[4]

Furthermore, in the eleventh year of the said king, this was in the parliament required, that all such persons as should be arrested by force of the statute made against the Lollards, in the second year of Henry IV., might be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arrested by none other than by the sheriffs, or such like officers; neither that any havoc be made of their goods. The king granted to take advice therein.[5]

(1) An. 8. reg. Hen. IV. § 114.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ex Rotulo Parliamenti, an. 9 Hen. IV. § 37.
(4) Ibid. § 43.
(5) Anno 11 reg. Hen. IV. § 29.

Henry IV. A. D. 1399 to 1413.

Besides, in the said parliament holden the eleventh year of this king is to be noted, how the commons of the land put up a bill unto the king, to take the temporal lands out from spiritual men's hands or possession; the effect of which bill was this:

That the temporalties disordinately wasted by men of the church, might suffice to find to the king fifteen earls, one thousand five hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and a hundred houses of almose, to the relief of poor people, more than in those days were within England. And over all these aforesaid charges, the king might put yearly in his coffers twenty thousand pounds.

Relief of the poor.

Provided, that every earl should have of yearly rent three thousand marks; and every knight a hundred marks, and four plough lands; every esquire forty marks by the year, with two plough lands; and every house of almose a hundred marks, with oversight of two true seculars unto every house; and also with provision, that every township should keep all poor people of their own dwellers, which might not labour for their living: with condition, that if more fell in a town than the town might maintain, then the said alms-houses to relieve such townships.

A computation of church goods, to what they amount.

And to bear these charges, they alleged by their said bill, that the temporalties, being in possession of spiritual men, amounted to three hundred and twenty-two thousand marks by year, whereof they affirmed to be in the see of Canterbury, with the abbeys of Christ's-church, of St. Augustine's, Shrewsbury, Coggeshal, and St. Osiis, twenty thousand marks by year; in the see of Durham, and other abbeys there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of York, and abbeys there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Winchester, and abbeys there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of London, with abbeys and other houses there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Lincoln, with the abbeys of Peterborough, Ramsey, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Norwich, with the abbeys of Bury, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Ely, with the abbeys of Ely, Spalding, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Bath, with the abbey of Okinborne, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Worcester, with the abbeys of Evesham, Abingdon, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Chester, with the precinct of the same, with the sees of St. David, Salisbury, and Exeter, with their precincts, twenty thousand marks; the abbeys of Ravens or Revens, of Fountains, of Gernons, and divers others, to the number of five more, twenty thousand marks; the abbeys of Leicester, Waltham, Gisborne, Merton, Ticeter, Osney, and others, unto the number of six more, twenty thousand marks; the abbeys of Dover, Battle, Lewes, Coventry, Daventry, and Tourney, twenty thousand marks; the abbeys of Northampton, Thornton, Bristol, Killingworth, Winchcomb, Hailes, Parchissor, Frideswide, Notly, and Grimsby, twenty thousand marks.

The aforesaid sums amount to the full of three hundred thousand marks. And for the odd twenty-two thousand marks, they appointed Hardford, Rochester, Huntingdon, Swinshed, Crowland, Malmesbury, Burton, Tewkesbury, Dunstable, Sherborne, Taunton, and Biland.

And besides this, they alleged by the said bill, that over and above the said sum of three hundred and twenty-two thousand marks, divers houses of religion in England possessed as many temporalties as might suffice to find yearly fifteen thousand priests and clerks, every priest to be allowed for his stipend seven marks by the year.

To this bill no answer was made, but that the king of this matter would take deliberation and advisement, and with that answer ended, so that no further labour was made.[1]

A. D. 1412. These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching such acts and matters as have been incident in the lifetime of this king, followeth next the fourteenth year of his reign. In the which year the said king Henry IV. (after that he had sent a little before a certain company of captains

(1) Ex Chron. D. Alban. [Walsingham.] Fabiano, et aliis. [See the Appendix.—Ed.]

Henry IV. A.D. 1413.

and soldiers to aid the duke of Burgundy in France, among whom was the lord Cobham) keeping his Christmas at Eltham, fell grievously sick. From thence he was conveyed to London, where he began to call a parliament, but tarried not the end. In the mean time, the infirmity of the king more and more increasing, he was taken and brought into a bed in a fair chamber at Westminster; and as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called the same chamber; and they answered and said, Jerusalem. And then he said it was his prophecy, That he should make his end in Jerusalem. And so, disposing himself towards his end in the aforesaid chamber, he died; upon what sickness, whether of leprosy, or of some other sharp disease, I have not to affirm.[1] The like prophecy we read of pope Silvester II.; to whom being inquisitive for the time and place where he should die, it was answered, That he should die in Jerusalem.[2] Who then saying mass in a chapel, called likewise Jerusalem, perceived his end there to be near, and died. And thus king Henry IV., successor to the lawful king Richard II., finished his life at Westminster, and was buried at Canterbury by the tomb of Thomas Becket, A. D. 1413.

The king had a prophecy, that he should die in Jerusalem.

The prophecy of pope Silvester II.

[March 20th.]

HENRY THE FIFTH.[3]

A.D. 1413.

After this Henry IV. reigned Henry V., his son, who was born at Monmouth in Wales, of whose other virtues, and great victories gotten in France, I have not greatly to intermeddle; especially seeing the memory of his worthy prowess, being sufficiently described in other writers in this our time, may both content the reader, and unburden my labour herein; especially seeing these latter troubles and perturbations of the church offer me so much, that unneth[4] any vacant leisure shall be left to intermeddle with matters profane.

Great tempest at the coronation.

After the coronation then of this new king, which was the ninth day of April, called then Passion Sunday, which was an exceeding stormy day, and so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof, not long after the same, a parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the feast of Easter, at Westminster, A. D. 1413. At that time Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, collected in Paul's church at London a universal synod of all the bishops and clergy of England. In that synod, among other weighty matters and ponderous, it was determined, that the day of St. George, and also of St. Dunstan, should be a double feast, called Duplex Festum, in holy kitchen—in holy church, I would say.

A synod called at London.

See Appendix.

The feasts of the pope's church described and divided.

And because the order and manner of those pope-holy feasts either yet is not sufficiently known to some rude and gross capacities, or may, peradventure, grow out of use and to be strange and unknown to our posterity hereafter, therefore, to give a little memorandum thereof by the way, for erudition of times hereafter to come, touching this mystical science of the pope's deep and secret divinity, here is to be noted, that the feasts of the pope's holy mother catholic church be divided in

(1) Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cujus initium est: "That all men called."
(2) See vol. ii. p. 95.—Ed.
(3) Edition 1563, p. 173. Ed. 1570, p. 663. Ed. 1576, p. 535. Ed. 1583, p. 557. Ed. 1596, p. 513. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 635.—Ed.
(4) "Unneth," scarcely.—Ed.

Henry V. A.D. 1413.

sundry members. Like as a plentiful root in a fruitful field riseth up and burgeneth into manifold arms, and the arms again do multiply into divers and sundry branches, out of which, moreover, although no fruit do come, yet both leaves and flowers do bud and blossom in most copious wise, right beautiful to behold: even so this 'festum,' containing a large matter of great variety of days and feasts, groweth in itself and multiplieth, being thus divided; first, into 'festum duplex,' and into 'festum simplex;' that is, into 'feast-double,' and into 'feast-simple.' Again, this 'festum duplex' brancheth four-fold-wise, to wit, into 'festum principale duplex,' into 'majus duplex,' into 'minus duplex,' and 'inferius duplex;' that is, into 'principal double,' into 'greater double,' into 'lesser double,' and into 'inferior' or 'lower double.' Unto these several sorts of feasts what days were peculiarly assigned, it were too long to recite. For this present purpose it shall suffice to understand, that as unto the principal double feast only belonged eight days in the year, so the 'majus duplex festum' had given unto it by this convocation the day of St. George and of St. Dunstan, as is afore remembered: albeit by constitution it was so decreed, yet by custom it was not so used.[1] Item, it is to be noted, that these two feasts, to wit, 'principale duplex' and 'majus duplex,' did differ and were known from all others by four notes: by service in the kitchen, and by service in the church, which were both double; by ringing in the steeple, which was with a double peal; by copes in the quire; and by thurifying or censing the altars: for in these two principal and greater double feasts, the seventh, eighth, and ninth lesson must be read with silken copes. Also at the said feasts, in the time of the lessons, the altars in the church must be thurified, that is, smoked with incense, &c. And likewise the 'minus duplex' and 'inferius duplex' had also their peculiar service to them belonging. Secondly, the 'simplex festum,' which is the second arm springing of this division, is thus divided: either having a triple invitory, or a double or else a single invitory; of which, moreover, some have three lessons, some have nine, &c. And thus much, by occasion, for popish feasts; not that I do so much deride them, as I lament, that so much and manifest idolatry in them is committed, to the great dishonour of our Lord God, who is only to be honoured.

Festum Duplex.

Constitution against custom.

Festum Simplex.

But to let this by-matter pass, again to return to the foresaid universal synod assembled by Thomas Arundel at St. Paul's church in London, as is before remembered.

See Appendix.

The Trouble and Persecution of the most valiant and worthy Martyr of Christ, Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, Lord Cobham.

*After[2] that the true servant of Jesus Christ, John Wickliff, a man of very excellent life and learning, had, for the space of more than twenty-six years, most valiantly battled with the great Antichrist of Europe, or pope of Rome, and his diversely disguised host of anointed hypocrites, to restore the church again to the pure estate that Christ left her in at his ascension, he departed hence most christianly in the hands of God, the year of our Lord 1384, as is aforesaid, and was buried in his own parish church at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire.[3] No small number of godly disciples left that

(1) Ex tab. Festorum.

(2) See the Latin Edition 1559, p. 98; Ed. 1563, p. 261; from which latter the passage in asterisks is an extract.—Ed.

(3) Ex operibus et scriptis Thomæ Waldeni

good man behind him, to defend the lowliness of the gospel against the exceeding pride, ambition, simony, avarice, hypocrisy, whoredom, sacrilege, tyranny, idolatrous worshippings, and other filthy fruits, of those stiff-necked pharisees; against whom Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury (as fierce as ever was Pharaoh, Antiochus, Herod, or Caiaphas) collected, in Paul's church at London, a universal synod of all the papistical clergy of England, in the year of our Lord 1413 (as he had done divers others before), to withstand their most godly enterprise. And this was the first year of king Henry V., whom they had then made fit for their hand.*

Thomas Arundel 'in magno processu.'

The chief and principal cause then of the assembling thereof, as recordeth the Chronicle of St. Alban's, was to repress the growing and spreading of the gospel, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principal favourer, receiver, and maintainer of those whom the bishop misnamed to be Lollards; especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, setting them up to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the constitution provincial, before remembered:[1] holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keys and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romish church, &c.

In the mean time, as these *high[2] prelates, with their pharisees and scribes, were thus gathered in this pestilent council against the Lord and his word, and* were in talk amongst themselves concerning the good lord Cobham, there resorted unto them the twelve inquisitors of heresies; whom they had appointed at Oxford the year before, to search out heretics, with all Wickliff's books; who brought two hundred and sixty-six[3] faithful conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the said books. The names of the said inquisitors were these:

John Whitnam, a master in the New College; John Langedon, monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury; William Ufford, regent of the Carmelites; Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominics; Robert Gilbert, Richard Carthisdale, John Lucke, Richard Snedisham, Richard Fleming, Thomas Rotborne, Robert Rowdbery, Richard Grasdale.[4]

In[2] the mean season, caused they their hired servants to blow it forth abroad over all the whole realm, that they were there congregated for a wholesome unity and reformation of the church of England, to stop, so, the mouths of the common people. Such is always the common practice of these subtle sorcerers, whilst they are in doing mischief, to blear the eyes of the unlearned multitude with one false craft or other.

These things thus done, and the articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their communication, concluding among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christ's coat without seam (meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue), onless certain great men were brought out of the way, who seemed to be the chief maintainers of the said disciples of Wickliff. Among whom this noble knight, sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, was

(1) See suprà, p. 243.—Ed.
(2) Edition 1563, p. 261.—Ed.
(3) See Appendix.
(4) Walden, in fasciculo zizaniorum Wicklevi.

Henry V.

A.D. 1413.

complained of by the proctors of the clergy to be the chief principal. Him they accused, first, for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of their ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of arms, notwithstanding their synodal constitution made before to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in belief of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image-worshipping, and of the ecclesiastical power, than the holy church of Rome had taught many years before.

Lord Cobham accused, for maintaining the gospel of Christ.

Accused for his christian belief.

In the end it was concluded among them, that, without any further delay, process should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernicious heretic.

Process against him.

Some of that fellowship who were of more crafty experience than the others, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto beforehand: considering the said lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the king, their counsel was to know first the king's mind, to save all things upright. This counsel was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop Thomas Arundel, with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straitways unto the king then remaining at Kennington, and there laid forth most grievous complaints against the said lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish: being a man right godly. The king gently heard those blood-thirsty prelates, and far otherwise than became his princely dignity: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stock and knighthood, they should yet favourably deal with him; and that they would, if it were possible, without all rigour or extreme handling, reduce him again to the church's unity. He promised them also, that in case they were contented to take some deliberation, he himself would seriously commune the matter with him.

A spiritual practice.

See Appendix.

The king speaketh for him.

His gentle promise.

Anon after, the king sent for the said lord Cobham, and as soon as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himself to his mother the holy church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himself culpable. Unto whom the christian knight made this answer: "You, most worthy prince," saith he, "I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you a christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evil doers, and for safeguard of them that be virtuous. Unto you, next my eternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto, as I have done ever, all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But, as touching the pope and his spiritualty, I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him, by the Scriptures, to be the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." When the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talk no longer with him, but left him so utterly.

The king's admonishment to lord Cobham.

His answer to the king.

Lord Cobham forsaken by the king.

And as the archbishop resorted again unto him for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish

him, according to their devilish decrees, which they called 'The Laws of holy Church.' Then the said archbishop, by the counsel of his other bishops and clergy, appointed to call before him sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appear, to answer to such suspect articles, as they should lay against him: so he sent forth his chief summoner, with a very sharp citation unto the castle of Cowling, where he at that time dwelt for his solace; and as the said summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without his license, and therefore he returned home again, his message not done.

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Summoned by the archbishop. *See Appendix.*

Then called the archbishop one John Butler unto him, who was then the doorkeeper of the king's privy chamber, and with him he covenanted, through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to pass under the king's name. Whereupon the said John Butler took the archbishop's summoner with him, and went unto the said lord Cobham, showing him, that it was the king's pleasure, that he should obey that citation; and so cited him fraudulently. Then said he to them in few words, that he in no case would consent to those most devilish practices of the priests. As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without peril of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by public process or open commandment; and, in all the haste possible, upon the Wednesday before the nativity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatory to be set upon the great gates of the cathedral-church of Rochester, which was but three English miles from thence, charging him to appear personally before him at Ledis, the eleventh day of the same month and year, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken down anon after, by such as bore favour unto the lord Cobham, and so conveyed aside. After that the archbishop caused new letters to be set up on the nativity-day of our Lady, which also were rent down, and utterly consumed.

John Butler playeth Judas' part.

[Sep. 6th.]

Citations set up against the lord Cobham.

The citations taken down.

Then, forasmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at Ledis (where he sat in consistory, as cruel as ever was Caiaphas, with his court of hypocrites about him), he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him, of most deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falsely informed by his hired spies, and other glozing glaverers, that the said lord Cobham had laughed him to scorn, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the church's power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood (for of all these was he then accused), in his moody madness, without just proof, did he openly excommunicate him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but he commanded him to be cited afresh, to appear before him on the Saturday after the feast of St. Matthew the apostle, with these cruel threatenings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himself more strong towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay-power, by most terrible menacings of curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostate, schismatic, and heretic, the troubler of the public peace, that enemy of the realm, and great adversary of all holy church; for all these hateful names did he give him.

False accusations against him.

Excommunicated, and again cited.

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This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight, sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of Antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiving himself also compassed on every side with deadly dangers, he took paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a christian confession or reckoning of his faith (which followeth hereafter), both signing and sealing it with his own hand; wherein he also answered to the four chief articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the copy with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to find mercy and favour at his hand. None other was that confession of his, than the common belief or sum of the church's faith, called 'The Apostles' Creed,' by all christian men then used, with a brief declaration upon the same, as hereunder ensueth.

Confesseth his faith in God before men.

The apostles' faith.

The Christian Belief of the Lord Cobham.

The common Creed of Christians.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesu Christ his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead, and buried, went down to hell, the third day rose again from death, ascended up to heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal holy church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life. Amen.

Declaration of his belief.

And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the catholic church, I steadfastly believe, That there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the selfsame God Almighty. I believe also, That the second person in this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed Virgin Mary, for the safeguard and redemption of the universal kind of man, which was before lost in Adam's offence.[1]

Christ, the only head of his church.

Moreover I believe, That the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole christian church, and that all those that have been, or shall be, saved, be members of this most holy church.

The church divided into three parts.

And this holy church I think to be divided into three sorts or companies. Whereof the first sort be now in heaven, and they are the saints from hence departed. These, as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy laws and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscences and evils. The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place be in the Scriptures), abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance from pain.[2] The third sort are here upon the earth, and be called the church militant: for day and night they contend against the crafty assaults of the devil, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthiness of the flesh.

See Appendix.

The church militant divided into three estates.

This latter congregation, by the just ordinance of God, is also severed into three divers estates, that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons; among whom the will of God is, that the one should aid the other, but not destroy the other.

What priests should do.

The priests, first of all, secluded from all worldliness, should conform their lives utterly to the examples of Christ and his apostles. Evermore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit, should they be, than any other sort of people.

What knighthood should do.

In knighthood are all they who bear sword by law of office: these should defend God's laws, and see that the gospel were purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and secluding all false preachers; yea these ought rather to hazard their lives, than to suffer such wicked decrees as either blemish the

(1) I John v. Gal. iv. John i. Luke ii.
(2) Contrary wrote he, 'ad Parliamentum.' Ex Waldeno.

eternal testament of God, or yet let the free passage thereof, whereby heresies and schisms might spring up in the church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, than of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocritical lies, for advantage. They ought also to preserve God's people from oppressors, tyrants and thieves, and to see the clergy supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by law of office to compel tilthe to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to God's prescript ordinance.

Mark here a most christian heart.

The latter fellowship of this church, are the common people; whose duty is to bear their good minds and true obedience to the aforesaid ministers of God, their kings, civil governors, and priests. The right office of these, is justly to occupy every man his faculty, be it merchandise, handicraft, or the tilthe of the ground. And so one of them to be as an helper to another, following always, in their sorts, the just commandments of the Lord God.

What the common people ought to do.

Over and besides all this, I most faithfully believe, That the sacraments of Christ's church are necessary to all christian believers; this always seen to, that they be truly ministered according to Christ's first institution and ordinance. And, forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsely accused of a mis-belief in the sacrament of the altar, to the hurtful slander of many, I signify here unto all men, that this is my faith concerning that: I believe in that sacrament to be contained Christ's very body and blood under the similitude of bread and wine, yea the same body that was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, done on the cross, died and was buried, arose the third day from the death; and is now glorified in heaven. I also believe the universal law of God to be most true and perfect, and they who do not so follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be saved: whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, shall taste for it the felicity of everlasting innocency.

Belief of Cobham concerning the sacraments.

The sacrament of the altar.

Finally, this is my faith also, That God will ask no more of a Christian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that most blessed law. If any prelate of the church require more, or else any other kind of obedience, than this to be used, he contemneth Christ, exalting himself above God, and so becometh an open antichrist. All the premises I believe particularly, and, generally, all that God hath left in his holy Scripture, that I should believe; instantly desiring you, my liege lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine may be justly examined by the most godly-wise and learned men of your realm;[1] and, if it be found in all points agreeing to the verity, then let it be so allowed, and I, thereupon, holden for none other than a true Christian. If it be proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned: provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the word of God; and I shall most reverently at all times obey thereunto.

God's law to be preferred before man's.

A christian desire of the lord Cobham.

This brief confession of his faith the lord Cobham wrote, as is mentioned before, and so took it with him to the court, offering it with all meekness unto the king, to read it over. The king would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his judges. Then desired he, in the king's presence, that a hundred knights and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, who he knew would clear him of all heresies. Moreover he offered himself, after the law of arms, to fight for life or death with any man living, christian or heathen, in the quarrel of his faith; the king and the lords of his council excepted. Finally, with all gentleness, he protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that should, after the laws of God, be ministered unto him; but that he would at all times, with all meekness, obey it. Notwithstanding all this the king suffered him to be summoned personally in his own privy chamber. Then said the

See Appendix.

His christian stomach and manhood.

No reasonable offer would serve.

(1) This request was lawful.

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lord Cobham to the king, that he had appealed from the archbishop to the pope of Rome, and therefore he ought, he said, in no case to be his judge. And having his appeal there at hand ready written, he showed it with all reverence to the king; wherewith the king was then much more displeased than afore, and said angrily to him, that he should not pursue his appeal; but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were of the pope allowed. And then, would he or nild he, the archbishop should be his judge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the good lord Cobham had lawfully afore required: but, forasmuch as he would not be sworn in all things to submit himself to the church, and so take what penance the archbishop would enjoin him, he was arrested again at the king's commandment, and so led forth to the Tower of London, to keep his day (so was it then spoken), that the archbishop had appointed him afore in the king's chamber.

Cobham appealeth to the pope.

Cobham would not obey the beast.

The confession and answer newly copied.

Then caused he the aforesaid confession of his faith to be copied again, and the answer, also, which he had made to the four articles propounded against him, to be written in the manner of an indenture, on two sheets of paper; that when he should come to his answer, he might give the one copy unto the archbishop, and reserve the other to himself.

THE FIRST EXAMINATION OF THE LORD COBHAM.

See Appendix.

As the day of examination was come, which was the 23rd day of September, the Saturday after the feast of St. Matthew, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop, sitting in Caiaphas' room, in the chapter-house of Paul's, with Richard Clifford, bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbrook, bishop of Winchester; Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, brought personally before him the said lord Cobham, and there left him for the time; unto whom the archbishop said these words: "Sir John, in the last general convocation of the clergy of this our province, ye were detected of certain heresies, and, by sufficient witnesses, found culpable: whereupon ye were, by form of spiritual law, cited, and would in no case appear. In conclusion, upon your rebellious contumacy, ye were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding we neither yet showed ourselves unready to have given you absolution (nor yet do to this hour), would ye have meekly asked it."—Unto this the lord Cobham showed as though he had given no ear, having his mind otherwise occupied, and so desired no absolution; but said, he would gladly, before him and his brethren, make rehearsal of that faith which he held and intended always to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then he took out of his bosom a certain writing, indented, concerning the articles whereof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giving it unto the archbishop, as he had made thereof an end; whereof this is the copy.

Caiaphas sitteth in consistory.

Anti-christ here, in full power.

A sign of God's true servant.

Lord Cobham's further Confession of his Belief.

Sacrament of the Lord's body.

I, John Oldcastle, knight, lord of Cobham, will that all christian men know and understand, that I call Almighty God to witness, that it hath been, now is, and ever, with the help of God, shall be, mine intent and my will, to believe,

faithfully and fully, all the sacraments that ever God ordained to be done in holy church. And moreover to declare me in these four points: I believe that the most worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed virgin our lady Saint Mary, done on the cross, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heaven. *Henry V.* A. D. 1413.

Also, as for the sacrament of penance, I believe, That it is needful to every man that shall be saved, to forsake sin, and to do due penance for sin before done, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction as God's law limiteth and teacheth, and else may he not be saved; which penance I desire all men to do. Penance

And as for images, I understand that they be not of belief, but that they were ordained since the belief of Christ was given by sufferance of the church, to be calendars to lewd men, to represent and bring to mind the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and martyrdom and good living of other saints: and that whoso it be, that doth the worship to dead images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust in help of them, as he should do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that, the greatest sin of Mammetry.[1] Images *See Appendix.*

Also I suppose this fully, That every man in this earth is a pilgrim toward bliss, or toward pain; and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know, ne keep the holy commandments of God in his living here (albeit that he go on pilgrimages to all the world, and he die so), he shall be damned: he that knoweth the holy commandments of God, and keepeth them to his end, he shall be saved, though he never in his life go on pilgrimage, as men now use, to Canterbury, or to Rome, or to any other place. Pilgrimage.

This answer to his articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the bishops as is said before. Then counselled the archbishop with the other two bishops and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him, for the time, to stand aside. In conclusion, by their assent and information, he said thus unto him: "Come hither, sir John: in this your writing are many good things contained, and right catholic also, we deny it not; but ye must consider that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those articles, whereof, as yet, no mention is made in this your bill: and, therefore, ye must yet declare us your mind more plainly.[2] As thus, whether ye hold, affirm, and believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, remaineth material bread, or not? Moreover, whether ye do hold, affirm, and believe, that, as concerning the sacrament of penance (where a competent number of priests are), every christian man is necessarily bound to be confessed of his sins to a priest ordained by the church, or not?" The answers examined. Quarrels picked where none was given.

After certain other communication, this was the answer o. the good lord Cobham: That none otherwise would he declare his mind, nor yet answer unto his articles, than was expressly in his writing there contained. Then said the Archbishop again unto him: "Sir John, beware what ye do; for if ye answer not clearly to those things that are here objected against you, especially at the time appointed you only for that purpose, the law of holy church[3] is, That, compelled once by a judge, we may openly proclaim you a heretic." Unto whom he gave this answer: "Do as ye shall think best, for I am at a point." Whatsoever he or the other bishops did ask him after that, he bade them resort to his bill; for thereby would he The christian answer of the lord Cobham.

(1) "Mammetry," Puppet, or idol-worship.—Ed.
(2) The wolf was hungry, he must needs be fed with blood.
(3) A tyrannous whore is that mother.

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stand to the very death. Other answer would he not give that day; wherewith the bishops and prelates were in a manner amazed and wonderfully disquieted.

His answer not to their minds. Antichrist setteth men above God.

At last the archbishop counselled again with his other bishops and doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him, what the holy church of Rome, following the saying of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and of the holy doctors, had determined in these matters: no manner of mention once made of Christ! "which determination," saith he, "ought all christian men both to believe and to follow."

The lord Cobham resorteth to Christ.

Then said the lord Cobham unto him, that he would gladly both believe and observe whatsoever holy church of Christ's institution had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to believe or to do: but that the pope of Rome, with his cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of that church, had lawful power to determine such matter as stood not with His word thoroughly; that, would he not (he said) at that time affirm.[1] With this the archbishop bade him to take good advisement till the Monday next following (which was the twenty-fifth day of September), and then justly to answer, specially unto this point: Whether there remained material bread in the sacrament of the altar after the words of consecration, or not? He promised him also, to send unto him in writing those matters clearly determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his answer-making. And all this was nought else, but to blind the multitude with somewhat. The next day, according to his promise, the archbishop sent unto him, into the Tower, this foolish and blasphemous writing, made by him and by his unlearned clergy.

A doctrine of devils to blind the simple

The Determination of the Archbishop and Clergy.[2]

First Article.

The faith and determination of the holy church touching the blissful sacrament of the altar, is this: That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body; and the material wine, that was before wine, is turned into Christ's very blood: and so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, from thenceforth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken:—How believe ye this article?

Second Article.

Holy church hath determined that every christian man, living here bodily upon the earth, ought to be shriven to a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him.—How feel ye this article?

Third Article.

Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy church of Rome; and he granted, that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, whom we now call popes of Rome; by whose power, in churches particular, be ordained prelates, as archbishops, bishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees besides; unto whom christian men ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church.—How feel ye this article?

The seed of the serpent.

Fourth Article.

Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a christian man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship holy relics and images of saints, apostles, and martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome.—How feel ye this article?

He seeth their ignorance.

And as the Lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, he marvelled greatly of their mad ignorance; but that he

(1) What could be more reasonably said, if they had reason to receive it?
(2) Ex magno processu Thomæ Arundel.

considered again, that God had given them over, for their unbelief's sake, into most deep errors and blindness of soul. Again, he perceived hereby, that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoever he should answer; and therefore he put his life into the hands of God, desiring his only Spirit to assist him in his next answer. When the said twenty-fifth day of September was come (which was also the Monday before Michaelmas), in the said year of our Lord 1413, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, commanded his judicial seat to be removed from the chapter-house of Paul's, to the Dominic friars within Ludgate at London. And as he was there set, with Richard the bishop of London, Henry the bishop of Winchester, and Bennet the bishop of Bangor, he called in unto him his council and his officers, with divers other doctors and friars, of whom these are the names here following: Master Henry Ware, the official of Canterbury; Philip Morgan, doctor of both laws; Howel Kiffin, doctor of the canon law; John Kempe, doctor of the canon law; William Carleton, doctor of the canon law; John Whitnam, of the New College in Oxford; John Whitehead, doctor in Oxford also; Robert Wombewel, vicar of St. Lawrence in the Jewry; Thomas Palmer, the warden of Minors; Robert Chamberlain, prior of the Dominics; Richard Dodington, prior of the Augustines; Thomas Walden, prior of the Carmelites: all doctors of divinity. John Stephens also, and James Cole, both notaries, were appointed there purposely to write all that should be either said or done. All these, with a great sort more of priests, monks, canons, friars, parish-clerks, bell-ringers, pardoners, disdained him with innumerable mocks and scorns, reckoning him to be a horrible heretic, and a man accursed afore God.

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Putteth his life in God's hand.

The Council of Caiaphas.

The Pharisees and Scribes.

A rabble of Antichrists

Anon the archbishop called for a mass-book, and caused all these prelates and doctors to swear thereupon, that every man should faithfully do his office and duty that day; and that neither for favour nor fear, love nor hate of the one party or the other, any thing should there be witnessed, spoken, or done, but according to the truth, as they would answer before God and all the world, at the day of doom. Then were the two aforesaid notaries sworn also to write and to witness the process that there should be uttered on both parties, and to say their minds, if they otherwise knew, before they should register it. And all this dissimulation was but to colour their mischiefs before the ignorant multitude.

Concilium malignantium.

For a false colour swear they.

All done to deceive the ignorant.

Consider herein, gentle reader, what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the just fear of God; for as they were then, so are they yet to this day.

After that, came forth before them sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower; and he brought with him the good lord Cobham, there leaving him among them as a lamb among wolves, to his examination and answer.

Another Examination of the Lord Cobham.[1]

Then said the archbishop unto him: 'Lord Cobham, ye be advised, I am sure, of the words and process which we had unto you upon Saturday last past, in

(1) Ex vetusto exemplari Londinensium.

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the chapter-house of Paul's, which process is too long to be rehearsed again now. I said unto you then, that you were accursed for your contumacy and disobedience to the holy church, thinking that ye should with meekness have desired your absolution.'

Then spake the lord Cobham with a cheerful countenance, and said: 'God said by his holy prophet Malachai [chap. ii.], Maledicam benedictionibus vestris; which is as much as to say, I shall curse where you bless.'

The curse of Antichrist.

The archbishop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, saying: 'Sir, at that time I gently proffered to have assoiled you, if you would have asked it; and yet I do the same, if ye will humbly desire it, in due form and manner, as holy church hath ordained.' Then said the lord Cobham: 'Nay forsooth will I not, for I never yet trespassed against you, and, therefore, I will not do it.'

A wolfish offer of gentleness.

And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards heaven, and said: 'I shrive me here unto thee, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, O Lord! most grievously in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousness, and in lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins; good Lord, I ask thee mercy.' And therewith weepingly he stood up again, and said with a mighty voice: 'Lo, good people! lo; for the breaking of God's law and his great commandments, they never yet cursed me, but, for their own laws and traditions, most cruelly do they handle both me and other men; and therefore, both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall be utterly destroyed.' [Jer. li.]

Lord Cobham confesseth himself unto God.

Man's law before God's law preferred.

At this the archbishop and his company were not a little blemished. Notwithstanding, he took stomach unto him again after certain words had, in excuse of their tyranny, and examined the lord Cobham of his christian belief.—Whereunto the lord Cobham made this godly answer: 'I believe,' saith he, 'fully and faithfully in the universal laws of God; I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred scriptures of the Bible; finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe.'

The true christian belief of lord Cobham.

Then demanded the archbishop an answer of that bill which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the day before, in manner of a determination of the church concerning the four articles whereof he was accused; especially for the sacrament of the altar, how he believed therein. Whereunto the lord Cobham said: That with that bill he had nothing to do; but this was his belief, he said, concerning the sacrament: that his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, sitting at his last supper, with his most dear disciples, the night before he should suffer, took bread in his hand; and giving thanks to his eternal Father, blessed it, brake it, and so gave it unto them, saying, 'Take it unto you, and eat thereof all: this is my body which shall be betrayed for you: do this hereafter in my remembrance.' 'This do I thoroughly believe,' saith he, 'for this faith am I taught in the Gospel of Matthew, xxvi., in Mark xiv., and in Luke xxii.; and also in the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. xi.[1]

Then asked the archbishop, If he believed that it were bread *after* the consecration or sacramental words spoken over it? The lord Cobham said: 'I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, done on the cross, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven.'

Sacrament of the altar.

Then said one of the doctors of the law: 'After the sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Christ.'

John Whitehead gone from his opinions: all this would not help.

The lord Cobham said then to one Master John Whitehead: 'You said once unto me, in the castle of Cowling, that the sacred Host was not Christ's body; but I held then against you, and proved that therein was his body, though the seculars and friars could not therein agree, but held, each one against the other, that opinion. These were my words then, if ye remember it.' Then shouted a sort of them together, and cried with great noise: 'We say all, that it is God's body.'

A blasphemous brood.

And divers of them asked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the consecration, or not?

Quarrelpickers

Then looked the lord Cobham earnestly upon the archbishop, and said: 'I believe surely that it is Christ's body, in form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus?' And the archbishop said: 'Yes, marry, do I.'

(1) Antichrist alloweth not this faith.

Then asked him the doctors, whether it were only Christ's body, after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?—And he said unto them: 'It is both Christ's body and bread; I shall prove it thus: for like as Christ dwelling here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was only visible and seen in him; so, in the sacrament of the altar, is Christ's very body and bread also, as I believe. The bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, the body of Christ, which is his flesh and his blood, is thereunder hid, and not seen but in faith.[1] *Henry V.* A. D. 1413. The sacrament of Christ's body, is both the body and bread.

'And moreover, to prove, that it is both Christ's body and also bread after the consecration, it is by plain words expressed by Gelasius, one of your own doctors, writing against Eutyches, who saith: Like as the selfsame sacraments do pass by the operation of the Holy Ghost into a divine nature, and yet, notwithstanding, keep the property still of their former nature, so that principal mystery declareth to remain one true and perfect Christ,' &c.

Then smiled they each one upon one another, that the people should judge him taken in a great heresy: and, with a great brag, divers of them said: 'It is a foul heresy.' The pope's divinity.

Then asked the archbishop what bread it was? And the doctors also inquired of him whether it were material or not?—The lord Cobham said unto them: 'The Scriptures make no mention of this word *material* and therefore my faith hath nothing to do therewith: but this I say and believe, that it is Christ's body and bread; for Christ said in the sixth of John's gospel: Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cœlo descendi: I which came down from heaven am the living and not the dead bread. Therefore I say now again, as I said before, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God and very man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread.' Material bread.

Then said they all with one voice: 'It is a heresy!'[2]

One of the bishops stood up, by and by, and said, 'What? it is a heresy manifest, to say that it is bread after the sacramental words be once spoken, but Christ's body only.'—The lord Cobham said: 'St. Paul the apostle was, I am sure, as wise as you be now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians: The bread that we break, saith he, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ? [1 Cor. x.] Lo! he called it bread! and not Christ's body, but a mean whereby we receive Christ's body.' The sacrament is called bread.

Then said they again: 'Paul must be otherwise understood; for it is surely a heresy to say that it is bread after the consecration, but only Christ's body.'

The lord Cobham asked: How they could make good that sentence of theirs?—They answered him thus: 'For it is against the determination of holy church.'[3]

Then said the archbishop unto him: Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed sacrament, clearly determined by the church of Rome[2] our mother, and by the holy doctors.'—Then he said again unto him: 'I know none holier than is Christ and his apostles. And as for that determination, I wot it is none of theirs; for it standeth not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the church's as ye say it is, it hath been hers only since she received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not before.' A most christian answer. *See Appendix.*

Then asked they him to stop his mouth therewith, if he believed not in the determination of the church?—And he said unto them: 'No forsooth, for it is no God. In all our creed, this word *in* is but thrice mentioned concerning belief: In God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. The birth, the death, the burial, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, hath no *in* for belief, but *in him;* neither yet hath the church, the sacraments, the forgiveness of sin, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, nor any other *in* than in the Holy Ghost.' The doctors confounded in their own question.

Then said one of the lawyers: 'Tush, that was but a word of office: but what is your belief concerning holy church?'—The lord Cobham answered: 'My belief is, as I said before, that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them I believe thoroughly, for I know it is God's pleasure that I should so do; but in your lordly laws and idle determinations have I no belief. For ye be no part of Christ's holy church, as your The lord Cobham believeth not in the pope.

(1) Neither will Scripture nor reason serve. This opinion hath St. Augustine.
(2) A heresy after the papists' making.
(3) The determination of the church must stand, whatsoever Paul saith.

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open deeds do show; but ye are very Antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The laws that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetousness.'

This, they said, was an exceeding heresy[1] (and that in a great fume), not to believe the determination of holy church.

Holy church defined.

Then the archbishop asked him, What he thought of holy church?—He said unto him: 'My belief is, that the holy church is the number of them who shall be saved, of whom Christ is the head. Of this church one part is in heaven with Christ, another in purgatory you say,[2] and the third is here in earth. This latter part standeth in three degrees, in knighthood, priesthood, and the commonalty, as I said before plainly in the confession of my belief.'

Then said the archbishop unto him: 'Can you tell me who is of this church?'—The lord Cobham answered: 'Yea, truly can I.'

Then said doctor Walden,[3] the prior of the Carmelites: 'It is no doubt unto you, who is thereof. For Christ saith in Matthew vii.: Nolite judicare, Presume to judge no man. If ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or brother, much more the judgment of your superior.'

The lord Cobham made him this answer, 'Christ saith also in the selfsame chapter of Matthew, That like as the evil tree is known by his fruit, so is a false prophet by his works, appear they ever so glorious. But that, ye left behind ye. And in John i.: he hath this text: Operibus credite; Believe ye the outward doings. And in another place of John vii.: Justum judicium judicate; When we know the thing to be true, we may so judge it, and not offend. For David said also, Psalm lvi.: Recte judicate filii hominum; Judge rightly always, ye children of men. And as for your superiority, were ye of Christ, ye should be meek ministers, and no proud superiors.'[4]

Diversity of judgments.

Then said doctor Walden unto him: 'Ye make here no difference of judgments; ye put no diversity between the evil judgments which Christ hath forbidden, and the good judgments, which he hath commanded us to have. Rash judgment and right judgment, all is one with you. So swift judges always are the learned scholars of Wickliff.'—Unto him the lord Cobham thus answered:

A perfect answer.

'It is well sophistered of you forsooth. Preposterous are your judgments evermore. For as the prophet Isaiah [ch. v.] saith: Ye judge evil good and good evil: and therefore the same prophet Isaiah [chap. lv. ver. 8] concludeth, that your ways are not God's ways, nor God's ways your ways. And as for that virtuous man Wickliff, whose judgments ye so highly disdain, I shall say here, of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin.[5] But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath otherwise, I trust, been with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions.'

A great adversary.

Then said doctor Walden yet again unto him: 'It were not well with me (so many virtuous men living, and so many learned men teaching the Scripture, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plenteous), if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the devil preach. St. Jerome saith: That he who seeketh such suspected masters shall not find the mid-day light, but the mid-day devil.'[6]

Doctors when the Scriptures fail, they begin to rail.

The lord Cobham said: 'Your fathers, the old Pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and his doctrine to the devil; and you, as their natural children, have still the selfsame judgment concerning his faithful followers.[7] They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretics, and that must your doctors prove, when you have no Scripture to do it.' Then said he to them all:

The clergy to sit on life or death, hath no ground in Scripture.

'To judge you as you be, we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all God's law, that ye should thus sit in judgment on any christian man, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the Scripture so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiaphas, who sat thus upon Christ, and upon his apostles after his ascension. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Christ's members as ye do; and neither of Peter nor John.

Followers of Caiaphas.

Then said some of the lawyers: 'Yes, forsooth, Sir, for Christ judged Judas.'

(1) A heresy after the papists.
(2) Consider him to be then in shrewd handling.
(3) Walden, contra Wicklevistas, lib. 2. ar. 3. cap. 67.
(4) How we may judge, or not judge, by the Scriptures.
(5) Walden, in præfatione Doctrin. vii.
(6) Hieron. in breviario minori.
(7) Luke xi. John x.

—The lord Cobham said, 'No! Christ judged him not, but he judged himself, and thereupon went forth and so did hang himself: but indeed Christ said: Wo unto him, for that covetous act of his, as he doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venom of him was shed into the church, ye never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of God's law. *Henry V.* A.D. 1413.

Then the archbishop asked him, What he meant by that venom?—The lord Cobham said: 'Your possessions and lordships. For then cried an angel in the air, as your own chronicles mention, Wo, wo, wo, this day is venom shed into the church of God. Before that time all the bishops of Rome were martyrs, in a manner: and since that time we read of very few. But indeed since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slain another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the chronicles tell. And let all men consider well this, that Christ was meek and merciful; the pope is proud and a tyrant: Christ was poor and forgave; the pope is rich and a malicious manslayer, as his daily acts do prove him: Rome is the very nest of Antichrist; and out of that nest come all the disciples of him; of whom prelates, priests, and monks, are the body, these pilled friars are the tail behind.' Twenty-six bishops of Rome together martyrs, save only four. Comparison between the martyrs' and the popes' time. Also between Christ and the pope.

Then said the prior of the friars Augustine: 'Alack, Sir, why do you say so? that is uncharitably spoken.'—And the lord Cobham said: 'Not only is it my saying, but also the prophet Isaiah, [chap. ix.] long before my time. The prophet, saith he, which preacheth lies, is the tail-behind. For as you friars and monks be, like Pharisees, divided in your outward apparel and visages, so make ye division among the people. And thus you, with such others, are the very natural members of Antichrist. Rome is Antichrist's nest.

Then said he unto them all: 'Christ saith in his gospel, Matt. xxiii. Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye close up the kingdom of heaven before men, neither enter ye in yourselves, nor yet suffer any others that would enter into it, but ye stop up the ways thereunto with your own traditions, and therefore are ye the household of Antichrist: ye will not permit God's verity to have passage, nor yet to be taught by his true ministers, fearing to have your wickedness reproved. But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefs, ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.' Friars proved seditious, and yet found no traitors. The religion of bishops.

Then said the archbishop: 'By our lady, Sir, there shall none such preach within my diocese, and God will, nor yet in my jurisdiction, if I may know it, as either make division,[1] or yet dissension among the poor commons.'—The lord Cobham said: 'Both Christ and his apostles were accused of sedition-making, yet were they most peaceable men;[2] both Daniel and Christ prophesied, that such a troublous time should come, as hath not been yet since the world's beginning. And this prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings; for many have ye slain already, and more will ye slay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promise. Christ saith also [Matt. xxiv.]: If those days of yours were not shortened, scarcely should any flesh be saved; therefore look for it justly, for God will shorten your days. Moreover, though priests and deacons for preaching of God's word and for ministering the sacraments, with provision for the poor, be grounded on God's law, yet have these other sects no manner of ground hereof, so far as I have read.' *See Appendix.*

Then a doctor of law, called Master John Kemp, plucked out of his bosom a copy of the bill which they had before sent him into the Tower by the archbishop's council, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him; for they were so amazed with his answers (not all unlike to them who disputed with Stephen), that they knew not well how to occupy the time; their wits and sophistry, as God would, so failed them that day. Mark this working of Satan.

'My lord Cobham,' saith this doctor, 'we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following. The first of them is this:'—and then he read upon the bill; 'The faith and determination of holy church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar is this; That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body, and the material wine, is turned into Christ's blood. And so there remaineth, in the sacrament of the altar, from thence- First Article. Transubstantiation of bread into the body.

(1) Note, I pray you, how those are counted traitors and seditious, who teach, or cause God's truth to be taught.

(2) Luke xxiii. John xix.

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forth no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken: Sir, believe you not this?'—The lord Cobham said: 'This is not my belief; but my faith is, as I said to you before, that in the worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread.'

Then said the archbishop: 'Sir John! ye must say otherwise.'—The lord Cobham said: 'Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my side, as I trust he is; but that there is Christ's body in form of bread, as the common belief is.'

Lord Cobham's belief in the sacrament.

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

Second Article.

The lord Cobham answered and said: 'A diseased or sore wounded man hath need to have a sure wise chirurgeon and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same. Most necessary were it, therefore, to be first shriven unto God, who only knoweth our diseases, and can help us. I deny not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning; for the laws of God are to be required of the priest, who is godly learned. [Mal. ii.] But if he be an idiot, or a man of vicious living that is my curate, I ought rather to flee from him than to seek unto him; for sooner might I catch evil of him that is naught, than any goodness towards my soul-health.'

Confession of sins to God only.

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

Third Article.

To this he answered and said: 'He that followeth Peter most nigh in pure living, is next unto him in succession; but your lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor Peter, whatsoever ye prate of him, neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him till the time of Silvester, who, for the more part, were martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt yourselves with them at all. All the world knoweth this well enough by you, and yet ye can make boast of Peter.'

Who is next to Peter. Succession not of place but of condition, maketh Peter's heir.

With that, one of the other doctors asked him: 'Then what do ye say of the pope?'—The lord Cobham answered: 'As I said before, he and you together make whole the great Antichrist, of whom he is the great head; you bishops, priests, prelates, and monks, are the body; and the begging friars are the tail, for they cover the filthiness of you both, with their subtle sophistry; neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you, with Peter, follow Christ in conversation.'

Antichrist's head, body, and tail.

Then read the doctor again:—'The fourth point is this: Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a christian man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics and images of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome. Sir, what say you to this?'

Fourth Article. Pilgrimage.

Whereunto he answered: 'I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousness. It were best ye swept them fair from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up for catching of scathe, or else to bury them fair in the ground, as ye do other aged people, who are God's images. It is a wonderful thing, that saints now being dead should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, who all their life time hated all covetousness and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your shrines and idols, your feigned absolutions and pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth, and chief pleasures of all christian realms.'

What is to be done with images.

Saints are become covetous beggars.

'Why Sir,' said one of the clerks, 'will ye not worship good images?'—'What worship should I give unto them?' said the lord Cobham.

See Appendix.

Then said friar Palmer unto him: 'Sir, will ye worship the cross of Christ, that he died upon?'—'Where is it?' said the lord Cobham.

A whelp of the same bear.

The friar said: 'I put you the case, Sir, that it were here, even now before

you.'—The lord Cobham answered; 'This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himself knoweth not where the thing itself is. Yet once again I ask you, What worship I should do unto it?'

A clerk said unto him: 'Such worship as Paul speaketh of, and that is this; God forbid that I should joy, but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.'—Then said the lord Cobham, and spread his arms abroad: 'This is a very cross, yea, and so much better than your cross of wood, in that it was created of God; yet will not I seek to have it worshipped.' The cross, whether it is to be worshipped.

Then said the bishop of London: 'Sir, ye wot well that he died on a material cross.'[1]—The lord Cobham said: 'Yea, and I wot also, that our salvation came not in by that material cross, but alone by him who died thereupon. And well I wot, that holy St. Paul rejoiced in none other cross, but in Christ's passion and death only, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfsame verity that he hath suffered for before'. What it is to rejoice in the cross of Christ.

Another clerk yet asked him, 'Will ye then do no honour to the holy cross?' —He answered him: 'Yes, if he were mine own, I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he should take no more scathe abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now adays.' *See Appendix.*

Then said the archbishop unto him: 'Sir John, ye have spoken here many wonderful words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spiritualty, giving a great evil example unto the common sort here,[2] to have us in the more disdain. Much time have we spent here about you, and all in vain, so far as I can see. Well, we must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away: ye must either submit yourself to the ordinance of holy church, or else throw yourself (no remedy) into most deep danger. See to it in time, for else anon it will be too late.' Slandered with the truth.

The lord Cobham said: 'I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude.'

Then said the archbishop again unto him: 'We once again require you to remember yourself well, and to have no other manner of opinion in these matters, than the universal faith and belief of the holy church of Rome is. And so, like an obedient child, return again to the unity of your mother. See to it I say in time, for yet ye may have remedy, whereas, anon, it will be too late.' A wolfish offer of gentleness.

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

Finally, then the archbishop said: 'Well, then I see none other but that we must needs do the law; we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for a heretic.' Bloody murderers.

And with that the archbishop stood up and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity vailing their bonnets. And this was the tenor thereof.

A Bill of the Lord Cobham's Condemnation.

In the name of God; Amen. We Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, and legate from the apostolic see of Rome, will this be known unto all men. In a certain cause of heresy, and upon divers articles, whereupon sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before us, in our last convocation of all our province of Canterbury, holden in the cathedral church of Paul's at London, at the lawful denouncement and request of our universal clergy in the said convocation, we proceeded against him according to the law (God to witness) with all the favour possible: and, following Christ's example in all that we might Suffered of God as a plague. A heretic for confessing of Christ.

(1) The material cross is not 'material' to our faith.
(2) These men seem to stand only upon their estimation amongst the people.

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Who willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live;[1] we took upon us to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him again to the church's unity, declaring unto him what the holy and universal church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught, in that behalf. And though we found him in the catholic faith far wide, and so stiff-necked, that he would not confess his error, nor purge himself, nor yet repent him thereof, we yet, pitying him of fatherly compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seek to be reformed; but since that time we have found him worse and worse. Considering, therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the law, and with great heaviness of heart we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitive against him.

The wolf would appear charitable. See if they show not themselves.

Then brought he forth another bill,[2] containing the said sentence, and that he read also, in his beggarly Latin. "Christi nomine invocato, ipsumque solum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata," and so forth. Which I have also translated into English, that men may understand it.

The definitive Sentence of Lord Cobham's Condemnation.

Christ we take unto witness, that nothing else we seek in this our whole enterprise, but his only glory. Forasmuch as we have found, by divers acts done, brought forth, and exhibited, by sundry evidences, signs, and tokens, and also by many most manifest proofs, the said sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretic in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretics against the faith and religion of the holy and universal church of Rome; namely about the two sacraments (of the altar and of penance), besides the pope's power and pilgrimages; and that he, as the child of iniquity and darkness, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his pastor;[3] neither will he be allured by straight admonishments, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: the worthiness of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his unworthiness again considered on the other side, his faults also aggravated or made double through his damnable obstinacy (we being loth that he who is naught should be worse, and so with his contagiousness infect the multitude), by the sage counsel and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honourable brethren, and lords bishops here present, Richard of London, Henry of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great, learned, and wise men here, both doctors of divinity, and of the laws canon and civil, seculars and religious, with divers other expert men assisting us: we sententially and definitively, by this present writing, judge, declare, and condemn[4] the said sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, for a most pernicious, detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church again, committing him here from henceforth as a condemned heretic, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, [to do him thereupon to death].[5] Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce

A colour of deceit.

Christ is condemned in his faithful members. *See Appendix.*

(1) Ezek. xviii. and xxxv.
(2) Ex magno processu Thomæ Arundeli.
(3) A true sheep heareth the voice of a true pastor.
(4) As Caiaphas did Christ.
(5) "Do him thereupon to death." This was at his first trial, and before his escape from the Tower. This, then, is all we require to refute the calumnies which have been heaped upon the lord Cobham by Romish writers, and to prove that the religious tyranny of the papists, and not his own misconduct, was the origin of those proceedings which were instituted against him. Mr. Charles Butler, in his book of the Roman Catholic Church, confidently inquires, (Letter xi. p. 145), "Had not his practices with the Lollards, in their most revolutionary designs, and his encouragement of them been discovered?" It might be asked, however, If "rebellion," and "revolutionary designs," were the causes which made lord Cobham odious to the king and the ecclesiastics, why were not these charges brought forward at his first trial: and why did the whole of the above examination turn upon the vain doctrine of transubstantiation? He was not condemned on this occasion for conspiring against king Henry, but, as the records of the notaries, and his sentence definitive expressly state, "for refusing to obey the church;" the question of his imputed rebellion is not even agitated, and yet he is condemned to death, and all his favourers formally accursed. Let the lord Cobham have been, subsequently, one of the most revolutionary spirits of his age, let him eventually have taken arms against his king, still the truth cannot be evaded, that, primarily, he was condemned to death for refusing to submit to the church of Rome.

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

And that these premises may be the better known by all faithful christian men,[1] we commit it here unto your charges, and give you straight commandment thereupon by this writing also, that ye cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of excommunication concerning both this heretic and his fautors, to be published throughout all dioceses, in cities, towns, and villages, by your curates and parish priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the curate every where go into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this process, in the mother-tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may be perceived of all men: and that upon the fear of this declaration also the people may fall from their evil opinions conceived now, of late, by seditious preachers. Moreover we will, that after we have delivered unto each one of you bishops, who are here present, a copy hereof, that ye cause the same to be written out again into divers copies, and to be sent unto the other bishops and prelates of our whole province, that they may also see the contents thereof solemnly published within their dioceses and cures. Finally, we will that both you and they signify again unto us, seriously and distinctly, by your writings, as the matter is, without feigned colour, in every point performed, the day whereon ye received this process, the time when it was of you executed, and after what sort it was done in every condition, according to the tenor hereof, that we may know it to be justly the same.[2]

See Appendix.

Keep the sepulchre never so much, yet Christ will rise. None office left undone pertaining to Antichrist.

A copy of this writing Thomas Arundel the archbishop of Canterbury sent afterwards from Maidstone, the tenth day of October, within the same year of our Lord, 1413, unto Richard Clifford the bishop of London, which thus beginneth: "Thomas, permissione divina," &c.[3]

Richard Clifford.

The said Richard Clifford sent another copy thereof enclosed within his own letters, unto Robert Maschal, a Carmelite friar, who was then bishop of Hereford in Wales, written from Haddam, the twenty-third of October in the same year, the beginning whereof is this: "Reverende in Christo Pater," &c.

Robert Maschal.

This Robert Maschal directed another copy thereof from London the twenty-seventh day of November in the same year, enclosed in his own commission also, unto his archdeacon and deans in Hereford and Shrewsbury; and this is thereof the beginning, "Venerabilibus et discretis viris," &c. In like manner did the other bishops within their dioceses.

Ex utroque exemplari.

After the archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, with most extremity, before the whole multitude, the lord Cobham said with a most cheerful countenance: "Though yé judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure, that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan unto the soul of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promise save it. I have, therein, no manner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before-rehearsed I will stand to them even to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God."

And therewith he turned him unto the people, casting his hands

This point being established, the cause of the lord Cobham may be left with perfect confidence in the hands of our author.—Ed.

(1) How spiritual these fathers are.
(2) What care is here to hold up their popery.
(3) Tho. Walden. in fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevi

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abroad, and saying with a very loud voice: "Good christian people, for God's love be well ware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindling into hell with themselves. For Christ saith plainly unto you, [Matt. x.] 'If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.'"

He prayeth for his enemies.

After this, he fell down there upon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, holding up both his hands and his eyes towards heaven, and saying, "Lord God Eternal! I beseech thee, of thy great mercy sake, to forgive my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will." And then he was delivered to sir Robert Morley, and so led forth again to the Tower of London; and thus there was an end of that day's work.

While the lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out privily unto his friends; and they, at his request, wrote this little bill here following, causing it to be set up in divers quarters of London, that the people should not believe the slanders and lies that his enemies, the bishop's servants and priests, had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter:[1]

A Testimonial made by the Lord Cobham's Friends.

Forasmuch as sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, is untruly convicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his adversaries, that he should otherwise both think and speak of the sacraments of the church, and especially of the blessed sacrament of the altar, than was written in the confession of his belief; which was indented and taken to the clergy, and so set up in divers open places of the city of London: known be it here to all the world, that he never since varied in any point therefrom, but this is plainly his belief: That all the sacraments of the church be profitable and expedient also to all them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true church have ordained. Furthermore he believeth, That the blessed sacrament of the altar is verily and truly Christ's body in form of bread.[2]

To stop lying lips, a rehearsal of his belief.

The clergy hated of the people.

After this, the bishops and priests were in great discredit both with the nobility and commons; partly, for that they had so cruelly handled the good lord Cobham, and partly again, because his opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both ways, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at last consented to use another practice somewhat contrary to that they had done before.

A practice of false priests.

They caused it by and by to be blown abroad by their feed servants, friends, and babbling sir Johns,[3] that the said lord Cobham was become a good man, and had lowly submitted himself in all things unto holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of his opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

These are their common feats.

This is the abjuration, say they, of sir John Oldcastle, knight, sometime the lord Cobham.

(1) Ex vetusto exemplari Londinensium.
(2) In form of bread, but not without bread he meaneth.
(3) A name of derision for the lower orders of the popish clergy.—Ed.

Henry V.

A. D. 1413.

An Abjuration counterfeited by the Bishops.[1]

In Dei nomine, Amen. I John Oldcastle denounced, detected and convicted , and upon, divers articles savouring both heresy and error, before the verend father in Christ and my good lord, Thomas, by the permission of God, rd archbishop of Canterbury, and my lawful and rightful judge in that behalf, xpressly grant and confess: That as concerning the estate and power of the most oly father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other relates, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, espeally of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other observances besides f our mother, holy church, as pilgrimages and pardons; I affirm, I say, before ie said reverend father archbishop, and elsewhere, that I, being evil-seduced y divers seditious preachers, have grievously erred, and heretically persisted, lasphemously answered, and obstinately rebelled; and therefore I am, by the aid reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of ondon, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for a heretic.

Mark from whence this gear cometh.

Yet nevertheless, I now, remembering myself, and coveting by this mean to avoid that temporal pain which I am worthy to suffer as a heretic, at the assignation of my most excellent christian prince and liege lord, king Henry V., now, by the grace of God, most worthy king both of England and of France; minding also to prefer the wholesome determination, sentence, and doctrine of the holy universal church of Rome, before the unwholesome opinions of myself, my teachers, and my followers, I freely, willingly, deliberately, and thoroughly confess, grant, and affirm, that the most holy fathers in Christ, St. Peter the apostle, and his successors, bishops of Rome, especially now at this time my most blessed lord, pope John, by the permission of God, the three and twentieth pope of that name, who now holdeth Peter's seat (and each of them in their succession), hath full strength and power to be Christ's vicar on earth, and the head of the church militant: and that by the strength of his office (what, though he be a great sinner, and afore-known of God to be damned?) he hath full authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, save and destroy, accurse and assoil, all other christian men.

Fine workmanship, I trow.

Alas! good man, thou art slandered.

And agreeably still unto this I confess, grant, and affirm, all other archbishops, bishops, and prelates in their provinces, dioceses, and parishes, appointed by the said pope of Rome to assist him in his doings or business, by his decrees, canons, or virtue of his office, to have had in times past, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, accurse and assoil, the subjects or people of their aforesaid provinces, dioceses, and parishes, and that their said subjects or people ought, of right, in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confess, grant, and affirm, that the said spiritual fathers, as our most holy father the pope, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power for the estate, order, and governance of their subjects or people, to make laws, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, yea, and to publish, command, and compel their said subjects and people to the observation of them.

How prove ye that by the Scriptures?

Moreover, I confess, grant, and affirm, that all these aforesaid laws, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, made, published, and commanded, according to the form of spiritual law, all christian people, and every man in himself is straightly bound to observe, and meekly to obey, according to the diversity of the aforesaid powers, as the laws, statutes, canons, and constitutions of our most holy father the pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, and extravagants over all the world; and as the provincial statutes of archbishops in their provinces, the synodal acts of bishops in their dioceses, and the commendable rules and customs of prelates in their colleges, and curates in their parishes, all christian people are both bound to observe, and also most meekly to obey. Over and besides all this, I, John Oldcastle, utterly forsaking and renouncing all the aforesaid errors and heresies, and all other errors and heresies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this book or holy evangely of God, and swear, that I shall never more from henceforth hold these aforesaid heresies nor yet any other like unto them wittingly. Neither

No Scripture have they to show.

Intolerable yokes lay they.

(1) Walden. in fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevi.

Henry V. shall I give counsel, aid, help, or favour at any time, to them that shall hold, teach, affirm, or maintain the same, as God shall help me,[1] and these holy evangelists.

A. D. 1413. And I shall from henceforth faithfully obey, and inviolably observe,[2] all the holy laws, statutes, canons, and constitutions, of all the popes of Rome, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, which are contained and determined in their holy decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, sums papal, extravagants, statutes provincial, acts synodal, and other ordinary regules and customs constituted by them, or that shall chance hereafter directly to be determined or made. To these and all such other will I myself with all power possible apply. Besides all this, the penance which it shall please my said reverend father the lord archbishop of Canterbury hereafter to enjoin me for my sins, I will meekly obey and faithfully fulfil. Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all others besides, whom I shall hereafter know suspected of heresy or errors, I shall effectually present, or cause to be presented, unto my said reverend father lord archbishop, or to them who have his authority, so soon as I can conveniently do it, and see that they be corrected to my uttermost power.

The pope-holy Bible of papists. Mark this handling.

This charge give they commonly.

This abjuration never came to the hands of the lord Cobham, neither was it compiled by them for that purpose, but only therewith to blear the eyes of the unlearned multitude for a time; after which like fetch and subtle practice was also devised the recantation of the archbishop Thomas Cranmer, to stop for a time the people's mouths: which subtlety in like manner was also practised with the false recantation of the bishop Hooper, and divers other, as in their places hereafter, Christ granting, shall be showed.

* And[3] when the clergy perceived that policy would not help, but made more and more against them, then sought they out another false practice: they went unto the king with a most grievous complaint[4], like as they did afore, in his father's time, that in every quarter of the realm, by reason of Wickliff's opinions, and the said lord Cobham, were wonderful contentions, rumours, tumults, uproars, confederations, dissensions, divisions, differences, discords, harms, slanders, schisms, sects, seditions, perturbations, perils, unlawful assemblies, variances, strifes, fightings, rebellious rufflings, and daily insurrections. The church, they said, was hated. The diocesans were not obeyed. The ordinaries were not regarded. The spiritual officers, as suffragans, archdeacons, chancellors, doctors, commissaries, officials, deans, lawyers, scribes, and somners, were every where despised. The laws and liberties of holy church were trodden under foot. The christian faith was ruinously decayed. God's service was laughed to scorn. The spiritual jurisdiction, authority, honour, power, policy, laws, rites, ceremonies, curses, keys, censures, and canonical sanctions of the church, were had in utter contempt, so that all, in a manner, was come to naught.

The clamour of the papists.

Christ always troubleth them.

And the cause of this was, that the heretics and lollards of Wickliff's opinion were suffered to preach abroad so boldly, to gather conventicles unto them, to keep schools in men's houses, to make

(1) Never made he such an oath. (2) And this maintain they still.

(3) The next few paragraphs are from the Edition 1563, p. 274. Why Foxe should have omitted them in succeeding editions does not readily appear. Dr. Wordsworth, in his Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. i. p. 269, quotes them from "Bales Brefe Chronycle," observing that "the history is not equally full or well told in Fox;" a remark which does not apply to the first edition of the "Acts and Monuments."—Ed.

(4) Ex Statutis Parliamenti Regis Henrici V.

books, compile treatises, and write ballads, to teach privately in angles and corners, as in woods, fields, meadows, pastures, groves, and in caves of the ground.

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

An old practice of theirs yet used.

See Appendix.

A bill was put in there again by the commons, against their continual wasting of the temporalties,[1] like as it had been twice before, by procurement of the said lord Cobham, both in the days of king Richard II., A. D. 1395,[2] and also of king Henry IV., A. D. 1410. Whereupon was grown all this malice afore specified; but this was then workmanly defeated by another proper practice of theirs: they put the king in remembrance to claim his right in France, and granted him thereunto a disme,[3] with other great subsidy of money. Thus were Christ's people betrayed every way, and their lives bought and sold by these most cruel thieves. For, in the said parliament, the king made this most blasphemous and cruel act, to be as a law for ever: That whatsoever they were that should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue (which was then called Wickliff's learning), they should forfeit land, cattle, body, life, and goods, from their heirs for ever, and so be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most arrant traitors to the land.[4]

A cruel act of king Henry for religion.

Besides this, it was enacted, That never a sanctuary, nor privileged ground within the realm, should hold them, though they were still permitted both to thieves and murderers. And if, in any case they would not give over, or were, after their pardon, relapsed, they should suffer death in two manner of kinds: that is; they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then be burned for heresy against God: and yet neither of them committed. The beginning of that act is this: "Pro eo quod magni rumores," &c. Anon after, was it proclaimed throughout the realm, and then had the bishops, priests, monks, and friars, a world somewhat to their minds.

Christ hath less favour than thieves.

Never tyrant more cruel.

For then were many taken in divers quarters, and suffered most cruel death. And many fled out of the land into Germany, Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and into the welds[5] of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; working there many marvels against their false kingdom too long to write.[6] In the Christmas following were sir Roger Acton, knight, master John Brown, esquire, sir John Beverly, a learned preacher, and divers others, attached, for quarrelling with

A sore persecution in England for religion.

(1) Robertus Fabianus, in Chronicis. Waldenus in fasciculo.
(2) Fabianus in Chronicis. (3) "Disme," a tenth.—Ed.
(4) Waldenus ad Martinum papam, lib. 2, cap. 46, et in Sermone de funere regis. [See Appendix.] Polydorus. (5) "Weld," or "weold," (Saxon) a forest.—Ed.
(6) Waldenus ad Martinum papam, lib. 2. cap. 50. De sacramentalibus, cap. 53.

Henry V. certain priests, and so imprisoned; for all men at that time could not patiently suffer their blasphemous brags.[1]

A.D. 1413. The complaint was made unto the king of them, that they had made a great assembly in St. Giles's field at London, purposing the destruction of the land, and the subversion of the common-wealth. As the king was thus informed, he erected a banner, saith Walden,[2] with a cross thereupon; as the pope doth commonly by his legates, when he pretendeth to war against the Turks, and, with a great number of men, entered the same field, where he found no such company. Yet was the complaint judged true, because the bishops had spoken it at the information of their priests. All this hath Thomas Walden in divers of his works, who was, at the same time, a white or Carmelite friar, and the king's confessor; and partly it is touched, both by Robert Fabian, and by Polidore Virgil, in their English Chronicles, but not in all points rightly, as is to be seen in our stories afore touched.*

For confirmation of this history. And thus much hitherto concerning the first trouble of sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, with all the circumstances of the true time, place, occasion, causes, and order belonging to the same, wherein I trust I have sufficiently satisfied all the parts, requisite to a faithful history, without corruption. For the confirmation whereof, to the intent the mind also of the wrangling caviller may be satisfied, and to stop the mouth of the adversary, which I see in all places to be ready to bark, I have, therefore, of purpose annexed withal my ground and foundation, taken out of the archives and registers of the archbishop of Canterbury:[3] whereby may appear the manifest error

Edward Hall deceived. both of Polydore, and of Edward Hall, who, being deceived in the right distinction of the times, assign this citation and examination of the lord Cobham to be after the council of Constance, whereas Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, at the council of Constance was not alive. The copy and testimony of his own letter shall declare the same, being written and sent to the bishop of London in form as followeth.

Copy of the Epistle of the Archbishop of Canterbury, written to the Bishop of London, whereon dependeth the ground and certainty of this aforesaid History of the Lord Cobham above premised.

To the reverend father in Christ, and lord, the lord Robert, by the grace of God, bishop of Hereford, Richard, by the permission of God, bishop of London, health and continual increase of sincere love: We have of late received the letters of the reverend father in Christ, and lord, the lord Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see. To our reverend brother the lord Richard bishop of London, health and brotherly love in the Lord. It was lately concluded before us, in the convocation of prelates and clergy of our province of Canterbury last celebrated in our church of St. Paul, intreating amongst other things with the said prelates and clergy upon the union and reformation of the church of England, by us and the said prelates and clergy; that it was almost impossible to amend the whole of our Lord's coat which was without seam, unless, first of all,

(1) Walden, Fabian, John Major, Polydore.
(2) Waldenus ad Martinum, et in prologo de sacramentis.
(3) Ex Epistola Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond. [Wilkins's Conc. iii. p. 353—Ed.]

certain nobles of the realm, who are authors, favourers, protectors, defenders, and receivers of these heretics called Lollards, were sharply rebuked, and, if need were, by the censures of the church and the help of the secular power, they be revoked from their errors. And afterwards, having made diligent inquisition in the convocation amongst the proctors of the clergy and others who were there in great number out of every diocese of our province, it was found out amongst others, that sir John Oldcastle, knight, was, and is, the principal receiver, favourer, protector, and defender of them; and that, especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, he had sent the said Lollards to preach, not being licensed by the ordinaries and bishops of the dioceses or places, contrary to the provincial constitutions in that behalf made, and hath been present at their wicked sermons, grievously punishing with threatenings, terrors, and the power of the secular sword, such as did withstand him: alleging and affirming amongst others, that we and our fellow-brethren, suffragans of our provinces, had not, neither have, any power to make any such constitutions: also he hath holden and doth hold opinion, and teach, as touching the sacraments of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of the worshipping of saints, and of the keys, contrary to that which the universal church of Rome doth teach and affirm.

A thing thought right necessary that the lord Cobham should be made out of the way, or else not possible for papistry to flourish.

Wherefore, on the behalf of the said prelates and clergy, we were then required that we would vouchsafe to proceed against the said sir John Oldcastle upon the premises. Notwithstanding for the reverence of our lord the king, in whose favour the said sir John at that present was, and no less also for honour of his knighthood, we, with our fellow-brethren, and suffragans then present, with a great part of the clergy of our province, coming personally before the presence of our lord the king, being then at his manor of Kennington, put up against the said sir John a complaint, and partly reciting the defaults of the said sir John; but at the request of our lord the king, we, desiring to reduce the said sir John to the unity of the church without any reproach, deferred all the execution of the premises for a great time. But at last, forasmuch as our said lord the king, after his great travails taken about the conversion of him, did nothing at all profit, as our said lord the king vouchsafed to certify us both by word and writing, we immediately decreed to call forth the said sir John personally to answer before us at a certain time already passed, in and upon the premises, and sent our messengers with these our letters of citation to the said sir John, then being at his castle at Cowling: unto the which messenger we gave commandment, that he should in no case go into the castle, except he were licensed; but by the mean of one John Butler, porter of the king's chamber, he should require the said sir John, that he would either license the said messenger to come into the castle, or that he would cite him, or at least, that he would suffer himself to be cited without his castle. The which sir John openly answered unto the said John Butler, declaring the premises unto him on the behalf of our lord the king; that he would by no means be cited, neither in any case suffer his citation. Then we, being certified of the premises, lawfully proceeded further.

Sir John Oldcastle in favour with the king.

First, having faithful report made unto us, that he could not be apprehended by personal citation, we decreed to cite him by an edict, to be openly set up in the porches of the cathedral church of Rochester next unto him, little more than three English miles distant from the said castle of Cowling. As we had thus caused him to be cited, and our edict aforesaid. to be publicly and openly set upon the porches of the said church, that he should personally appear before us the eleventh day of September last past, to answer unto the premises, and certain other things concerning heresy: which day being come, we, sitting in the tribunal seat in our great chapel within the castle of Leedes of our diocese, which we then inhabited, and where we then kept residence with our court, and having taken an oath, which is requisite in the premises, and the information by us heard and received, as the common report goeth, in the parts where the said sir John dwelleth (fortifying himself in his said castle), defending his opinions manifoldly, contemning the keys of the church and the archbishop's power; we therefore caused the said sir John Oldcastle, cited as is aforesaid, to be openly, with a loud voice, called by the crier; and so being called, long looked for, and by no means appearing, we judged him, as he was no less worthy, obstinate, and for punishment of his said obstinacy we did then and there excommunicate him. And, forasmuch as by the order of the premises, and other evident tokens

The keys of the church falsely wrested.

Henry V. A.D. 413.

of his doings, we understand that the said sir John, for the defence of his error, doth fortify himself, as is aforesaid, against the keys of the church, by pretence whereof a vehement suspicion of heresy and schism riseth against him; we have decreed, if he may be apprehended, again personally to cite him, or else, as before, by an edict, that he should appear before us the Saturday next after the feast of St. Matthew the apostle and evangelist next coming, to show some reasonable cause, if he can, why we should not proceed against him, to more grievous punishment, as an open heretic, schismatic, and open enemy of the universal church, and personally to declare why he should not be pronounced such a one, or that the aid of the secular power should not be solemnly required against him; and further to answer, do, and receive as touching the premises, whatsoever justice shall require. Which time being come, that is to say, the Saturday next after the feast of St. Matthew, being the twenty-third day of September, sir Robert Morley, knight, lieutenant of the Tower of London, appeared personally before us, sitting in the chapter-house of the church of St. Paul at London, with our reverend fellow-brethren and lords, Richard by the grace of God bishop of London, and Henry bishop of Winchester, and brought with him sir John Oldcastle, knight, and set him before us; for a little before, he was taken by the king's servants, and cast into the Tower: unto which sir John Oldcastle, so personally present, we rehearsed all the order of the process, as it is contained in the acts of the day before passed, with good and modest words and gentle means; that is to say, how he, the said sir John, was detected and accused in the convocation of the prelates and clergy of our said province, as is aforesaid, upon the articles before rehearsed, and how he was cited, and, for his contumacy, excommunicated: and when we were come to that point, we offered ourselves ready to absolve him. Notwithstanding, the said sir John, not regarding our offer, said, that he would willingly rehearse before us, and my said fellow-brethren, the faith which he held and affirmed. So he, having his desire, and obtaining license, took out of his bosom a certain schedule indented, and there openly read the contents of the same, and delivered the same schedule unto us, and the schedule of the articles whereupon he was examined, which was in form following:—

The lord Cobham excommunicated.

See Appendix.

Lord Cobham cast into the Tower.

The tears of the crocodile!

Popish absolution neglected.

The Catholic Faith and Confession of the Lord Cobham, a Copy of which accompanied the preceding Letter to the Bishop of London.

I, John Oldcastle, knight, lord of Cobham, desire to make manifest unto all Christians, and God to be taken to witness, that I never thought otherwise, or would think otherwise, by God's help, than with a steadfast and undoubted faith to embrace all those his sacraments which he hath instituted for the use of his church.

The sacrament of the altar.

Furthermore, that I may the more plainly declare my mind in these four points of my faith: first of all, I believe the sacrament of the altar to be the body of Christ under the form of bread. The very same body which was born of his mother Mary, crucified for us, dead, and buried, rose again the third day, sitteth on the right hand of his immortal Father, now being a triumphant partaker with Him of his eternal glory.

Of penance.

Then as touching the sacrament of penance, this is my belief: That I do think the correction of a sinful life to be most necessary for all such as desire to be saved, and that they ought to take upon them such repentance of their former life, by true confession, unfeigned contrition, and lawful satisfaction, as the word of God doth prescribe unto us; otherwise there will be no hope of salvation.

Of images.

Thirdly, as touching images, this is my opinion: That I do judge them no point of faith, but brought into the world, after the faith of Christ, by the sufferance of the church, and so grown in use, that they might serve for a calendar for the lay-people and ignorant; by the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly examples and martyrdom of Christ and other holy men: but if any man do otherwise abuse this representation, and give the reverence unto those images which is due unto the holy men whom they represent, or rather unto Him to whom the holy men themselves owe all their honour, setting all their trust and hope in them, which ought to be referred unto God; or if they be so affected toward the dumb images, that they be in any behalf addicted

unto them, either be more addicted unto one saint than another, in my mind they do little differ from idolatry, grievously offending against God, the author of all honour. *Henry V.* A. D. 1413.

Last of all, I am thus persuaded: That there be no inhabitants here in earth, but that we shall pass straight either to life or punishment; for whosoever doth so order his life that he stumbleth at the commandments of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vain for him to look for salvation, although he range over all the corners of the world. Contrariwise, he who observeth his commandments cannot perish, although in all his lifetime he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canterbury, nor Compostella, nor to any other place, whither the common people are accustomed to walk. Of pilgrimages.

This schedule, with the articles therein contained, being read, as is aforesaid, by the said sir John, we with our fellow-brethren aforesaid, and many other doctors and learned men, had conference upon the same; and at last, by the counsel and consent of them, we spake these words following, unto the said sir John there present: 'Behold, sir John! there are many good and catholic things contained in this schedule, but you have at this time to answer unto other matters which savour of errors and heresies, whereunto, by the contents of this schedule, it is not fully answered; and, therefore, you must answer thereunto, and more plainly express and declare your faith and opinions as touching those points in the same bill; that is to say, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done, there remaineth material bread or not?' See whether these men pick quarrels where they need.

'Item, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that it is necessary, in the sacrament of penance, for a man to confess his sins unto a priest appointed by the church?'

The above articles in this manner delivered unto him, amongst many other things he answered plainly, That he would make no other declaration or answer thereunto than was contained in the said schedule. Whereupon we, favouring the said sir John, with benign and gentle means spake unto him in this manner: 'Sir John! take heed, for, if you do not plainly answer to these things which are objected against you, within a lawful time now granted you by the judges, we may declare you to be a heretic:' but the said sir John persevered as before, and would make no other answer. Consequently notwithstanding, we, together with our said fellow-brethren, and others of our counsel, took advice, and by their counsel declared unto the said sir John Oldcastle, what the holy church of Rome in this matter, following the saying of blessed St. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and other holy men, hath determined; which determinations every catholic ought to observe.[1] Whereupon the said sir John answered, That he would believe and observe whatsoever the holy church determined, and whatsoever God would he should observe and believe. But that he would in no case affirm, that our lord the pope, the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, or other prelates of the church, have any power to determine any such matters. Whereunto, we, yet favouring him,[2] under hope of better advisement, promised the said sir John, that we would give him in writing certain determinations upon the matter aforesaid, whereunto he should more plainly answer, written in Latin, and, for his better understanding, translated into English: whereupon we commanded and heartily desired him, that against Monday next following he should give a plain and full answer; which determinations we caused to be translated the same day, and to be delivered unto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this manner:

'The faith and determination of the holy church upon the holy sacrament of the altar is this: That after the consecration done in the mass by the priest, the material bread shall be changed into the material body of Christ, and the material wine into the material blood of Christ; therefore, after the consecration, there remaineth, no more, any substance of bread and wine, which was there before:—what do you answer to this article? The sum of the popish belief.

'Also the holy church hath determined, that every Christian, dwelling upon Confession.

(1) Here is no mention made of the word of God.

(2) Wolves clothed in sheep's skins.

Henry V.

A.D. 1413.

earth, ought to confess his sins unto a priest ordained by the church, if he may come unto him:—how think you by this article?

'Christ ordained St. Peter his vicar on earth, whose seat is in the church of Rome, giving and granting the same authority, which he gave unto Peter, also to his successors, who are now called popes of Rome; in whose power it is to ordain and institute prelates in particular churches, as archbishops, bishops, curates, and other ecclesiastical orders, unto whom the christian people owe obedience, according to the tradition of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy church:—what think you by this article?

The pope's supremacy.

Pilgrimage.

'Besides this the holy church hath determined, That it is necessary for every christian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all saints whomsoever the church of Rome hath allowed:—what think you of this article?'

Convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum et Christum ejus. Psal ii.

Upon which Monday, being the five and twentieth day of the said month of September, before us and our fellow-brethren aforesaid, having also taken unto us our reverend brother Benedict, by the grace of God, bishop of Bangor, and, by our commandment, our counsellors and ministers, Master Henry Ware, official of our court of Canterbury; Philip Morgan, doctor of both laws; Howel Kiffin, doctor of the decretals; John Kempe and William Carlton, doctors of law; John Witnam, Thomas Palmer, Robert Wombewell, John Withe, and Robert Chamberlain, Richard Dotington, and Thomas Walden, professors of divinity; also James Cole and John Stevens, our notaries appointed on this behalf: they, all and every one, being sworn upon the holy gospel of God, laying their hands upon the book, that they should give their faithful counsel in and upon the matter aforesaid, and in every such cause, and to the whole world: by and by appeared sir Robert Morley, knight, lieutenant of the Tower of London, and brought with him the aforesaid sir John Oldcastle, setting him before us; unto whom we gently and familiarly rehearsed the acts of the day before passed, and, as before, we told him that he both is and was excommunicate, requiring and entreating him that he would desire and receive in due form the absolution of the church. Unto whom the said sir John then and there plainly answered: That in this behalf he would require no absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then, afterwards, by gentle and modest means we desired and required him to make plain answer unto the articles which were laid against him; and first of all, as touching the sacrament of the altar. To which article, besides other things, he answered and said thus: That as Christ, being here on earth, had in him both Godhead and manhood, notwithstanding the Godhead was covered and invisible under the humanity, which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise, in the sacrament of the altar, there is the very body and very bread; bread which we do see, the body of Christ hidden under the same, which we do not see. And plainly he denied, that the faith, as touching the said sacrament, determined by the Romish church and holy doctors, and sent unto him by us in the said schedule, was the determination of the holy church. But if it be the determination of the church, he said that it was done contrary unto the Scriptures; after the church was endowed, and after that poison was poured into the church, and not before. Also, as touching the sacrament of penance and confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there: That if any man were in any grievous sin, out of which he knew not how to rise, it were expedient and good for him to go unto some holy and discreet priest to take counsel of him; but, that he should confess his sin to any proper priest or to any other, although he might have the use of him, it is not necessary to salvation; forasmuch as only by contrition such sin can be wiped away, and the sinner himself purged. As concerning the worshipping of the cross, he said and affirmed, That only the body of Christ which did hang upon the cross, is to be worshipped; forasmuch as that body alone was and is the cross, which is to be worshipped.

The sacrament, both body and bread, in divers respects.

How confession is to be allowed.

What honour to be done to the cross.

And being demanded what honour he would do unto the image of the cross, he answered by express words: That he would only do it that honour, that he would make it clean and lay it up safe. As touching the power and authority of the keys, the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, he said, That the pope is very Antichrist, that is, the head; that the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, be his members, and that the friars be his tail: which pope, archbishops, and bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be

The pope is Antichrist; the

followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, manners, and conversation, and that he is the successor of Peter who is best and purest in life and manners. Furthermore, the said sir John, spreading his hands, with a loud voice said thus to those who stood about him: 'These men, who judge and would condemn me, will seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you unto hell; therefore take heed of them.' When he had spoken those words, we again, as oftentimes before, with lamentable countenance, spake unto the said sir John, exhorting him, with as gentle words as we might, that he would return to the unity of the church, to believe and hold that which the church of Rome doth believe and hold: who expressly answered, That he would not believe or hold otherwise than he had before declared. Wherefore, perceiving, as it appeared by him, that we could not prevail, at last, with bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitive sentence in this manner:

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bishops are his members, and the friars his tail.

Bold talk of lord Cobham.

The definitive Sentence of Lord Cobham's Condemnation, a Copy of which accompanied the preceding Letter to the Bishop of London.

In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop and humble[1] minister of the holy church of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause or matter of heresy upon certain articles, whereupon sir John Oldcastle, knight, lord Cobham, before us, in the last convocation of our clergy of our province of Canterbury, holden in the church of St. Paul in London, after diligent inquisition thereupon made, was detected and accused, and by our said province notoriously and openly defamed. At the request of the whole clergy aforesaid thereupon made to us in the said convocation, with all favour possible that we might (God we take to witness), lawfully proceeding against him, following the footsteps and example of Christ,[2] who would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, we have endeavoured, by all ways and means we might or could, to reform him, and rather reduce him to the unity of the church, declaring unto him what the holy universal church[3] of Rome doth teach, hold, and determine, in this behalf. And albeit that we found him wandering astray from the catholic faith, and so stubborn and stiff-necked, that he would not confess his error, or clear himself thereof, or detest the same; notwithstanding we, favouring him with a fatherly affection, and heartily wishing and desiring his preservation, prefixed him a certain competent time to deliberate with himself, and, if he would, to repent and reform himself. And last of all, forasmuch as we perceived him to be unreasonable, observing chiefly those things which by the law are required in this behalf, with great sorrow and bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of the definitive sentence in this wise:—

The name of Christ being called upon, setting him only before our eyes: Forasmuch as by acts enacted, signs exhibited, evidences, and divers tokens, besides sundry kind of proofs, we find the said sir John to be, and to have been, a heretic, and a follower of heretics in the faith and observation of the sacred universal church of Rome, and specially as touching the sacraments of the eucharist and of penance; and that as the son of iniquity and darkness he hath so hardened his heart, that he will not understand the voice of his Shepherd, neither will be allured with his monitions, or converted with any fair speech: having first of all searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merits of the cause aforesaid, and of the said sir John, his deserts and faults aggravated through his damnable obstinacy, not willing that he that is wicked should become more wicked, and infect others with his contagion; by the counsel and consent of the reverend men of profound wisdom and discretion, our brethren, the lords Richard, bishop of London, Henry, bishop of Winchester, and Benedict, bishop of Bangor, and also of many other doctors of divinity, the decretals and civil law, and of many other religious and learned persons our assistants, we have judged and declared sententially, and definitively condemned the said sir John Oldcastle, knight, lord Cobham, being convict in and upon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to return unto the unity of the

They call light darkness, and darkness light.

Like, will to like.

(1) They call themselves humble, who rule over kings, and exercise the tyranny of the world.
(2) Following Christ's footsteps? clean contrary!
(3) The universal church, meaneth, by a figure, the part for the whole.

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church, and in those things which the sacred universal church of Rome doth hold, teach, determine, and show forth. And especially as one erring in the articles above-written, leaving him from henceforth as a heretic, unto the secular judgment.

So did the Pharisees deliver Christ to Pilate.

Moreover, we have excommunicated, and by these writings do pronounce and excommunicate him, as a heretic, and all others who from henceforth, in favour of his error, shall receive, defend, or give him counsel or favour, or help him in this behalf, as favourers, defenders, and receivers of heretics. And, to the intent that these premises may be known unto all faithful Christians, we charge and command you, that, by your sentence definitive, you do cause the curates who are under you, with a loud and audible voice in their churches, when as most people is present, in their mother-tongue, through all your cities and diocese, to publish and declare the said sir John Oldcastle, as is before said, to be by us condemned as a heretic, a schismatic, and one erring in the articles above-said; and all others who from henceforth in favour of his errors shall receive or defend him, giving him any counsel, comfort, or favour in this behalf, to be excommunicated as receivers, favourers, and defenders of heretics: as is more effectually contained in the process. That by such means the erroneous opinions of the people (who, peradventure, have otherwise conceived the matter), by those declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off: which thing also we will and command to be written and signified by you, word for word, unto all our fellow-brethren, that they all may manifest, publish, and declare, throughout all their cities and dioceses, the manner and form of this our process, and also the sentence by us given, and all other and singular the contents in the same; and likewise cause it to be published by their curates who are under them, as touching the day of receipt of these presents, and what you have done in the premises, how you and they have executed this our commandment. We will that you and they duly and distinctly certify us, the business being done, by your and their letters-patent, according to this tenor.

Dated in our manor of Maidstone, the tenth of October, An. 1413, and in the eighteenth year of our translation.

Lord Cobham returned to the Tower.

Thus have you here the judicial process of the bishops against this most noble christian knight, described by their own letters and style. After all this, the sentence of death being given, the lord Cobham was sent away, sir Robert Morley carrying him again unto the Tower, where, after he had remained a certain space, in the night season (it is not known by what means), he escaped out, and fled into Wales, where he continued by the space of four years. *Some[1] writers have thought this escape to come by the aforesaid sir Roger Acton, and other gentlemen in displeasure of the priests; and that to be the chief occasion of their deaths; which might well be: but Walden doth not so utter it, who reigned at the same time.*

A DEFENCE OF THE LORD COBHAM, AGAINST NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD, SET OUT UNDER THE NAME OF ALANUS COPUS ANGLUS.

Alanus Copus Anglus with his six dialogues.

As I was entering into this story of the lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former histories hitherto passed, having next to set upon this present matter, luckily, and as God would, in such opportunity of season as God may seem to work himself for the defence of his saints, cometh to my hands a certain book of new-found dialogues, compiled in Latin, by Nicholas Harpsfield, set out by Alanus Copus, an Englishman, a person to me unknown, and obscure, hitherto, unto the world, but who now, to purchase himself a name

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 275.—Ed.

with Erostratus,[1] or with the sons of Anakim, cometh out, not with his five eggs, but with his six railing dialogues; in which dialogues the said Alanus Copus Anglus (whether he, under the armour of another, or another under title of his name, I know not, nor pass not), uncourteously behaving himself, intemperately abusing his time, study, and pen, forgetting himself, neglecting all respect of honesty, and mild modesty, neither dreading the stroke of God, nor caring for shame, neither favouring the living, nor sparing the dead, who, when alive as they never offended him, so now cannot answer for themselves, being gone; thus, provoking both God and man against him, after an unseemly sort, and with a foul mouth, and a stinking breath, rageth and fareth against dead men's ashes, taking now the spoil of their good name, after their bodies lie slain in the field; his gall and choler being so bitter against them, that he cannot abide any memory after them to remain upon earth; insomuch that for the hatred of them he spurneth also against me, and flieth in my face, for that in my Acts and Monuments, describing the history of the church, I would say any thing in favour of them, whom the Romish catholics have so unmercifully put to death. The answer to whose book, although it would require a several tractation by itself (as, if Christ grant space and leisure, hereafter it shall not be forgotten), yet, because such opportunity of the book is offered to me at this present, coming now to the matter of the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and others, with whom he beginneth first to quarrel, it shall be requisite a little by the way to cope with this Cope, whatsoever he be, so much as truth shall give me for their defence to say something. And here, to cut off all the offals of his railing talk and unhonest rebukes, which I leave to scolds and men of his profession against they list to brawl, let us briefly and quietly consider the matter for discussing of the truth; wherein first I shall desire the reader, with equality and indifferency, to hear both the parties speak, as well what the martyrs, hence gone and slain, could say for themselves if they were present, as also what this man here doth object against them now being gone. And so, according to the same, to judge both upon them, as they deserve, and of me, as they shall please.

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Copus intemperately abuseth his pen.

Copus a barker against dead men.

Answer to Copus.

Indifferency of the reader craved.

Now to the scope of Master Cope's matter, which is this: whether this aforesaid sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham (first to begin with him) is rather to be commended for a martyr, or to be reproved for a traitor? and whether that I, in writing of him, and of sir Roger Acton, with others besides, in my former edition, have dealt fraudulently and corruptly, in commending them in these Acts and Monuments, or no? Touching the discussion hereof, first, I trust the gentle Master Cope, my friend, neither will, nor well can, deny any part of all that hitherto, touching the story of the lord Cobham, hath been premised; who yet all this while was neither traitor to his country, nor rebel to his prince, as by the course of his history hitherto the reader may well understand. First, in the time of king Henry IV., he was sent over to France to the duke of Orleans: he did obey. Afterwards, king Henry V. coming to the crown, he was of him likewise well liked and favoured, until the time that Thomas Arundel, with his

Whether lord Cobham be to be judged a traitor, or a martyr.

Lord Cobham, true and obedient to king Henry IV.

(1) "Erostratus," or Eratostratus, an Ephesian, who, to immortalize his own name, burned the famous temple of Diana, the night in which Alexander the Great was born.—Ed.

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clergy, complaining to the king, made bate[1] between them. Then the lord Cobham, being cited by the archbishop, at his citation would not appear: but, sent for by the king, he obeyed and came. Being come, what lowly subjection he showed there to the king, the story declareth. Afterwards he yielded an obedient confession of his faith: it would not be received. Then did he appeal to the bishop of Rome, for which the king took great displeasure with him, and so was he repealed by the king to the archbishop, and committed to the Tower: which also he did obey. From thence he was brought to his examination once or twice: there, like a constant martyr, and witness of the truth, he stood to his confession, and that unto the very sentence of death defined against him. If this be not the effect of a true martyr, let Alanus Copus say what he will, or what he can. This I say, at least I doubt, whether the said Alanus Copus Anglus, put to the like trial himself, would venture so narrow a point of martyrdom for his religion, as this christian knight did for his: certes, it hath not yet appeared.

In the beginning favoured of king Henry V

The king's displeasure procured against the lord Cobham by popish prelates.

Cobham constant in his faith to the day of his death.

To proceed; after this deadly sentence was thus awarded against him, the said lord Cobham was then returned again unto the Tower, which he, with patience and meekness, did also obey; from which Tower if he afterwards by the Lord's providence did escape, whether hath Alanus Copus herein more to praise God for offering to him the benefit, or to blame the man for taking that which was offered? What catholic in all Louvain, having his house over his head on fire, will not be glad to have, if he might, the door set open to fly the peril? or else why did Alanus Copus fly his county, having so little need, if this man, bleeding almost under the butcher's axe, might not enjoy so great an offer of so lucky deliverance?

Thus hitherto, I trust, the cause of the lord Cobham standeth firm and strong against all danger of just reprehension; who being, as ye have heard, so faithful and obedient to God, so submiss to his king, so sound in his doctrine, so constant in his cause, so afflicted for the truth, so ready and prepared to death, as we have sufficiently declared, not out of uncertain and doubtful chronicles, but out of the true originals and instruments remaining in ancient records: what lacketh now, or what should let to the contrary, but that he, declaring himself such a martyr, that is, a witness to the verity, for which also at last he suffered the fire, may, therefore, worthily be adorned with the title of martyr, which is in Greek as much as a witness-bearer?

Lord Cobham worthy the name of a martyr: the name of a martyr, what it signifieth.

Calumnia.

But here now steppeth in dame ἡ διαβολῆ, with her cousin-scold Alecto, &c., who neither learning to hold her tongue, nor yet to speak well, must needs find here a knot in a rush, and beginning now to quarrel, inferreth thus: "But after," saith he, "that the lord Cobham was escaped out of the Tower, his fellows and confederates convented themselves together seditiously against the king, and against their country." A great crime no doubt, Master Cope, if it be true: so, if it be not true, the greater blame returneth unto yourself, so to enter this action of such slander, unless the ground whereupon ye stand be sure. First, what fellows of the lord Cobham were these you mean? "Sir Roger Acton," ye say, "Master Brown, and John Beverly, with thirty-six others, hanged and burned in the said field of St. Giles's." A marvellous matter, that such a great multitude of

Sir Roger Acton, John Brown, John Beverly.

(1) "Bate," contention, strife.—Ed.

twenty thousand, specified in story, should rise against the king, and yet but only three persons be known and named. And then to proceed further, I would ask of Master Cope, what was the end of this conspiracy: to rebel against the king? to destroy their country? and to subvert the christian faith? for so purporteth the story. As like true the one as the other: for even as it is like that they, being Turks, went about to destroy the faith of Christ wherein they died, and to subvert their country wherein they were bred; even so like it is, that they went about to destroy the king, whom God and their conscience taught to obey. *Henry V.* A. D. 1413.

Yet further proceedeth this fumish promoter in his accusation, and saith moreover: That these aforesaid fellows and adherents of the lord Cobham were in the field assembled, and there encamped in a great number against the king. And how is this proved? By Robert Fabian: which appeareth to be as true as that which in the said Robert Fabian followeth in the same place, where he affirmeth, that John Claydon and Richard Turming were burnt in the same year, being 1413, when indeed by the true registers they were not burnt before the year of our Lord 1415. But what will Master Cope say, if the original copy of the indictment of these pretensed conspirators doth testify that they were not there assembled or present in the field, as your accusation pretendeth? "But they purposed," will you say? "and intended, to come." The purpose and intent of a man's mind is hard for you and me to judge, where no fact appeareth. But grant their intent was so to come, yet might they not come to those thickets near to the field of St. Giles, having Beverly their preacher with them (as ye say yourself,) as well to pray and to preach in that woody place, as to fight? Is this such a strange thing in the church of Christ, in time of persecution, for Christians to resort to desolate woods and secret thickets, from the sight of enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the word of God? In queen Mary's time was not the same colour of treason objected against George Eagle, and others besides, for frequenting and using into back sides and fields, who suffered for that whereof he was innocent and guiltless? Did not Adam Damlip die in like case of treason, for having a French crown given him at his departure out of Rome by cardinal Pool? What cannot cankered Calumnia invent, when she is disposed to cavil? It was not the cardinal's crown that made him a traitor, but it was the hatred of his preaching that stirred up the accuser.

Fabian fixed with an untruth.

An untruth in Copus.

Praying and preaching in corners, a common thing in time of persecution.

Ill-will taketh all things to worst meaning

In France what assemblies have there been in late years, of good and innocent Christians congregating together in back fields and coverts, in great routs, to hear the preaching of God's holy word, and to pray; yea, and not without their weapon also, for their own safeguard; and yet who never intended nor minded any rebellion against their king. Wherefore, in cases of religion it may and doth happen many times that such congregations may meet without intent of any treason meant. But, howsoever the intent and purpose was of these aforesaid confederates of the lord Cobham, whither to come, or what to do (seeing this is plain by records, as is aforesaid, that they were not yet come unto the place), how will Master Cope now justify his words, so confidently affirming, that they were there assembled

Another untruth in Copus

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seditiously together in the field of St. Giles against the king? And mark here, I beseech thee, gentle reader! how unlikely and untidely the points of this tail are tied and hanged together (I will not say without all substance of truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lie); wherein these accusers in this matter seem to me to lack some part of Sinon's art, in conveying their narration so unartificially. First, say they, the king was come first, with his garrison, unto the field of St. Giles; and then, after the king was there encamped, consequently, the fellows of the lord Cobham (the captain being away) came, and were assembled, in the said field where the king was, against the king, and yet not knowing of the king, to the number of twenty thousand, and yet never a stroke in that field given! And furthermore, of all this twenty thousand aforesaid, never a man's name known but only three: to wit, sir Roger Acton, sir John Brown, and John Beverly, a preacher. How this gear is clampered together let the reader judge, and believe, as he seeth cause.

An unlikely tale.

But give all this to be true, although by no demonstration it can be proved, yet by the pope's dispensation, which in this earth is almost omnipotent, be it granted; that after the king had taken the field of St. Giles before, the companions of the lord Cobham afterwards coming and assembling in the thickets near the said field, to fight seditiously against the king, their country, and against the faith of Christ, to the number of twenty thousand, where no stroke being given, so many were taken, that all the prisons of London were full, and yet never a man's name known of all this multitude, but only three: all this I say, being imagined to be true, then followeth to be demanded of Master Cope, whether the lord Cobham, was here present with his company in the field, or not? "Not in person," saith Cope,[1] "but with his mind and with his counsel he was present:" and he addeth this reason, saying, "And therefore he, being brought again after his escape, was convicted both of treason and heresy, and therefore, sustaining a double punishment, was both hanged and burnt for the same," &c. And how is all this proved? "By Robert Fabian," he saith. Whereunto briefly I answer, that Robert Fabian in that place maketh no such mention of the lord Cobham assisting or consenting to them either in mind or in counsel. His words be these, "That certain adherents of sir John Oldcastle assembled in the field near to St. Giles, in great number, of whom was sir Roger Acton, sir John Brown, and John Beverly: who, with thirty-six more in number, were afterwards convicted of heresy and treason, and for the same were hanged and burned within the said field of St. Giles," &c. Thus much in Fabian touching the commotion and condemnation of these men; but that the lord Cobham was there present with them in any part, either of consent or counsel, as Alanus Copus Anglus pretendeth, that is not found in Fabian, but is added of his liberal 'cornucopiæ,' whereof he is so copious and plentiful, that he may keep an open shop of such unwritten untruths, which he may afford very good and cheap I think, being such a plentiful artificer.

Cobham no traitor.

Copus taken with another untruth.

But here will be objected against me the words of the statute made the second year of king Henry V.,[2] whereupon this adversary, triumph-

(1) Al. Cop. p. 833, line 11.

(2) Ex. stat. reg. Hen. V. an. 2. cap. 7.

ing with no little glory, ὥσπερ τις ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελόμενος, thinketh himself to have double vantage against me: first, in proving these aforesaid accomplices and adherents of the lord Cobham to have made insurrection against the king, and so to be traitors: secondly, in convicting that to be untrue, where, in my former book of Acts and Monuments,[1] I do report, how that after the death of sir Roger Acton, Brown, and Beverly, a parliament was holden at Leicester, where a statute was made to this effect: "That all and singular such as were of Wickliff's learning, if they would not give over (as in case of felony and other trespasses, losing all their goods to the king), should suffer death in two manner of kinds: that is, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then be burned for heresy against God."

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Whereupon it remaineth now in examining this objection, and answering the same, that I both purge them of treason, and myself of untruth, so far as truth and fidelity in God's cause shall assist me herein. Albeit in beginning first my history of ecclesiastical matters, wherein I have nothing to do with debatement of causes judicial, but only following the simple narration of things done and executed, I never suspected that ever any would be so captious with me, or so nice-nosed, as to press me with such narrow points of the law, in trying and discussing every cause and matter so exactly, and straining, as ye would say, the bowels of the statute law so rigorously against me; yet, forasmuch as I am thereunto constrained now by this adversary, I will first lay open all the whole statute made the second year of this aforesaid Henry V., after the death of the aforesaid sir Roger Acton and his fellows, at the parliament holden at Leicester, A. D. 1415. That done, I will note upon the words thereof, so as by the circumstances of the same may appear what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocency, or for the accusation of this adversary. The tenor and purport of the statute hereunder ensueth.

The Words and Contents of the Statute made in the second year of Henry V., chapter seventh.

See Appendix.

Forasmuch as great rumours, congregations and insurrections(*a*) here in England, by divers of the king's majesty's liege people, have been made here of late, as well by those which were of the sect of heresy called Lollardy, as by other of their confederations, excitations and abatements, to the intent to annul and subvert the christian faith and the law of God(*b*) within the same realm, as also to destroy our sovereign lord the king himself(*c*), and all manner of estates of the same his realm, as well spiritual as temporal(*d*), and also, eventually, all manner of policy and the laws of the land(*e*):

(*a*) The preface or preamble of the statute.
(*b*)
(*c*)
(*d*)
(*e*)

The same our lord the king—to the honour of God, in conservation and fortification of the christian faith, and also in salvation of his royal estate, and of the estate of all his realm, willing to provide a more open and more due punishment against the malice of such heretics and Lollards, than hath been had or used in that case heretofore, so that for the fear of the same laws and punishments, such heresies and lollardies may the rather cease in time to come—by the advice and assent aforesaid, and at the prayer of the said commons, hath ordained and established, that especially the chancellor, the treasurer, the justice of the one bench and of the other, justices of assize, justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs of cities and towns, and all other officers, having the government of people either now present, or which for the time shall be, do make an oath in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole pain

Here it appeareth at whose suit and application this statute was set

(1) The first edition of the Acts and Monuments. London, 1563, p. 173, col. 2.—Ed.

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and diligence to put out and cause to put out, cease, and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called lollardies, within the places in which they exercise their charges and offices from time to time, with all their power; and that they assist, favour, and maintain the ordinaries and their commissaries, so often as they or any of them shall be thereunto required by the said ordinaries or their commissaries; so, notwithstanding, that whenever the said officers and ministers travel or ride to arrest any Lollard, or to make any assistance at the instance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries (*f*), by virtue of this statute, the same ordinaries and commissaries do pay for their costs (*g*) reasonably, and that the services of the king, whereunto the said officers be first sworn, be preferred; all other statutes for the liberty of holy church and the ministers of the same, and especially for the correction and punishment of heretics and Lollards, made before these days and not repealed, being in their force: and also that all persons convicted of heresy, of whatsoever estate, condition, or degree they be, by the said ordinaries or their commissaries left unto the secular power, according to the laws of holy church, shall leese and forfeit all their lands and tenements which they have in fee simple, in manner and form as followeth; that is to say, that the king shall have all the lands and tenements which the said convicts have in fee simple, and which be immediately holden of him, as forfeited; and that the other lords, of whom the lands and tenements of such convicts be holden, immediately after that the king is thereof seised and answered of the year, day and wast (*h*), shall have livery thereof out of the hands of the king, of the lands and tenements aforesaid, so of them holden, as hath been used in case of attainder of felonies, except the lands and tenements which be holden of the ordinaries or their commissaries, before whom any such impeached of heresy be convict, which lands and tenements shall wholly remain to the king as forfeit (*i*). And moreover, that all the goods and chattels of such convicted be forfeit to our right sovereign lord the king, so that no person convict of heresy, and left unto the secular power (according to the laws of holy church), do forfeit his lands before that he be dead. And if any such person so convicted be enfeoffed, whether it be by fine or by deed, or without deed, in lands and tenements, rents or services, in fee or otherwise, in whatsoever manner, or have any other possessions or chattels by gift or grant of any person or persons, to the use of any other than only to the use of such convicts; that the same lands, tenements, rents or services, or other such possessions, or chattels, shall not be forfeit unto our sovereign lord the king in any manner wise.

forward, as also the cause.

Astiterunt reges et pharisæi.

(*f*)

(*g*)

(*h*)

(*i*)

And moreover, that the justices of the king's bench, the justices of peace, and justices of assize, have full power to inquire of all such which hold any errors or heresies, as Lollards, and who be their maintainers, receivers, fautors, and sustainers, common writers of such books, as well of their sermons, as schools, conventicles, congregations, and confederacies, and that this clause be put in the commissions of the justices of peace. And if any persons be indicted of any of the points above said, that the said justices have power to award against them a 'capias,' and that the sheriff be bound to arrest the person or persons so indicted, as soon as he can find them, either by himself or by his officers. And for as much as the cognisance of heresies, errors, or lollardies, appertaineth to the judges of holy church, and not unto the secular judges, that such persons indicted be delivered unto the ordinaries of the places (*k*), or to their commissaries, by indentures between them to be made, within ten days after their arrest, or sooner, if it may be done, to be thereof acquitted, or convict by the laws of holy church, in case such persons be not indicted of any other thing, the cognisance whereof appertaineth to the judges and secular officers; in which case, after they shall be acquitted, or delivered before the secular judges of such things as appertain to the secular judges, they shall be sent in safe custody unto the said ordinaries or their commissaries, and to them to be delivered by indentures, as is aforesaid, to be acquitted or convicted of the same heresies, errors, and lollardies, as is aforesaid, according to the laws of holy church, and that within the term abovesaid; provided, that the said indictments be not taken in evidence, but only for information before the judges spiritual (*l*), against such persons indicted: but that the ordinaries begin their process against such persons indicted, in the same manner as though no such judgment were, having no regard to such indictment. And if any be indicted of heresy, error or lollardy, and taken by the sheriff, or any other officer of the king, he may be let to main-

(*k*)

(*l*)

prise, within the said ten days, by good surety, for whom the said sheriffs or other officers will answer, so that the person so indicted be ready to be delivered unto the said ordinaries, or to their commissaries, before the end of the tenth day above recited, if he may by any means for sickness.[1] And that every ordinary have sufficient commissaries or commissary abiding in every county, in place notable, so that if any such person indicted be taken, the said commissaries or commissary may be warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the sheriff or any of his officers, to come unto the king's gaol within the said county, there to receive the same person so indicted, by indenture, as is aforesaid; and that in the inquests in this case taken, the sheriffs and other officers unto whom it appertaineth, do impanel good and sufficient persons, not suspected, nor procured, that is to say, such as have at the least, every one of them that shall be so impanelled in such inquests, within the realm, a hundred shillings by the year, in lands, tenements, or rent, upon pain to leese to the king's use twenty pounds. And that those which shall be impanelled upon such inquests at sessions and gaols, have, every one of them, to the value of forty shillings by the year. And if any such person arrested, whether it be by the ordinaries, or the officers of the king, either escape or break prison(*m*) before he be thereof acquit before the ordinary, that then all his goods and chattels, which he had at the day of such arrest, shall be forfeit to the king: and his lands and tenements which he had the same day be seised also into the king's hands, and that the king have the profits thereof from the same day until he render himself unto the said prison from whence he escaped. And that the aforesaid justices have full power to inquire of all such escapes and breakings of prisons, and also of the lands, tenements, goods and chattels of such persons indicted. Provided, that if any such person indicted do not return unto the said prison, and dieth, not being convict, that then it shall be lawful for his heirs to enter into the lands and tenements of his or their ancestor, without any other suit made unto the king for this cause. And that all those who have liberties or franchises royal in England, as the county of Chester, the county and liberty of Durham, and other like; and also all the lords which have jurisdictions and franchises royal in Wales, where the king's writs do not run, have like power to execute and put in execution in all points these articles, by them or by their officers, in like manner as do the justices and other the king's officers above declared.

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(m)

NOTES TOUCHING THE AFORESAID STATUTE.

Thus having recited the words of the statute, now let us consider the reasons and objections of this adversary, who, grounding peradventure upon the preface or preamble of this aforesaid statute, will prove thereby the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton, with the rest of their abettors, to have been traitors to their king and their country. Whereunto I answer, first, in general, that although the face or preface prefixed before the statute, may show and declare the original cause and occasion why the statute was made, yet the making of the statute importeth no necessary probation of the preface always to be true that goeth before; which being but a colour to induce the making thereof, giveth no force material thereunto, nor is any necessary part of the body of the said statute, but only adhered as a declaration of the circumstance thereof, and sometimes is clean omitted, and differeth much from the substance of the same. For, as statutes in civil policy most commonly do tend to a public end, and are general, so prefaces before statutes, which most commonly declare the cause or beginning thereof, are private, and do stand but only upon particular facts, which either of ill will and displeasure may be suggested, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for fear may be believed—at least suspected—as many suspicions do ofttimes rise in

Preface before statutes not to be regarded in trial of truth.

(1) "If he may," &c. Unless hindered by sickness. Ed.

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princes heads through false surmises, and malicious complaints of certain evil disposed about them, whereby many cruel laws, rising upon a false ground, are promulgated, to the ruin of much innocent blood. Example whereof, we have not only in this present statute, made in the second year of king Henry V. cap. 7; but also in the like statute, commonly called the statute 'Ex officio, vel de comburendo,' made by this king's father and predecessor, the second year of Henry IV. cap. 15, in the preface of which bloody statute is contained another like complaint of the prelates and clergy, not less heinous, as also most shamefully false and untrue, against the poor lollards, as by the words of the complaint may appear, beginning, "Excellentissimo et gratiosissimo principi," &c.; wherein most falsely they slander and misreport the true servants of Christ to be Lollards, heretics, subverters of the commonwealth, destroyers of the christian faith, enemies to all good laws, and to the church of Christ. The words of which statute, proceeding much after the like course as doth this present statute, may easily bewray the untruth and false surmise thereof, if thou please, gentle reader, to mark and confer the words according as they are there to be read and seen, as followeth:—

The preface before the statute de comburendo.

See Appendix.

"Conventiculas et confederationes illicitas faciunt, scholas tenent et exercent, libros conficiunt atque scribunt, populum nequiter instruunt et informant, et ad seditionem seu insurrectionem excitant, quantum possunt, et magnas dissensiones et divisiones in populo faciunt, et alia diversa enormia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant et committunt, in fidei catholicæ et doctrinæ ecclesiæ sacrosanctæ subversionem divinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam in destructionem status, jurium, et libertatum dictæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ."[1] And after a few words, "Ad omnem juris et rationis ordinem atque regimen penitus destruendum," &c. He that is, or shall be, acquainted with old histories, and with the usual practices of Satan, the old enemy of Christ, from the first beginning of the primitive church unto this present time, shall see this to be no news, but a common, and as one would say, a quotidian, fever among Christ's children, to be vexed with false accusations and cruel slanders.

False accusation, no news in Christ's church.

Example of Nemesion, a martyr.

Nemesion, the Egyptian and true martyr of Christ, was he not first accused to be a felon? And when that could not be proved, he was condemned at the same judgment for a Christian; and therefore being cast into bands, was scourged, by the commandment of the president, double to the other felons, and at length was burned with the thieves, although he never was found thief or felon.[2]

Example of Cyprian.

Against Cyprian, in like sort, it was slanderously objected by Galerius Maximus, proconsul, that he had long continued with a mind full of sacrilege, and that he had gathered unto him men of wicked conspiracy.[3]

Justin Martyr, and Cornelius bishop of Rome.

So Justin Martyr, what false and criminous accusations suffered he by Crescens? Cornelius, bishop of Rome and martyr, was accused by Decius, That he wrote letters unto Cyprian against the commonwealth.[4]

To consider the laws and statutes made by tyrants and emperors in the first persecution of the primitive church, against the innocent servants of Christ, and to compare the same with the laws and statutes

(1) Ex vetustis instrumentis. [Printed in the Statutes at large.—Ed.]
(2) See vol. i. p. 199.—Ed.
(3) 'Quod diu sacrilega mente vixerit, et nefariæ sibi conspirationis homines adjunxerit.' [Vol. i. p. 201.—Ed.]
(4) [Vol. i. p. 129.—Ed.] 'Quod ad Cyprianum litteras daret contra rempublicam.' [Vol. i. p. 189.—Ed.]

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in this latter persecution under Antichrist, a man shall find, that as they all agree in like cruelty, so was there no great difference in false forging of pretensed causes and crimes devised. For as then the Christians were wrongfully accused of the Gentiles for insurrections and rebellions against the emperors and empire, for being enemies to all mankind, for murdering of infants, for worshipping the sun (because they prayed toward the East), for worshipping also the head of an ass,[1] &c., upon the rumours whereof divers and sundry laws and statutes were enacted, some engraven in brass, some otherwise written against them; so in this aforesaid statute, made in the second year of Henry V., chap. 7, also in that made in the second year of Henry IV., chap. 15, and in such other statutes or indictments made and conceived against the Lollards, the case is not so strange, but it may credibly be supposed, that the making thereof did rise rather upon malice and hatred against their religion conceived, than upon any just cause ministered on their parts, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuse. Like as in the time of Domitian, for fear of David's stock, all the nephews of Jude, the Lord's brother in the flesh, were accused to the emperor. And also the like fear and hatred stirred up other emperors and the senate of Rome, to proceed with persecuting laws against the christian flock of Christ;[2] whereupon rose up those malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and wrongful accusations against the Christians; so that what crime soever either malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed against them.[3]

Laws and statutes grounded upon false causes against the Christians. Persecuting statutes in the primitive and latter church compared. Hatred and fear, causers of persecution.

Not unlike also it may seem, that the pope with his prelates, fearing and misdoubting lest the proceeding of the gospel preached by these persons should overthrow the state of their majesty, did therefore, by sinister accusations, inflame the hearts of princes against them, and under some coloured covert, to shadow their cloaked hatred, devised these and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanly serve their purpose.

This hitherto have I said as in a general sum, answering to the preamble of the aforesaid statute, for the defence of sir John Oldcastle, and sir Roger Acton, and others; not as defining precisely what was, or was not (for here I may say with Hall, that as I was not present at the deed-doing, so with him, I may also leave the same at

The matter debated by records, whether lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton were traitors.

(1) Revolting as this statement may appear to the christian reader, it is nevertheless a well authenticated fact, that some of the blind votaries of the Romish church have actually introduced, among the solemnities of her worship, this animal, the head of which the primitive Christians were falsely charged with worshipping.—Edgar, in his "Variations of Popery," p. 45, speaks of the 'Feast of the ass,' celebrated for some time in the Gallican church, especially at Beauvais in Burgundy. His words are these: "The friends of this ceremony had discovered, by their superior discernment, that an ass was the conveyance of Joseph and Mary, when they fled, for an asylum, from Herod, into Egypt. An institution therefore was appointed for the commemoration of the flight and deliverance; and the solemnity was a pattern of taste, rationality, and devotion. A handsome girl richly attired represented Mary, who, from some flattering portraits of her ladyship, was accounted a Jewish beauty. The girl, bedizened with finery, was placed on an ass, covered with a rich cloth of gold and richly caparisoned. The ass, accompanied with a vast concourse of clergy and laity, was led to the cathedral of the parish. The girl, who represented the mother of God, seated on an ass, was conducted unto the sanctuary itself, and placed, with the gospels, near the altar. High mass began; the ass, who was a devout worshipper on the occasion, was taught to kneel, as in duty bound, at certain intervals, while a hymn, no less rational than pious, was sung in his praise." The following is an extract from the hymn, which is given at length by Du Cange:—

"Hey, Sire Asnes, car chantez,
Belle bouche rechignez
Vous aurez de foin assez
Et de l'avoine a plantez."

See Du Cange in his Glossarium, vol. iii. p. 426. Paris 1733. Also Velley's Histoire de France, vol. iii. p. 537. Paris, 1761. See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 21. [See vol. i. p. 108.—Ed.]

(3) Vide vol. i. pp. 104, 109, 154, 159, for the particulars referred to in the foregoing paragraph.—Ed.

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large); but as one, by tracing the footsteps of the truth, as by all conjectures hunting out in this matter what is most like, would but only say my mind "sine strepitu," as lawyers say, "et sine figura judicii."

Now consequently it followeth that we descend to the special points and particulars of the aforesaid preamble; to consider what thereof may be collected, or necessarily is to be judged, either for proof or disproof of this aforesaid sir John Oldcastle and his fellows.

And first where the proem of this statute beginneth with "rumours, congregations and insurrections," &c. As it is not like, that if these men had intended any forcible entries or rebellion against the king, they would have made any rumours thereof before the deed done; so is it more credibly to be supposed, all these flourishes of words to be but words of course, or of office, and to savour rather of the rankness of the inditer's pen, who disposed either "per amplificationem rhetoricam" to show his copy, or else "per maliciam papisticam," to aggravate the crime; and, to make mountains of molehills, first of rumours maketh congregations, and from congregations riseth up to insurrections; whereas in all these rumours, congregations and insurrections, (*a*) yet never a blow was given, never a stroke was stricken, no blood spilled, no furniture nor instruments of war, no sign of battle, yea no express signification either of any rebellious word, or malicious fact, described either in records, or yet in any chronicle. Again, if these rumours were words spoken against the king, as calling him a tyrant, an "Usurper of the crown," the "Prince of Priests," &c., why then be none of these words expressed in their indictments, or left in records? Doth Master Cope think for a man to be called a traitor, to be enough to make him a traitor, unless some plain and evident proof be brought for him to be so indeed, as he is called? "Rumours," saith he, "congregations, and insurrections were made." Rumours are uncertain, congregations have been, and may be, among christian men in dangerous times for good purposes, and no treason against their princes meant. The term of "insurrections" may be added ἐκ τοῦ περισσοῦ by practice or surmise of the prelates and pen-men, who, to bring them the more in hatred of the king, might add this rather of their own gentleness, than of the others' deserving. Certain it is, and undoubted, that the prelates in those days, being so mightily inflamed against these Lollards, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor utterly idle in this matter, but practised against them what they could, first to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Rumours, congregations, insurrections. (*a*)

Examples of this kind of practice among the popish clergy have not lacked either before or since. Moreover, if these men had made such a rebellious insurrection against the king, as is pretended in the preamble before this statute, which were a matter of high treason, how chanceth then, that the whole body of the statute, following after the said preface or preamble, runneth, in all the parts or branches thereof, both in matter of arrest, of indictment, information, request, allowance of officers, cognisance of ordinaries, of the forefact, &c., upon cases of heresy, and not of treason, as by particular tractation shall be, Christ willing, declared.

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And forasmuch as these men be so grievously accused by Alanus Copus, for congregating and rising against their king, and the whole realm, if I had so much leisure to defend, as he hath pleasure to defame, here might be demanded of him, to keep him in some further play, touching this mighty insurrection, Where they came in number of twenty thousand against the king? in what order of battle-array they marched? what captains, under-captains, and petty captains they had, to guide the wings, and to lead the army? whether they were horsemen or footmen? If they were horsemen, as is pretensed, what meant they then to resort to the thickets near to St. Giles's field, which was no meet place for horses to stir? If they were footmen, how standeth that with the author, who reporteth them to be horsemen? Moreover, it is to be demanded, what ensigns or flags, what shot, what powder, what armour, weapons, and other furniture of war? also what treasure of money to wage so many, to the number of twenty thousand? what trumpets, drums, and other noise necessary for the purpose they had? All these preparations for such an enterprise, are requisite and necessary to be had. And peradventure, if truth were well sought, it would be found at length, that instead of armies and weapons, they were coming only with their books, and with Beverly their preacher, into those thickets. But as I was not there present at the fact, as is before said, so have I neither certainty to define upon their case, nor yet Master Cope to exclaim against them; unless peradventure, that he, taking an occasion of the time, will thus argue against them, that because it was the hot month of January, the second day after the Epiphany, therefore it is likely that sir John Oldcastle, with twenty thousand Lollards, encamped together in the fields in all the heat of the weather, to destroy the king, and all the nobles, and to make himself regent of England: and why not as well the king, as regent of England, seeing all the nobles should have been destroyed, and he only left alone to reign by himself?

Insurrections of the lollards against the king, not likely.

It followeth moreover in the preamble of the aforesaid statute, "to annul, destroy and subvert, the christian faith, and the law of God, and holy church," &c. (*b*) He that was the forger and inventor of this report, as it appeareth to proceed from the prelates, seemeth no cunning Dædalus, nor half his craftmaster in lying for the whetstone. Better he might have learned of Sinon in Virgil, more artificially to have framed and conveyed his narration; which although it could in no case sound like any truth, yet some colour of probability should have been set upon it, to give it some countenance of a like tale: as if he had first declared the lord Cobham to have been before in secret confederacy with the great Turk; or if he had made him some Termagant or Mahound out of Babylonia, or some Herod of Judea, or some Antichrist out of Rome, or some grand-paunch epicure of this world, and had showed, that he had received letters from the great Soldan, to fight against the faith of Christ, and law of God; then had it appeared somewhat more credible, that the said sir John Oldcastle, with his sect of heresy, went about to "annul, destroy, and subvert, the christian faith and law of God, within the realm of England," &c.

A slander on lord (*b*) Cobham, that he intended to destroy christian faith.

But now, where will either he or Master Cope find men so mad

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to believe, or so ingenious, that can imagine this to be true, that the lord Cobham, being a Christian, and so faithful a Christian, would, or did, ever cogitate in his mind to destroy and annul the faith of Christ in the realm of England? Whatsoever the report of this pursuant or preface saith, I report me unto the indifferent reader, how standeth this with any face of truth? that he who before, through the reading of Wickliff's works, had been so earnestly converted to the law of God, who had also approved himself such a faithful servant of Christ, that for the faith of Christ, he, being examined and tried before the prelates, not only ventured his life, but stood constant unto the sentence of death defined against him, being a condemned and a dead man by law,[1] who had, as much as to devotion and fear appertained, "suffered already what he might or could suffer," as Cyprian said by Cornelius: that he, I say, who a little before, in the month of September, stood so constant in defence of Christ's faith, would now, in the month of January, rise to destroy, annul, and subvert Christ's faith, and the law of God, and holy church within the realm of England?

How can it be, not likely only, but possible to be true, that he who never denied the faith; who ever confessed the faith so constantly; who was for the same faith condemned; yea, and at last also burned for the faith, would ever fight against the faith and law of God, to annul and subvert it? Let us proceed yet further, and see when he should have so destroyed and annulled the christian faith and law of God in England, what faith or law then could he or did he intend to bring into the realm of England? the Turk's faith? or the Jew's faith? or the pope's faith? or what faith else I pray you? for he that will be an enemy to the faith of Christ, and will show himself a friend to no other faith besides, I account him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

And therefore, even as it is true, that sir John Oldcastle with his confederates and abettors, were up in arms to subvert and extinguish the faith of Christ and law of God in the realm of England, so, by the like truth, it may be esteemed, that the same persons rose also "to destroy their sovereign lord the king, and his brethren."(*c*) First, thanks be to God, that neither the king nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, saith the preface, was to destroy his sovereign lord the king. Whereunto I answer with this interrogatory, Whether was his intent to have destroyed him privily, or by open force of arms? If privily, what needeth then such a great army of twenty thousand men, to achieve that secret feat? rather I would think that he needed more the help of such as were near about the king; as some of the king's privy chamber, or some of his secret council; whereof neither chronicle nor record doth insinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to invade the king; you must understand Master Cope, that to withstand a king in his own realm, many things are required; long time, great preparation, many friends, great assistance and aid of kindred, money, horse, men, armour, and all other things appertaining for the same.

Lord Cobham falsely slandered for intending to destroy the king(*c*).

How unlikely.

Earl Godwin of Westsax, who had married Canute's daughter,

(1) "Et qui quantum ad ejus devotionem pertinet et timorem, passus sit quicquid pati potuit," Cypr. l. iv, Epist. 2.

being a man both ambitious, and as false a traitor, for all his six sons and great alliance, yet durst not set upon king Edward to invade him within his realm; although he sought many occasions so to do, yet never durst he enterprise openly that which his ambition so greatly presumed unto.[1] *Henry V.* A.D. 1413.

What a hard matter it is to rise against the king. *See Appendix.*

In the time of king Henry III. Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester, Humphrey Bohun, and the earl of Ferrers, with a great number of lords and barons, thought themselves to have great right on their sides; yet durst not, for all their power, openly assail the king in his realm, before great debatement and talk first had between.[2]

Against king Edward II.

Likewise what murmuring and grudging was there in the realm against king Edward II., among the peers and nobles, and also prelates, Walter bishop of Coventry, only excepted; first for Gaveston, then for the Spencers, at what time Thomas earl of Lancaster, Guido earl of Warwick, with the most part of all the other earls and barons, concordly consenting together to the displacing first of Gaveston, then of the Spencers, yet neither rashly, nor without great fear, durst stir up war in the land, or disquiet or vex the king; but first, by all means of moderate counsel and humble petition, thought rather to persuade, than to invade the king.[3]

Against king Richard II.

In like manner, and with like grudging minds, in the reign of king Richard II., Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, with the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Derby, with the power almost of the whole commons, stood up in arms against the king; and yet, notwithstanding all their power joined together being so great, and their cause seeming to them so reasonable, yet were they not so hardy as straightways to fly upon the king, but by way of parliament thought to accomplish that which their purpose had conceived; and so did, without any war striking against the king.[4]

Against king Henry IV.

After king Richard II. was deposed, and was in prison yet living, divers noblemen were greatly inflamed against king Henry IV., as sir John Holland, earl of Huntingdon; Thomas Spencer, earl of Gloucester; the earls likewise of Kent and Salisbury, with sir John Cheiney, and others, whereof divers had been dukes before, and were now deposed by king Henry IV., although they had conceived in their hearts great grudge and malice against the said king Henry, yet had they neither heart nor power openly, with man's force, to assail the king, but secretly were compelled to achieve their conceived intent, which notwithstanding they could not accomplish.[5]

The insurrection of lord Cobham judged by circumstance

Thus you may see, Master Cope, or else Master Harpsfield, or whatsoever ye be, to gainstand a king, and with open force to encounter with him in his own land, and in his own chamber of London, where he is so sure and strong, a matter of how great achievance it is, wherein so many and so great difficulities do lie, the attempt so dangerous, the chances so uncertain, the furniture of so many things required, that scarce in any king's days heretofore any peers or nobles of the realm, were they ever so strongly assisted with power, wit, or counsel, yet either were able, or else well durst ever to enterprise upon the case so dangerous, notwithstanding they were of themselves

(1) See vol. ii. p. 86.—Ed. (2) Ibid. pp. 539—567.—Ed.
(3) Ibid. p. 646, &c. and p. 653, &c.—Ed. (4) See pp. 317—319.—Ed. (5) Ex. Hist. D. Alban.

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ever so far from all fear of God, and true obedience. And shall we then think, or can we imagine, Master Cope, that sir John Oldcastle, a man so well instructed in the knowledge of God's word, being but a poor knight by his degree, having none of all the peers and nobles in all the world to join with him, being prisoner in the Tower of London a little before in the month of December, could now, in the month of January, so suddenly, in such a hot season of the year, start up an army of twenty thousand fighting men to invade the king, to kill two dukes, his brethren, to annul christian faith, to destroy God's law, and to subvert holy church? And why doth not he add, moreover, to set also all London on fire, and to turn all England into a fish-pool? Belike these men, who give out these figments of sir John Oldcastle, did think him to be one of Deucalion's stock, who by casting stones over his shoulder, could, by and by, make men at his pleasure, or else that he had Cadmus' teeth to sow, to make so many harvest men to start up at once.

Twenty thousand men, and yet not known from whence they came, it is not likely.

But let us consider yet further of these twenty thousand soldiers, so suddenly, without wages, without victual or other provision, congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what quarter, county, or counties they came. In another king's days, whensoever any rebellion against the king was moved by the commons, as when Jack Straw, and Wat Tyler of Kent, and Essex, also, rose in the time of king Richard II.; when William Mandevil of Abingdon, Jack Cade of Kent, in the time of king Henry VI.; in the time of king Henry VIII., when the commotion of rebels was in Lincolnshire, then in Yorkshire; when in king Edward the VIth's time, Humphery Arundel in Devonshire, and captain Kyte in Norfolk, made stir against the king, the country and parts from whence these rebels did spring, were both noted and also defamed. In this so traitorous commotion, therefore, let us now learn what these men were, and from what county or counties in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the chronicles declare what counties they were. If they came out of none, as none are named, then let them come out of Eutopia, where, belike, this figment was first forged and invented. Wherefore seeing neither the counties from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all these twenty thousand do appear, what they were, either in chronicle or in record, but remain altogether unknown, I leave it, gentle reader, to thy judgment, to think thereupon, as thy wisdom shall lead thee.

No rebellion in England; but the special country, from whence they came, was known.

It followeth more in the aforesaid preface; "And to destroy all other manner of estates of the same realm of England, as well spiritual as temporal," &c.(*d*) By the course of this preamble it appeareth, that the said sir John Oldcastle was a wonderfully cruel tyrant and murderer, who, being not yet satisfied with the blood of the king, nor of the two dukes his brethren, would also make havoc and sweepstake of all manner of estates in the realm of England. What! and leave no manner of estate alive?—No! neither lord spiritual nor temporal, but all together shall be destroyed. And what had all these estates done, thus so miserably to be destroyed? Although, percase, the mood of this man might have been incensed and kindled against the king and the lords spiritual, by whom he had been condemned, as is aforesaid; yet why should all other manner of other

(*d*) Another false report; that Oldcastle intended to kill all manner of estates in the realm.

estates both spiritual and temporal be killed? If none of all the estates in England, neither duke, earl, baron, lord, knight, or other gentleman had been his friend, but all his enemies, how then is it likely that he, having all the estates, peers, nobles and gentlemen of the realm against him, and none to stand with him, either could or durst attempt any commotion against the whole power of the land, he being but one gentleman only, with sir Roger Acton, and Master Brown left alone? At least, good reason yet would, that those hundred knights should have been spared out of this bloody slaughter, whom he offered to produce unto the king before[1], for his purgation. And finally, if this was his purpose, that all these estates both spiritual and temporal should have been cut down, what needed then that he should have made himself a regent, when he might as well have made himself a king, or what else he would, being left then prince alone?

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The preamble, as it began with untruth, and continued in the same figure, heaping one untruth upon another, so now endeth with another misreport as untrue as the rest, showing and declaring that the intent of sir John Oldcastle was also, "To destroy all manner of policy," and finally, "the laws of the land," &c.(*e*) We read of William the Conqueror, otherwise named William the Bastard, who being a puissant duke in his country, when the crown of England was allotted to him, and he coming over with all his peers, nobles and barons of his whole land, into this realm, and had with great difficulty obtained victory against king Harold, yet to alter and destroy the policy and the laws of the land, it passed his power; insomuch that it had not been permitted unto him to have proceeded so far as he did, unless he had first sworn to the nobles of this land, to retain still the laws of king Edward, as he found them. And albeit he afterwards forswore himself, breaking his oath in altering and changing many of the aforesaid laws, yet wild he, nild he, he could not so destroy them all (for which much war and great commotions endured long after in the realm), but that he was constrained, and also contented, to allow and admit a great part of the said laws of king Edward.[2] And if he, being king and conqueror, with all his strength of Normans and Englishmen about him, was too weak and insufficient to destroy all manner of policy and laws of this land which he had conquered, how much less, then, is it to be supposed that sir John Oldcastle, being but a private subject, and a poor knight, and a condemned prisoner, destitute and forsaken of all lords, earls and barons, who, to save his own life had more to do than he could well compass, would either take in hand, or conceive in his head, any such exploit, after the subversion of christian faith and law of God; after the slaughter of the king and all manner of estates, as well spiritual as temporal, in the realm of England; after the desolation of holy church; to destroy also all manner of policy; and, finally, the laws of the land? Which monstrous and incredible figment, how true it may seem to Master Cope, or to some other late chroniclers of the like credulity, I cannot tell: certainly, to me, and as I think, to all indifferent readers, it appeareth as true as is the verse of the satire, wherewith it may well be compared;

A hard matter to destroy all policy and laws of a land. (*e*)

"Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri."

But here will it be said again perhaps, that the matter of such

(1) See p. 325.—Ed. (2) See vol. ii. pp. 91, 106.—Ed.

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preambles and prefaces being but pursuants of statutes, and containing but words of course, to aggravate and to give a show of a thing which they would have to seem more odious to the people, is not so precisely to be scanned, or exquisitely to be stood upon, as for the ground of a necessary case of truth.

Objection. Answer.

This is it, Master Cope, that I said before, and now do well grant and admit the same, that such preambles or forefaces lined with a 'non sequitur,' containing in them matter but of surmise, and words of course, and rather monsters out of course, and many times rising upon false information, are not always in themselves material or necessary probations in all points to be followed; as appeareth, both by this statute, and also by the statute of this king's father, made in the second year of Henry IV., c. 15, beginning "Excellentissimo," &c. And yet, notwithstanding, out of these same preambles and forefronts of statutes, and other indictments, which, commonly rising upon matter of information, run only upon words of course of office, and not upon simple truth, a great part of our chroniclers do often take their matter, which they insert into their stories, having no respect or examination of circumstances to be compared, but only following bare rumours, or else such words as they see in such fabling prefaces or indictments expressed; whereby it cometh so to pass, that the younger chronicler following the elder, as the blind leading the blind, both together fall into the pit of error. And you also, Master Cope, following the steps of the same, do seem likewise to err together with them for good fellowship. And thus concerning the face of this statute hitherto sufficiently.

The reason and cause how chroniclers ofttimes be deceived.

Cope deceived by his chroniclers.

Now let us consider and discuss in like manner first the coherence, then the particular contents of the said statute; as touching which coherence, if it be well examined, a man shall find almost a chimera of it, in which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the branches of the statute well agree with themselves, wherein he that was the drawer, or first informer thereof, seemeth to have forgot his verse and art poetical.

> "Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
> Primum ne medio, medium ne discrepet imo."[1]

The body of the statute, an. 2 reg. Hen. V. cap. 7. examined.

For whereas the preface of the statute standeth only upon matter of treason, conceived by false suggestion and wrong informat..n, the body of the said statute, which should follow upon the same, runneth only upon matter of heresy pertaining to the ordinaries, as by every branch thereof may appear.

For first, Where he saith, "At the instance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries," &c.(*f*): hereby it appeareth, this to be no cause of treason or felony; for every man, of duty, is bound to, and by the laws of the realm may, arrest and apprehend a traitor or a felon, if he can; where otherwise by this statute, an officer is not bound to arrest him who offendeth in case of this statute, without request made by the ordinaries or their commissaries; and therefore this offence seemeth neither to be treason nor felony.

(*f*)

Secondly, Where it followeth, that "the same ordinaries and commissaries do pay for their costs," &c.(*g*): this allowance of the

(*g*)

(1) Horace, 'De Arte Poetica,' l. 151; or, 'Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.'—Ed.

officers' charges in this sort proveth this offence neither treason nor felony. *Henry V.*

Thirdly, Where the statute willeth the king to be "answered of the year, day and wast," &c.(*h*): by this also is proved the offence not to be treason; for else in cases of treason, the whole inheritance, I trow, Master Cope (speaking as no great skilful lawyer), is forfeit to the prince. A.D. 1413. (*h*)

The fourth argument I take out of these words of the statute, "Whereas such lands and tenements which are holden of the ordinaries, are willed wholly to remain to the king as forfeit," &c.(*i*): whereby it is manifest, that the prelates, for their matter of lollardy only, were the occasioners and procurers of this statute; and therefore were barred of the benefit of any forfeit arising thereby, as good reason was they should. And thus it is notorious, that the preface running specially and principally upon treason, and the statute running altogether upon points of heresy, do not well cohere nor join together. (*i*)

Fifthly, In that "such persons indicted shall be delivered unto the ordinaries of the places," &c.(*k*): it cannot be denied, but that this offence concerneth no manner of treason, forasmuch as ordinaries cannot be judges in cases of treason or felony, by the laws of our realm.[1] (*k*)

Sixthly, By the indictments provided "not to be taken in evidence, but only for information, before the judges spiritual," &c.(*l*): it is likewise to be noted, to what end these indictments were taken; to wit, only to inform the ordinaries, which cannot be in cases of treason. (*l*)

Lastly, Where it followeth, toward the end of the statute, touching escape or breaking of prison, &c.(*m*): by this it may lightly be smelt, whereto all the purpose of this statute driveth; that is, to the special escape of the lord Cobham out of the Tower, to this end, to have his lands and possessions forfeit unto the king. And yet the same escape of the lord Cobham, in this statute considered, is taken by Mr. Justice Stanford, in the first book of the Pleas of the Crown, chap. 33, to be an escape of one arrested for heresy, where he speaketh of the case of the lord Cobham. (*m*) John Stanford, of the Pleas of the Crown.

Moreover, as touching the parts of this aforesaid statute, how will you join these two branches together, whereas in the former part it is said, "That the lands of such persons convicted shall be forfeit to the king, not before they be dead;" and afterwards it followeth, "That their goods and possessions shall be forfeit at the day of their arrest to the king?" But herein standeth no such great doubt, nor matter to be weighed. This is without all doubt, and notoriously, evidently, and most manifestly, may appear, by all the arguments and the whole purport of the statute; that as well the preamble and preface thereof, as the whole body of the said statute were made, framed and procured only by and through the instigation, information, and excitation, of the prelates and the popish clergy; not so much for any treason committed against the king, but only for fear and hatred of lollardy, tending against their law, which they more dreaded and abhorred than ever any treason against the prince. And then, to set First procurers of this statute.

(1) Bracton, in fine prim. libri.

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the king and all the states against them, whereby the more readily to work their dispatch, they thought it best, and no policy so compendious, as prettily to join treason together with their lollardy; wherein the poor men once entangled, could no ways escape destruction.[1]

Practice of prelates to couple treason with heresy.

This, Master Cope, have I said, and say again, not as one absolutely determining upon the matter. At the doing whereof, as I was not present myself, so with your own Hall, I may and do leave it at large, but as one leading the readers by all conjectures and arguments of probability and of due circumstances, to consider with themselves what is further to be thought in these old accustomed practices and proceedings of these prelates. Protesting, moreover, Master Cope, in this matter to you, that those chroniclers which you so much ground upon, I take them in this matter neither to be as witnesses sufficient, nor as judges competent; who, as they were not themselves present at the deed done, no more than I, but only following uncertain rumours and words of course and office, bringing with them no certain trial of that which they do affirm, may therein both be deceived themselves, and also deceive you and others who depend upon them.

And hitherto concerning this statute enough: out of which statute you see, Master Cope, that neither your chroniclers, nor you, can take any great advantage, to prove any treason in the lord Cobham, or in his fellows, as hath been hitherto abundantly declared in the premises.

It remaineth further, that forasmuch as you in your sixth dialogue,[2] with your author Edward Hall, do allege the records, "et publica judicii acta," to defame these men for traitors, although what records they be you bring forth never a word, I, therefore, in their defence do answer for them, who cannot now answer for themselves. And because you, to accuse them, do mention a certain record, and yet do not show us what record it is, and peradventure cannot, if ye would, I have taken the pains therefore, for the love of them whom you so hate, to search out such records, whereby any occasion can be raised against them. And first I will declare the commission granted, then the indictment commenced against them: which commission and indictment, albeit in countenance of words it will seem to minister much suspicion against them, to the simple reader, before he be better acquainted with these subtle dealings and practices of prelates; yet, trusting to the goodness of the cause which I see here so falsely and slightly to be handled, I nothing fear, nor doubt, to produce the same out of the records in Latin as they stand; to the intent that when the crafty handling of the adversaries shall be disclosed, the true simplicity of the innocent, to the true hearted reader, may the better appear. The words first of the commission here follow under written, which when thou shalt hear, let them not trouble thy mind, gentle reader! I beseech thee, before thou understand further, what packing and subtle conveyance lie covered and hid under the same.

The Words of the Commission against Lord Cobham.

Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Willielmo Roos de Hamlack, Henrico le Scrop, Willielmo Croiomere Majori civitatis suæ London, Hugoni Huls, Joanni Preston, et Joanni Mertin, salutem. Sciatis quod cum nos plenius(*a*) informemur,

(*a*)

1) Papæ consilium callidum. (2) Alanus Copus, page 833. line 4.

ac notorie et manifeste dignoscatur, quod quam plures subditi nostri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alii, mortem nostram contra ligeanciæ suæ debitum proditorie imaginaverunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholicæ, quam status dominorum et magnatum regni nostri Angl. tam spiritualium quam temporalium destructionem proposuerunt, ac diversas congregationes, et alia conventicula illicita pro nefando proposito suo in hac parte perimplendo fecerunt, in nostri exheredationem ac regni nostri destructionem manifestam: nos hujusmodi Lollardos ac alios prædictos juxta eorum demerita in hac parte castigari et puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate et circumspectione vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos quinque, quatuor, et tres vestrum, quorum vos, præfati Major et Hugo, duos esse volumus, justic. nostros ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum et legal. hominum de civitate prædicta et suburbiis ejusdem, ac de comitatu Middlesexiæ, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de omnibus et singulis proditionibus et insurrectionibus per hujusmodi Lollardos in civitate, suburbiis, et comitat. prædictis, factis et perpetratis: necnon de omnimodo proditionibus et insurrectionibus, rebellionibus et feloniis in civitate, suburbiis, et com. prædictis, per quoscunque et qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, et ad easd. prodition. insurrect. rebell. et felonias aud. et termin. secund. legem et consuetudinem regni nostri Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos, etc. quos, etc. quorum, etc. ad hoc provideritis diligentes super premissis fac. inquisitiones, et præmissa omnia et singula audiatis et terminetis in forma prædicta facturi, etc. Salvis, etc. Mandavimus enim vicecomitibus nostris Lond. et Midd. quod ad certos, etc. quos, etc. quorum, etc. ejus scire fac. venire facientes coram vobis, etc. quorum, etc. tot. etc. de Balliva sua, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos, etc. et inquiri. In cujus, etc. T. R. apud Westm. (*b*) x. die Jan. Per ipsum Regem.—In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti. (*b*)

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By these high and tragical words in this commission sent down against the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and their fellows, it may peradventure seem to the ignorant and simple reader, some heinous crime of treason to rest in them, for conspiring against God, the church, the king and their country. But what cannot the fetching practice of the Romish prelates bring about, where they have once conceived a malice? Wherefore marvel not, good reader, at this, nor judge thou according to the words which thou hearest, but suspend thy judgment awhile till the matter be more opened unto thee. Examples of like handling be not so rare, but thou mayest soon judge by other times the like also of these. George Egle, of whom mention was made before, did but preach in time of queen Mary, and yet commission was directed against him, as in case of raising up a commotion against the queen. Adam Damlip, in Calais, did but preach, and the receiving of one poor crown two years before at Rome, was enough to make him a traitor. In time of king Henry VIII., one Singleton, chaplain to queen Anne, the queen's majesty's mother, that now is, did but preach the gospel, moved by zeal (as I have credible witness of his own scholar that heard him speak it, being with him), and yet, by virtue of a commission, it was objected to him for raising up commotion against the king, yea, and also for killing of Pakington, and he suffered for the same as a traitor. So here, what matter or marvel is it, if the king incensed, or rather circumvented by the wrong information of the prelates, whom he believed, gave out his commission, against things never wrought nor thought?

Examples of divers falsely accused for treason

Wherefore I exhort thee, christian reader! as I said before, judge not by and by the truth by the words of the commission, but judge rather the words of the commission by the truth; neither measure

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thou the line by the stone, but the stone rather by the line. At least, yet defer thy sentence till both the commission and the indictment being laid together, thou mayest afterwards see and perceive more, what is to be judged in the case.

In the mean season mark well these words of the king in this commission, (*a*) "Cum nos plenius informemur," &c.; by which words it is easy to be understood, that the king himself had no certain knowledge thereof, but only by information of others (of bishops no doubt and prelates), and thereupon gave forth his commission aforesaid. And then, how will this stand with our chroniclers, and other epitomes and summaries, which Master Cope doth allege? for, if that be certain which Robert Fabian saith, that "the king himself being in the field took certain of them, as sir Roger Acton, Master Brown, and John Beverly;" and your own Edward Hall also, and your epitome agreeth to the same; and saith, moreover, that "they were brought before the king's presence:" Thomas Cooper also, whom you allege, addeth further, and saith, that "the king there by strength did take them:"—I pray you, Master Cope, what needed the king to write this by information, when he himself was both present at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witness of the deed? which, if it be true, that the king heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your 'Chronicos' and your 'Epitomas?' But herein I will neither greatly stick with you, nor contend with them; desiring the reader only to bear in mind the date of this present commission when it was given, (*b*) which soundeth to be the tenth day of January; and afterwards to compare the same with the date of the indictment hereunder following, which I will, the Lord willing, also hereunto annex, leaving nothing out; yea rather, ministering to the adversary all manner of helps, whatsoever they can seek or require, for their utmost advantage in this matter, to be desired: so sure and confident I am in the innocent cause of these good men, not fearing whatsoever blind malice can cavil against them.

(*a*) English chroniclers examined by the words of the commission.

(*b*)

The parliament of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, and others, with Notes following upon the same.

Parliamenta coronæ coram domino rege apud Westm. de termino sancti Hilarii, anno regni regis Henrici, quinti post conquestum, primo, Rot. 7. inter parliamenta regis. Alias coram Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrope, Gulielmo Crowmere Majore civitatis London. Hugone Huls et sociis Justic. domini Regis, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum et legal. hominum de civitate domini regis London. et suburbiis ejusdem, ac de com. Middl. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus et singulis proditionibus et insurrectionibus, per quamplures subditos domini regis lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos et alios in civitate, suburbiis, et com. prædictis, factis et perpetratis, necnon de omnibus proditionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, et feloniis in civitate, suburbiis et com. præd. per quoscunque et qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, et ad easdem proditiones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, et felonias audiend. et terminand. secundum legem et consuetudinem regni domini regis Angliæ, per literas ipsius domini regis patentes, assign. apud Westm.(*a*) die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ Domini, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum primo, (*b*) per sacram. xii. Juratorum extitit presentatum; quod Jo. Oldcastle de Couling. in Com. Kanc. chr. et alii lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diversas opiniones hæreticas, et alios errores manifestos legi catholicæ repugnantes a diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones et errores prædictos

(*a*)

(*b*)

manutenere, ac in facto minime perimplere valentes, quamdiu regia potestas et tam status regal. Domini nostri regis, quam status et officium prelaticæ dignitatis infra regnum Angl. in prosperitate perseverarent, falso et proditorie machinando, tam statum regni, quam statum et officium prælatorum, necnon ordines religiosorum infra dictum regnum Angl. penitus adnullare; ac Dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, prælatos, et alios magnates ejusdem regni interficere, nec non viros religiosos, relict. cult. divinis et religiosis observantiis ad occupationes mundanas provocare, et tam ecclesias cathedrales, quam alias ecclesias et domos religiosas de reliquis et aliis bonis ecclesiasticis totaliter spoliare ac funditus ad terram prosternere, (c) et dictum Johannem Oldcastle regentem ejusdem regni constituere, et quamplura regimina secundum eorum voluntatem infra regnum prædictum (d) quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem tam fidei catholicæ et cleri, quam status et majestatis dignitatis regal. infra idem regnum ordinare, falso et proditorie ordinaverunt et proposuerunt, quod ipso insimul (e) cum quampluribus rebellibus domini regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum de diversis partibus regn. Angl. modo guerrino arrivat. (f) privatim insurgent. et (g) die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ Domini, anno regni regis prædicti prædicto apud villam et parochiam Sanctii Egedii extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem unanimit. convenirent et insimul obviarent pro nefando proposito suo in præmissis perimplend. quo quidem die Mercurii apud villam et parochiam prædictas prædicti Johannes Oldcastle et alii in hujusmodi proposito proditorio perseverantes, (h) prædictum dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz. Tho. ducem Clarentiæ, Joan. de Lanc. et Humfred. de Lancast. necnon prelatos et magnates prædictos interficere, necnon ipsum dominum nostrum regem, et heredes suos de regno suo prædicto exheredare, et præmissa omnia et singula, necnon quamplura alia mala et intolerabilia facere et perimplere falso et proditorie proposuerunt et imaginaverunt (i) et ibidem versus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arrivati proditorie modo insurrectionis contra ligeancias suas equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum regem, nisi per ipsum manu forti gratiose impediti fuissent. Quod quidem inditamentum dominus rex nunc, certis de causis, coram eo venire fecit terminandum. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod non omitteret, etc. quin caperet præfatum Johannem Oldcastle, si, etc. et salvo, etc. Ita quod haberet corpus ejus coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium ad hunc diem; scilicet die Mercurii proximo post octavas Sancti Hilarii isto eodem termino ad respondendum domino regi de præmissis, etc. Ad quos diem et locum, coram domino rege vic. return. quod prædictus Johan. Oldcastle non fuit inventus in balliva sua, etc. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod exigi faceret eum de com. in com. quousque utlagetur si non, etc. Et si, etc. tunc eum caperet, et salvo, etc. Ita quod haberent corpus ejus coram domino rege in octavas Sancti Joannis Baptistæ ex tunc proximum sequen. ubicunque, etc. ad respondendum domino regi de proditionibus et feloniis superius sibi impositis. Ad quas octavas Sancti Joannis Baptistæ, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo, Joannes Sutton, et Joannes Michel, Vic. Midd. coram domino rege returnaverunt quod ad Com. Midd. centum apud Braynford die Jovis proximo ante festum Sanct. Barnabæ Apostoli, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo. Et ad quatuor com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes prædictus Johannes Oldcastle exactus fuit, et non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem com. prædict. utlagatus fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra et catallis suis.

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(c) (d) (e) (f) (g) (h) (i)

NOTES AND CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE INDICTMENT AND COMMISSION ABOVE PREFIXED.

(a) "Die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ," &c.

(a) First note.

First, here is to be noted and considered, good reader, the day and date of giving out the commission, and then of the verdict presented by the jurors, which were both in one day, that is, on the Wednesday next after the Epiphany in the first year of the reign of king Henry V., which was the tenth day of the month of January

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(as the date of the commission saith), anno 1413, after the use of England, or after the Romish use, anno 1414; so that after what use soever we count, whether it be anno 1413, or else anno 1414, the dominical letter beginning at the first day of January to change, must needs be G for the year, and so necessarily make Wednesday next after the Epiphany to be the tenth day of the said month of January. Thus then this present Wednesday, which was the tenth day of the month, being well noted and borne in mind, on which day both the commission was directed, and also the verdict presented, let us now proceed further in the aforesaid indictment. It followeth

(b) Second note, of the names of the jurors left out.

(*b*) "Per sacramentum xii. juratorum extitit præsentatum," &c.

If there had been true dealing in this, the jurors should have been named. But it is not likely that there was ever any such indictment found by any jurors, and therefore they did best not to name the jurors, lest they would have denied this indictment to be their act. It followeth more in process of the indictment:

(c) Third, by making a regent, the king being not yet gone over.

(*c*) "Et dictum Johan. Oldcastle, regentem ejusdem regni constituere," &c.

If there were no other argument, this were sufficient to prove the manifest untruth of this surmised indictment: when the king was not yet gone to France, nor determined to go, how could they conspire then to make a regent? for the king went in July following, viz., the second year of his reign, leaving behind him the queen, his mother-in-law, for regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was untruly entered and stolen into the records with an antedate, or else at the least there appeareth manifest untruth, that they should conspire to make a regent, when a regent was not thought upon, unless it were already run into the heads of the clergy, who shortly after, "fearing their temporalties," as Caxton saith, persuaded the king to make wars in France. This word 'regent' therefore proceedeth of the secret spirit of the clergy, and maketh the whole matter very suspicious, to be grounded altogether upon the malice of the clergy, and their untrue surmises. It followeth moreover:

(d) The fifth, by contrariety.

(*d*) "Quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem," &c.

How doth this stand with that which goeth before, that they conspired to make a regent, except you will say, that to make a regent is to be a people without a head? It followeth:

(e) The sixth, by the persons unknown.

(*e*) "Cum quampluribus rebellibus domini regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum," &c.

A strange matter, that they should know of the conspiracy of twenty thousand, and yet know of no more names of the rebels but the lord Cobham only, or one or two more, and all the rest were 'ignoti.'

(f) The seventh, by the unskilful penning.

(*f*) "Privatim insurgentes," &c.

This smelleth of the clergy's own penning, without any great advice of learned counsel; for otherwise such as had been herein skilful would never have put in 'privatim insurgentes.'

(g) The eighth, by the date and time.

(*g*) "Die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ Domini anno regni regis prædicti," &c.

This Wednesday next after the Epiphany was the tenth day of the month of January, and the same day when both the conspiracy was put in execution, and the same day when the commission was

given out to inquire; also when the fact was by inquiry presented. Whereby it may seem a strange thing that so great a conspiracy known beforehand, was not suppressed nor inquired of by any commission, but only by a commission bearing date the same day upon which, by the purport of the indictment, the conspiracy should have been put in execution by open rebellion, as it is aforesaid. *Henry V.* A. D. 1413.

(*h*) "Prædictum dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz. Tho. ducem Clarentiæ, Johannem de Lancastre, et Humfred de Lancastre," &c. (*h*) The ninth, by error and wrong naming the dukes.

If the king's learned counsel had dealt in this indictment as in case of treason they should have done, if it had been a matter of truth they would never have handled it so slenderly and wrongly, as to name the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, John of Lancaster, and Humfrey of Lancaster, who were made dukes in the thirteenth year of the reign of king Henry IV., their father, as appeareth by Caxton's chronicle.

(*i*) "Et ibidem versus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arrivati proditorie, modo insurrectionis, contra ligeantias suas equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum regem," &c. (*i*) The tenth, by the absence of the party

This is falsified by plain evidence of histories, and Cope himself confesseth no less; for so he saith and confesseth, page 833, line 12, that sir John Oldcastle was not there in person, but only that his consent and good will were there.

Again, seeing this equitation or riding toward St. Giles's field was upon the Wednesday next after the feast of Epiphany, (as in this indictment and process of outlawry is above testified), which was the tenth day of January, and commission also the same day was charged, and the jury moreover impanelled the same day, and yet no juror named; item, the verdict the same day presented: how all these can concur together, and all in one day, let the reader, after he have well considered the matter, use his judgment therein, not only whether it be likely, but also whether it be possible. The eleventh.

Over and beside all this it is to be noted, that if this matter had been truly and duly handled, as touching the treason, then had it not been needful to have brought sir John Oldcastle into the parliament-house, before the lords to have had his judgment; for by his outlawry, if it had been true, he was attainted, and without any more ado should have had judgment in the King's Bench as a traitor. But the chief justice, knowing the handling of the matter, durst not, belike, enterprise so far: wherefore it was devised that he should certify the record unto the parliament, which he did, together with the bishop's sentence filed to the record; which was very strange. The twelfth. Lord Cobham, and others, proved no traitors

And thereupon the lords gave such a judgment as was not due for a traitor: for that they gave no judgment, that he should be drawn, hanged, and let down alive, and then bowelled and quartered, which is the judgment of a traitor. And albeit the parliament might have attainted him without any more ado, and by the same act of attainder have ordained a special judgment, as they should think good, yet when he was before attainted by the outlawry, they could not lawfully vary from the common judgment of treason. At least how could, or should, the judgment of sir Roger Acton, Master Brown, and John Beverly, who were judged in the Guildhall before, and without the parliament, vary from the said common judgment of traitors,

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if they had truly committed and been convicted of such high treason?

The thirteenth note or argument.

Add this, moreover, to the aforesaid notes: that if sir John Oldcastle, after his escape out of prison, had been culpable, and so attainted of that high treason, whereby his lands had been immediately forfeited unto the king by the process of his outlawry; what needed the king then in the second year of his reign, in the parliament after holden at Leicester, have made that proviso to have his lands forfeited to him by virtue of parliament, upon his escape on the day of his arrest, when the lands and cattle of his, had been forfeited before, by the process of the outlawry, as is before specified?

Thus you see, Master Cope, how little advantage you can wrest out of this commission and indictment against the lord Cobham and his fellows, to prove them traitors: and admit the said lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons, assented to the act; yet it bindeth not in such sort, as if indeed he were no traitor, that any man may not, by search of the truth, utter and set forth sincerely and justly, the very true cause whereby his death happened and followed.

Answer to the allegations of Fabian, Pol. Virgil, and Hall, &c.

Thus then, having sufficiently cleared the lord Cobham and his partners, from all that you can object unto them out of records and statutes, let us now come to your English chroniclers wherewith you seem to press me, and oppress them, whom ye name to be Robert Fabian, Edward Hall, Polydore Virgil, Thomas Cooper, Richard Grafton, with other brief epitomes and summaries, &c.; concerning which authors, as I have nothing to say, but to their commendations, in this place: so, if you had avouched the same to the commendation rather than to the reproof of others, I would better have commended your nature, and believed your cause. But now, like a spider-catcher, sucking out of every one what is the worst, to make up your laystall, you heap up a dung-hill of dirty dialogues, containing nothing in them but malicious railing, virulent slanders, manifest untruths, opprobrious contumelies, and stinking blasphemies, able almost to corrupt and infect the air. Such is the malady and 'cacoethes' of your pen, that it beginneth to bark, before it hath learned well to write; which pen of yours, notwithstanding, I do not here reproach or contemn, as neither do I greatly fear the same. God, of his mercy, keep the SWORD out of the papists' hand: it is not the PEN of the papists I greatly pass upon, though twenty Copes and so many surplices were set against the 'Book of Monuments,' were I so disposed, Master Cope, to dally, or, as the Greeks do say, '*ἀντιπαίζειν*,' and to repay again as I am provoked. But, in despiteful railing, and in this satirical sort of barking, I give you over, and suffer you therein to pass not only yourself, but also Cerberus himself, if ye will, the great bandog of Pluto. Mildness and humanity rather beseemeth, and is the grace of the Latin phrase. If ye could hit upon the vein thereof, it would win you much more honesty with all honest men: but the Lord hereafter may call you, which I beseech him to do, and to forgive you that you have done.

Modesty commended in writers.

In the mean time, seeing this your prattling pen must needs be walking, yet this you might have learned of these your own authors whom you allege, more civilly to have tempered your fume in exclaiming against them whose cause is to you not perfectly known. And now

briefly to answer to these your aforesaid writers, as witnesses produced against these men: there be two things (as I take it) in chronicle writers to be considered; first, the grounds which they follow; secondly, in what place they serve. *Henry V.* A.D. 1413.

As touching the order and ground of writing among these chroniclers, ye must consider, and cannot be ignorant, that as none of all these by you forenamed was present at the deed, nor witness of the fact, so have they nothing of themselves herein certainly to affirm, but either must follow public rumour and hearsay for their author, or else one of them must borrow of another: whereof neither seemeth to me sufficient; for, as public rumour is never certain, so one author may soon deceive another; by reason whereof it cometh oft to pass, that as these story-writers hit many times the truth, so again all is not gospel that they do write: wherefore great respect is here to be had, either not to credit rashly every one that writeth stories, or else to see what grounds they have whom we do follow.

Two things to be observed in story writers.

The ground of histories to be considered.

Not all things true that be found in stories.

Now to demand, Master Cope, of you, what authority or foundation hath your Robert Fabian, have Polydore Virgil, Edward Hall, and other of your authors, to prove these men to be traitors? what authority do they avouch? what acts, what registers, what records, or out of what court do they show, or what demonstration do they make? And do you think it sufficient, because these men do only affirm it, without further probation, with your '*αὐτος ἔφη*,' therefore we are bound to believe it? Take me not so, Master Cope, that I do here diminish any thing, or derogate from the credit of those writers you allege, whose labours have deserved well, and serve to great utility: but coming now to trial of a matter lying in controversy between us, we are now forced to seek out the fountain and bottom of the truth, where it is not enough to say, 'so it is,' but the cause is to be showed why it is so affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall should altogether (as they do not) agree in the treason of sir John Oldcastle, and of the rest? yet neither is this any sufficient surety to prove them traitors; considering that writers of stories for the most part following either blind report, or else one taking of another, use commonly all to sound together after one tune, "tanquam Dodonæi lebetes," so that as one saith, all say; and if one err, all do err. Wherefore you see, Master Cope, how it is not sufficient, nor sure, to stick only to the names and authorities of chronographers, unless the ground be found substantial whereupon they stand themselves, which yet in none of these whom you have produced doth appear.

Words without probation, are not sufficient in story matters.

Secondly, In alleging and writing of chronicles, it is to be considered to what place and effect they serve. If ye would show out of them the order and course of times, what years were of dearth and of plenty, where kings kept their Christmas, what conduits were made, what mayors and sheriffs were in London, what battles were fought, what triumphs and great feasts were holden, when kings began their reign, and when they ended, &c.: in such vulgar and popular affairs the narration of the chronicler serveth to good purpose, and may have his credit, wherein the matter forceth not much whether it be true or false, or whether any listeth to believe them. But where a thing is denied, and in cases of judgment and in controversies doubtful, which

How far, and to what effect, chroniclers serve.

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are to be decided and bolted out by evidence of just demonstration: I take them neither for judges of the bench, nor for arbiters of the cause, nor as witnesses of themselves sufficient necessarily to be sticked unto: albeit I deny not but histories are taken many times, and so termed for witnesses of times, and glasses of antiquity, &c., yet not such witnesses as whose testimony beareth always a necessary truth, and bindeth belief.

Histories not rashly to be believed.

The two witnesses who came against Susanna being senators, both of ancient years, bare a great countenance of a most evident testimony, whereby they almost both deceived the people, and oppressed the innocent, had not young Daniel, by the Holy Spirit of God, taken them aside, and severally examining them one from the other, found them to be false liars both; leaving to us thereby a lesson of wholesome circumspection, not rashly to believe every one that cometh, and also teaching us how to try them out. Wherefore, Master Cope, following here the like example of Daniel in trying these your records which ye infer against these men, we will, in like manner, examine them severally one from another, and see how their testimony agreeth: first beginning with your Robert Fabian; which Robert Fabian being neither in the same age, nor at the deed-doing, can of himself give no credit herein, without due proof and evidence convenient.

Testimony of Fabian against the lord Cobham examined.

How then doth Robert Fabian prove this matter of treason true? what probation doth he bring? what authority doth he allege? And doth Robert Fabian think, if he were not disposed to conceive of the lord Cobham and those men, a better opinion but to be traitors, that men are bound to believe him only at his word, without any ground or cause declared, why they should so do, but only because he so saith, and it pleased him so to write? And if ye think, Master Cope, the word only of this witness sufficient to make authority, speaking against the lord Cobham, and proving nothing which followed so many years after him; why may not I, as well and much rather, take the word and testimony of Richard Belward, a Norfolk man of the town of Crisam, who, living both in his time, and possibly knowing the party, and punished also for the like truth, is not reported, but recorded also in the registers of the church of Norwich, to give this testimony, among his other articles, for the aforesaid lord Cobham; that is, that sir John Oldcastle was a true catholic man, and falsely condemned, and put to death without a reasonable cause, &c.[1]

Testimony of Richard Belward.

Against this man if you take exception, and say, that one heretic will hold with another; why may not I, with the like exception, reply to you again, and say as well, one papist will hold with another, and both conjure together, to make and say the worst against a true protestant?

Further, yet to examine this aforesaid Fabian (witness against sir John Oldcastle), as Daniel examined the witnesses against Susanna: I will not here ask under what tree these adherents of sir John Oldcastle conspired against the king, and subversion of the land, but in what time, in what year and month, this conspiracy was wrought? Fabian witnesseth, that it was in the month of January. Contrariwise, Edward Hall, and others, our abridgmenters, following him, do affirm

Witnesses against the lord Cobham agree not together.

(1) Ex Regist. Episc. Norvic.

that they were condemned in the Guildhall the 12th of December, and that their execution upon the same was in January following, so that by their sentence the fact was done either in the month of December, or else before, and so 'Fabianus mentitus est in caput suum, ut cum Daniele dicam,' or, if it were in the month of January, as Fabian saith, then are Hall and his followers deceived, testifying the fact to be done in the month of December. *Henry V.* A. D. 1413.

Fabian convicted of a manifest untruth in his story of the lord Cobham.

And yet to object, moreover, against the said Fabian, forasmuch as he is such a rash witness against these burned persons, whom he calleth traitors,[1] it would be demanded further of him, or in his absence of Master Cope, in what year this treason was conspired? If it were in the same year, as he confesseth himself, in which year John Claydon, the skinner, and Richard Turming, baker, were burned, then was it neither in the month of January, nor in the first year of king Henry V., for in the register of Canterbury it appeareth plainly, that John Cleidon was condemned neither in the time of Thomas Arundel, archbishop, nor yet in the first or second year of king Henry V., but was condemned in the second year of the translation of Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canterbury, the seventeenth day of August, which was the year of our Lord 1415: so that if this conspiracy was in the same year, after the witness of Fabian, in which year John Cleidon was burned, then doth the testimony of Fabian neither accord with other witnesses, nor with himself, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witness of Robert Fabian.

The testimony of Polydore examined.

Let us next proceed to Polydore Virgil, whose partial and untrue handling of our history, in other places of his books, doth offer to us sufficient exception not to admit his credit in this: and yet because we will rather examine him, than exclude him, let us hear a little what he saith, and how he faileth, and in how many points, numbering the same upon my five fingers.

Five untruths of Polydore. First untruth. *See Appendix.*

First, ending with the life of king Henry IV., he saith that he reigned fourteen years, six months, and two days, 'Angliæ Historia,' lib. 21, which is an untruth worthy to be punished with a whole year's banishment (to speak after the manner of Apuleius,[2]) when, as truth is, he reigned, by the testimony of the story of St. Alban's, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old English chronicle, and of 'Scala Mundi,' but thirteen years and six months, lacking, as some say, five days; Hall saith, he reigned but twelve years.

Second untruth.

The second untruth of Polydore is this, whereas he, speaking of this sedition of sir John Oldcastle and his adherents, affirmeth the same to be done after the burning of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, which was, saith he, in the year 1415, in which year, saith he, Thomas Arundel died. His words be these, "In eodem concilio damnata est Johan. Wicliff. hæresis; ac Johan. Hus, et Hieronimus Pragensis, in ea urbe combusti sunt. Quod ubi reliquis consociis, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, patefit, tanquam furiis agitati primum conjurationes in omnes sacerdotes, deinde in regem," &c.; in which words he not only erreth, falsely assigning

(1) Fab. part vii. in vita Hen. p. 390.

(2) An allusion to the African Philosopher of the second century, who in his Apology exclaims, "O falsum et audax nimium mendacium, viginti annorum exilio puniendum."—Ed.

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the cause and occasion of this sedition to the death of John Huss and of Jerome, but also misseth as much in the order and computation of the years. For neither was sir Roger Acton with his aforesaid fellows alive at the time of the council; neither doth he agree therein with any of our English writers, except only with Hall, who also erreth therein as wide as he.

Third and fourth untruths.

For the third and fourth untruth I note this, where he addeth and saith, that after this rebellion raised against the king, the said sir John Oldcastle, being there present himself, was taken and imprisoned in the Tower, and afterward escaped out of the said Tower by night: wherein is contained a double untruth; for neither was sir John Oldcastle there present himself, if we believe Fabian and Cope,[1] neither yet did he ever escape out of the Tower after that conspiracy, if ever any such conspiracy was.

Fifth untruth.

His fifth, but not the last untruth in Polydore, is this, that he states Thomas Arundel to have died in the same year, noting the year to be 1415, whereas by the true registers he died in the year 1413.

Another untruth in Polydore noted.

To this untruth another also may be joined, where he, erring in the computation of the years of the said Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, reporteth him to sit thirty-two years;[2] who was there archbishop but only eighteen years, as is to be seen in the records of Canterbury. The words of Polydore be these; "Thomas Arundellius Cantuariensis antistes annum jam tunc sedens tertium et trigesimum e vita excessit."[3] Albeit in this I do not greatly contend with Polydore, and peradventure the adversary will find some easy shift for this matter.

The testimony of Hall against the lord Cobham examined.

But let us now pass from Polydore, not, as they say, out of the hall into the kitchen, but out of the kitchen into the 'hall,' examining and perpending what saith 'Edward Hall,' another witness, in this matter; upon whom Master Cope bindeth so fast, that he supposeth his knot is never able to be loosed. And, moreover, he so treadeth me down under his feet in the dirt (as a man would think him some dirt-dauber's son) "that the spots thereof," he saith, "will never be gotten out while the world standeth, and a day longer." Notwithstanding I trust, Master Cope, that your dirty pen, with your cockish brags, hath not so bedaubed and bespotted me, nor yet convicted me to be such a depraver of histories, but I hope to sponge it out. At least wise, with a little 'asperges' of the pope's holy water, I trust to come to a 'dealbabor'[4] well enough.

But, certes, Master Cope, your mastership must first understand, that if ye think so to depress me, and disprove me of untruth in my history, you must go more groundly to work, and bring against me other authors than Edward Hall. You must consider, Master Cope, if you will be a controller in story-matters, it is not enough for you to bring a railing spirit, or a mind disposed to carp and cavil where any matter may be picked: diligence is required, and great searching out of books and authors, not only of our time, but of all

(1) Dial. vi. p. 833, line 11.
(2) In all the Editions previous to that of 1596 Foxe's text reads in figures "33," but this last Edition changes 33 into "22," while the quotation from Polydore remains unaltered.—Ed.
(3) Lib. xxii. Ang. Hist.
(4) "Dealbabor:" see the Appendix.—Ed.

ages. And especially where matters of religion are touched pertaining to the church, it is not sufficient to see what 'Fabian' or what 'Hall' saith; but the records must be sought, the registers must be turned over, letters also and ancient instruments ought to be perused, and authors with the same compared: finally, the writers amongst themselves one to be conferred with another; and so with judgment matters are to be weighed; with diligence to be laboured; and with simplicity, pure from all addition and partiality, to be uttered. *Henry V.* A.D. 1413.

Thus did Aventine, thus did Sleidan, write. These helps also the eldest and best historicians seemed to have, both Livy, Sallust, Quintus Curtius, and such like; as by their letters and records inserted may well appear. The same helps likewise, both in your Fabian, and in your Edward Hall, were to be required, but especially in you, Master Cope, yourself, who take upon you so cockishly, rather than wisely, to be a controller and master-moderator of other men's matters: in which matters, to say the truth, you have no great skill, and less experience; neither have you such plenty of authors meet for that purpose, nor yet ever travelled to search out the origins and grounds of that whereof ye write; but contented with such only as cometh next to hand, or peradventure, receiving such alms as some of your poor friends bestow upon you, you think it sufficient if you can allege Fabian and Hall for your purpose. Cope, a carper of stories whereof he hath no skill

Now what purpose and affection herein doth lead you, or rather doth drive you, to the carping and barking against the history of these good men that be hence gone, and had their punishment, all men may see it to be no simple sincerity of a mind indifferent, but the zeal only of your sect of popery, or rather of fury, which setteth your railing spirit on fire. But now, out of the fiery kitchen to come to the 'hall' again, let us see what matter lieth in the testimony of Edward Hall, to prove these men to be traitors. And here forasmuch, Master Cope, as you seem neither sufficiently acquainted with this your own master and author, Master Hall, nor yet well experienced in the searching out of histories, I will take a little pains for you, in this behalf, to certify you, concerning the story of this author, whereof percase you yourself are ignorant. Answer to Edward Hall.

The truth hereof is this, that as the said Edward Hall, your great master and testis, was about the compiling of his story, certain there were who resorted to him, of whom some were drawers of his pedigree and vineat, some were gravers, the names of whom were John Betts, and Tyrral, who be now both dead. And others there were of the same sodality, who be yet alive, and were then in the house of Richard Grafton, he being both the printer of the said book, and also, as is thought, a great helper of the penning of the same. It so befell, that as Hall was entering into the story of sir John Oldcastle, and of sir Roger Acton and their fellows, the book of John Bale, touching the story of the lord Cobham, was at the same time newly come over: which book was privily conveyed by one of his servants into the study of Hall, so that in turning over his books it must needs come to his hands. At the sight whereof, when he saw the ground and reasons in that book contained, he turned to the authors in the aforesaid book alleged; whereupon, within two nights

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after, moved by what cause, I know not, but so it was, that he, taking his pen, rased and cancelled all that he had written before against sir John Oldcastle and his fellows, and which was now ready to go to print, containing near to the quantity of three pages. And lest Master Cope, you, or any other should think me to speak beside my book, be it therefore known both to you, and to all others, by these presents, that the very selfsame first copy of Hall, rased and crossed with his own pen, remaineth in my hands to be shown and seen, as need shall require. The matter which he cancelled out, came to this effect. Wherein he, following the narration of Polydore, began with like words to declare how the sacramentaries[1] here in England, after the death of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, being pricked, as he saith, with a demoniacal sting, first conspired against the priests, and afterwards against the king, having for their captains sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton, knight; with many more words to the like purpose and effect, as Polydore, and other such like chroniclers do write against him. All which matter, notwithstanding, the said Hall with his pen, at the sight of John Bale's book, did utterly extinguish and abolish; adding in the place thereof the words of Master Bale's book, touching the accusation and condemnation of the said lord Cobham before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, taken out of the letter of the said archbishop, as is in his own story to be seen.[2]

Hall raseth out his own story written against lord Cobham.

And thus Edward Hall, your author, revoking and calling back all that he had devised before against the lord Cobham (whereof I have his own hand to show, and witness substantial upon the same), in his printed book recordeth of him no more, but only showeth the process between the archbishop of Canterbury and him for matters of religion. And so, ending with sir John Oldcastle, he proceedeth further to the assembly of sir Roger Acton (whom he falsely calleth Robert Acton), John Brown, and Beverly, the narration whereof he handleth in such sort, that he neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with the truth itself. For where he excludeth the lord Cobham out of that assembly, he discordeth therein from Polydore and others; and where he affirmeth the fact of that conspiracy to be wrought before, or at the twelfth day of December, that is manifestly false, if the records before alleged be true. And where he reporteth this assembly to be after the burning of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, therein he accordeth with Polydore, but not with the truth. Moreover so doubtful he is and ambiguous, in declaration of this story, that no great certainty can be gathered of him.

Hall, in his story agreeth not with others. Untruth in Hall noted.

Hall doubtful in the story of sir Robert Acton.

First, as touching the confession of them, he confesseth himself that he saw it not, and therefore leaveth it at large: and as concerning the causes of their death, he leaveth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth Master Cope) to define or pronounce any thing thereof, but only to recite the surmises and minds of divers men diversely, some thinking it was for conveying the lord Cobham out of the Tower, some that it was for treason and heresy. And here cometh in the mention only of a record; but what record it is, neither doth he

(1) "Sacramentaries," a term of reproach given by the papists to the protestants, for their alleged errors respecting the catholic sacraments.—Ed.
(2) Hal in vita Hen. V. p. 2, line 30.

utter it, nor doth he examine it; otherwise again affirming, as he saith, that it was for feigned causes surmised by the spiritualty, more of displeasure than truth. And thus your author Hall, having recited the variety of men's opinions, determineth himself no certain thing thereof; but, as one indifferent, neither bound to the conjectures of all men, nor to the writings of all men, referreth the whole judgment of the matter free unto the reader. And so concluding his narration, forasmuch as he was neither a witness of the fact, nor present at the deed, he overpasseth the story thereof.

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Hall no witness in sir Roger Acton's case.

And what witness then will you, or can you, Master Cope, take of Edward Hall, who denieth himself to be a witness? will you compel him to say what he saw not, and to witness what he cannot? Wherefore, like as Susanna in the story of Daniel was quit by right judgment in the case of adultery, because her accusers and 'testes' being examined asunder were found to vary and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees; so why may not, in like case of treason, sir Roger Acton, sir John Oldcastle, Brown, and the rest, claim the same privilege? seeing among the 'testes' and witnesses produced against them such discord is found, and such halting among them, that neither do they agree in place, person, year, day, nor month.

Repugnance noted in the witness against the lord Cobham, and sir R. Acton.

For first: Where Fabian and his fellows say, that they were assembled together in a great company in the field near to St. Giles, the forged indictment above alleged saith, they were but riding toward the field.

1. Repugnance in the place.

Secondly: Where the aforesaid indictment, and Polydore, give the lord Cobham to be present personally in that assembly, Hall, and Alanus Copus Anglus,[1] do exclude his personal presence from thence; and so doth Fabian also seem to agree, speaking only of the adherents of sir John Oldcastle.

2. In the person.

Thirdly: Where Hall and Polydore report this assembly to be after the burning of John Huss and of Jerome at the council of Constance, which was in the year 1415, that cannot be; but if there were any such conspiracy in the first year of Henry V. it must needs be in 1413. And here by the way, why do certain of your epitome-writers, speaking of the lord Cobham, committed first to the Tower for heresy, refer this said imprisonment to the year 1412, whereas by their own count, reckoning the year from the Annunciation, it must needs be in the year 1413, being done in harvest time.

3. In the year.

Fourthly: Where Hall with his followers affirm that sir Roger Acton, Brown and Beverly were condemned the twelfth day of December, the record is evidently against it, which holdeth the fact to be in working the tenth day of January.

4. In the month.

Fifthly: Whereas the aforesaid record of the indictment giveth the Wednesday next after the Epiphany, which was the tenth day of January that present year, both the fact to be committed the same day, the commission also to be granted and delivered to the commissioners the same day, the said commissioners to sit in commission the same day, the sheriffs of Middlesex to return a jury out of the body of Middlesex the same day, and the jurors to find the indictment on the same day; and yet no juror in the indictment named the same day.

5. In the day.

(1) Alanus Copus, p. 833, line 12.

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Item, the lord Cobham the same day to be found conspiring to make himself regent, when the king, that day and year, was not yet passed into France—how all these can concur and hang together, and all in one day—I suppose it will cost you two days before you, with all your learned council, will study it out. And when you, in your unlawful assemblies, have conspired and conferred together all ye can, yet will ye make it, as I think, three days, before you honestly dispatch your hands of the matter.

And where ye think that ye have impressed in me such a foul note of lying, never to be clawed off while the world standeth, yet shall the posterity to come judge between you and me, whether shall appear more honest and true: my defence for that worthy lord, or your uncourteous and viperous wrangling against him, moved with no other cause but only with the peevish spirit of popery, which can abide nothing but what savoureth of your own sect.[1] For else, how many loud lying legends, yea what legions of lies, are daily used and received in the popish church? What doltish dreams? what feigned miracles? what blasphemous tales and friarly fables, and idle inventions, fighting against the sincere religion, doctrine, and cross, of Christ! And could you hold your pen from all these and find nothing else to set your idleness at work, but only to write against the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Brown, Onley, Cowbridge, with a few others, whom, with much ado, at length you have sought out, not so much for any true zeal to rebuke iniquity, as craftily seeking matter by these to deface and blemish the book of Acts and Monuments? which seemeth belike to make you scratch there, where it itcheth not. And if I should, after the like dealing, take in hand your popish portues,[2] and with the like diligence excuss every popish martyr and saint there canonized; think you, Master Cope, I could not make you out half a dozen as rank traitors and rebels to their kings and princes, as ever were any of these of your picking out? What pope almost hath there been these last five hundred years, who hath not been a traitor to his emperor and prince, and to his country? either openly rebelling against them, or privily conspiring their destruction, or proudly setting his feet upon their necks, or spurning their crowns off from their heads, or making the son to fight against the father? How many have they deposed, and set up others in their seats? How many emperors and kings have they wrongfully cursed? What consuls of Rome have they resisted, deposed, and put to death? What wars have they raised up against their own country of Rome? Yea, the continual holding of the city of Rome from its lawful emperor, what is it but a continual point of treason?

Popes, traitors to their emperors and princes.

What will you answer me, Master Cope, to the pope, who conspired to let fall down a stone upon the emperor's head, kneeling at his prayers?[3]

Many of the pope's saints and confessors were traitors.

And though this treachery, being as big as a millstone, seemed but a small mote in your eye, that it could not be espied, yet what will ye say of the monk of Swinshead, that poisoned king John,[3] who was both absolved by his abbot before his treason committed, and, after his treason, had a perpetual mass sung for him, to help him out of

(1) Papists cannot see great beams in their own eyes, who spy small motes in others.
(2) "Portues," Porthose, quasi 'Port-hors,' a breviary.—Ed. (3) See vol. ii. pp. 122, 340.—Ed.

purgatory? And what think ye in your conscience is to be said of Thomas Becket, who did enough, and more than became him, to set the French king and the king of England together by the ears? of Anselm likewise, and of Stephen Langton, who departed both out of the realm to complain of their princes and sovereigns? the like may be said also of John Peckham. John Stratford, archbishop of the same see of Canterbury, notoriously resisted the king's commandment, being sent for by king Edward III., to come to the parliament at York; through the default of whose coming, the present opportunity of getting Scotland was the same time lost.[1]

Scrope, arch bishop of York, traitor; and yet counted a holy man. Popes commonly traitors.

Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, was openly in arms to rebel and fight against king Henry IV., for which he was condemned and put to death: and yet, notwithstanding, commission was sent down from the pope shortly after, to excommunicate them who put him to death, his treason notwithstanding. Read the story sincerely of pope Benedict XII. and of pope Clement VI., and see how the traitorous rebellion of these two popes against Louis, their rightful emperor, can be defended; which emperor at last was also poisoned, and not without the practice of pope Clement, as Hieronimus Marius doth credibly witness.[2]

See Appendix.

Lancaster a traitor, and yet made a saint.

In the reign of king Edward II., mention was made before of Thomas, earl of Lancaster,[3] who, with a great number of other nobles and barons of the realm, rose in armour against their prince, and, therefore, at length were put to death as traitors. And yet notwithstanding this treason committed, Master Cope, if you be so ignorant in our stories that you know it not, set your setters on to search, and you shall find it true, that certain noblemen went up to Rome, for the canonizing of the said Thomas of Lancaster, to be made a saint, and obtained the same; insomuch that in a certain old calendar, the name of the said St. Thomas of Lancaster is yet extant to be seen.

Abbingdon, archbishop of Canterbury, rebelled against his prince, and yet made a saint.

In the fourth book of the Acts and Monuments, mention was made of Edmund Abbingdon, archbishop of Canterbury,[4] whom although I do not disprove, but rather commend in my history, for his bold and sage counsel given unto king Henry III., and also for offering the censure of excommunication against the king in so necessary a cause, yet notwithstanding, the same Edmund afterwards, about his latter end, went up with a rebelling mind to complain of his king unto the pope, and in his journey died, before his return; who, afterwards, for the same, was canonized by the pope, and now shineth among the saints in the pope's calendar.

Arundel a rank traitor against his king, and yet accounted a great pillar in the pope's church.

Let us come more near to these days and times, and consider the doings of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, who being first deposed and exiled for his contemptuous deserts against the king, and afterwards coming in with Henry Bolingbroke, duke of Hereford, in open arms, and with main force, rose against his natural and lawful king. Think you, Master Cope, this is not as great a point of treason, as that which was done in Thickets' fields? and though he be not placed among the portuous saints, yet I think nothing contrary, but in your heart you will not greatly stick to say, "Sancte Thoma! ora pro nobis."

All these things well considered, tell me, Master Cope, I pray you,

(1) See vol. ii. pp. 214, 145, 161, 323, 579, 606, 783.—Ed.
(2) Ibid. p. 663.—Ed.
(3) Ibid. pp. 646, 653.—Ed.
(4) Ibid. pp. 407, 408, 427, 719.—Ed.

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is treason such a strange and uncouth thing in your pope-catholic church, that your burning zeal of obedience to kings and princes cannot read the story of the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton, but your pen must needs be inflamed to write against them, and yet so many traitors in your own calendars neither seen nor once spoken of? And if the traitorous conspiracy and rebellion of so many your calendar saints, committed against emperors, kings, and princes, cannot stir your zeal, nor move your pen; and if the treason of pope Gregory IX., raising war against his own city of Rome, and causing thirty thousand citizens in one battle to be slain, deserveth not to be espied and accused, as much as this treason of the lord Cobham; yet what will you, or can you answer to me, Master Cope, as touching the horrible treason of pope Gregory VII., committed not against emperor or king, or any mortal man, but against the Lord himself, even against your God of your own making, being therein, as you say, no substance of bread, but the very personal body, flesh, blood, and bone, of Christ himself; which body, notwithstanding, the aforesaid pope Gregory VII. took and cast with his own hands into the burning fire, because it would not answer him to a certain doubt or demand?[1] Soothly, if sir John Oldcastle had taken the body of king Henry V., and thrown it into the fire, the fact being so notoriously certain as this is, I would never have bestowed any word in his defence. And could this, and so many other heinous treasons pass through your fingers, Master Cope, and no other to stick in your pen but the lord Cobham?

Pope Gregory VII. a traitor against the Lord's own body.

Finally and simply to conclude with you, Master Cope, and not to flatter you: what is the whole working, the proceedings, actions, and practices of your religion, or have thus been almost these five hundred years, but a certain perpetual kind of treason, to thrust down your princes and magistrates, to derogate from their right and jurisdiction, and to advance your own majesties and dominations, as hath been sufficiently above proved,[2] and laid before your faces in a parliament holden in France, by the lord Peter de Cugniéres? Wherefore, if the assembly of these before-named persons, either within or without St. Giles's-field, be such a great mote of treason in your eyes, first look upon the great blocks and millstones of your own traitors at home, and when you have well discussed the same, then afterwards pour out your wallet of trifling dialogues, or trialogues, if ye list, against us, and spare us not. Not that I so think this to be a sufficient excuse to purge the treason of these men, if your popish calendars and legends be found full of traitors. "Multitudo enim peccatorum non parit errori patrocinium:" but this, I think, that the same cause which made them to suffer as traitors, hath made you also to rail against them for traitors, that is, mere hatred only against their religion, rather than any true affection you have to your princes and governors; who, if they had been as fervent in your popery, and had suffered so much for the holy father of Rome, or for the liberties of the holy mother-church of Rome, I doubt not but they, as holy children of Rome, had been rung into your Romish calendar with a 'Festum duplex,' or at least with 'Festum simplex,' of nine lessons; also with a vigil, peradventure, before them.

Religion commonly maketh treason among the papists.

(1) Benno. Card. [vol. ii. p 122.—Ed.]

(2) Vol. ii. p. 613.—Ed.

Now, because they were of the contrary profession, and enemies to your 'magna Diana Ephesiorum,' you play with them as the Ephesian carvers did with St. Paul, and worse. Ye thrust them out as seditious rebels, not only out of life and body, but also cannot abide them to have any poor harbour in their own friends' houses, among our Acts and Monuments to be remembered. In the which Acts and Monuments, if, gentle 'Master Ireneus' with his fellow 'Critobulus,' in your clerkly dialogues, will not suffer them to be numbered for martyrs; yet speak a good word for them, Master Cope, they may stand for 'testes' or witness-bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them. *Henry V.* A.D. 1413.

Now to the other part of his accusation; wherein this Alanus Copus Anglus, in his ἑξαπλᾶ, or six-fold dialogues, contendeth and chafeth against my former edition, to prove me in my history to be a liar, a forger, an impudent, a misreporter of truth, a depraver of stories, a seducer of the world, and what else not? whose virulent words, and contumelious terms, how well they become his popish person, I know not. Certes, for my part, I never deserved this at his hands wittingly, that I do know. Master Cope is a man whom I never yet saw, and less offended, nor ever heard of him before. And if he had not, in the front of his book, entitled himself to be 'an Englishman,' by his writing I would have judged him rather some wild Irishman, lately crept out of St. Patrick's purgatory, so wildly he writeth, so fumishly he fareth. Answer to the second part of Cope's accusation concerning his untrue charging of the book of Acts and Monuments.

But I cease here, and temper myself, considering not what Master Cope deserveth to be said unto, nor how far the pen here could run, if it had its scope; but considering what the tractation rather of such a serious cause requireth; and therefore seriously to say unto you, Master Cope, in this matter: where you charge my history of Acts and Monuments so cruelly, to be full of untruths, false lies, impudent forgeries, depravations, fraudulent corruptions, and feigned fables; briefly, and in one word, to answer you, not as the Lacones answered to the letters of their adversary, with 'si,' but with 'osi:' would God, Master Cope, that in all the whole book of Acts and Monuments, from the beginning to the latter end of the same, were never a true story, but that all were false, all were lies, and all were fables!— would God the cruelty of your catholics had suffered all them to live, of whose death ye say now, that I do lie! Although I deny not but in that book of Acts and Monuments, containing such diversity of matter, something might overscape me, yet I have bestowed my poor diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none. The book of Acts and Monuments too true, if it had pleased God otherwise.

If you, Master Cope, or any other, can better my rude doings, and find things out more finely and truly, with all my heart I shall rejoice with you and the common wealth, taking profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wit, cunning, dexterity, fineness, or other endowments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you nor any other. I grant that in a laboured story, such as you seem to require, containing such infinite variety of matter, as this doth, much more time would be required: but such time as I had, that I did bestow; if not so laboriously as others could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I hear what you will say—I should have taken

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more leisure and done it better. I grant and confess my fault; such is my vice, I cannot sit all the day, Master Cope, fining and mincing my letters, and combing my head, and smoothing myself all the day at the glass of Cicero; yet, notwithstanding, doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinks I should not be reprehended, at least not so much be railed on at Master Cope's hand; who if he be so pregnant in finding fault with other men's labours, which is an easy thing to do, it were to be wished, that he had enterprised himself upon the matter; and so should he have proved what faults might have been found in him. Not that I herein do utterly excuse myself, yea rather am ready to accuse myself, but yet, notwithstanding, think myself ungently dealt withal at Master Cope's hand, who, being mine own countryman, an Englishman, as he saith, also of the same university, yea, college and school that I was of; knowing that the first edition of these Acts and Monuments was begun in the far parts of Germany, where few friends, no conference, small information could be had; and that the same edition was afterwards translated out of Latin into English by others, while I, in the mean time, was occupied about other registers; and now the said Cope, hearing moreover and knowing that I was about a new edition of the same Acts and Monuments, at this present time to be set forth, for the amending of divers things therein to be reformed, if he had known any fault needful to be corrected, he might gently, by letters, have admonished me thereof: gentleness would so have required it, time would well have suffered it. Neither was he so far off, but he might sooner have written a letter to me, than a book against me; neither was I so ungrateful and inhuman, but I would have thanked him for his monition; neither yet so obstinate, but being admonished, I would have corrected willingly, where any fault had been committed.

Ungentleness noted in Cope.

But herein your nature, Master Cope, doth right well appear. First, in the said book of Acts and Monuments, where many other good things be contained, not unfruitful nor unprofitable peradventure for the instruction of your conscience, and wherein my labours perhaps might have deserved your thanks, all that, you dissemble and pass over, only excerping those matters which make for cavillation.

The nature of the spider.

Thus the black spider out of pleasant flowers sucketh its poison. And what book is so pleasant and fruitful, though it were the pope's own portues, yea, his own decretals, yea, his own very mass-book, to the reading whereof if I brought the like mind so disposed to cavil, as you bring to the reading of my history, but I could find out twice as many 'mendacia,' 'maculas,' 'impudentias,' 'dolos malos,' 'fabulas,' 'fucos,' as you have done in these 'Acts and Monuments?' and yet you have done pretty well.

Besides all this, yet better to mark the goodness of your gentle nature: be it so that I have been in some piece of my story deceived, as I do not justify myself in all points therein; yet you, understanding that I was about the correction of my book again, might either have taken the best, and left the worst, or else have gently taken the pains to have advertised me of such notes as you had, without further exclamation; or at least might have deferred your Dialogues for a time, till the coming out of my book, to see first what would in the latter edition be altered. But belike your

gall was full; your haste could not tarry; your venom must needs burst out. *Henry V.* A.D. 1413.

"Et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses."

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to be such, and the disposition of your nature, so far from all humanity, dealing with me so extremely, if I, thus provoked with your extremity again, should now, after this your currish nature, shape you a name accordingly, and instead of 'Cope,' godfather you to be a perpetual sycophant, could you much blame me? and doth not your sycophantical book well deserve it? or think you I could not repay you again with like extremity as you bring, and dress your drowsy, or rather lousy, Dialogues in their right colours, if I were so disposed? But my purpose is with patience to spare you, and rather to pray for you: God make you a good man! Peradventure he may hereafter call you; and rather had I to win you, than to sting you. Leaving, therefore, the consideration of your ungrateful doings, I will now consider only the points wherein you charge me in your book, answering briefly unto the same: briefly, I say, because the greatness of this volume, and abundance of other more fruitful matter, give me little leisure at this present to stand about brawling words. Copus sycophanta.

First, he seemeth to be highly grieved with me for my Calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments; wherein he hath no cause either to be offended with me, or to chafe with himself. As touching that calendar I have sufficiently and expressly declared before so much as might quickly satisfy this scruple of Master Cope, if he either would have taken the pains, or else had the leisure to read the words contained in the Latin preface before the book prefixed, which are thus: "Quanquam a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cujusque Martyris mensem et annum designante, ad privatum lectoris serviret usum,"[1] &c.: in which words preventing beforehand the cavilling objection of the adversary, I forewarned the reader touching the calendar, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed; for no other purpose, but only to serve the use of the reader, instead of a table, showing the year and month of every martyr, what time he suffered, &c. What hurt, I pray you, is in this calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments, more than in the table of Master Cope's book, set after his Dialogues? But Master Cope had no leisure to pursue this place; it made not for his humour. The Calendar of the Acts and Monuments defended.

But this grieveth him in the calendar, and that very sorely: for that I place in this calendar, sir John Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, Brown, Beverly, and others, for martyrs; and displace for them other holy ancient martyrs and saints, as Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, Clarus, Lucianus, Severinus, &c.—Answer: If Master Cope cannot abide the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Brown, and Beverly, who were hanged (as he saith, for treason), to have the name of martyrs, then let them bear the name of witness-bearers, or 'testes' of the truth, because they were also burned for the testimony of their faith: seeing there is no difference in the said names, all is one to me, by which they are called. Objection for martyrs in the Calendar. Answer.

(1) Ex prœmio ad lectorem. [See vol. i.—Ed.]

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And where he chargeth me for thrusting and shouldering out the old and ancient holy saints aforenamed out of this calendar, and placing other new-come saints in their rooms; this is not the first untruth that Master Cope hath made in his Dialogues, nor yet the least: unto whom I might, therefore, fitly answer again with his own familiar phrase, or rather the phrase of Cicero, which he doth so much affect: "Quod nimirum hic ipse Alanus Copus Anglus unde me mendacii coarguit, inde sibi ipsi sempiternam ac indelebilem turpissimi mendacii ac singularis impudentiæ notam inurat;"[1] for why have not I as just cause to say this to him, as he to me? forasmuch as in the first beginning and preface of the said book of Acts and Monuments, I so diligently and expressly do warn all men beforehand, first, that I make here no calendar purposely of any saints, but a table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to show the day and month of their suffering. My words be extant and evident, which are these: "Neque vero ideo inter divos a me referuntur isti, quod inseruntur in calendarium," &c.; and declaring afterwards how the said calendar doth stand but instead of a table, my words do follow thus: "Haud aliter calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cujusque martyris mensem et annum designante, lectori ad usum atque ad manum serviat," &c.[2]

Untruth noted in Cope.

Again, neither did I receive these men into that calendar, that holy Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, with other ancient holy saints should be removed out, as you do falsely and untruly affirm; but, because the course of that story, reaching but five hundred years, did not comprehend those former times of such ancient martyrs, but only of such as suffered in these latter days: therefore, requisite it was, that in the table such should be placed chiefly, of whom the whole book did then principally and only treat; to demonstrate thereby the time and day of their martyrdom. Neither yet were the others excluded out of this new calendar, who were never inserted in the same before, but only because both together could not there have standing; necessity so required these in no case to be omitted; and yet no injury meant to the others to be excluded out of their own calendars, whereto properly they did pertain. As for this calendar, or this table, because they were not pertinent unto it, they could not therein, neither was it necessary they should, be included: and yet neither did I, Master Cope, without due and solemn protestation omit the same in my aforesaid catalogue, to prevent and stop all cavilling mouths; as by special words in the said proem of my book unto the reader doth appear, following in this wise: "Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui vere sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat calendarium, mimineret, non in templis a me collocari, sed domesticæ tantum lectioni præparari," &c. And where is now, Master Cope, this your rejecting, expelling, removing, expulsing, exempting, deturbating and thrusting out, of Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, and other holy saints, out of catalogues, fasts, and calendars? or what man is that, or where dwelleth he, "qui veros christi martyres e cœlo ad tartara deturbat?"[3] that is, "who tumbleth

(1) Copus, p. 830, line 18.
(2) In præfat. ad doct. lector. li. Acts and Monuments. [See vol i. Ed.]
(3) Copus, p. 861, line penultima.

down true martyrs from heaven into hell?" which if ye mean by me, in one word I answer, ye falsely belie me, Master Copus; I had almost called you Master Capus, so like a capon you speak. Neither have you, nor any other, ever heard me so say. Neither have I ever heard of any so mad, to play so the giants with their mountains to climb the heavens, to tumble down God's true and holy martyrs out of heaven into hell, unless it were yourself (as yet ye are, ye may be better), and such other of your gilded and popish fraternity, who make of God's true saints stinking dunghills (for so ye term them in your books), and not only thrust into heaven your 'pseudosanctos,' saints of your own making, whom God by his word doth not allow; but also depulse down from heaven, and make dunghills of God's well-beloved servants, his faithful people and blessed martyrs, who have died for the word of God. And what marvel then, if in your blasphemous books ye cast down from heaven to hell the poor saints of Christ, when in effect you deject also the blood and cross of the Son of God, Christ Jesus himself, setting up in his office and place

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Copus almost called Capus.

The papists would thrust down God's true saints out of heaven to hell.

> Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit,
> Fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit.

Say, Master Cope! your conscience indifferently; set all popish partiality apart: whereas the Scripture teacheth us simply, "Quod citra sanguinem nulla fit remissio," i. e. "Without blood there is no remission;" whether ye think, by this blood of the New Testament is meant the blood of Christ alone, or the blood of other more besides? If the blood of one must stand alone, why do ye then with the giants build up your mountains, and make a ladder of Becket's popish blood, for men to scale the heavens? or in so doing, how can you, but either with the protestants wipe out of your calendar 'Thomæ sanguinem,' or else demolish from heaven 'sanguinem Christi,' with the papists?

Becket's blood set up, to the injury of Christ's blood.

And here, by the way, I cannot but muse, why you are so devout in setting up the cross of Christ in your church, who are such enemies to the true cross of Christ to stand in heaven. Look upon this, Master Cope! and tell me, "Utra pars verius veros Christi martyres e cœlo in tartara detrudat?" and therefore, as you falsely belie me in this, for detruding and tumbling out of heaven Anatholius, Julian, Clarus, Lucian, Agatha, Dorothea, and others against whom I never yet spake any reproachful word, but rather in this my volume have set forth their commendation: so it is untrue likewise, where you affirm, that in this my calendar I make an '*ἀποθεωσιν*,' or canonization of false martyrs. I told you before, when ye were in England, in words as plain as I could; I tell you again, being now in your transmigration: "Hanc ego Apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus." Were not these words of my protestation manifest enough? were they not sufficient to satisfy a reasonable Momus? And, to make the matter more plain, did I not add, moreover, as followeth? "Porro neque eo spectat hoc calendarium, ut novam aliquam festorum dierum legem præscribam Ecclesiæ," &c. And, not contented with this, foreseeing before such wrangling spirits to come, as now I see in you, I showed also the cause why I needed not so to do. My words

Papists are devout to set up Christ's cross on earth; but enemies to Christ's cross in heaven.

A double untruth in Copus.

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were these: "Festorum dierum jam plus satis erat in mundo," &c. And yet further, because no caviller should here take hold of any injury done to the holy saints, either old or new in the church, therefore, in express words, I removed away all suspicion of any injury, preventing the objection of the adversary in these words: "Habeat et Ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes, tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim iidem ne adorentur, modo quam sint vetusti, tam etiam vere sancti sint," &c.[1]

These places of my book, if ye did see, why do you dissemble them? If ye had not so much leisure to read them, how had you so much leisure to write against any man's book, not knowing what is in the book contained? And how stands it then with truth, that so like a Momus ye cry out so in your book against these new-made martyrs, "Qui non possunt nisi per aliorum injuriam crescere," &c.[2] And again, where you exclaim against me, and say, that I thrust out the ancient martyrs from their seat and possession, and place new in their rooms, &c. Also where you, continuing yet still in your common place of lying, out of which you cannot digress, do charge me further, that I do point out holy days and working days by colours of red and black, in my aforesaid calendar to be observed; these lewd notes of yours, if they had been picked out of the calendar by you, without mine own special declaration before made to the contrary, they might seem to have some blush of credit.

Untruth in Cope.

Now what will the reader say, or what may he judge, considering and conferring this your cavilling with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are altogether set to play the perpetual syc—: I had almost called you by your right name, Master Cope. But God make you, as I said, a good man!—Reading further in your book, I could not but smile and laugh at this your ridiculous and most loud-lying hyperbolismum; where you, comparing my making of saints with the pope's making, can find, as ye say, in the pope, no such impudent arrogancy in presuming, as ye find in me.[3] If the pope had not abused his arrogant jurisdiction in canonizing and deifying his saints, more than I have done, the year should not be cumbered with so many idle holy days, nor the calendars with so many rascal saints; some of them as good, as ever were they that put Christ to death.

But where will you find, Master Cope, any man to believe this your hyperbolical comparison to be true, who seeth and knoweth the infinite and unmeasurable excess of the pope's arrogancy, not only in shrining such a rabble of blind saints of his own creating, but also in prescribing the same to be received universally in the whole world; and not to be received only, but also to be invocated for gifts and graces; also to be worshipped for advocates and mediators? wherein riseth a double abomination of the pope, the one for his idolatrous making and worshipping of saints; the other for his blasphemous injury and derogation to Christ in repulsing him out of his office of mediation, and placing other mediators of his own making.

Double abomination in the pope's calendar

And now, to consider what saints these were, or what were the causes of their sancting: what saint almost among all the pope's

The great saint-maker of

(1) Copus Momus. Copus, p. 820. (2) Copus, p. 820, line 25.
(3) Copus, p. 819, line 7.

saints shall you find, Master Cope, made within these five hundred years, but commonly he was either some pope, or some rich bishop and prelate, or some fat abbot, or some blind friar, some monk, or nun, some superstitious regular, or some builder of monasteries, or some giver and benefactor to the popish clergy, or maintainer, agonizing for the dignities and liberties of the popish church? What poor lay-man or lay-woman, were their lives ever so christian, their faith and confession ever so pure, their death ever so agonising for the witness of Christ, and truth of his word, shall find any place of favour in all the pope's 'πονηρόπολις,' that is, in the pope's calendar, either in red colour, or else in black?

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Rome, and who be his saints.

But here, Master Cope, if ye had the wit so much to defend, as ye have to overthwart, you might take me with the manner, and reply again for the defence of your great saint-maker, or rather god-maker, of Rome, that he maketh more martyrs and saints of these aforesaid poor lay-men, and lay-women, than ever he did of any other: for he burneth them, he hangeth them, he drowneth them, he imprisoneth and famisheth them, and so maketh truer martyrs of Christ, than any other of his new shrined saints, whom he hath so dignified in his calendar; for the one he doth rubricate only with his red letters, the other doth he rubricate with their own blood. And, therefore, to answer you, Master Cope, to your comparison made between the pope and me, for making of holy martyrs and saints: briefly I say, and report me to all the world, that herein is no comparison; for if ye speak of true martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? if ye speak of false martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? And, furthermore, to compare together the causes of these martyred saints in my calendar with them who shine shrined in the pope's calendar (taking the same proportion of time as I do, within these last five hundred years), why may not I have as good cause to celebrate these in my calendar, who lost their lives and were slain principally for the cause of Christ and of his word, as the pope hath to celebrate his double and simple feasted saints in his calendar; who in their doings, doctrine, and life, as they seemed rather to serve the pope, than Christ the Lord; so in their death appeared no such cause, why they should be sanctified in the church beyond all others? Let not the church of Christ, Master Cope, be deluded with hypocritical names, or feigned apparitions and fabulous miracles, neither be you deceived yourself, but let us resort sincerely to the word of God.

The great god-maker of Rome.

No cause why the pope's new saints should be put in the calendar.

What was in St. Francis (look upon his superstitious life, and presumptuous testament, wrought no doubt by Satan to diminish and obscure the Testament of Jesus Christ), why he should be made a saint, and not an enemy, rather, of Christ? What was, likewise, in friar Dominic, who, before Francis, ten years together, persecuted the poor Waldenses to death and destruction? why should he stand a saint and a pillar of the church? I pray you what see you in Thomas Becket, but that he died for the ambitious liberties of the popish church? What in Aldelm and in Anselm, but only that they chased away married priests from the churches, and planted in idle monks in their stead? The like also did Dunstan, who was rubricated with a 'duplex festum.' Elizabeth, who was the wife of the marquis of Thuringia, when she had, with much persuasion, got out her husband to fight against the

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Turks, and he was there slain, she afterwards encloistered herself, and was made a nun. And do you think these causes to be sufficient why they should be made saints, worshipped in churches, and set in calendars? Long it were to make rehearsal of all this riffraff, and almost infinite. One example may suffice for many. St. Gilbert of Sempringham was the son of Jocelin, a knight, who, for the deformity of his body, was set to learning, and afterwards made canon, and was author of the Gilbertines in the time of king John.

Canonization of St. Gilbert of Sempringham.

This Gilbert, after he had erected thirteen monasteries of his order of Sempringham, was afterwards laboured for unto the pope to be made a saint, who, hearing of his miracles, wrote his letters to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in behalf of the aforesaid Gilbert, willing and commanding " per apostolica scripta," that the feast of the said Gilbert should be solemnized through all the province of Canterbury; " Ut meritis nimirum ejus et precibus apud misericordissimum judicem misericordiam consequamur," &c.; whereupon Hubert, the archbishop, directeth down his writings to all the bishops within his province, the contents of which writings the reader may see below.[1]

The sum of which writing of the archbishop tendeth to this effect. That forasmuch as the pope, hearing of the life and miracles of Gilbert, master of the order of Sempringham, by sufficient witness and testimonies, hath in his letters commanded him, by the advice of his cardinals, that the said Gilbert should be canonized and ascribed in the catalogue of saints, and that his solemnity should be celebrated solemnly throughout all the province of Canterbury; and also his body to be taken up and shrined to the honour and glory of God: he, therefore, at the pope's commandment writing unto them, willeth all the suffragans, within his province of Canterbury, yearly to solemnize, and cause to be solemnized, reverently, the deposition of the said St. Gilbert, confessor; to the intent that their devotion may be commended by the Lord, and by him. And also that the humble intercession of the said saint, may profit them to their salvation.

Is this good doctrine, Master Cope, in the pope's canonization?

Furthermore, for the more full canonizing (canvising, I had almost said) of this new made saint, the said pope Innocent, writing to Hubert aforesaid, adjoineth withal a collect of his own making, which is this.[2] " Work in us, O eternal Saviour, full remedy of thy virtue, that we who worship the worthy merits of blessed Gilbert, thy confessor, being succoured by his suffrages, may be delivered from all languors and diseases of our souls; who livest and reignest," &c.[3]

The blasphemous collect of the pope's making for St. Gilbert.

The consecration of this one saint, who perhaps was not the worst, I thought here to commemorate, to the intent that the reader, measuring, by this one, the canonization of all the rest, may judge the

(1) *The Pope's Letter, and the Archbishop's, for the Canonizing of St. Gilbert.*—Hubertus Dei gratia Canterb. archiepiscop. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Christo frat. episcop. per provinciam Canterb. sal. grat. et benedictionem. D. papa, sicut ex literis ipsius manifeste perpenditur, de conversatione, meritis, et moribus beati Gilberti magistri ordinis de Sempringham, et miraculis a Deo per eum factis per testes et testimonia sufficienter instructus, de concilio fratrum cardin. ipsum mag. catalogo sanctorum decrevit ascribi, solemnitatem ejus constituit et mandavit per Canterb. provinciam solemniter celebrari, insuper et corpus ejus cum requisiti fuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei et gloriam elevari. Vestra igitur Universitas huic mandato cum devotione congaudeat, et secundum formam in ipso mandato præscriptam, prædicti confessoris domini depositionem annuam faciatis cum reverentia et solemniter observari; ut apud dominum et ab illo vestra debeat et possit devotio commendari, necnon et ipsius sancti supplex intercessio vobis proficiat ad salutem. Valete.—*Ex Lib. de Vita Gilberti Confessoris.*

(2) " Plenam in nobis æterne Salvator tuæ virtutis operare medelam, ut qui præclara beati Gilberti confessoris tui merita veneramur, ipsius adjuti suffragiis a cuntis animarum nostrarum languoribus liberemur: qui vivis et regnas," &c.

(3) Copus, p. 119, line 7.

better upon this comparison of Master Cope, whether of us doth vindicate more impudent authority, the pope in his calendar, or I in mine: or, to make the comparison more fit, whether is more impudent the pope in his calendar, or Master Cope in his dialogues more doltish.

But, briefly to make an end of this matter with you: to canonize or to authorize any saints, for man it is presumptuous; to prescribe any thing here to be worshipped, beside God alone, it is idolatrous; to set up any mediators but Christ only, it is blasphemous. And whatsoever the pope doth, or hath done, in his calendar, my purpose in my calendar, was neither to deface any old saint, or to solemnize any new. In my book of Acts and Monuments treating of matters passed in the church, these latter five hundred years, I did regulate out a calendar, not for any canon to constitute saints, but only for a table of them, who, within the same time did suffer for the testimony of the word, whom I did, and do, take to be good and godly men. If any have other judgment of them, I bind no man to my opinion, as the pope doth to his. The day will come which shall judge both them and you. In the mean season it shall be best for you, Master Cope, in my judgment to keep a good tongue in your head, and to quiet your railing mood. A hard thing it is to judge before the Lord. Man's judgment may fail and is uncertain, the judgment of God is always sure. Best it is, therefore, either to be sure by the word and judgment of God before hand, what you do say, or else to say the best. Of such slanderous and intemperate railing can come no good; neither to them whom ye rail upon, nor to yourself who rail, nor to the church of God that heareth you rail. For them you cannot hurt; they are gone: to yourself, though your matters be true, yet little honesty it will bring to be counted a railer; and if it be uncertain, your state is dangerous, and if it be false, most miserable: and as to the church, what great edification can proceed of such contentious brawling and barking one against another, I do not greatly see. And if the zeal of the bishop of Rome's church have so much swallowed you up, that you cannot but stamp and stare at traitors when ye see them put in calendars, first, Master Cope, be ye sure that they be traitors (wisdom would), whom you call traitors. And if ye can so prove them (as ye have not yet), then let your Irenæus, or Critobulus, tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeal of yours, as hot as purgatory, burn out, and flame as well against your own traitors, having so many in your own calendar and church at home?

Cope counselled to cease his railing.

No good cometh of railing.

And if there be such a catholic zeal in you, that hath set your gentle breast on such a pelting chafe, why then is not this your catholic zeal equally indifferent? why take ye on so fell on the one side against sir John Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, Master Brown, &c.? A man would think you played "Hercules furens in orchestra." On the one side again, ye are "oleo tranquillior." What indifference, Master Cope, call you this? or what zeal make you this to be? albeit, your zeal I judge not, as I know it not. Swift judgment shall not become me, who go about to correct the same in you; but this I exhort you to beware, Master Cope, that by your own fruits and doings evident, ye do not bewray this zeal in you to be "non secundum scientiam," nor such a zeal as fighteth "pro domo Dei, sed pro domo Pontificis."

The zeal of Master Cope expended.

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As I said, I judge you not. You have your Judge to whom ye stand or fall. My counsel is, that you do not so zeal the bishop of Rome, that for his sake ye lose your own soul. Ye remember the old vulgar voice, it is not good "Ludere cum sanctis;" worse it is "Illudere;" worst of all it is "Debacchari in immerentes;" because that "Deus ipse ultionum Dominus" many times taketh their cause in hand, according as it is written, "Opprobria opprobriantium tibi ceciderunt in me;" i. e. "The rebukes of thy rebuker fell upon me." And seldom have I seen any such blasphemous railers against the end or punishment of God's saints and servants, without great repentance, to come to any good end themselves.

And admit this, as granted unto you, Master Cope, that these men had been traitors, which ye are not able to prove: Well! they had their punishment therefore; the world can go no further, and what would you have more? who, and if they repented, why may they not have as good part in Christ's kingdom as yourself! Now, forasmuch as the said persons also suffering a double punishment were so constant in the way of truth, and most principally for the same were persecuted, and chiefly therefore brought to their death: that part of example, because I saw it pertain to the profit of the church, why might I not insert it with other church stories in my book? Let the church take that which belongeth to the church. Let the world take that which to the world pertaineth, and go no further. And if ye think it much, that I would exemplify these whom ye call traitors in the Book of Martyrs; first, ye must understand, that I wrote no such book bearing the title of the "Book of Martyrs;" I wrote a book called the "Acts and Monuments of things passed in the Church," &c. wherein many other matters be contained beside the martyrs of Christ. But this, peradventure, moveth your choler, that in the calendar I name them for martyrs. And why may I not, in my calendar, call them by the name of martyrs, who were faithful witnesses of Christ's truth and testament, for which they were also chiefly brought to that end? or why may I not call them holy saints, whom Christ hath sanctified with his blessed blood? And what if I should also call the thief and murderer, hanging on the right side of the Lord, by the name of a holy saint and confessor, for his witnessing of the Lord? what can Master Cope say against it?

The names of martyrs in the calendar defended.

What is a martyr.

Holy saints of Christ.

Martyrs, coloured red.

And as for colouring the names of certain martyrs in the said calendar in red or scarlet letters (although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was as pleased the painter or printer), yet, if that be it, that so much breaketh patience, why rather doth he not expostulate in this behalf with the great saint-maker of Rome, who hath redded them much more than ever did I? for he did red and dye them with their own blood, whereas I did but only colour them with red letters. And thus for matter of my calendar enough.[1]

The painter colour-eth, with red, the pope with blood.

The author cleareth himself of lies and untruths laid against him.

Proceeding now out of the calendar unto the book, wherein he chargeth me with so many lies, impudencies, vanities, depravations, and untruths, it remaineth likewise that I clear myself, answering first to those lies and untruths, which to the story of sir Roger Acton

(1) This calendar, copied from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, in red and black letter, will be found in the first volume of this edition.—Ed.

and sir John Oldcastle do appertain; and afterwards to other particulars, as in the order of my book do follow. And first, where he layeth against me whole heaps and cart-loads, I cannot tell how many, of lies and falsities: I here briefly answer Master Cope again, or what English Harpsfield else soever lieth covered under this English 'Cope,' that if a lie be, after the definition of St. Augustine, whatsoever thing is pronounced with the intent to deceive another; then, I protest to you, Master Cope! and to all the world, there is never a lie in all my book. What the intent and custom is of the papists to do, I cannot tell: for mine own part I will say, although many other vices I have, yet this one I have always of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceive any man or child, so near as I could, much less the church of God, which I with all my heart do reverence, and with fear obey. And therefore, among divers causes that have withdrawn my mind from the papists' faction, almost there is none greater than this; because I see them so little given to truth, so far from all serious feeling and care of sincere religion, so full of false pretensed hypocrisy and dissimulation; so little regarding the church of Christ in their inward hearts, which they so much have in their mouths, so as under the title thereof they may hold up their own estate. Otherwise, so little reverence they yield to the true and honourable church of Jesus the Son of God, that what unworthy and rascal ministers they take into it they pass not; what fictions, what lies and fables, what false miracles and absurd forgeries, they invent to delude it, they care not. I speak not of all.

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Some there be of that sect unfeigned in conscience, and more religious, and better disposed natures, only of simple ignorance deceived: but such commonly have been, and be, the chief guides and leaders of the papists' church, that little true care and small zeal hath appeared in them towards the church of Christ, not much regarding what corruption increased therein, so that their commodity might not decrease. Thus out of this fountain have gushed out so many prodigious lies in church legends, in saints' lives, in monkish fictions, in fabulous miracles, in false and forged relics; as in pieces of the holy cross, in the blood of Hales, in our Lady's milk, in the nails of Christ, which they make to a great number. Likewise in their false and blind errors, corrupt doctrines, absurd inventions, repugnant to the truth of the Word. Item, in their bastard books, forged epistles, their 'Apocrypha,' and 'Pseudepigrapha.' Here come in their forged canons, their foisting and cogging in ancient councils and decrees, as in ὡς ἀπὸ ἐμου πέτρου, in 'Canons of the Apostles' (if those canons were the apostles'); 'Excepta Romana sede,' foisted into the decrees by Gratian; also the cogging in a false canon to the council of Nice for the maintenance of the see of Rome, as appeareth in the sixth synod of Carthage.

Lies and fictions innumerable in the pope's church.

See Appendix.

Here come in also the epistles of Clement, and other sundry epistles decretal, which as they are no doubt falsely inserted by others, so are they the well-head of many superstitious traditions, oppressing this day the church of Christ. To speak, moreover, of the liturgies of St. James, of Chrysostome and others, of the first mass said by St. Peter at Rome, and that St. Peter sat twenty-five years bishop of Rome. To speak also of the works of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome,

Untruth in the popish epistles decretal. And in their liturgies.

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and Gregory, what doctor or famous writer hath there been in the church, under whose name some counterfeited books have not falsely been fathered, and yet stand still authorised under their patronage, to the great detriment of the church? What should I speak of Abdias, Amphilochius, Dionysius Areopagita; the 'Dialogues of Gregory,' which falsely to this day have been ascribed to Gregory I., whereas indeed they were first written in Greek by Gregory III., and afterwards translated out of Greek into Latin by pope Zachary; vide supra.[1] Likewise that worthy and imperial sermon entituled, 'Eusebii Pamphili Sermo ad Conventum Sanctorum,' hath to this day wrongfully borne the name of Eusebius;[2] whereas, in very truth, it was made by the good emperor Constantine himself, in his own heroical style in Latin, and afterwards translated out of Latin into Greek by Eusebius, as he himself confesseth in his work, 'De Vita Constant.' lib. 4. But as touching this sermon, although the name be changed, so godly and fruitful it is, that it mattereth not much under whose name it be read, yet worthy to be read under the name of none so much, as of the emperor Constantine himself, who was the true author and owner thereof.

Untruth in counterfeited books.

Gregory's Dialogues.

Briefly, except it be only the books of the New Testament, and of the Old, what is there almost in the pope's church, but either it is mingled, or depraved, or altered, or corrupted, either by some additions interlaced, or by some diminution mangled and mutilated, or by some gloss adulterate, or with manifest lies contaminate? so that in their doctrines standeth little truth; in their legends, portues, and mass-book, less truth; in their miracles and relics least truth of all. Neither yet do their sacraments remain clear, and void of manifest lies and corruption. And especially here cometh in the master-bee, which bringeth in much sweet honey into the pope's hives; the master lie, I mean, of all lies, where the pope leaving not one crumb of bread, nor drop of wine in the reverend communion, untruly and idolatrously taketh away all substance of bread from it, turning the whole substance of bread into the substance of Christ's own body; which substance of bread if the pope take from the sacrament, then must he also take the breaking from it; for breaking, and the body of Christ, can in no wise stand literally together by the Scripture. Thus, then, as this is proved by the word of God to be a manifest lie, so think not much, good reader, hereat, as though I passed the bounds of modesty in calling it the arch-lie, or master-lie of all lies: because upon this one, an infinite number of other lies and errors in the pope's church, as handmaids, do wait and depend.

Untruth in the pope's doctrine.

In the pope's legend and mass books.

In his miracles and relics and in his sacraments.

A master-lie.

But, forasmuch as I stand here not to charge other men so much, as to defend myself, ceasing therefore, or rather deferring for a time to stir this stinking puddle of these wilful and intended lies and untruths, which, in the pope's religion, and in papists' books, be innumerable, I will now return to those untruths and impudent lies, which Master Cope hath hunted out in my History of Acts and Monuments, first beginning with those untruths which he carpeth at in the story of the aforesaid sir John Oldcastle, and sir Roger Acton, Brown and the rest.

And first, where he layeth to my charge, that I call them martyrs,

(1) Vol. i. p. 369.—Ed.
(2) Sermo ad conventum sanctorum, in fine Eusebii, made by Constantine the emperor.

who were traitors and seditious rebels against the king, and their country; to this I have answered sufficiently before. *Henry V.* A.D. 1413.

Now here then must the reader needs stay a little, at Master Cope's request, to see my vanity and impudence yet more fully and amply repressed in refuting a certain place in my Latin story, concerning the king's statute made at Leicester, which place and words by him alleged, be these, page 107. "Quocirca rex indicto Leicestriæ concilio (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) proposito edicto, immanem denunciat pœnam his, quicunque deinceps hoc doctrinæ genus sectarentur; usque adeo in eos severus, ut non modo hæreticos, sed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proinde gemino eos supplicio, suspendio simul et incendio afficiendos statuerit, &c.; et mox: Adeo ille vires, rationesque intendebat omnes, adversus Wicklevianos. Wickleviani id temporis dicebantur, quicunque Scripturas Dei sua lingua lectitarent," &c.

Upon these words out of my aforesaid Latin book alleged, Master Cope persuadeth himself to have great advantage against me, to prove me a notorious liar, in three sundry points. First: in that whereas I say, that the king did hold his parliament at Leicester, adding this by the way of parenthesis, "quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum," &c.: here he concludeth thereby, 'simpliciter' and precisely, that the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton with his fellows were traitors, &c.; whereby a man may soon shape a caviller, by the shadow of Master Cope. For whereas my 'Dialysis' out of the text speaketh doubtfully and uncertainly by this word 'fortassis,' meaning indeed the king to be in tear of the gospellers, that he durst not hold his parliament at London, but went to Leicester: he argueth precisely, therefore, that the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and his fellows, went about to kill the king.

Three points.

First objection.

Cope cavilleth without cause.

Secondly: whereas I affirm that the king in that parliament made a grievous law[1] against all such as did hold the doctrine of Wickliff, that they should be taken hereafter, not for heretics, but also for felons, or rebels, or traitors, and therefore should sustain a double punishment, both to be hanged, and also to be burned, &c.: here cometh in Master Momus,[2] with his 'Cope' on his back, and proving me to be a liar, denieth plainly that the king made any such statute; see page 835, line 6, where his words be these: "Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus haberentur, et deinceps geminatas pœnas suspendii et incendii luerent, ut nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur," &c.

Second objection.

Here, first, would be asked of Master Cope, what he calleth 'Patriæ hostes, et proditores?' If he call these 'traitors,' then let us see whether they that followed the sect of Wickliff were made traitors and heretics by the king's law, or not. And first, let us hear what saith Polydore Virgil,[3] his own witness in this behalf, whose words, in his twenty-second book, page 441, be these: "Quare publice edixit, ut si uspiam deinceps reperirentur qui eam sequerentur sectam, patriæ hostes haberentur, quo sine omni lenitate severius ac ocius de illis supplicium sumeretur," &c. That is, "Wherefore it was by public statute decreed, that whosoever were found hereafter to follow the sect of Wickliff, should be accounted for traitors; whereby, without all lenity, they should be punished more severely and quickly," &c

The sect of Wickliff made heresy and treason by the king.

(1) Stat. an. 2. Hen. V. cap. 7. (2) Copus, p. 835, lin. 6. (3) Lib. 22.

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Thus have you, Master Cope, the plain testimony of Polydore with me. And because ye shall further see yourself more impudent in carping, than I am in depraving of histories, you shall understand, moreover, and hear, what Thomas Walden,[1] one of your own catholic brotherhood, and who was also himself alive, and a doer in the same parliament, being the provincial of the Carmelites, saith in this matter, writing to pope Martin, whose very words in Latin here follow, written in his prologue to the said Martin, in this wise, "Nec mora longa processit, quin statutum publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanavit edicto, quod omnes Wiclevistæ, sicut Dei proditores essent, sic proditores regis, proscriptis bonis, censerentur et regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter Deum, suspendio propter regem," &c. That is, "And it was not long after, but a public law and statute came out, by the common assent of the general parliament of the whole realm: that all Wicklevists, as they are traitors to God, so also should they be counted traitors to the king and to the realm, having their goods lost and confiscate to the king; and, therefore, should suffer double punishment, as to be burnt for God, and to be hanged for the king," &c. And thus have you, Master Cope, not only my sentence, but also the very words of my story confirmed by this author; because ye shall not think me to speak so lightly or impudently without my book. And, moreover, to confirm the said sentence of Thomas Walden, it followeth also in another place of the aforesaid author, tom. i. lib. 2, 'De Doctrinali fide Ecclesiæ Cathol.,' cap. 46, where he writeth in these words, "Et tamen jam cum regnare cœpisset illustris rex Henricus V., qui adhuc agit in sceptris, de eorum perfidia per catholicos bene doctos legem statui fecit, ut ubique per regnum Wicklevista probatus, ut reus puniretur de crimine læsæ majestatis," &c. That is, "And yet when the noble king Henry V., who as yet doth live and reign, began first to reign, he began to set forth a law, by his learned catholics who were about him, against the falseness of these men; so that whosoever was proved to be a Wicklevist, through the whole realm, should be punished for a traitor," &c. What words can you have, Master Cope! more plain than these? or what authority can you require of more credit, who lived in the same time, and both did see and hear of the same things done? who, also, writing to pope Martin, was by the said pope Martin allowed, approved, and solemnly commended; as appeareth by the pope's epistle to him, wherein the pope declareth, how he caused his books, "per solemnes viros videri, et examinari;" that is, "by solemn persons to be seen and examined," &c. So that you must needs grant either this to be true that Walden writeth, or else that the pope 'tanquam papa' in allowing his writings, may err and be deceived. Choose ye, Master Cope! of these two options whether you will take.

Either Walden writeth true, or the pope erreth.

And if ye think this my assertion yet not sufficiently rescued with these authorities aforesaid, I will also hereunto adjoin the testimony of another writer named Roger Wall, who writing 'De Gestis Henrici V.,' p. 10; and speaking of the said statute of this parliament something more plainly than the rest, hath these words: "In hoc etiam parliamento nobilitas regia hostes Christi sibi reputans pro-

(1) T. Walden. in tomo primo Doctrinalis ad Mart. papam, in prologo.

ditores, volens dare intelligere universis, quod ipse absque cujuscunque fluctuationis dubio, quamdiu auras hauriret vitales, verus et perfectus Christianæ fidei æmulator existeret; statuit et decrevit, ut quotquot ipsius sectæ, quæ dicitur Lollardorum, invenirentur æmuli et fautores, eo facto rei proditorii criminis in majestatem regiam haberentur," &c. In English: "Also in this parliament the noble king, reputing Christ's enemies to be traitors to himself, to the intent that all men should know, without all doubt, that so long as he lived, he would be a true and perfect follower of christian faith, did enact and decree, that whosoever should be found followers and maintainers of this sect, which is called 'The Lollard's Sect,' 'ipso facto,' should be counted and reputed guilty of treason against the king's majesty," &c. *Henry V.* A.D. 1413.

By these hitherto alleged, if Master Cope will not be satisfied, yet let the reader indifferently judge; "Utrum in hac re magis nugatur Foxus, an Copus calumniatur." And yet, moreover, to make the matter more certain, mark the exclamation of the said Roger Wall added to the end of those words above recited, whereby we have to understand more clearly both what were the proceedings of the king in the said parliament, and also what was the blind affection of monks and priests at that time towards their king and prince, who was then called 'Princeps Sacerdotum,' in condemning and destroying the poor Lollards. The words of the monk be these: "O verus amicus! qui amico illatam injuriam sibi inferri consimiliter arbitratur, præjudicium illi intentum reputat esse suum, et, ad ejus onera conferenda, auxiliationis humeros supponere non veretur," &c. That is, "O true friend! who taketh and reckoneth that injury no less done to himself, which is done to his friend; and that prejudice which is intended against him, reputeth to be as his own; and, to bear together the burdens of his friend, sticketh not to lay to his own shoulders, for the easing and helping of him," &c. King Henry V. 'Princeps Sacerdotum.'

How can it now be denied, Master Cope! in reading these authors, and seeing their testimonies, but that Lollardy in the parliament was made both treason and heresy, and had, therefore, a double judgment of punishment annexed, to be hanged for the one, and to be burned for the other; according as in my former Latin story[1] I recorded, and yet I trust, I trifled not?

But you will say again, as ye do, that there is no mention made for heresy to be made treason, nor of any double punishment to be inflicted for the same.[2] In the body of the statute, I grant, there is no express mention in words, of heresy to be made treason, expressly signified in rigour of words; but that inclusively it is so inferred, it cannot be denied. For first, where lands, goods and cattle of the said Lollards, were lost and forfeit to the king, what doth this import else, but treason or felony?[3] Answer.

And whereas the lord Cobham, for whose cause specially this statute seemed to be made, did afterwards sustain both hanging and burning by the vigour of the same statute, what is here contained, but a double penalty? Again, where in the beginning of the statute mention is made of "rumours" and "congregations," and afterwards upon the same followeth "the services of the king, whereunto the

(1) Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum, &c. Basil, 1559. (2) Copus, p. 835, line 8. Objection.
(3) Stat. an. 2, Hen. V. cap. vii.

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officers be first sworn, should be preferred; all other statutes for the liberty of holy church, &c., and especially for the punishment of heretics, &c., made before these days and not repealed, being in their force[1]"- what meaneth this, but to make these congregations of the Lollards to be forcible entries, riots, great ridings, unlawful assemblies, affrays of the people, armour, routs, and insurrections, and so sendeth them to the former statutes not repealed; that is, to the statute, Anno 13. Hen. IV., cap. vii., where the punishment is left to the discretion of the king; or else the statute, Anno 15. Rich. II., cap. ii., where the penalty is made fine and ransom; or else to the statute, Anno 5. Rich. II., cap. vii., where such assemblies be made plain treason, 'in fine statuti.'

And as here is matter of treason sufficiently contained, so for heresy, likewise, the same statute referreth them to the ordinaries, and to the laws properly to heresy appertaining; as, to the statute Anno 2. Hen. IV., cap. xv., where the penalty is burning: also to the statute, Anno 5. Rich. II., cap. v.[2] So that in this present statute here, mention is contained, as ye see, although not in express words, yet inclusively (by referring to other statutes not repealed), of both Lollardy, which is punished with burning, and forcible entries, which are punished at the king's pleasure. And thus much concerning the second untruth, which Master Cope untruly noted in me.

Third objection.

The third untruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I say, there was no other cause of devising this sharp law and punishment against these men, but only for having the Scripture books; and, therefore, here is to be noted in the margin "Foxi dolus malus;" but let Master Cope take heed he deceive not himself and others. For my part I remember no such place in this my Latin story where I so say. My words be only these, added in the latter end of the place above recited: "Wicleviani vero dicebantur, quicunque id temporis scripturas Dei sua lingua lectitarent," &c. That is, "They were called Wicklevists, whosoever at that time read the Scriptures in English, or vulgar tongue," &c. I say not, that for the Scriptures being read in the English tongue, therefore the law was enacted; but so is Master Cope disposed to construe it. What law and statutes were made against writing or reading of any book in English, or any other tongue, contrary to the catholic, that is, the Romish faith, or to the determination of the holy church, that is, of Rome, read, I beseech thee, the bloody statute made Anno 2. Hen. IV., cap. xv., above specified.[1] Also read the constitution provincial of Thomas Arundel above-mentioned,[3] where it was decreed, that the text of holy Scripture should not be had, or read in the vulgar tongue, from the time of Master John Wickliff for ever after, unless the said translation be approved first by the ordinary, or by provincial council, under pain and punishment of heresy. Now let the reader judge whether the reading of scripture books in the English tongue, by the making or translating of Wickliff, or from the time of Wickliff downward, be counted heresy or not. As for the approving of the ordinary, or of the provincial council added in the end of the said constitution, it maketh more for a show or pretence, than for any just exception, or any true intention: for what man, having those Scriptures translated into English,

Answer.

Reading of scripture books, contrary to the Romish faith, made heresy.

The text of the Scripture not to be translated into the vulgar tongue under pain of heresy.

(1) Suprà, p. 353, 354.—Ed. (2) Suprà, pp. 37, 239.—Ed. (3) Suprà, p. 245.—Ed.

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would either present them to their ordinaries being so set against the reading of such books? or what ordinary would, or ever yet did, since Arundel's time, approve any such translation presented unto them? Or else why did the good martyrs of Amersham suffer death, in the beginning of king Henry VIII., for having and reading certain books of Scripture, which were, as is said, only four epistles of St. Paul, with certain other prayers? and the others who but only heard them read, did bear faggots; and at the same time, the children were compelled to set faggots unto their fathers, at which time Longland, being then bishop of Lincoln, and preaching to them at the stake, said; that whatsoever they were that did but move their lips in reading those chapters, were damned for ever:—as when we come to that time, by the grace of Christ, shall hereafter more amply and notoriously appear. And where then is this 'Dolus malus Foxi,'[1] margined against me, for crafty dealing in my story?

Children of Amersham caused to set faggots to their fathers.

Moreover, where Master Cope, proceeding further in this matter, asketh me: "How was the lord Cobham obedient to the king, when for the fear of him the king durst not then keep his parliament at London?"[2] To whom I answer again, asking likewise of Master Cope: "How was the king then afraid to hold his parliament at London for the lord Cobham, when the lord Cobham at that time was in Wales?" And here Master Cope thinking to have me at a narrow strait, and to hold me fast, biddeth me tell him how it could be otherwise, but the lord Cobham must needs have fautors? "and who should these fautors be," saith he, "but sir Roger Acton, Brown, and their fellows?" To which mighty question of Master Cope, I answer again: "How could sir Roger Acton, Brown, and their fellows be then fautors of the lord Cobham, for whom the king durst not hold the parliament at London, when the said Roger Acton, Brown, and the rest, were put to death a whole year almost before the parliament at Leicester began?"

And now, as I have hitherto briefly and truly answered your askings, Master Cope! let me be so bold with you again, to propound to you likewise another question, forasmuch as you have put me to the searching of the statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted. Now, out of the same statutes riseth a doubtful scruple or question, worthy to be solved. The case is this, that forasmuch as so many good martyrs and saints of God hitherto, in this realm of England, having been burned from the time of king Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Henry VIII., to the time, and in the time of queen Mary, my question is; that you, with all your learned council about you, will tell me, by what law or statute of the realm were these men burnt? I know the ancient custom hath been, that heretics convicted by a provincial council were wont to be left to the secular power. But how will ye prove me, that these heretics were either convicted by such provincial council, or that these secular men ought to be your butchers in burning them whom ye have committed to them? If ye allege the six articles made in the reign of king Henry VIII., those articles neither did serve before the time of king Henry VIII., nor yet were they revived after his time. If ye allege the statute made Anno 5., Rich. II.,

(1) Copus, p. 833, line 20. (2) Ibid. p. 836, line 18.

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cap. v., in that statute, I answer, is contained no matter of burning, but only of arrest to be done at the certifications of the prelates, without any further punishment there mentioned. To conclude, if ye allege the statute made Anno 2. Hen. IV., cap. xv., and revived in the reign of queen Mary, mentioned before; to that statute I answer, that although the pretensed statute appeareth, in form of words in the printed book, to give unto the temporal officers authority to bring them to the stake, and to burn them whom the bishop delivereth, yet is it not to be proved, either by you or any other, that statute to be law, or warrant sufficient to burn any person or persons committed to the secular power by the clergy. And that I prove thus: for although the same statute of king Henry IV., in the books printed, appear to have law and authority sufficient, by the full assent both of the king, of the lords, and of the commons; yet, being occasioned by Master Cope to search further into the statutes, I have found, that in the rolls and first originals of that parliament, there is no such mention either of any petition, or else of any assent of the commons annexed, or contained in that statute, according as in the printed books, usual in the lawyers' hands, too craftily and falsely is foisted in; as by the plain words thereof may well appear. For the said statute, Anno 2. Hen. IV., cap. xv., being thus entitled in the roll, 'Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos,' and assented unto in this form, hath these words:

Sundry statutes proved not sufficient to burn any man.

"Quas quidem petitiones prælatorum et cleri superius expressatas do. noster rex, de consensu magnatum et aliorum procerum regni sui, in præsenti parliamento existentium, concessit, et in omnibus et singulis juxta formam et effectum eorundem ordinavit et statuit de cetero firmiter observari," and so forth, according to the petition: and more words are there not in the statute roll. Wherefore, whereas the Statute-Book printed hath thus: "Super quibus quidem novitatibus et excessibus superius recitatis," (videlicet, in the petition of the prelates and clergy,) "prælati et clerus supradicti ac etiam communitates dicti regni in eodem parliamento existen. dicto domino regi supplicarunt, &c. qui quidem dominus rex, &c. ex assensu magnatum et aliorum procerum ejusdem regni, &c. concessit, ordinavit," &c.; these words, "etiam communitates dicti regni," &c., are put in further than the roll doth warrant, and it seemeth to be the practice of the clergy to make that as an act of parliament, and to seem to have the force of a law, which was never assented unto by the commons.

The printed statute Anno 2. Hen. IV. c. 15. falsely corrupted

And thus you see how this aforesaid statute, printed both in English and in Latin among the provincial councils of Oxford,[1] by virtue whereof so many good men have been burned so long in England, doth utterly overthrow itself, for that it swerveth from the record both in form and in matter, and lacketh the assent of the commons: which doubt I thought at this present to propound unto you, Master Cope, for that you have so urged me to the searching out of the statutes, by your declaiming against the lord Cobham.

Moreover unto this statute aforesaid, join also withal another memorandum of like practice, done Anno 5. Rich. II., in which year,

(1) Ex constitutionibus provincialibus Oxoniæ celebratis. Johan. Antho.

whereas a statute was concluded in the parliament, Anno 5. Rich. II., cap. v., against certain preachers specified in the same statute, who, going about in certain habits from place to place, did draw the people to sermons; and commissions were made and directed in the said parliament to the sheriffs, to arrest all such preachers, and to imprison the same, at the certifications of the prelates: here is then to be noted, that the same statute, Anno 5. Rich. II., cap. v., was revoked by the king in the parliament, Anno 6. Rich. II., upon the words of the commons, being these, viz., "Forasmuch as the same statute was never assented, ne granted by the commons, but that which therein was done, was done without their assent, and now ought to be undone, for that it was never their meaning to be justified, and to bind themselves and their successors to the prelates, no more than their ancestors had done before them."[1] And yet this aforesaid revocation notwithstanding, in queen Mary's time they inquired upon that statute.

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In searching of these statutes, as you have occasioned me to find out these scruples, so being found out, I thought here not to dissemble them, forasmuch as I see and hear many now-a-days so boldly to bear themselves upon this statute; and thinking so to excuse themselves, do say, that they have done nothing but the law, the law! to the intent that these men, seeing now how inexcusable they be, both before God and man, having no law to bear them out, may the sooner repent their bloody and unlawful tyranny, exercised so long against God's true servants, yet, in time, before the just law of God shall find out their unjust dealings; which partly he beginneth already to do, and more, no doubt, will do hereafter.

The persecutors in burning God's people have done against the law.

In the mean time, this my petition I put up to the commons, and to all others who shall hereafter put up any petition to the parliament; that they, being admonished by this abuse, will show themselves hereafter more wise and circumspect, both what they agree unto in parliaments, and also what cometh out in their name. And, as these good commons, in this time of king Henry IV., would not consent nor agree to this bloody statute, nor to any other like it; for so we read that the commons in that bloody time of king Henry IV., when another like cruel bill was put up by the prelates in Anno 8. Henry IV., against the Lollards, they neither consented to this, and also overthrew the other: so in like manner it is to be wished, that the commons, in this our time, or such others that shall have to do in parliaments hereafter, following the steps of these former times, will take vigilant heed to such cruel bills of the pope's prelacy being put up, that neither their consent do pass rashly, nor that their names in any condition be so abused; considering with themselves that a thing once being passed in the parliament, cannot afterwards be called back; and a little inconvenience once admitted, may grow afterwards to mischiefs that cannot be stopped. And sometimes it may so happen, that through rash consent of voices, the end of things being not well advised, such a thing may be granted in one day, that afterwards may cause the whole realm many days to rue. But I trust men are bitten enough with such black parliaments, to beware of after-claps. The Lord Jesus, the only protector of his church, stop

A necessary admonition to the commons of England.

(1) Ex Rotul. Parl. [vide suprà. pp. 37, 38.]

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all crafty devices of subtle enemies, and with his wisdom direct our parliaments, as may be most to the advantage of his word, and comfort of his people! Amen, Amen.

And having said thus much for the defence of the lord Cobham, of sir Roger Acton, knight, of Master John Brown, esquire, of John Beverly, preacher, and of others their fellows, against Alanus Copus Anglus, here I make an end with this present interim, till further leisure serve me hereafter, Christ willing, to pay him the whole interest which I owe unto him: adding this, in the mean time, and by the way; that if Master Cope had been a Momus any thing reasonable, he had no great cause so to wrangle with me in this matter, who as I did commend the lord Cobham, and that worthily, for his valiant standing by the truth of his doctrine before Thomas Arundel the archbishop; so, touching the matter of this conspiracy, I did not affirm or define any thing thereof in my former history so precisely that he could well take any vantage thereof against me, who, in writing of this conspiracy laid against sir Roger Acton, and sir John Oldcastle, do but disjunctively or doubtfully speak thereof, not concluding certainly this conspiracy either to be true, or not true, but only proving the same not to be true at that time, as Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall, in their histories do affirm; who say, that this conspiracy began after the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; which could not be. And thereto tendeth my assertion. My words are plain, and are these: "Wherefore it is evident that there was either no conspiracy at all against the king, or else that it was at some other time, or done by some other captains," &c.[1] These be my words, with others besides; in which proposition disjunctive, if either part be true, it is enough for me. His part it was to refel both, which he hath not done; but only standing fast upon the one part, dissimuleth the other. And this is Alanus Copus Anglus, who, by the time he shall come from Rome (whither he is now gone, as I hear say), I trust, will return a better logician home again, 'in suam Angliam.'

Proposition disjunctive.

But to the truth of our matter: as I said before, so I say again; whatsoever this worthy, noble, virtuous knight, sir Roger Acton was otherwise, this is certain, that he was always of contrary mind and opinion to the bishop of Rome, and to that kind of people; for which cause he had great envy and hatred at their hands, and could as little bear it: neither do I greatly dissent from them, who do suspect or judge that the lord Cobham, by his friendly help, escaped out of the Tower; and that, peradventure, was the cause why he was apprehended and brought to trouble, and, in the end, came to his death. *Albeit[2] that during that severity and cruelty, it was no hard matter to find out occasion of death, if the divines or bishops did hate any man, or went about to seek his destruction. For whereas it is so provided by the laws, that the sincere worshipping of Christ is counted for heresy, and an heretic counted a traitor, what citizen can, in that commonwealth, live in savitie without sin and wickedness, or be godly without peril and danger?* Other causes also there might be, that these good men percase did frequent among themselves some conventicles (which

Sir Roger Acton contrary to the bishop of Rome.

Causes conjectural why sir Roger Acton with the rest, were put to death for traitors and Lollards.

(1) First edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 174, col. 2.—Ed.
(2) See edition 1563, p 174.—Ed.

conventicles were made treason by the statute aforesaid), either in those thickets, or in some place else, for the hearing of God's word, and for public prayer; and therefore had they this Beverly, their preacher, with them. *Henry V.* A.D. 1413.

But to conclude: whatsoever this sir Roger Acton was, this is the truth, which I may boldly record, as one writing the acts and things done in the church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned, and put to death or martyrdom, three years and more before the lord Cobham died. Likewise Master John Brown, and John Beverly, the preacher, suffered with him the same kind of death, as some say, in the field of St. Giles, with others more, to the number of thirty-six, if the story be true; which was in the month of January, Anno 1413, after the computation of our English stories, counting the year from the Annunciation; but after the Latin writers, counting from Christ's nativity, Anno 1414.

These men, as is said, suffered before the lord Cobham about three years, of whose death divers do write diversely. Some say they were hanged and burnt in St. Giles's-field; of whom is Fabian, with such as follow him. Other there be who say, that some of them were hanged and burned. Polydore, speaking only of their burning, maketh no mention of hanging. A certain other English chronicle[1] I have in my hands, borrowed of one Master Bowyer, which, somewhat differing from the rest, recordeth thus of sir Roger Acton, that his judgment before the justice was this; to be drawn through London to Tyburn, and there to be hanged: and so he was, naked, save certain parts of him covered with a cloth, &c. "And when certain days were past," saith the author, "a trumpeter of the king's, called Thomas Cliff, got grant of the king to take him down, and bury him; and so he did," &c. And thus have you the story of sir Roger Acton, and his fellow brethren. As touching their cause, whether it were true, or else by error mistaken of the king, or by the fetch of the bishops surmised, I refer it to the judgment of Him who shall judge both the quick and the dead, 'et seculum per ignem:' to whom, also, I commit you, Master Cope: God speed your journey well to Rome, whither I hear say you are going, and make you a good man! Diversity in authors. A.D. 1414. Master Cope gone to Rome.

After the decease or martyrdom of these above mentioned, who were executed in the month of January, A. D. 1414, on the twentieth day of the February following, God took away the great enemy of his word, and rebel to his king,[2] Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury; whose death following after the execution of these good men above recited, by the marvellous stroke of God,[3] so suddenly, may seem somewhat to declare their innocency, and that he was also some great procurer of their death, in that God would not suffer him longer to live, striking him with death immediately upon the same: but, as I did the other before, so this also I do refer to the secret judgment of the Lord, who once shall judge all secrets openly. Death of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury. Arundel giveth sentence against lord Cobham, and God giveth sentence against Arundel.

In the mean time this may seem strange, that the same Thomas Arundel, who, a little before, sat in judgment against the lord Cobham, and pronounced sentence of death upon him, did himself feel the stroke of death, and the sentence of God executed upon him before the other.

(1) This English story beginneth thus: "A Table of all the King's."
(2) Ex. Hist. S. Alban. (3) God's works and punishments are to be noted

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Who would have thought but that the lord Cobham, being so cast and condemned definitively by the archbishop's sentence, should have died long before the archbishop? But, such be the works of God's almighty hand, who so turned the wheel, that this condemned lord survived his condemner three or four years.

In the death of this archbishop, first Polydore Virgil is deceived, who affirmed his death to be A. D. 1415, in the second year of king Henry V., also after the beginning of the council of Constance;[1] who, indeed, never reached the beginning thereof, nor ever saw the second year of that king, unless ye count the first day for a year; but died before, A. D. 1414, February 20.[2] Furthermore, concerning the death of this Arundel, and the manner thereof, who had been so heavy a troubler of Christ's saints in his time, because the thing seemeth worthy of noting, to behold the punishment of God upon his enemies, this is the report, as I have found it alleged out of Thomas Gascoin, in 'Dictionario Theologico,' whose plain words be these: "A. D. 1414, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, was so stricken in his tongue, that he could neither swallow nor speak for a certain space before his death, much like the example of the rich glutton; and so died upon the same. And this was thought of many to come upon him, for that he so bound the word of the Lord, that it should not be preached in his days."[3] Which if this be true, as it doth well here appear, these and such other horrible examples of God's wrath may be terrible spectacles for such as occupy their tongues and brains so busily to stop the course of God's word, striving but against the stream; against the force whereof neither are they able to resist, and many times in resisting are overturned themselves and drowned therein. And thus much for the death of Thomas Arundel, who continued archbishop in the see of Canterbury the space of eighteen years.

An example of God's hand working against the enemies of his word.

It is in vain to gainstand God's word.

Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canterbury.

After this Arundel, succeeded next in the said see of Canterbury Henry Chichesly, made archbishop A. D. 1414, and sat nine and twenty years. This Henry, following likewise the steps of his predecessor, showed himself no small adversary against the favourers of the truth. In his time was much trouble and great affliction in the church; for, as the preaching and teaching of the word did multiply and spread abroad daily more and more, so, on the contrary side, more vigilant care and strait inquisition followed and increased against the people of God, by reason whereof divers did suffer, and were burned; some for fear fled the country; and many were brought to examination, and by infirmity constrained to abjure, of whom hereafter, Christ willing, particularly, in the order of their times, we will entreat.

See Appendix.

Sheen and Zion builded.

As true piety and sincere preaching of Christ's word began at this time to decay, so idle monkery and vain superstition in place thereof began to increase. For about the same year the king began the foundation of two monasteries, one on the one side of the Thames, of friars observant, the other on the other side of the Thames, called Sheen and Zion, dedicated to charter-house-monks, with certain Bridget-nuns or recluses, to the number of sixty, dwelling within the same precinct; so that the whole number of these, with priests, monks, deacons, and

(1) Polydore Virgil erreth. See his twenty-second book, p. 441. (2) Ex Hist. S. Albani, et multis. (3) "Tho. Arundel. Cant. archiepiscop. sic lingua percussus erat, ut nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortem suam potuerit, divitis epulonis exemplo; et sic tandem obiit. Atque multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligasset, ne suo tempore prædicaretur."

nuns, should equal the number of the twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples. The order of these was, according to the description of St. Paul the apostle [Col. i.], "Eat not, taste not, touch not," &c.; to eat no flesh, to wear no linen, to touch no money, etc. *Henry V.* A. D. 1414.

About Michaelmas, the same year, the king began his parliament at Leicester, above mentioned. In which parliament the commons put up their bill again, which they had put up before, in the eleventh year of Henry IV.; that temporalties, disorderly wasted by men of the church, might be converted and employed to the use of the king, of his earls and knights, and to the relief of the poor people, as is before recited; in fear of which bill, lest the king would give thereunto any comfortable audience, as testify Robert Fabian and other writers, certain of the prelates and other head men of the church, put the king in mind to claim his right in France: whereupon Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canterbury, made a long and solemn oration before the king to persuade him to the same, offering the king, in behalf of the clergy, great and notable sums: by reason whereof, saith Fabian, the bill was again put off, and the king set his mind for the recovery of the same: so that soon after he sent his letters and messengers to the French king concerning that matter, and received from him again answer of derision, with a pipe of tennis-balls, as some record, sent from the Dauphin, for him to play with at home. Whereby the king's mind was incensed the more toward that viage; who, then furnishing himself with strength and armour, with powder and shot and gun-stones to play with in France, and with other artillery for that purpose convenient, so set over into France, where he got Harfleur, with divers other towns and castles in Normandy and Picardy, and at Agincourt had a great victory over the French army, they being counted but seven thousand, by pricking sharp stakes before them, &c. After that he won Caen, Touques, Rouen, with other towns more, as Meaux, and married with Katharine, the French king's daughter. And yet, notwithstanding, he made his viage again the third time into France, where at length at Bois de Vincennes he fell sick and died: concerning all which viages, because they are sufficiently discoursed in Fabian, Hall, and other chronographers, referring therefore the reader unto them, I will return my story to other matters of the church more effectual.

Crafty practice of the prelates. The king stirred up to wars by the bishops.

See Appendix.

[August 31st, A. D. 1422.]

THE ENTRY OF THE MEMORABLE HISTORY OF THE BOHEMIANS.

Here followeth the History of Master John Huss,

NO LESS FAMOUS THAN LAMENTABLE: WHEREIN IS SET OUT AT LARGE, THE WHOLE ORDER OF HIS COMING UNTO THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, WITH THE ACTS AND PROCESS AGAINST HIM THERE; AND, FINALLY, HIS MOST CRUEL DEATH AND MARTYRDOM, FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE TRUTH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.[1]

I declared a little before, how, by the occasion of queen Anne, who was a Bohemian, and married to king Richard II., the Bohemians coming thereby to the knowledge of Wickliff's books here in England,

The Bohemians receiving the gospel.

(1) The Title is from the First Edition.

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began first to taste and savour Christ's gospel, till at length, by the preaching of John Huss, they increased more and more in knowledge. insomuch that pope Alexander V. hearing thereof, began at last to stir coals, and directeth his bull to the archbishop of Prague, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in churches, schools, or other places, should maintain that doctrine; citing also John Huss to appear before him.[1] To whom the said John answering again, declared that mandate or bull of the pope utterly to repugn against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his apostles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the gospel, in binding the word of God not to have free course; and, therefore, from this mandate of the pope he appealed to the same pope better advised. But, while he was prosecuting his appeal, pope Alexander died, as is aforesaid.[2]

The pope against them.

John Huss cited by the pope.

John Huss appealeth from the pope to the pope.

After Alexander succeeded pope John XXIII., who also, playing his part here in this matter like a pope, sought by all means possible how to repress and keep under the Bohemians, first beginning to work his malice upon the aforesaid John Huss, their preacher, who at the same time preaching at Prague in the temple of Bethlehem, because he seemed rather willing to teach the gospel of Christ, than the traditions of bishops, was therefore accused of certain, to the beforenamed pope John XXIII., for a heretic. The bishop committed the whole matter to cardinal de Columna; who, when he had heard the accusation, appointed a day to John Huss, that he should appear in the court of Rome: which thing once done, Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Bohemia, at the request specially of his wife Sophia and of the whole nobility of Bohemia, as also at the earnest suit and desire of the town and university of Prague, sent his ambassadors to Rome, to desire the bishop to quit and clearly deliver John Huss from that citation and judgment; and that if the bishop did suspect the kingdom of Bohemia to be infected with any heretical or false doctrine, he should send his ambassadors, who might correct and amend the same, if there be any error or fault in them; and that all this should be done at the sole cost and charges of the king of Bohemia: and to promise in his name, that he would aid and assist the bishop's legates with all his power and authority, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. In the mean season, also, John Huss, before his day appointed, sent his lawful and meet procurators unto the court of Rome, and with most firm and strong reasons did prove his innocency; whereupon he so trusted, that he thought he should have easily obtained, that he should not have been compelled, by reason of the great danger, to appear the day appointed. But, when the cardinal de Columna, unto whose will and judgment the whole matter was committed, would not admit any defence or excuse, John Huss's procurators appealed unto the high bishop: yet, notwithstanding, this last refuge did not so much prevail with cardinal de Columna, but that he would openly excommunicate John Huss as an obstinate heretic, because he came not at his day appointed to Rome.

John Huss accused to pope John.

John Huss excommunicated by cardinal de Columna.

Notwithstanding, forsomuch as his proctors had appealed unto the high bishop, they had other judges appointed unto them, as the cardinals of Aquileia and of Venice,[3] with certain others; which judges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter by the space

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed. (2) Ex Cochlæo in Hist. Hussit. (3) See the Appendix.—Ed.

of a year and a half, at last returned to the sentence and judgment of cardinal de Columna, and, confirming the same, commanded John Huss's procurators, that they should leave off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer: whereupon, when his procurators would not cease their instant suit, certain of them were cast into prison, and grievously punished; the others, leaving their business undone, returned into Bohemia. *Henry V.* A.D. 1414.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding, little cared for all this; but, continuing still, as they grew more in knowledge, so the less they regarded the pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop for stopping the word of God and the gospel of Christ to be preached, saying, that by their indulgences, and other practices of the court of Rome, and of the bishop's consistory, they sought their own profit, and not that of Jesus Christ; that they plucked from the sheep of Christ the wool and milk, and did not feed them, either with the word of God, or with good examples. Teaching, moreover, and affirming, that the commandments of the pope and prelates are not to be obeyed, but so far as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ and of his apostles; and that lay-men ought to judge the works of prelates, as Paul judged the works of Peter in correcting him [Gal. ii.]. Furthermore, they had amongst them certain notes and observations, whereby they might discern how far, and wherein, they might obey their prelates; they derided also and scorned the pope's jurisdiction, because of the schism that was then in the church, when there were three popes together, one striving against another for the papacy.[1] The Bohemians against the pope and his doings.

Over and besides this, at the same time John Huss did propound publicly, and by a notary caused to be written, three doubtful questions, the tenor whereof followeth here word for word, and is this. "Forasmuch," saith he, "as it is good for men being in doubt to ask counsel, whereby, all dubitation removed, they may be able the more firmly to adhere to the truth; three doubts here arise to be solved: The first doubt is, Whether men ought to believe in the pope? The second, Whether it be possible for any man to be saved, who confesseth not with his mouth unto a mortal priest? The third doubt is, Whether any of the doctors do hold or say, that some of Pharaoh's host which was drowned in the Red Sea, and of the Sodomites who were overthrown, be saved? Three doubts of John Huss propounded. *See Appendix.*

As concerning the first, he did hold negatively; alleging the saying of Bede upon this place of the apostle, "To him that believeth upon him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousness" [Rom. iv.]. Upon this place saith Bede, "Aliud est credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum." &c. "To the second doubt" saith he, "the master of the sentences[2] doth answer, lib. iv. dist. 17. cap. 2, in these words, 'What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and assoiling of the outward pain, sins be forgiven through contrition and humility of the heart,'" &c. For the third doubt he brought in the words of St. Jerome upon the prophet Nahum: speaking of the human race destroyed by the deluge, of the Egyptians destroyed in the sea, and of the Sodomites destroyed with fire, and of the Israelites destroyed in the desert, "Know you," saith Jerome, Credere in Deum. Credere Deo. Credere Deum. Against auricular confession.

(1) Ex Cochlæo in Hist. Hussit. lib. 1.

(2) Peter Lombard.

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"that God therefore punished them for their sins here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually; and therefore, because they were here punished, they shall not be punished hereafter, for else the Scripture should lie, which is not to be granted." These three questions belike John Huss did bring in, to declare how the doctors do not agree in all things, neither with the church of Rome, nor are to be followed in all points of all men.[1]

It followeth, moreover, after the death of archbishop Sbinco above mentioned, that Conrad bishop of Olmutz was placed by the pope as administrator of the see of Prague, which Conrad, conferring with the divines and doctors of the university of Prague, required of them a copy of the counsel which they had given in writing to archbishop Sbinco for assuaging the dissensions between the clergy and the people, and restoring peace: of which counsel the following were the chief heads:[2]—

Counsel of the Divines of Prague against the Gospellers.

I. That all doctors and masters of the university of Prague should be assembled in the court of the archbishop, and that, in his presence, every doctor and master should swear, not to hold or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wicliff before condemned.

II. Item, Concerning the seven sacraments of the church, the keys and censures of the church, the manners, rites, ceremonies, customs, and liberties of the church, concerning also the worshipping of relics and indulgences, the orders and religions of the church, that every one shall swear that he doth hold, believe, and maintain, and will maintain, as doth the church of Rome, and no otherwise, of which church of Rome the pope is the head, and the college of cardinals is the body, who are the true and manifest successors of blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and of the college of the other apostles of Christ.

III. Item, That every one shall swear, that in every catholic matter belonging to the church, he will stand to the determination of the apostolical see, and that he will obey the prelates in all manner of things, wheresoever the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden, or that which is mere ill, is not commanded; but is mean and indifferent between both: which mean or indifferent thing, yet, notwithstanding, by circumstances of time, place or person, may be either good or evil.

Purum bonum: purum malum: medium.

IV. Item, That every one shall swear and confess by his oath, that the opinions of Wickliff and others, touching the seven sacraments of the church, and other things above notified, being contrary to the said church of Rome, be false.

V. Item, That an oath be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff aforesaid, or in any other matter catholic, and especially of the seven sacraments and other articles above specified, but only as doth the church of Rome, and no otherwise.

VI. Item, That every ordinary in his diocese shall cause the said premises, contained in the first, second, third, and fourth articles aforesaid, to be published in his synods, and by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kingdom of Bohemia.

VII. Item, If any clerk, student, or lay-man shall withstand any of the premises, that the ordinary have authority, if he be convicted thereof, to correct him according to the old laws and canons, and that no man shall defend such an one by any means; for none but the ordinary hath power to correct such a man, because the archbishop is chancellor both of the kingdom and university of Prague.

VIII. Item, That the songs lately forbidden, being odious, slanderous, and offensive to others' fame, be not sung either in streets, taverns, or any other place.[3]

IX. Item, That Master John Huss shall not preach so long as he shall have no absolution of the court, neither shall hinder the preaching in Prague by his presence; that by this, his obedience to the apostolical see may be known.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

X. Item, That this counsel doth appear to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissension that is in the kingdom of Bohemia. *Henry V* A.D. 1414.

XI. Item, If Master John Huss with his complices will perform this, which is contained in the four former articles, then we will be ready to say as they would wish us and have us, whensoever need shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of faith: otherwise, if they will not so do, we, in giving this testimony, should lie greatly unto our lord the king and to the whole world. And moreover, we will be content to write for them to the court of Rome, and do the best we can for them, our honours saved. *See Appendix.*

This counsel and advice the aforesaid administrator, Conrad, presented to the king and to the barons of the realm, and also to the senate of Prague; whereof as soon as word came to John Huss and his adherents, they likewise drew out other articles in manner and form of a counsel, as followeth:

Articles drawn out by John Huss and his Adherents.

For the honour of God and the true preaching of his gospel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the sinister and false infamy of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of the marquisdom of Moravia, and of the city and university of Prague, and for the reforming of peace and unity between the clergy and the scholars of the university.

I. Let the decreement of the princes, and of the king's council, be holden right and just and stand in force, which, between the lord archbishop Sbinco, on the one party, and the rector and Master John Huss, on the other party, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts received and allowed, in the court of our sovereign lord the king.

II. Item, That the kingdom of Bohemia remain in its former rites, liberties, and common customs, such as other kingdoms and lands do enjoy; that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy mother universal church.

III. Item, That Master John Huss (against whom the aforesaid archbishop Sbinco could object no crime before the council) may be present in the congregation of the clergy, and there, whosoever will object to him either heresy or error, let him object; binding himself to suffer the like pain, if he do not prove it.

IV. Item, If no man will set himself on the contrary part against him, then let the commandment be made by our sovereign lord the king through all his cities; and, likewise, let it be ordained and proclaimed through all villages and towns, that Master John Huss is ready to render account of his faith; and therefore if any will object unto him any heresy or error, let him write his name in the chancery of the lord archbishop, and bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

V. Item, If no such shall be found to object, or who will write his name, then let them be called for, who caused to be noised and rumoured in the pope's court, that in the kingdom of Bohemia, in the city of Prague, and in the marquisdom of Moravia, many there be whose hearts be infected with heresy and error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be punished.

VI. Item, That commandment be directed to doctors of divinity and of the canon-law, and to the chapter of cathedral churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such to be a heretic or erroneous, and if they deny to know any such, then let them make recognition thereof, before the public notary, confirming the same with their seals.

VII. Item, These things thus done and premised, then that our sovereign lord the king, and also that the archbishop will give commandment under pain, that no man shall call one another heretic or erroneous, unless he will stand to the probation of that heresy or error, as it becometh him.

VIII. Item, After these things obtained, that our sovereign lord the king, with the consent of his barons, will then levy a subsidy, or collect of the clergy,

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and direct an honest ambassy to the pope's court, with which ambassadors let them also go upon their own proper charges or expenses for their purgation, who have caused this kingdom falsely and grievously to be defamed in the apostolical court.

IX. Item. In the mean season, for the presence of Master John Huss, no interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late, contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother church.

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parties, the one objecting, the other answering in articles as is aforesaid, in the mean time it happened by the occasion of Ladislaus, king of Naples, who was ravaging the pope's towns and territories, that pope John, raising up war against the said Ladislaus, gave full remission of sins to all those who would war on his side to defend the church. When the bull of the pope's indulgence was come to Prague, and there published, the king Wenceslaus, who then favoured that pope, gave commandment that no man should attempt any thing against the said pope's indulgences. But Huss, with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began manifestly to speak against them, of which company were three certain artificers, who, hearing the priest preaching of these indulgences, did openly speak against them, and called the pope Antichrist, who would set up the cross to fight against his even-christened. Wherefore they were brought before the senate, and committed to ward: but the people, joining themselves together in arms, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The magistrates, with gentle words and fair promises, satisfied the people, so that every man returning home to his own house, the tumult was assuaged: but the artisans, being in prison, were notwithstanding there beheaded, whose names were John, Martin, and Stascon. The death and martyrdom of these three being known to the people, they took the bodies of them that were slain, and with great solemnity brought them unto the church of Bethlem: at whose funeral divers priests favouring that side, did sing on this wise; "These be the saints, who, for the testament of God, gave their bodies," &c. And so their bodies were sumptuously interred in the church of Bethlem, John Huss preaching at the same funeral,[1] much commending them for their constancy, and blessing God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who had hid the way of his verity so from the prudent of this world, and had revealed it to the simple lay-people and inferior priests, who chose rather to please God than men.

See Appendix.

The pope maketh war.

John, Martin, and Stascon, martyrs.

Thus this city of Prague was divided. The prelates, with the greatest part of the clergy and most of the barons who had any thing to lose, did hold with the pope, especially Stephen Paletz, being the chiefest doer on that side. On the contrary part, the commons, with part of the clergy and students of the university, went with John Huss. Wenceslaus the king, fearing lest this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the doctors and prelates and council of his barons, thought best to remove John Huss out of the city, who had been excommunicated before by the pope. And further to cease this dissension risen in the church, he committed the matter to the disposition of the doctors and the clergy. They, consulting together among themselves, did set forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the sentence of the king, containing the sum of eighteen articles[2] for the

Stephen Paletz, a great enemy to John Huss.

John Huss banished out of Prague.

(1) A mistake. See the Appendix.—Ed. (2) Ibid.

maintenance of the pope and of the see of Rome, against the doctrine of Wickliff and John Huss. The names of the doctors of divinity were these: Stephen Paletz, Stanislaus de Znoyma, Petrus de Znoyma, Johannes Heliæ, Andræas de Broda, Johannes Hildesen, Mattheus Monachus, Hermanus Heremita, Georgius Bota, Simon Wenda, &c. John Huss, thus departing out of Prague, went to his country, where he, being protected by the lord of the soil, continued there preaching, to whom resorted a great concourse of people; neither yet was he so expelled out of Prague, but that sometimes he resorted to his church at Bethlehem, and there also preached unto the people. *Henry V.* A. D. 1414.

Moreover, against the said decree of the doctors John Huss, with his company, replied again, and answered to their articles with contrary articles again as followeth.

The Objections of John Huss, and of his Party, against the Decree of the Doctors.

See Appendix

I. The foundation of the doctors, whereupon they found all their writings and counsels, is false, which foundation is this, whereas they say that part of the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth falsely of the sacraments.

II. The doctors hereby do defame the kingdom of Bohemia, and do raise up new discords.

III. Let them show, therefore, those persons of the clergy, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verify their report, binding themselves to suffer the like pain, if they be not able to prove it.

IV. False it is that they say the pope and his cardinals to be the true and manifest successors of Peter and of the apostles, neither that any other successors of Peter and of the apostles can be found upon the earth besides them: Whereas no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of favour; and all bishops and priests be successors of Peter and of the apostles.

V. Not the pope, but Christ only, is the head; and not the cardinals, but all Christ's faithful people, be the body of the catholic church; as all holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers do testify and affirm.

VI. And as touching the pope, if he be a reprobate, it is plain that he is no head, no nor member even, of the holy church of God, but of the devil and of his synagogue.

VII. The evangelical clergy, agreeing with the saying of St. Austin which they allege, and according to the sanctions of the fathers and determinations of the holy mother church, do say and affirm laudably, that the condemnation and prohibition of the forty-five articles is unlawful, and unjust, and rashly done; and that, because not only the doctors, but also all bishops and archbishops, in such great causes, namely touching faith (as these articles do), have no authority at all; as appeareth by 'De baptismo et ejus effectu,' [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iii. tit. 42.] cap. 3, 'Majores;' and Distinct. 17. cap. 3, 'Huic sedi,' &c.

VIII. The second cause of discord which they allege also is most false; seeing the faith of whole Christendom, concerning the church of Rome, is divided in three parts by reason of three popes, who now together do reign; and the fourth part is neutral. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the pope and of the cardinals, but so far forth as they do agree with the holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, from whence the sanctions of the fathers did first spring, as is evident by 'De accusationibus,' [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. v. tit. 1.] cap. 24, 'Qualiter,' &c.

IX. In the fourth article they burst out into a certain dotage, and are contrary to themselves; by reason that they doltishly have reprehended the evangelical clergy, who in all their doings receive the holy Scripture, which is the law of God, the way, the truth, and the life, for their judge and measure: and afterward they themselves do allege the Scripture [Deut. xvii.], where all judges, and therefore the pope and cardinals, are taught to judge and discern in

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cases of leprosy, and in every ecclesiastical cause, only after the rule of God's law. They are also contrary unto their second article, whereas they say, that in every catholic matter we must run to the pope; which is contrary to their own foolish condemnation of the articles aforesaid.

X. Consequently, like idiots they do most falsely allege for their purpose the canon written, under the name and authority of Jerome, in Causa 24. q. 1. cap. 14, 'Hæc est fides, papa beatissime,' &c.; where they do apply most impertinently to the pope of Rome the words which Jerome writeth to St. Austin, calling him a most blessed pope.[1]

Austin called pope.

XI. By the which place of Jerome it is manifest that the first article of those doctors is false. forasmuch as by these words appeareth that other besides the bishop of Rome and his cardinals are called blessed popes, holding the faith and seat of Peter, and are successors of the apostles; as was Austin and other holy bishops more.

XII. Whereof it followeth moreover, that the church of Rome is not that place where the Lord did appoint the principal see of his whole church: for Christ, who was the head priest of all, did first sit in Jerusalem, and Peter did sit first in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Also other popes did sit, some at Bologna, some at Perugia, some at Avignon.

XIII. Item, The aforesaid prelates are falsifiers of the holy Scriptures and canons, and therefore are worthy to be punished; who affirm and say, that we must obey the pope in all things. For why? it is known that many popes have been heretics, and one pope was also a woman; to whom not only it was not lawful to give obedience, but also unlawful to communicate with them, as all rubrics and numberless canons do declare.

Pope Joan a woman.

XIV. Item, Their sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles do stand and are grounded upon untrue and false persuasions, and therefore are to be rejected and detested like the other before; seeing they do induce not to peace and verity, but to dissension and falsity.

XV. It is manifest also to the laity, that this dissension among the clergy riseth for no other cause, but only for the preaching of the gospel, which reprehendeth such simoniacs, and such heretics in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, spreading out their branches abroad into all the world, who deserve to be removed and extirpate, not only of the evangelical clergy, but also of the secular power. And so these three vices, to wit, simony, lechery, and avarice (which is idolatry), be the causes of all this dissension among the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia, and not the other, which they falsely ascribe to the gospellers of Prague. These three vices being removed, peace and unity would soon be reformed in the clergy.

Three causes of dissension in the clergy.

XVI. Moreover, their last article is too much gross, and not only is without all law, but also without all colour of law, whereas they fondly and childishly do argue thus: That the processes made against Master John Huss ought to be obeyed, because, forsooth, the whole body of the clergy of Prague have received them. By the same reason they may argue also, that we must obey the devil, because our first parents, Adam and Eve, obeyed him. Also our fore-ancestors before us were pagans; wherefore we must obey them, and play also pagans.

XVII. But let this frivolous opinion go: this is certain truth, that the said processes made against Master John Huss, by right are null, forsomuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed, contrary to the commission of the pope, and against the determination of holy mother church, as appeareth by cap. 'Sacro,' de Sententia excom., and a thousand other laws besides.

XVIII. Finally, whosoever wittingly and obstinately do defend and execute the said processes made, or consent unto them, are all to be counted as blasphemers, excommunicate, and heretics, as hath been before written and exhibited to the lord bishop of Olmutz, and shall be further declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the doctors.[2]

Substance of the Answer of the Catholic Doctors to the foregoing Objections.

Unto these objections of John Huss and his part the catholic doctors again did answer in a long tedious process, the scope whereof principally tended to

(1) See Appendix.—Ed. (2) Ex Æneæ Sylvio et Cochlæo. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

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defend the principality of the pope, and to maintain obedience to him above all other potentates in the world; affirming and contending, that although Christ is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are sleeping in purgatory, and who are labouring in the church militant, and who are resting in heaven, yet this letteth not, but the pope is head of the church here militant, that is, of all the faithful, who here in this world live under his office. Like as Christ is King of all kings, and yet Charles may be king of France; so say they, Christ may be the universal head, and yet the pope may be head under him of the whole church.[1] And thus concluded they that the pope is the head, and that the college of cardinals is the body of the Romish church, which church of Rome is placed in the ecclesiastical office here over the earth, to know and define upon every ecclesiastical and catholic matter; to correct errors and to purge them, and to have care upon all such universal matters, and care upon all universal churches, and upon the universal flock of faithful Christians: forasmuch as in the regiment of the church through the universal world, there must needs remain in such office always some such manifest and true successors of Peter, prince of the apostles, and of the college of the other apostles of Christ; neither can there be found or given upon earth any other successors, but only the pope who is the head, and the college of cardinals, which is the body of the aforesaid church of Rome. And although the whole universal multitude of the faithful do make the body of Christ, yet the same body of Christ is not placed here in office to exercise such authority upon earth; because that universal multitude was never yet, nor ever can be, congregate together.

As Charles may be king of France, so also we grant, the pope may be bishop of Italy; and so it is a good consequence.

And therefore necessary it is, that some such true and manifest successors and judges be appointed, to whom recourse must be had in all such catholic and ecclesiastical matters determinable. For like as in earthly regiments[2] every case of discord is brought before its judge, and hath its place assigned where to be decided; so, like reason would require, that in principal matters and controversies of faith, some such presidents and places be limited for the purpose to have such doubts resolved. And this being granted, then the doctors proceed: "And here must needs conclude," say they, "that there cannot be given in all the world any other place, but only the church of Rome; the head whereof is the pope, and the body is the college of cardinals. For, like as Christ, departing out of this world in his corporal presence, left his body here with us under the sacrament in another form, whereby he remaineth with us (according to his promise in the last chapter of Matthew) unto the consummation of the world, even so while Christ walked here on earth in his bodily presence, he was pope himself and chief bishop, and so head of the church here militant on earth, corporally conjoined with the same, as the head is to its body. But because after he departed out of the world his body, which is the church militant upon the earth, should not be headless, therefore he left Peter and his successors to his church for a head in his place, unto the consummation of the world, saying to him, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' &c. Matt. xvi.; and again, in the last chapter of John he saith, 'Feed my sheep;' that is to say, Be thou, Peter, the head over thy brethren.[3]

Catholic, that is, universal.

The promise of Christ doctorly applied.

O deep divinity of these doctors!

Tedious it were to recite all the bibble-babble of these doctors in this their long responsal. Whoso listeth to see the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may resort either to the history of Æneas Silvius, or else to Master Cochleus, in his first book, 'De Hist. Hussit.'

Thus then Master John Huss, being driven out of Prague (as is before touched) by the motion of these doctors, and, moreover, being so excommunicated, that no mass nor other must be said there where he was present, the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelates and other popish priests, who were the workers thereof, accusing them as being simoniacs, covetous, whoremasters,

(1) He might so be, if God had so appointed him; but where doth he so appoint?
(2) If ye go to human policy, who ever saw any private case of England brought to the emperor's court to be decided? If ye go to God's policy, then show God's word for it.
(3) Ex Cochlæo in Hist. Hussit. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

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adulterers, proud; sparing not to lay open their vices, to their great ignominy and shame, and much craving reformation to be had of the clergy.

The king, seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickedness of the clergy, under pretence of reforming the church, began to require greater exactions upon such priests and men of the clergy, as were known and accused to be wicked livers. Whereupon they, on the other part, that favoured John Huss, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whomsoever they knew to be of the catholic faction, or enemies to John Huss; by reason whereof the priests of the popish clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distress, and such as were not faulty, into great fear, insomuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out, with the protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means Master Huss began to take some more liberty unto him, and to preach in his church at Bethlem, and none to control him: by the same means the people also received some comfort, and the king much gain and money by that reason.

The priests of Bohemia despoiled, and taxed for their ill life.

See Appendix.

And thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute John Huss, were enwrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, as well of lay-men, as of the evangelical clergy; nay, the women also and children were against them because of the interdict against John Huss; and by the same means wherewith they thought to entangle him, they were overthrown themselves. For the doctors who before condemned this doctrine in John Huss for intolerable heresy, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that temporal lords might take away temporal livings from the clergy sinning 'habitualiter,' that is, lying and continuing still in the custom of iniquity; now, when the king and the lords temporal began to mearse them, and bereave them of their temporalties for their transgressions, the said doctors did keep silence and durst speak never a word. Again, whereas the aforesaid doctors before could not abide in John Huss, that tithes were to be counted for pure almose, now, coming to the Guildhall, they were fain to entreat for their temporal goods not to be taken from them; pleading the same temporalties to be mere almose and devotion of good men, given unto the church.[1]

The popish doctors and priests overthrown in their own reason.

And thus now did they themselves grant the thing, which before they did condemn. The more the pope's clergy were pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Huss, although he was no cause thereof, but only their own wicked deservings, for which cause Stephen Paletz, and Andræas de Broda, being the chief champions of that faction, though they could not remedy the cause, yet to ease their minds, wrote sharp and cruel letters to Master Huss. And, to help the matter forward, the pope also here must help at a pinch, who likewise writeth his letters to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, who was brother to Sigismund, the emperor, for the suppressing of John Huss and of his doctrine, which was in the fifth and last year of his popedom, A.D. 1414: the tenor of whose letters to king Wenceslaus in this wise proceedeth.

Writers against John Huss.

(1) Ex Cochlæo.

The Letter of Pope John to King Wenceslaus.

John, bishop, servant of God's servants, to his well-beloved son in Christ, Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of Bohemia, greeting and apostolical benediction. Among other desires and delights of our hearts, who, although unworthy, occupy the room of Christ here in earth, this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we do hear of the brotherly entreaty of peace and of concord (by which concord kingdoms do increase, as, contrary, by discord they go to decay) which is between your honour and our well-beloved son in the Lord, the noble Sigismund, your brother german, king of the Romans elect, and of Hungary, &c.

See Appendix.

And, furthermore, it followeth in these words:

And as we have cause to joy at the premises, so likewise again the heavy rumours which are here do trouble and damp our minds. For we hear that in divers places under your dominion, there be certain who do follow and preach the errors of that arch-heretic Wickliff, whose books have been long since condemned in the general Roman council to be erroneous, heretical, and swerving from the catholic faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons, cleaving to the opinions of the heretics lest they should be corrected of their superiors for their excesses, to cover their naughtiness and stubbornness in despising the commandments of the apostolical see do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the keys and ecclesiastical censure, to the subversion of the apostolical dignity, setting at nought the decrees of the holy fathers and canons. Wherefore we do exhort your worship, for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may or can, that it would please you (as we desire and hope you will) effectuously to show forth your regal power, both for the glory of God and defence of the catholic faith, which you go about to defend, and for the conservation of your kingly name, state, and honour, and for the prosperous and safe government of your kingdom and dominions, as it becometh a catholic prince; whereby this blot of heresy, which doth so lamentably and miserably spring and creep in those parts, and doth so infect the minds of mortal men, to the destruction of their souls, and doth sequester them from the congregation of the pure and catholic faith and truth, may be rooted out, &c.

Given at Bologna, the third ides of June, in the fifth year of our popedom, &c. [June 11th, A.D. 1414.]

In this epistle of pope John above prefixed, forsomuch as mention is made of a certain council before holden at Rome (which was four years before) against the articles and books of John Wickliff, it shall not be impertinent, nor out of purpose, to repeat a certain merry history, and worthy otherwise to be noted, written by Nicholas Clemangis, of a certain spirit which ruled the popish councils: his words are these:

An owl appears at the council of pope John. Ex Nich. Clemangis.

"The same pope called a council at Rome about four years before, at the earnest suit of divers men; and a mass of the Holy Ghost being said at the entrance into the said council according to the accustomed manner, the council being set, and the said John sitting highest in a chair prepared for him for that purpose: behold, an ugly and dreadful owl, or, as the common proverb is, the evil sign of some mischance of death to follow, coming out of the back half of him, flew to and fro with her evil-favoured voice, and standing upon the middle beam of the church, cast her staring eyes upon the pope sitting. The whole company began to marvel to see the night-crow, which is wont to abide no light, how she should, in the mid-day, come in the face of such a multitude; and judged, not without cause, that it was an ill-favoured token. 'For behold,' said they (whispering one in another's ear), 'the spirit appeareth in the shape of an owl.' And as they stood beholding one another, and advising the pope,

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scarcely could they keep their countenance from laughter. John himself, upon whom the owl steadfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat, and to fret and fume with himself, and not finding by what other means he might salve the matter, being so confused, dissolving the council, rose up and departed. After that there followed another session: in which the owl again, after the manner aforesaid, although, as I believe, not called, was present, looking steadfastly upon the bishop; whom he beholding to be come again, was more ashamed than he was before, and justly; saying, he could no longer abide the sight of her, and commanded that she should be driven away with bats and shoutings. But she, being afraid neither with their noise nor with any thing else, would not away, until, with the strokes of the sticks which were thrown at her, she fell down dead before them all. This I learned of a faithful friend, who at the same time came from Rome: which thing I scarcely crediting for the rareness of the matter, he affirmed by his oath, that it was most certain and true: adding, moreover, that all there present were much offended, and did greatly deride that council called for such a purpose; and by little and little the council was dissolved, nothing done there, as he saith."

Although it hath not been always seen that such spiritual doves have been present with popes and their councils, and governed them, yet their evil doctrine declareth no less. Read, gentle reader! the book of Clemangis, and thou shalt not think thy labour ill bestowed; for he hath both learnedly, truly, freely, and godly, bewailed the filthiness of Antichrist and his ministers, their wickedness, impiety, and cruelty, and the miserable state and face of the church. And thus much for pope John.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

Here, by the way, is to be noted and understand, that during all this time of pope John, there were three popes reigning together, neither was yet the schism ceased, which so long time had continued, the space, already, of thirty-six years; by reason whereof a general council was ordained and holden at Constance in the same year, A.D. 1414, being called by Sigismund the emperor, and pope John XXIII., for the pacifying of the aforesaid schism, which was then between three popes striving for the popedom; the first whereof was John, whom the Italians set up; the second was Gregory, whom the Frenchmen set up; the third was Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this schismatical ambitious conflict every one defended his pope, to the great disturbance of christian nations. This council endured three years and five months long, wherein all their matters were decided mostly by four nations, to say, the English, German, French, and the Italian; out of which four nations were appointed and chosen four presidents, to judge and determine the matters of the council. The names of which presidents were these: John, the patriarch of Antioch, for France; Anthony, archbishop of Ragusa, for Italy; Nicholas, archbishop of Gnesen, for Germany; and Nicholas, bishop of Bath, for England:[1] by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God and public profit might have been concluded, if the rotten flesh of the churchmen could have bidden the salt of the gospel, and if they had loved the truth. But, as Gregory of Nazianzum writeth,[2] "There lightly come few general councils, but they end more with disturbance than

See Appendix.

Three popes together.

(1) The prelates assembled in this council were numbered together with their deputies 1940, Philip and Cheney, &c. [See Appendix.]

(2) Gregorius in Epistola quadam [ad Procopium, 130 al. 55. tom. ii. p. 110, edit. 1840.]

tranquillity," so it happened in this council. For whereas John XXIII., in the first session, exhorteth them by these words taken out of the eighth chapter of Zechariah, "Veritatem diligite," that is to say, "Love the truth," further admonishing them, and especially the divines, every man to do his endeavour for the unity of the church, and to speak their mind freely; how soon this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared shortly after by the despising of the prophets, and persecuting of Christ in his members, as by the grace of Christ shall appear hereafter in the process of this story. *Henry V.* A.D. 1414.

First, this John did resign his papacy: the emperor, giving him thanks, kissed his feet. Afterwards, the said John, repenting him that he had so done, sought means to flee, whereunto Frederic, duke of Austria, did assist him; for he, changing his garments, fled by night with a small company. And when he was now come unto Schaffhausen to go into Italy, the emperor pursuing, took him, and proclaimed Frederic traitor, and for that cause took away certain cities from him. At last the matter was appeased on this condition, that Frederic should require grace of the emperor, and resign all his possessions unto him: whereupon the emperor received him again into favour, and restored him to his dukedom. This pope, being thus deposed, was committed unto the count Palatine, and by him carried to the castle of Manheim, where he was kept prisoner for the space of three years. Afterwards he was again, by pope Martin, admitted to the number of cardinals.

Frederic of Austria proclaimed a traitor.

Pope John cast into prison.

This pope John was deposed by the decree of the council, more than three and forty most grievous and heinous crimes being objected and proved against him: as that he had hired Marcilius Parmensis, a physician, to poison Alexander, his predecessor; further, that he was a heretic, a simoniac, a liar, a hypocrite, a murderer, an enchanter, a dice-player, and an adulterer; and, finally, what crime is it that he was not infected withal?

Mark the good qualities of pope John.

And now, to return to the council: first, we will declare the order of their sessions, with things therein concluded, in general: then we will, Christ willing, adjoin the special tractation of such matters as pertain to the story of the Bohemians, and John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who, in the same ungodly council, were condemned and burned.

This council, therefore, of Constance, which was summoned by the emperor Sigismund and pope John XXIII., about the nativity of our Lord Jesus, Anno 1414, began the same year to be assembled, about the latter end of the year; which first beginning, as the manner is, with a mass of the Holy Ghost, as they were singing, according to their custom, their hymn, "Veni Sancte Spiritus," there was, at the same time, a certain bill set up in the church by some well-disposed man, as it seemed, wherein were contained these words following: "Aliis rebus occupati nunc, adesse vobis non possumus;" that is to say, "We are otherwise occupied at this time; we cannot attend to come to you." Here is also to be remembered the worthy saying of the emperor Sigismund, when talk was ministered as touching the reformation of the spiritualty, and some said, "Quod oporteat incipere a Minoritis;" that is, "The reformation ought first to begin at the Minorites;" the emperor answering again, "Non a Minoritis,

A writing set up how the Holy Ghost had no leisure to come to the council.

Worthy answer of the emperor.

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sed a Majoritis;" that is, "Not with the Minorites, but with the Majorites:" meaning the reformation ought first to begin with the pope, cardinals, and bishops, and other superior states of the church; and so to descend after to the inferiors. Thus much by the way, and now to the purpose and order of the sessions as we promised. This council continued, as is aforesaid, by the space of three years and a half, and had in it forty-five sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were too long to be recited in this place; as, the deposition of three several popes who were before spoken of, and the hearing of certain legates. Yet I mind to make some brief recapitulation of the most principal matters there done in the sessions orderly ensuing.

See Appendix.

A Recapitulation of Matters done in each Session in the Council of Constance.[1]

In the first session chiefly was concluded, First, that this council was lawfully congregated.

The authority of councils preferred before the pope.

In the second session, Item, that the going away of the pope should be no let or stay, but the council might proceed.—Wherein note, gentle reader, that the authority of the general council is above the pope, contrary to their own doctrine.

In the third session, Item, this council should not be dissolved before the church were reformed, as well in the superiors as inferiors.

In the fourth session [A.D. 1415], amongst other things this was first concluded, That a synod congregated in the Holy Ghost, making a general council, representing the whole catholic church here militant, hath power of Christ immediately, to which power every person, of what state or dignity soever he be, yea, being the pope himself, ought to be obedient in all such things as concern the general reformation of the church, as well in the heads as in the subjects. Item, the said pope should not translate the court of Rome, and the officers of the same, from the city of Constance; and that all his censures, doings, and workings, after the time of his departure, whatsoever he should enterprise to do to the prejudice of this council, should be of no effect.

In the fifth session, the same articles were repeated and concluded again.

In the sixth session, procuration and citation were sent out against the pope.

Commissioners to hear John Huss.

Item, commissioners were appointed out of the four nations for the hearing of John Huss, who shall be hereafter mentioned in his story following. Item, the memory of John Wickliff was condemned, and the sentence, given in the council holden at Rome upon the condemnation and burning of Wickliff's books, was there confirmed.

Citation against Jerome of Prague.

Item, in the same session, citation was sent out against Jerome of Prague, the tenor whereof followeth after in the story of the said Jerome. Item, in this session was decreed against libels of infamy.

In the seventh session, nothing was handled but that the tenor of the citation against pope John was recited.

Sentence given for the burning of Wickliff's bones.

In the eighth session, the sentence and condemnation of John Wickliff and his forty-five articles was recited, and sentence given against his memory, and bones to be burned, the tenor whereof is rehearsed in the history of John Wickliff before passed.

In the ninth session, the matter and cause of pope John were again treated of, and commissioners were appointed to inquire upon his cause, and judges for the same.

The people of Christ excommunicated from the communion of the holy cup.

In the tenth session, suspension was given out and read against the said pope.

In the eleventh and twelfth sessions, notaries were assigned, and definitive sentence was given against the said pope; where also it was decreed that none of those who intended before for the papacy, should be chosen pope.

In the thirteenth session was decreed, that no priest, under pain of excommunication, shall communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine.[2]

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) "Quod nullus presbyter, sub pœna excommunicationis, communicet populo sub utraque specie panis et vini."

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In the fourteenth session, came in the resignation of pope Gregory XII., who was one of the three before mentioned striving for the papacy, with certain other articles concerning the election of the bishop of Rome, and the ratification of their resigning who gave over the papacy.

Then ensueth the fifteenth session, in which silence was commanded on all parts, under pain of excommunication and the great curse; that no person or persons, high or low, of what estate or degree soever he were, emperor, king, cardinal, or other, should disturb the said session with any manner of noise, either by hand, foot, or voice. This being done, the sentence and condemnation against John Huss was read and published, which afterwards, in the story of John Huss, followeth to be seen more at large.

Solemn publishing of the sentence of condemnation against John Huss.

In the sixteenth session, ambassadors were assigned by the council to go to Arragon, to Benedict XIII., to treat with him for the resignation of his papacy, as the other two had done before. Item, power was given to judges to cite, under pain of deprivation, all such as privily departed away from the council; in which session also the sentence against John Huss was confirmed and ratified.

In the seventeenth session, the emperor took upon him a journey to the king of Arragon, to treat with pope Benedict. Item, an excommunication was denounced against all such as should go about to impeach the emperor's journey about that matter, &c. Item, prayers and processions were determined to be made by the council every Sunday for the same cause, with a hundred days of pardon given to them that would be present thereat: and that all prelates should be present at every of these said masses and processions, in their pontificalibus. Granting besides to every priest that said one mass, for the same a hundred days of pardon: and to all others that once a day should say one 'Pater noster,' and one 'Ave,' for the safety of the emperor, forty days of pardon.

The emperor's journey into Arragon.

Pardons were here, dog cheap.

In the eighteenth session, certain judges were assigned for the hearing of matters which the council had no leisure to hear. Item, it was there decreed, that such letters and bulls as were written in the name of that council, should be received with no less credit and authority than the bulls proceeding from the see apostolical, and that the falsifiers of the same should incur no less penalty than the falsifiers of the other. Legates, also, and ambassadors, were sent into Italy.

In the nineteenth session, which was the same year, in the month of September, Jerome of Prague, who was cited, as is before said, was accused of heresy, and cast into prison, by the said council, and constrained to abjure; the which abjuration of his hereafter followeth to be seen in his history. Item, it was decreed, that, notwithstanding the safe conduct given by the emperor and kings, &c., inquiry may be made against any man for heresy, by a sufficient judge, and process to be made according to the law.[1] Item, the causes of heresies were committed to certain judges and deputies. Item, the chart called Carolina, and divers other charts and constitutions concerning the liberties of the church of Rome, being brought forth, were approved and confirmed.[2]

Consilium fœdifragum.

In the twentieth session, letters and instruments were made and set upon church doors, to require and admonish Frederic, duke of Austria, to restore again unto George, bishop of Trent, such lands, rents, and revenues as he detained and withheld, under pain of interdiction, suspending, and excommunication. During the time of this session, the ambassadors returned out of Arragon from pope Benedict, and were heard with great audience; where certain articles and conditions between the pope and the council were brought forth and agreed upon, to the number of twelve.

Provide that the men lose nothing.

In the year of our Lord 1416, was the twenty-first session, beginning, after their manner, with a mass of the Holy Ghost, with procession and such other rites; in the time of which mass, James, bishop of Lodi, made a sermon taking for his theme these words: "Exprobravit Deus incredulitatem eorum et duritiam;" that is, "The Lord rebuked their misbelief and hardness." This sermon being ended, Jerome of Prague, who had abjured, as is said, the year before, being present thereat, stood up upon a certain bench or form, replying against the aforesaid James and his sermon, alleging and preaching divers and

Jerome replied against the sermon of the bishop of Lodi.

(1) "Quod non obstantibus salvis conductibus imperatoris, regum, &c. possit per judicem competentem de hæretica pravitate inquiri." [Labbe's Concilia, tom xii. col. 169.—Ed.]

(2) And how chanceth it that the chart of Constantine's donation is not here mentioned? [See Appendix.—Ed.]

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sundry things; whereupon the patriarch of Constantinople, one of the commissioners, proceeded against him, pronouncing the sentence definitive, which he had in writing, against the said Jerome, which sentence being read and approved by the council (the tenor whereof ensueth in his history), the said Jerome was delivered unto the secular power, and burned.

The twenty-second and twenty-third sessions contain no worthy matter, but only the placing of the ambassadors of Alphonsus, king of Arragon, and granting them voices in the council.

In the twenty-fourth session, citation was given out against Benedict, keeping with Alphonsus, king of Arragon.

The twenty-fifth session containeth nothing but a certain 'Commendam' given to the church of Olmutz. *See Appendix.*

In the twenty-sixth session there was nothing else handled, but the uniting and incorporating of the ambassadors of the king of Navarre into the council, and also concerning the derogation of the priority of voices.

After this followed the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth sessions, which were in the year 1417; wherein were treated the relation and declaration concerning the cause betwixt duke Frederic and the bishop of Trent, and process given out against the said duke, accusing him of sacrilege; and also excommunicating him for not obeying the admonition of the council, concerning the usurpation and detaining of the city of Trent and other possessions from bishop George, as is before specified.

In the twenty-ninth and thirtieth sessions, proctors and notaries were given out in the cause against pope Benedict, and order decreed upon his obstinacy; wherein also the withdrawing of the king of Arragon from the same pope was recited, and approved by the council.

In the thirty-first session, certain instruments and special letters monitory were directed from the council to a certain earl of Italy, Philip earl of Vertus, for laying violent hands upon Albert, bishop of Asti, and for bringing him to prison; requiring the said earl, under pain of interdiction and excommunication, to set the said bishop at liberty. Also another decree was set forth for restoring again the liberties of the church of Bayonne.

Pope Benedict accused.

In the thirty-second and thirty-third sessions, the accusation of pope Benedict was renewed, and his obtinacy accused, and witness brought in; at doing which the emperor Sigismund was present.

In the thirty-fourth session, the cause of the foresaid pope was heard, and process given out against him.

In the thirty-fifth session, the ambassadors of the king of Castile were brought in, and united to the council, and instruments thereof made and read. Also, that notwithstanding the oaths made to the aforesaid pope, men might lawfully forsake his obedience.

The pope curseth the council.

In the thirty-sixth session, a certain citation was made and read against the pope, containing his deprivation and the sentence against him, and instruments made upon the same. And whereas this pope had thundered out his curses, deprivations, and excommunications against them, the said synod did annihilate all his doings.

The thirty-seventh session did renew again the accusation of the aforesaid pope, and the sentence definitive against him was published.

In the thirty-eighth session, certain decrees were made touching the annihilating of the penalties of the ambassadors of king Henry, son of Alphonsus, king of Arragon. Also, another decree was made touching the revocation of the voices granted to the ambassadors of the king of Arragon.

Thus pope Benedict being deposed and excommunicated, as is aforesaid, in the next sessions following they addressed themselves to the election of a new pope, beginning first in the thirty-ninth session, to give out decrees concerning general councils, and provision for the avoiding of such like schisms hereafter; decreeing every tenth year to have a general council, after the two councils that should follow immediately after this, of which the one should be kept within five years then next following, and the second within seven years after that. Item, In the same session was drawn out a form touching such things as the pope should profess and bind himself to observe at the time of his election, of which form the order and tenor is this:

Decrees for general councils.

"I, *N.*, elected for pope, profess with heart and mouth unto Almighty God,

whose church I take upon me to govern by his help, and to blessed St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, so long as I shall endure in this frail and brittle life, firmly to believe and hold the holy catholic faith, after the traditions of the apostles, of general councils, and of other holy fathers, and namely of the eight general councils; viz. that of Nice the first, of Constantinople the second, of Ephesus the third, of Chalcedon the fourth, of Constantinople the fifth and sixth, of Nice the seventh, of Constantinople the eighth; and also of the general councils of Lateran, Lyons, and Vienne: and that I am willing to observe the same faith inviolate even to the uttermost, and to preach and defend the same, even to the spending of my life and blood; and also, by all means possible to prosecute and observe the rite of the ecclesiastical sacraments delivered to the catholic church. And this my profession and confession, by my commandment being written out by the notary of the arches of the holy church of Rome, I have subscribed with mine own hand, and sincerely, with a pure mind and devout conscience, I offer it unto Almighty God upon such an altar, &c., in the presence of such witnesses, &c. Given," &c.

The profession which the pope is bound to.

It was also decided in this session, that no prelates should be translated against their wills.

The third of the same month and the same year, followed the fortieth session, wherein certain decrees were constituted and read, as touching reformations to be made through the whole church by the pope that next should be, with the council, before this synod should break up. Item, That they should proceed to the election of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the absence of those cardinals who were with pope Benedict in Spain. This done, the order and manner was decreed for the election of the pope.

After these things thus decreed, in the next session, which was the forty-first, the constitution of Clement VI. was read, concerning the order and diet of the cardinals being in the conclave about the choosing of the pope; and upon the same, oaths were ministered unto the cardinals and other electors, binding them to observe and keep all such things as they should be bound to, during the time of the election.

The order and manner of the conclave in choosing the pope.

I. That they should enter into the conclave within ten days after the fortieth session, which was this present day, Monday, Nov. 8th, after sunset.

II. That every cardinal should have but two servitors attending upon him at the most, either of the laity or clergy, as they would themselves.

III. That they should remain together in the said conclave, without any wall betwixt them, or any other cover, save only bare curtains, if any were disposed to sleep.

IV. That the conclave should so be shut up, a passage only being reserved to the privy-chamber, that none of them should come in or out, nor any have recourse unto them to talk with them privily or apertly, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except that by the consent of them all any should be called about matters concerning the election.

V. That no man should send to them either messenger or writing.

VI. That a competent window should be assigned unto them to receive in their victuals, but that no person might come in thereat.

VII. That no day after their first ingress into the conclave, beside bread, wine, and water, they should have more than one dish, either of flesh, or fish, or eggs; with one pottage made of fish or flesh, not after the daintiest sort, but with decent condiments; besides salt meats, salads, cheese, fruit, and conserves, whereof, however, there shall be no principal mess made, but for sauce and taste.

VIII. That not one should be compelled to go into the conclave, unless they did all refuse to go in; for then they should be compelled thereunto.

IX. That such as would go out, might: but if they would all go out before the pope were elect, they should be compelled to go in again, except such whom infirmity did excuse; but if any went out, without the excuse of infirmity, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

X. That such as went out by reason of infirmity, or were absent, should they come in before the election were determined, might be admitted into the conclave in the same state wherein they should find the election to stand.

Further and besides, the keepers of the conclave should also be sworn to see all these premises observed and kept without fraud or guile, and that they should not straiten the cardinals and other electors above the order here taken. And

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if the king be there himself, the same oath to be taken of him, sitting in his throne of estate, by two cardinals. Upon this, such as should be electors, besides the cardinals, were chosen.

Furthermore, forasmuch as the goods and substance of such as were elect,[1] were accustomed to be given and granted unto such as could catch them (whereupon, under the pretence of the same, many did invade the goods of the cardinals and others who were in the conclave, falsely feigning those to be elected who were not to be elected), to stop the greedy ravening of such, a decree also was published in the same session.

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These things thus prepared and set in order, the patriarch of Constantinople, with the cardinals and other archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, doctors, with other electors, entering into the conclave on Monday, on Thursday after had hatched out a pope, being St. Martin's day, whereupon they named him Martin. This Martin thus being elected, was straightforth brought in by the emperor and the council into the church of Constance, and there enthronized for pope, not without great solemnity and triumph. On Sunday, the twenty-first day of the said month, this foresaid Martin, being brought again into the high church of Constance, was there crowned with all magnificence, after which, according to their accustomed pomp, he was honourably brought with sumptuous procession from thence unto the monastery of St. Austin; the emperor on foot leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the marquis of Brandenburgh, prince elector, likewise leading his horse on the left hand; the pope himself riding in the midst upon his palfrey: and thus being brought unto the monastery aforesaid, he was reduced round about again from thence to the high church of Constance.

Pope Martin hatched.

The emperor leadeth the pope's horse on the right hand, the prince elector, on the left hand.

Notwithstanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanity of this council, more great than wise, did not end thus.

In the next session, which was the forty-second, came out a decree in the name of the pope and the council, discharging the bond of the emperor and the count palatine touching the safe custody of the late pope John XXIII., who was, by bond committed unto them to be kept in safety.

In the forty-third session, certain other decrees and statutes were made by pope Martin in the said synod, annullating and reproving all the acts and proceedings of the other popes before, during the time of the schism from the time of Gregory XI.; as in matters concerning exemptions, unions, fruits and profits of the church benefices, simony, dispensations, tithes and other burdens ecclesiastical. Also concerning the apparel of the clergy, and such other things.

Apparel of the clergy.

In the forty-fourth session, the sage fathers of this council were occupied about the determining in what place the next council should be kept. The forty-fifth session brake up and dissolved this synod.

Now, to finish our tedious rehearsal of this synod: the cardinal Umbald, by the commandment of the pope and the council, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words: "Domini! ite in pace;" which is, "Lords! depart in peace;" whereunto the standers-by answered, "Amen."

Thus the council being dissolved, friar John, bishop of Catania, by the consent and commandment of the pope and the council, went up into the pulpit to make a sermon, taking for his theme, "Vos

(1) These were wise cardinals, they would not go into the conclave, but they would be sure to have their goods safe and unspoiled.

autem tristitiam habetis; iterum autem videbo vos, et gaudebit cor vestrum;" "You are now in sadness, I will see you again, and then your hearts will rejoice." Which collation being ended, another cardinal, named Anthony, was sent up by the pope and the council with this proclamation; first, to dismiss the synod, and to give every man leave to depart home. Also to declare the pope's indulgence unto them, who, by the authority of God Almighty, had granted to them all and every one present at that council, full absolution once in their life; so that every one, within two months after the hearing of this indulgence, should procure the same in form of writing.[1] Also, another indulgence was granted in like manner of plenary remission at the hour of death, and that was understood as well of the household as of the masters themselves; but under this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast by the space of one whole year every Friday, for the absolution in their lifetime; and for the absolution at the hour of death, to fast the same Friday another year, except they had some lawful impediment to the contrary, so that after the second year, they should fast unto their lives' end, or else do some other good work; which being in this manner proclaimed, the synod brake up, and every man departed home.

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The number of the foreigners resorting to this council, both spiritual and temporal, was sixty thousand five hundred: whereof the number of archbishops and bishops was three hundred and forty-six; abbots and doctors, five hundred and sixty-four; secular men, princes, dukes, earls, knights, esquires, sixteen thousand; besides common women belonging to the same council, four hundred and fifty; barbers, six hundred; minstrels, cooks, and jesters, three hundred and twenty. So that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the town of Constance, between Easter and Whitsuntide, were numbered to be sixty thousand five hundred strangers and foreigners at that council.[2]

The number of prelates in the council of Constance.

Number of strangers at the council. See Appendix.

Here is to be noted that in this council of Constance nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the pope's authority is under the council, and that the council ought to judge the pope. And, as touching the communion in both kinds, although the council did not deny, but that it was used by Christ and his apostles, yet notwithstanding, by the same council, it was decreed to the contrary.

Communion in both kinds denied.

Hitherto we have comprehended the order and discourse of this council, with the acts and sessions concerning the same; which council, although it was principally thought to be assembled for quieting of the schism between the three popes; yet, notwithstanding, a great part thereof was for the cause of the Bohemians, and especially for John Huss, as appeared by their preparation before the council. For before the council began, the emperor Sigismund[3] aforesaid sent certain gentlemen, Bohemians, who were of his own household, giving them in charge to bring John Huss, bachelor of divinity, unto the said council, and that under his safe conduct. The meaning and intent thereof was, that John Huss should purge and clear him-

(1) Smell here, reader; this made well for the pope's purse.
(2) Ex paralipomenis Abbatis Ursp. (3) See the Appendix.

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self of the blame which they had laid against him: and, for the better assurance, the emperor did not only promise him safe conduct, that he might come freely unto Constance, but also that he should return again into Bohemia, without fraud or interruption; he promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole empire. For the same only cause the emperor sent him afterwards the said safe-conduct double written, both in Latin and Almain; the form whereof doth hereafter ensue.

See Appendix.

The Safe-conduct given to Master John Huss.[1]

Sigismund, by the grace of God king of the Romans, ever Augustus, and of Hungary and Dalmatia, Croatia, &c. king; to all and singular princes, ecclesiastical and secular, dukes, marquisses, earls, barons, nobles, baronets, knights, captains, and governors and officers of cities, towns, villages, and boroughs, and rulers of the same; and generally, to all the subjects of us and of our empire, to whom these presents shall come; our royal favour, grace, and every good.

The safe conduct given to Master John Huss.

We heartily commend unto you Master John Huss, B.D. and M.A., the bearer of these presents, who is on his way from Bohemia to the general council, to be celebrated very shortly in the city of Constance; the which John Huss we have received under the protection and safeguard of us and of the sacred empire; desiring that, when he shall come towards you, you will cheerfully receive him, and entreat him gently, and help him forward and show him good will in all things, touching the expedition and security of his journey, as well by land as by water.

Moreover, we desire that you permit him and his servants, with his horses and every thing else of his, freely to pass, rest, sojourn, and return, through all passages, ports, bridges, lands, governances, lordships, cities, towns, burgages, castles and villages, and all other places of yours, without any payment of tribute or toll, or any other manner of impost whatsoever, but removing every sort of impediment out of his way; and that, if need be, you do provide him and his with a secure and safe conduct; for the honour and reverence which you owe unto our imperial majesty. Given at Spire, the eighteenth of October, in the year of our Lord 1414, of our reign over Hungary the 33rd, over the Romans the 5th.

By this it may appear, that this safe-conduct was granted not in the time of the council, by the bishops, but before the council, by the emperor, who was or ought to be the principal ordainer and director of the council under God. Now, whether the bishops did well in breaking and annulling this promise of the emperor, against the emperor's mind, because the discussion thereof belongeth 'ad materiam juris, non facti,' being a matter rather of law than of story, I will defer to reason this case with Master Cope, to such time as may be more convenient to the full tractation thereof.

Answer to Copus.

Notwithstanding, briefly to touch and pass, let us consider part of the reasons of the said Cope,[2] how frivolous and false they be, and easy to be refelled. "What," saith he, "if he preached by the way coming up?" First, that it is false, see hereafter. "What," saith he, "if he stood obstinate in his heresy? What if he sought to escape away after his coming up?" To this the lords of Bohemia do answer: That his safe conduct was broken, and he imprisoned, not only before he attempted to escape, or before he was condemned for a heretic, but also before he was heard of the council what he was.[3] (See p. 443.)

(1) A new translation from the Latin, in "Hist. et Mon. J. Huss," tom. i. fol. 1.—Ed.
(2) Alanus Copus, p. 929.
(3) Dr. Milner, in his "Letters to a Prebendary," p. 80, remarks: "The safe-conduct of John Huss was nothing more than a common travelling passport, to protect him from seizure or violence.

Further, where Cope saith, that the general council was above the emperor, and hath power in case of heresy to break public leagues and grants: to that I say, that this safe conduct stood not only upon the emperor, but also upon the consent of the pope himself. (See p. 432.)

And admit that to be true, that the council had power to make this decree, to break promise with heretics; yet this cannot be denied, but that John Huss was condemned and judged before that decree in the nineteenth session was made. Finally, when Cope hath proved by what Scripture the councils have power to defeat the authority of their emperors in such secular causes touching safe conducts and outward safety, then will I answer him more fully herein. But to the purpose again of the story.

John Huss taketh the emperor's safe conduct.

John Huss seeing so many fair promises, and the assurance which the emperor had given to him, sent answer unto the emperor, that he would come unto the council. But before he departed out of the realm of Bohemia, and especially out of the town of Prague, he did write certain bills long enough before, as well in Latin as in the Bohemian language and Almain, and caused them to be set and fastened upon the gates of the cathedral churches and parish churches, cloisters and abbeys, signifying unto them all, that he would go to the general council at Constance; wherefore, if any man have any suspicion of his doctrine, that he should declare it before the lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague; or, if he had rather, at the general council, for there he would render and give up unto every one, and before them all, an account and reason of his faith. The copy of his letters and intimations set up here followeth:

The Letters of John Huss set up in common places of the City of Prague.

Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, will appear before the most reverend father the lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, and legate of the apostolic see, in the next convocation of all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia; ready always to satisfy all men who shall require him to give a reason of the faith and hope that is in him, and to see and hear all such as will lay unto his charge either any stubbornness of error or heresy; provided that they should write in their names thereto, as is required both by God's law and man's; and that, if so be that they shall not lawfully prove any stubbornness of error or heresy against him, then they should suffer the like punishment that he should have had. Unto whom altogether he will answer at the next general council at Constance before the archbishop and the prelates, and according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers will show forth his innocency in the name of Christ.—Dated the Sunday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew. [August 26th, A.D. 1414.]

Another Intimation of John Huss, for his going to Constance, drawn out of the Bohemian Tongue.

I, Master John Hussinetz, do signify unto all men, that I am ready to come and stand before the face of my lord the archbishop, and to answer to all things

on his journey to and from the council." To this it may be answered, that "common travelling passports" were not in general use for more than three hundred years after this event: that it was not essential for John Huss to provide himself with one: and that, when granted, they were peculiar and special privileges, and, in every sense of the word, "safe-conducts," extended to travellers, when their rank, the importance of their embassage, or the peculiar nature of the times, demanded for them a special pledge of protection. Besides, if it be admitted, by the above Roman catholic writer, that the safe-conduct secured to John Huss protection on his journey *from* the council (of which the safe-conduct makes distinct mention), it must also be admitted that it remained in force during his stay *at* Constance, nor can it be denied but that the violation of it, in his condemnation and martyrdom, was an act of the grossest treachery.—Ed.

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whereof I am falsely accused, in the next convocation of bachelors; and chiefly to this point, that in many places they do report me to be a heretic, not having respect unto justice or law, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore since you, who do never cease to slander and backbite me with your words, do understand and know these things, come forth openly before the face and presence of the lord archbishop, and with an open mouth declare and show forth what false doctrine or other things you have heard me teach, contrary to catholic faith; and if I shall be found faulty in ever so small a matter, contrary or against the faith of Christ, or in any false doctrine, and that I do choose that, or other things, contrary to the faith of Christ, then I will hold my peace and suffer punishment as a heretic. And if there be no man that will resist against me, or accuse me in this point, once again I say unto you, that I am ready to appear at Constance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the divines, even before the face of the pope. Therefore, whosoever knoweth any false doctrine and contrary to the faith of Christ in me, let him come thither and show it forth boldly, if he have any thing to lay against me; and for my part I will not be slack, if I may understand or know it, to answer as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I have received of God, and desire to be defended. All you good men, therefore, who love the truth, say now whether, by these my words, I do think or go about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it known and manifest unto all men, that it happeneth not through my fault.—The same day

The offer of John Huss to his enemies.

This Epistle of John Huss which followeth, was set upon the Gates of the King's Palace, translated into Latin, out of the Bohemian Tongue.

Unto the king's majesty, the queen, and to all such as are of his council, and to all other rulers and magistrates, who now are in the king's court: I, John Huss, do signify and publish, that I have understood, not by any vain rumour or tale, that there be letters brought from the pope to the king's majesty; the contents whereof are these: That the king's majesty should bring to pass, that the heretics who were now lately sprung up in his kingdom and dominions, should not take any firm or strong root. Forsomuch as the said rumour is sprung and blown abroad without any fault of mine (as I trust by God's grace), it shall be our part to foresee and take heed, that neither the king's majesty, nor the noble kingdom of Bohemia, should be driven to bear or suffer any reproach or slander for me. Wherefore now of late I have sent my letters to and fro, which I have with great labour and diligence caused to be openly set up, to this intent; that I might thereby cause the archbishop to be careful and diligent about the matter; signifying openly, that if there were any man in all Bohemia, who did know me to be a follower of any false or corrupt doctrine, he should profess his name in the archbishop's court, and there show forth and declare what he thought. And, forasmuch as there would none be found or come forth, who would accuse me, the archbishop commanded me and my proctors to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the king's majesty, who is the defender of the truth, also the queen and their councillors, and all other rulers and magistrates, that they would give me a faithful testimonial of this matter; forasmuch as I have oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath either accused me or troubled me. I do it, moreover, to be known unto all Bohemia, and to all nations, that I will be present even at the first time before the council of Constance, in the most famous place, in the presence of the pope, the pope being president; and finally, in the presence of all others who will come to that most famous place; and that whosoever hath any suspicion of me, that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the faith of Christ, let him come thither also; let him declare there, before or in the presence of the pope and all the doctors of divinity, what erroneous or false doctrine I have at any time followed or holden. Moreover, if he shall convince me of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary unto the christian faith, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoever punishment shall be due for a heretic. But I hope and trust, even from the bottom of my heart, that God will not give the victory to unfaithful and unbelieving men, who do willingly kick and spurn against the truth.

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The same time John Huss sent his proctor to the lord bishop of Nazareth, ordained, by the apostolic see, inquisitor of heresy of the city and diocese of Prague, requiring him that if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the said bishop, before the said proctor and the public notary, with many other credible witnesses, answered, that he had often talked with John Huss, and that he never knew any thing in him, but as becometh a godly and faithful man; and this his testimony of John Huss he approved by his letters, the copy whereof is here under written.

The Testimonial of the good Bishop of Nazareth.

We, Nicholas, by the grace of God bishop of Nazareth, and specially deputed by the apostolic see inquisitor of heretical pravity in the city and diocese of Prague, by these presents do it to be known unto all men, that we in times past have often communed and talked with that honourable man, Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, of the famous university of Prague, and have had divers and sundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and divers other matters; and in all his sayings, doings, and behaviour, we have proved and found him to be a faithful and a catholic man, finding no manner of evil, or sinister, or, by any means, erroneous doings in him unto this present. We do witness and protest moreover, how the said John Huss, of late, in the cathedral church of Prague, and in other both collegiate and parish churches, and in the colleges of the university of Prague, and in the gates and porches of the most noble prince and lord, the lord Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of Bohemia; also in the gates of the reverend father the lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, legate of the apostolic see, and chancellor of the university of Prague, and of other princes and barons, then being in the city of Prague, hath set up his letters written both in Latin, and in the Bohemian tongue, containing sententially in effect, how the aforesaid Master John Huss would appear before the reverend father, the lord Conrad, the aforesaid archbishop of Prague, and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, that shall be congregated and called together by the said archbishop, at the day appointed in the said city of Prague; ready always to satisfy every man that shall desire and require him to show a reason of the faith and hope that is in him, and to see and hear all and every one who could prove any obstinacy of error or heresy lawfully against him, under the pain to receive the like punishment: unto whom all together he would, by God's help, answer in the council of Constance, which was now at hand, before the said lord archbishop and us, with all other prelates; and there, in Christ's name, according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, to declare and show forth his innocency. After which letters as is aforesaid, by the said Master John Huss openly set up, there did no man appear before us, who would accuse the said Master John Huss of any error, or of any heresy. For the evident witness of all which things we have commanded these present letters to be made, and confirmed the same with the setting to of our seal.—Given at Prague the thirtieth of August, 1414.

He witnesseth with John Huss.

Upon which matter also, a public instrument was drawn, testified with the hand and seal of the public notary, named Michael Prachatitz; the copy of which instrument here-under followeth:

An Instrument of Recognition, or Protestation of the Lord Inquisitor of Heresies.

In the name of God, Amen. In the year of his nativity 1414, indiction 7, on Thursday, the thirtieth of August, about 9 o'clock, in the fifth year of the bishopric of the most holy father in Christ, John, by the grace of God pope, the three and twentieth of that name, in the uppermost parlour of the house of the famous man Peter, lord of Zwogsia, surnamed Zwirgelitz, master of the mint to the most famous prince and lord, the lord Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of

Henry V. Bohemia, in the greater city of Prague, about the abbey of St. James the apostle, in the presence of me the public notary here-under written, and certain witnesses here-within written, specially called for that purpose.

A.D. 1414. There was personally present Master John Jessenitz, master of arts, proctor in the name of the honourable man, Master John Huss, formed bachelor in divinity, of the university of Prague. He most humbly and earnestly required of the reverend father in Christ and lord, Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, specially appointed by the apostolic see inquisitor of heresies for the city and diocese of Prague, being there also present, saying, 'Reverend father, do you know any heresy or error in Master John Hussinetz, otherwise called Huss?' Which said lord Nicholas, not compelled or constrained, but of his own will and accord, freely and openly did there recognise, saying these or the like words, in the Bohemian tongue:—

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'I have often and many times been conversant with Master John Huss, and have eaten and drunk with him; also I have been often present at his sermons, and divers of his collations which he hath made upon divers places of the Scripture, and I never found or perceived in him any error or heresy, but in all his words and deeds I have found him always a true and a catholic man, neither have I found any thing in him that doth savour of error or heresy.'

Again, the said Master John's proctor, in his proctorial name as above, required and asked the said lord Nicholas, bishop and inquisitor, whether any man had accused the said Master John Huss of any heresy before him, being inquisitor for heresy, and had convicted him of heresy? He answered, that since the time he knew John Huss, and that he was made inquisitor for heresy in the city and diocese of Prague (as is aforesaid), never any man had accused or convinced the said Master John Huss of any heresy before him unto this present time. Adding, moreover, that he, the said Master John Huss, did openly set up his letters patent this present year aforesaid, in the said month of August, upon the porches of the cathedral church of Prague and other collegiate and parish churches of the city of Prague, and upon the gates of the said lord, of our lord the king, and of the archbishop of Prague, containing in them this effect: how that he would appear before Conrad archbishop of Prague and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, who should be congregated and called together at a certain day of the month aforesaid, ready always to satisfy all men as touching the faith and hope which is in him, and to see and hear all and singular that would lay any obstinacy of error or heresy unto him; so that they should engage themselves there to suffer the like punishment, according to the requirement both of God's law and the canon law; unto whom altogether he would answer in his own right before the said archbishop of Prague, and the said lord Nicholas, bishop and inquisitor aforesaid, and the prelates, even in the next general council of Constance; and there, according unto the canons and decrees of the holy fathers, declare and show forth his uprightness and innocency. Upon all and singular of which proceedings, Master John de Jessenitz, proctor, and in the proctorial name or behalf as before, required and desired that he might have one or more public instruments made unto him by me the public notary here-under written. These things were done the year, indiction, month, day, hour, place, and pontificate, aforesaid, in the presence of these noble and famous men, the lord William de Zwirgelitz, baron of the kingdom of Bohemia; Peter his son; the lord Hlawaczion de Ronow, likewise baron; Wenceslaus de Swarx, Vassone de Miekowitz, burgrave of the castle of Liechtenburg, Cztiborius de Bodanetz, esquire, and William de Dupoer, knight, of the said diocese of Prague; with many other trust-worthy witnesses who were specially desired and required unto the premises. And I Michael, sometime the son of Nicholas de Prachatitz, of the diocese of Prague, and by the imperial authority public notary, was present with the witnesses afore-named at the aforesaid request, demand, answer, and petition, and all and singular the doings within written, and did see and hear all these things to be done in the aforesaid manner and form. But being busied with other matters, I have caused this to be faithfully written by another, and subscribing the same with mine own hand, have published and reduced it into this form, and have signed it with my seal and name accustomed, being called and required to bear witness of all and singular the premises.

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After this, as all the barons of Bohemia were assembled in the abbey of St. James, about the affairs of the realm, where the archbishop of Prague was also present, there the said John Huss presented supplications, by which he most humbly desired the barons, that they would show him this favour towards the said archbishop: that if the said archbishop did suspect him of any error or heresy, he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if that he had found or perceived no such thing in him, that he would then give him a testimonial thereof, through which he, being as it were armed, might the more freely go unto Constance. The said archbishop confessed openly, before all the assembly of barons, that he knew not that John Huss was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his only counsel: that the said John Huss should purge himself of the excommunication he had incurred. This report which the archbishop had given of John Huss, doth appear by the letters which the barons of Bohemia sent unto the emperor Sigismund by the said Huss, in the town of Constance.

Conrad the archbishop, cleareth John Huss.

Finally, all the prelates and clergy assembled together in the town of Prague, in the archbishop's court, where appeared personally the worshipful Master John Jessenitz, doctor of decretals and proctor, in the name and behalf of the honourable man, Master John Huss, requiring that either the said Master John Huss, or that he, in the name and behalf of him, might be suffered to come into the archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelates who were there congregated together, forasmuch as Master John Huss is ready to satisfy all men who shall require him to show any reason of his faith or hope which he holdeth, and to see and hear all and singular who were there gathered together; that is to say, the lord archbishop and prelates, or any of them who would lay any manner of obstinacy, or error, or heresy unto him: that they should there write in their names, and according both unto God's law and man's, and the canon law, prepare themselves to suffer like punishment, if they could not lawfully prove any obstinacy of error or heresy against him: unto whom altogether he would, by God's help, answer before the said archbishop and the prelates in the next general council holden at Constance, and stand unto the law; and, according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers, show forth and declare his innocency in the name of Christ. Unto which Master John of Jessenitz, doctor, one called Ulricus Swabe, of Swabenitz, marshal of the said archbishop, coming forth of the said court, did utterly deny unto the said master doctor and his party, all manner of ingress and entrance into the court, and to the presence of the archbishop aforesaid, and of the prelates there gathered together; pretending that the archbishop, with the prelates aforesaid, were occupied about the king's affairs: requiring the said master doctor, that he would tarry in some place without the said court, that when the archbishop and the prelates had finished the king's affairs, he might then return, and have liberty to come into the court there. The said Master John Huss, and the doctor of law tarried awhile, entreating to be admitted into the archbishop's court; but seeing he could prevail nothing, he made there a solemn protestation of his request, that both

John Huss requireth to give testimony of his faith, and could not be admitted.

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he, and also Master John Huss and his part, could not be suffered to come into the archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelates; requiring of the aforesaid notary public instruments to be made of the same, which also was done.

*An Instrument of Testimonial,[1] how Master Huss and his Proctor were denied entrance into the public Procuration, celebrated and holden in the Archbishop's Court.

See Appendix.

In the name of God, Amen. In the year of His nativity, 1414; the seventh indiction, on Monday, the 27th day of the month of August, at three of the clock, or thereabout; in the fifth year of the pontificate of our most holy father and lord, the lord John, by the grace and providence of God pope, the twenty-third of that name, in the lesser city of Prague, before the archbishop of Prague's court.

The most reverend father in Christ, the lord Conrad, by the grace of God archbishop of Prague, and legate of the apostolic see, and all other lords, abbots, priors, presidents, deans, archdeacons, scholars, canons, and rectors, and all other prelates of the city and diocese of Prague, celebrating and holding a solemn congregation, for divers causes, in his court aforesaid; there appeared personally the worshipful Master John Jessenitz, doctor of the decretals, proctor, and in the proctorial name of the honourable man, Master John Huss, formed bachelor of divinity; touching the commission of whose procuration it is quite satisfactory to me, the public notary within written; and he, knocking at the porch or gate of the archbishop's court aforesaid, required that either the said Master John Huss, or that he in the name and behalf of Master John Huss his master, might be suffered to come into the said archbishop's court, to the presence of the said lord archbishop and the prelates who were there congregated together; forsomuch as Master John Huss was ready to satisfy all men, who shall require him to show any reason of the faith and hope which was in him, and to see and hear all and singular, who were there gathered together, that is to say the lord archbishop and prelates, or any of them, who would lay any manner of obstinacy of error or heresy unto him, so that they would there write their names, and according both unto God's law and the canon law, engage themselves to suffer like punishment if they could not lawfully prove any obstinacy of error or heresy against him: unto whom altogether he would, by God's help, answer before the said lord archbishop and the prelates in the next general council to be holden at Constance, and stand unto the law; and according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers show forth and declare his innocency in the name of Christ. Unto which Master John de Jessenitz, Doctor, a certain famous man called Ulricus Swabe, of Swabenitz, marshal of the said lord archbishop, coming forth of the said court, did utterly deny unto the said Master Doctor and his party all manner of ingress and entrance into the same court, and to the presence of the archbishop aforesaid and of the prelates there gathered together, saying and affirming the lord archbishop, with the prelates aforesaid, to be occupied about the king's affairs or business: requiring, notwithstanding, the said Master Doctor that he would tarry in some place without the said court; and that when the archbishop and the prelates had finished the king's affairs, he might then return, and have liberty to come into the court there. The said Master John, Doctor, thereupon tarried there awhile, intreating to be admitted into the said archbishop's court; but seeing himself to prevail nothing, he made there a solemn protestation of his request, that both he and also Master John Huss and his part could not be suffered to come into the archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelates, but that they were utterly denied thereof; desiring me, the public notary here-under written, upon the premises to make him one or more public instruments. These things were done the year, indiction, day, month, hour, pontificate, and place above written, these honourable and wise men being there present: Simon Tysnove,

(1) This instrument of testimonial is introduced from the Edition of 1563, p. 197.—Ed

bachelor of divinity; Simon de Rochezana; Procopius of Pilsen; Nicholas de Stogitzin and John de Przibram, masters of arts; also Frana Czotronis and Jerome Dzrolonis of Prague, John de Nichnitz and Jerome de Ugezd, clerical students of the dioceses of Prague and Lithomysel, as witnesses of the premises. And I, James Moles, sometime son of Ambrose, of Prague, being by the imperial authority, public notary, also sworn notary, that of all the bachelors, masters, doctors, and scholars of the famous university and school of Prague, was present at all the affairs aforesaid, and did see and hear them all to be done in form abovesaid; but, being occupied about other weighty business, I have caused this same to be faithfully written by another notary, and have subscribed it with mine own hand, and published, and have reduced it into this public form, and confirmed it with my accustomed mark and name, being desired and required to bear witness of all and singular the premises.*

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And these were the things which were done before John Huss took his journey to the general council of Constance, the which I minded briefly to rehearse; whereunto I will also annex somewhat as touching his journey thitherwards.

John Huss taketh his journey to Constance.

About the ides of October, 1414, John Huss being accompanied with two noble gentlemen, that is to wit, Wenceslaus of Duba, and John of Clum, he departed from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance. And in every place as he passed, he notified his presence by his letters which he sent abroad, and especially in every good town, or city of name; the tenor whereof ensueth:

The Copy of the Letters which John Huss set up in the public places of the Cities which he passed through, going to the Council.

Master John Huss goeth now unto Constance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this present doth hold, and by God's help will defend and keep even unto death. Therefore, even as he hath manifested throughout all the kingdom of Bohemia by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to have satisfied and given an account of his faith unto every man, who should object or lay any thing against him in the general convocation holden in the archbishop of Prague's court: so likewise he doth manifest and signify, that if there be any man in this noble and imperial city, who will impute or lay any error or heresy unto him, that he should prepare himself to come unto the council, forasmuch as the said Master John Huss is ready to satisfy every man at the said council, who shall lay any thing unto his charge as touching his faith.

How John Huss was received by the way, going up to the council. *See Appendix.*

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was parted out of Bohemia and entered into Almain, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained through all the towns of Germany, not only of his hosts, but of the citizens generally, and oftentimes of the curates; insomuch that the said Huss did confess, in a certain epistle, that he found in no place so great enemies as in Bohemia. And if it happened that there were any bruit or noise before of his coming, the streets were always full of people who were desirous to see John Huss, and gratify[2] him; and, amongst all others, especially at Nuremberg, where certain merchants had gone before and certified the citizens of

(1) Leutomischl, or Litomysl. A manufacturing town in Bohemia, formerly a bishop's see. —Ed.

(2) "Eique gratulari, i. e. to shew sympathy and good will towards him." Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 4.—Ed.

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his coming. In the same city there were many curates who came unto him, desiring him that they might talk with him secretly apart, unto whom he answered: That he loved much rather to pronounce and show forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, than in hugger-mugger, for he would keep nothing close or hidden. So, after dinner, until it was night, he spake before the priests, senators, and divers other citizens, insomuch that they all had him in great estimation and reverence, one only doctor excepted, who was a charter-house monk and curate of St. Sebauld, who did improve[1] all that he had said.

A charter-house monk against John Huss.

The twentieth day after that he parted out of the town of Prague, which was the third day of November, he came unto Constance, and lodged at an honest matron's house, being a widow named Faithful,[2] in St. Galle's street.

John Huss's hostess, named Faithful.

The morrow after, the noble men, Lord John de Clum, and Lord Henry Latzemboge, went to speak with the pope, and certified him that John Huss was come, whom they had brought to Constance to the general council, under the emperor's safe-conduct; desiring him also that he, on his part, would grant the said John Huss liberty to remain in Constance, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. Unto whom the pope answered, That even if John Huss had killed his brother, yet would he go about, as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done unto him during his abode in the city of Constance.

The pope consenteth to the safe-conduct of John Huss.

In this meantime, the greatest adversary that John Huss had, named Master Stephen Paletz, who was also a Bohemian born, was come unto Constance. But his companion, Master Stanislaus Znoyma, was not yet passed the borders of Bohemia when he was stricken with an imposthume,[3] whereof he died. As soon as the said Paletz was come to Constance, he did associate unto him one Michael de Causis, who was the first and bitterest accuser of the said John Huss. And this may not be forgotten, that the said Paletz had been familiarly conversant and acquainted with the said John Huss from his youth upward; but after that there was a bull brought unto Prague from pope John XXIII. against the king of Apulia, named Ladislaus, the said John Huss withstood it openly, forsomuch as he saw that it was wicked and nought. Paletz, albeit that he had confessed at a certain banquet, in the presence of the said John Huss, that the said bull was contrary to all equity and right, yet notwithstanding, forsomuch as he was obliged and bound unto the pope by means of certain benefices received at his hand, he maintained and defended the said bull against John Huss: and this was the cause of the discord and falling out between them. As for Michael de Causis, the companion of Master Paletz, he was sometime the curate of New Prague: but he, not being content therewith, but seeking after a further prey, dreamed and imagined out a new device how to attain unto it; for he made a semblance that he had found out a new invention or mean, whereby the mines of gold in Gilowy,[4] which were perished and lost, might be renewed and set on work again. By this means he did so

Huss's enemy going to Constance, dieth by the way.

Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, chief enemies to Huss.

(1) "Improve," speak against.—Ed. (2) "Fidam nomine." Foxe calls her "Faith."—Ed.
(3) "Imposthume," a gathering of humours and swellings upon the body.—Ed.
(4) See Appendix.

much with the king Wenceslaus, that he did put a great sum of money into his hands, to do that withal which he had promised. *Henry V.*

This honest man, after he had laboured and travailed certain days about it, and perceiving that he brought nothing to pass, and that by that means he was utterly in despair of his purpose, conveyed himself privily out of the realm of Bohemia with the rest of the money, and withdrew himself, as a worthy bird for such a nest, to the court of Rome. Such a man, of such conditions, was easily corrupted with money, and that, by the adversaries of the said Huss, and promised them to do what he could for them, which he did shortly after. These two jolly roisters, Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, drew out certain articles against the said Huss, saying, that they had gathered them out of his own writings, and especially out of his treatise which he had written of the church. They trotted up and down, hither and thither, taking great pains to show the said articles unto the cardinals, bishops, and monks, and such others of that sort, doing them also to understand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the said John Huss had committed and done against the holy constitutions, and other ordinances of the pope and the church; which, if need were, they said they would propound before the council. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the cardinals and all the priests, that all they, with one mind and consent, thought to cause the good man to be taken and laid hands on.

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Huss's enemies described.

The enemies of Huss practise against him.

The twenty-sixth day after the said Huss was come to Constance, (during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his friends), the cardinals, through the instigation and motion of Paletz, and Michael de Causis, sent two bishops, to wit, the bishops of Augsburg and of Trent, and with them the borough-master of the town of Constance, and a certain knight, to the place where John Huss lodged, about dinner-time; who should make report unto him that they were sent by the pope and his cardinals, to advertise him that he should come to render some knowledge or witness of his doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were ready to hear him.

See Appendix.

Unto whom John Huss answered, "I am not come for any such intent, as to defend my cause particularly before the pope and his cardinals, protesting that I never desired any such thing, but that I would willingly appear before the whole assembly of the council, and there answer for my defence openly, without any fear or doubt, unto all such things as shall be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding, said he, forasmuch as you require me so to do, I will not refuse to go with you before the cardinals; and if it happen that they evil entreat or handle me, yet, nevertheless, I trust in my Lord Jesus, that he will so comfort and strengthen me, that I shall desire much rather to die for his glory's sake, than to deny the verity and truth which I have learned by his holy Scriptures." Wherefore it came to pass, that the bishops being instant upon him, and not showing any outward semblance that they bare any malice or hatred against him in their hearts (albeit they had privily laid garrisons both in the house where they were assembled, and also in other houses), John Huss took his horse which he had at his lodging, and went unto the court of the pope and the cardinals.

John Huss desires to plead his cause before the whole council.

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When he was come thither, and had saluted the cardinals, they began to speak to him in this sort: "We have heard many reports of you, which, if they be true, are in no case to be suffered; for men say, that you have taught great and manifest errors, and contrary and against the doctrine of the true church; and that you have sowed your errors abroad through all the realm of Bohemia, by a long space or time; wherefore we have caused you to be called hither before us, that we might understand and know how the matter standeth."

He comes before the pope and the cardinals.

Answer of John Huss to the pope and the cardinals.

Unto whom John Huss answered in few words: "Reverend fathers! you shall understand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I should rather choose to die, than I should be found culpable of one only error, much less of many and great errors. For this cause I am the more willingly come unto the general council which is here appointed, to show myself ready, even with all my heart, to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me." The cardinals answered him again, that his sayings pleased them very well; and upon that they went away, leaving the said John Huss with Lord John de Clum, under the guard and keeping of the armed men.

Dolus malus cardinalium.

In the mean season, they did suborn and furnish out a certain divine, a friar Franciscan, a subtle and crafty man, and a malicious hypocrite, to question with the said John Huss, who was compassed round about with armed men. This man drawing near in his monkish gesture, said, "Reverend master! I, a simple and rude idiot, am come unto you to learn; for I have heard many strange and contrary things against the catholic faith to be ascribed unto you, which do diversely move my mind, being wholly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do desire you, even for the love which you bear unto the truth, and to all good and godly men, that you would teach me, most simple and miserable man, some certainty and truth. And first, men say, that you hold opinion that, after the consecration and pronunciation of the words in the sacrament of the altar, there remaineth only material bread." John Huss answered, that it was falsely attributed and imputed unto him. Then said he, "I pray you, is not this your opinion?" "No verily," said John Huss, "I do not so think of it." When the monk asked this question the third time, Lord John de Clum being moved somewhat with him, said, "Why art thou so importunate upon him? Verily, if any man had affirmed or denied any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him. And thou, albeit he hath showed thee his mind so often, yet ceasest not to trouble him." Then said the monk, "Gentle master! I pray you pardon me a poor idiot and simple friar; surely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and desirous to learn." This friar put forth another question unto him, protesting his simplicity and ignorance: "What manner of unity of the godhead and manhood was in the person of Christ?" When John Huss had heard this question, he, turning himself unto Lord John de Clum, in the Bohemian language said: "Truly this friar is not simple, as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded unto me a very hard question." And afterwards, turning himself to the friar, he said unto him, "Brother! you say that you are simple, but as I have heard of you,

A friar minor putteth two questions to John Huss

Lord John de Clum speaketh for John Huss.

A friarly Judas.

A wolf in a lamb's skin.

I perceive very well that you are double and crafty, and not simple." "It is not so, verily," said the friar. "Well," said John Huss, "I will cause you well to understand that it is so. For as touching the simplicity of a man, it is required in things that concern civility and manners, that the spirit, the understanding, the heart, the words, and the mouth, should agree together: and I do not perceive that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certain semblance of simplicity, which would very well declare you to be an idiot and simple, but your deeds show plainly and evidently a great subtlety and craft in you, with a great quickness and liveliness of wit, in that you have proponed unto me so hard and difficult a question. Notwithstanding, I will not fear to show you my mind in this question." And when he had made an end, the monk gave him great thanks for his gentleness, and so departed. After that, the pope's garrison which was about the said John Huss told him, that this friar was called Master Didace, who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtle divine in all Lombardy. "Oh!" said John Huss, "that I had known that before; I would have handled him after another sort and fashion: but I would to God they were all such; then, through the help and aid of the holy Scriptures, I would fear none of them."

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See Appendix.

Didace, a crafty friar.

Many a man beguiled under a cloak of simplicity.

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

The accusers of John Huss triumph over him when he is taken.

A little before night, they sent the provost of the Roman court unto Lord John de Clum, to show him that he might return to his lodging; but as for John Huss, they had otherwise provided for him. When Lord John de Clum heard this news, he was wonderfully displeased, forasmuch as through their crafts, subtleties, and glosing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares; whereupon he went unto the pope, declaring unto him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made unto him and Lord Henry Latzemboge, and that he would not so lightly falsify and break his faith and promise. The pope answered, that all these things were done without his consent or commandment; and said further to lord de Clum apart, "What reason is it that you should impute this deed unto me, seeing that you know well enough that I myself am in the hands of these cardinals and bishops?"

The pope breaketh promise.

In mine opinion, forasmuch as pope John feared that which indeed did after follow, that he should be deprived of his dignity, he thought to win the favour of these Herodian cardinals and bishops, by betraying this good man unto them. So the said lord de Clum returned very pensiveful and sorry; he complained very sore, both privily and

The pope, to please the council, is against John Huss.

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

See Appendix.

Articles presented unto Pope John XXIII., for the Condemnation of Master John Huss, after he was newly imprisoned.[1]

The supper of the Lord. I. He doth err about the sacraments of the church, and especially about the sacrament of the body of Christ, forasmuch as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be ministered openly unto the people under both kinds, that is to say, the body and blood. This article is evident, forasmuch as his disciples at this instant in Prague do minister the same in both kinds. Moreover, it is affirmed by divers, that he hath taught both in the schools and in the church, or at the least that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of consecration pronounced upon the altar, there remaineth still material bread in the sacrament. This article shall be known by his examination.

Of the administration of the sacraments. II. He doth err as touching the ministers of the church, forasmuch as he saith, that they cannot consecrate or minister the sacraments when they are in mortal sin. This article shall likewise be known by his examination: notwithstanding, all that which is here contained may be gathered of his treatise 'De Ecclesia;' the which if he deny, let there then be some divines and others appointed, to peruse and look over his said treatise 'De Ecclesia.' Moreover he saith, that other men beside priests may minister the sacrament. This article is evident, forasmuch as his disciples do the same at Prague, who of themselves do violently take the sacrament out of the treasury, and communicate among themselves, when the holy communion is denied unto them. By this and other things also it is sufficiently evident, that he hath taught that every man, being without mortal sin, hath the power of orders or priesthood, forasmuch as such only as have taken orders ought to minister the sacrament unto themselves. And because he proceedeth from small matters unto great and weightier, it doth consequently appear and follow, that those who be in the state of grace can bind and loose.

Of the church. III. He doth err as touching the church, and specially for that he doth not allow and admit that the church signifieth the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and the clergy underneath them; but saith, that this signification was drawn out by the school-men, and is in no case to be holden or allowed. This article is manifest from his said treatise 'De Ecclesia.'

Ecclesiastical revenues. Moreover, he doth err concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church ought not to have any temporal possessions. And that the temporal lords may take them away from the church and the clergy without any offence. This error is evident, forasmuch as through his doctrine and enticements many churches in the kingdom of Bohemia, and in the city of Prague, are already spoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalties and goods. He saith also, that Constantine and other secular princes erred in enriching and endowing churches and monasteries. This article is manifest by that which goeth next before.

(1) In the first Edition, it is stated that these articles were presented by Michael de Causis.—Ed.

IV. He erreth as touching the church, in that he saith that all priests are of like power, and therefore affirmeth that the reservation of cases for the pope, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of the priests, were invented only for covetousness. This article doth somewhat appear by those aforegoing, but by his examination shall be more evident.

The bishops' power.

V. He erreth concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church, being in sin, hath no power of the keys, when the pope, cardinals, and all other of the priests and clergy are in deadly sin; which he saith is possible enough. This also doth appear in his treatise upon the church, in his first error as touching the ministers of the church.

The power of the keys of the church.

VI. He erreth touching the church, forasmuch as through contempt he doth not fear excommunication. This doth notoriously appear by his own doings, in that he did contemn and despise the apostolic and ordinary censure; and in all the apostolic excommunications and injunctions he hath borne himself upon the divine commandments; and in contempt of the keys, to the setting out of his hypocrisy, he hath said mass all the way between this and the city of Prague, and thereby hath profaned the process and authority of the church.

Excommunication.

Investitures.

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

The office of preaching.

VIII. He erreth as touching the church, in that he holdeth opinion, that a man, being once ordained a priest or deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept back from the office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his own doings, forasmuch as he himself could never be letted from preaching, neither by the apostolic see, nor yet by the archbishop of Prague.

Lupus agnum accusat, quod turbarit fontem.

A heaping together of many grievous crimes.

And to the intent that the said John Huss, who is clothed in sheep's clothing, and inwardly a ravening wolf, may be the better known by his fruits, for the better information of you, most reverend fathers, I say, that from the first time that he took in hand, or went about to sow such errors and heresies, which afterwards he did in deed, he, understanding and perceiving himself to be withstanded and gainsayed by the Germans, who were in the university of Prague, forasmuch as he could conclude nothing, because they had three voices, and he on his part had but one voice only: he went about and brought to pass, and that by the secular power, that the Germans should have but one voice, and he and his parts three voices; which thing when the Germans once perceived, rather than they would lose or forsake any part of their right which they had in voices, or be in danger in their persons, which would then have ensued upon it, to save themselves, they wholly, with one consent, agreed together to depart out of Prague; and by this means this solemn and famous university of Prague was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in divers sciences. Behold this his first fruits, who divided that so famous university, forasmuch as grapes are not gathered of thorns, neither figs of brambles.

The departure of the Germans from the university of Prague.

The forty five articles of Wickliff.

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

Moreover, he being complained of to the archbishop of Prague, that he preached and set forth certain articles which were heretical, false, and seditious, he was forbidden by the said archbishop to preach any more, who proceeded against him, according to the canonical sanctions; which process is confirmed by the apostolic see, and published as well in the court of Rome, as without; which John Huss and his adherents have divers and manifold ways violated

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and profaned. And whosoever did speak against him, they were deprived of their benefices, and others placed in, who have ruled and yet do rule the said churches and the flocks pertaining to the same, not having any cure or charge of souls committed unto them, neither by the apostolic see, nor yet by the ordinary of the place.

The office of preaching forbidden by the archbishop. Insurrections against the clergy feared in Bohemia.

Also many, as well priests as lay-men, in the city of Prague and kingdom of Bohemia, who have spoken against the doctrine of Huss, and the profanation of the process aforesaid, or at the least not allowing the same, have suffered most mortal hatred and persecutions, and yet to this day do suffer, but that at this present it is dissimuled until the end of the process against John Huss. Wherefore, if he be now let go again, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in body and goods, and throughout all the realm of Bohemia, "house shall be against house;" and this mischief will creep, yea suddenly spring up throughout all Germany, and innumerable souls shall be infected, so that there shall be such persecution of the clergy and faithful, as hath not been since the time of the emperor Constantine to this present day; for he ceaseth not to move and stir up the laity against the clergy and faithful Christians. And, when any of the clergy would draw him away, or call him from his heresy, and for that cause forbid him to preach, that he do not teach any heresies; then saith he, and teacheth, that the clergy do that of envy and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faults; that is to say, their simony, pride, and covetousness.

Moreover, he stirreth up the secular princes against the prelates of churches, monasteries, and universities, and generally against the whole clergy, by reason that he, going about, preacheth and teacheth that prelates and other men of the church ought not to have any temporal goods or possessions, but only to live upon alms. And by this means he hath done already very much hurt, and annoyed divers and many prelates, clerks, and churches in the kingdom of Bohemia and the city of Prague, forasmuch as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their possessions. Yea, he teacheth also that it is lawful for the lay people, without sin, to withhold and keep back the tithes and oblations, or to give the church-goods to any other minister; all the secular princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but especially the laity, who follow every man his own will.

He hath generally to lay for himself all those heretics who do but very smally regard the ecclesiastical censures, and do hate the authority of the Roman church, yea, and do utterly detest and abhor the same; which thing will more and more increase, except it be effectually and manfully withstood: and if he do by any means escape from the council, he and his favourers will say that his doctrine is just and true, and that it is allowed by the authority of the universal sacred council, and that all his adversaries are wicked and naughty men; so that he would do more mischief, than ever any heretic did since the time of Constantine the Great.

Caiaphas prophesied.

Wherefore, most holy fathers! provide and take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock amongst whom the Holy Ghost hath placed you, to rule the church of Christ, which he hath purchased with his own blood; and, whilst the disease is new and fresh, help and remedy it, as well touching him who doth so infect and trouble the church of God, as also concerning the occasions through which he hath presumed, and might do the same; because the prelates do abuse the ecclesiastical censures, and as well the prelates as those that are under them, do not keep and observe the order of the church which is appointed them by God; whereby it cometh to pass, that whilst they themselves do walk the broken and unknown paths, their flock falleth headlong into the ditch.

Master Paletz lieth, for the Holy Ghost had no leisure to come to that council.

Wherefore let our sovereign lord the pope, and this most sacred council ordain and depute commissioners, who may examine the said John Huss upon all aforewritten, and other things in the presence of them who know the matter. Let there be also certain doctors and masters appointed to read over and peruse his books which he hath written, whereof some are here present; that the church may be speedily purged and cleansed from these errors.

Upon this his accusation, they ordained and appointed three commissioners or judges; that is to say, the patriarch of Constantinople, and the bishop of Castel-a-mare, and the bishop of Lebus; the which prelates

See Appendix.

being thus deputed, heard the accusation and the witness which was brought in by certain babbling priests of Prague, confirmed by their oaths, and afterwards recited the said accusation unto the said Huss in the prison, at such time as his ague was fervent and extremely upon him. *Henry V.* A.D. 1415.

John Huss sick of an ague in prison.

Upon this, John Huss required to have an advocate to answer for him; which was plainly and utterly denied him. And the reason that the masters commissioners brought against it was this: that the plain canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of any cause of him, who is suspected of any kind of heresy. The vanity and folly of the witnesses was such, that if in case they had not been both the accusers and judges themselves, there should have needed no distinct confutation. I would have rehearsed the testimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be such, as the prudent and wise reader could not have read without great tedicusness. Howbeit, some of them shall be declared, when we come to the process of his judgment.

Debarred of his advocate.

Afterwards, when John Huss had recovered a little strength or health, by the commandment of the three commissioners there were presented unto him certain articles, many in number, which, they said, they had gathered out of his book which he made 'Of the church;' of which articles some were forged and invented by Master Paletz, and others were gathered only by halves, as shall be more plainly declared hereafter, when we come to speak of the judgment pronounced and given against the said Huss. *See Appendix.*

Thus John Huss remained in the prison of the covent of the Franciscans, until the Wednesday before Palm Sunday, and certain appointed to keep him; and in the mean season, to employ and spend his time withal, he wrote certain books, that is to say, of the ten commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of matrimony, of penance, of the three enemies of mankind, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the supper of our Lord.

Books which John Huss wrote in prison.

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

Pope John fled out of Constance.

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

Noblemen of Bohemia labour for John Huss

Henry V. A. D. 1415.

stocks, and derided of all men, yea, even of the slaves and base people. Wherefore they took counsel and concluded together to present their request in writing unto the whole council, or at the least unto the deputies of the four nations of Almain, Italy, France and England: this request was presented the fourteenth day of May, A.D. 1415; the tenor here ensueth:—

The first Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of Bohemia delivered up to the Council for the Deliverance of John Huss, the fourteenth day of May, A. D. 1415.

Most reverend fathers and lords! the nobles and lords of Bohemia and Poland here present, by these their present writings do show and declare unto your fatherly reverences, how that the most noble king and lord, the lord Sigismund, king of Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c., hearing of the great dissension that was in the kingdom of Bohemia, as heir, king, and lord successor, willing to foresee and provide for his own honour, sent these noblemen, Lords Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Clum here present, that they would bring and assure Master John Huss, under the king's name and safe conduct; so that he would come to the sacred general council of Constance, under the safe conduct of the said king, and the protection of the sacred empire, openly given and granted unto the said Master John Huss, that he might purge himself and the kingdom of Bohemia from the slander that was raised upon them, and there to make an open declaration of his faith to every man that would lay any thing to his charge: which the said nobles, with the beforenamed Master John Huss, have performed and done, according to the king's commandment.

The safe conduct of the emperor challenged.

When the said Master John Huss was freely of his own accord come unto Constance, under the said safe-conduct, he was grievously imprisoned before he was heard, and at this present is tormented both with fetters, and also with hunger and thirst. Albeit that in times past, at the council holden at Pisa, in the year of our Lord 1409, the heretics who were condemned, were suffered to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely; notwithstanding this, Master John Huss, neither being convicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, when neither king nor any prince elector, nor any ambassador of any university, was yet come or present. And albeit the lord the king, together with the nobles and lords here present, most instantly required and desired, that as touching his safe-conduct they would foresee and have respect unto his honour, and that the said Master John Huss might be openly heard, forasmuch as he would render and show a reason of his faith; and if he were found or convicted obstinately to affirm or maintain any thing against the truth of holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the same, according to the instruction and determination of the council; yet could he never obtain this. But the said Master John Huss, notwithstanding all this, is most grievously oppressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened with thin and slender diet, that it is to be feared, lest that, his power and strength being hereby consumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his wit or reason.

See Appendix.

The extremities John Huss suffered in prison.

And although the lords of Bohemia here present are greatly slandered, because they, seeing the said Master John Huss so to be tormented and troubled, contrary to the king's safe-conduct, have not by their letters put the king in mind of his said safe-conduct, that the said lord and king should not any more suffer any such matters, forasmuch as they tend to the contempt and disregard of the kingdom of Bohemia, which from the first original and beginning, since it received the catholic faith, never departed or went away from the obedience of the holy church of Rome; yet, notwithstanding, they have suffered and borne all these things patiently hitherto, lest by any means, occasion of trouble or vexation of this sacred council might arise or spring thereof.

Wherefore, most reverend fathers and lords! the nobles and lords, before named, do wholly and most earnestly desire and require your reverences here present, that both for the honour of the safe-conduct of our said lord the king, and also for the preservation and increase of the worthy fame and renown both

of the aforesaid kingdom of Bohemia, and your own also, you will make a short end about the affairs of Master John Huss; forasmuch as by the means of his strait handling he is in great danger by any longer delay; even as they do most specially trust upon the most upright consciences and judgments of your fatherly reverences. But, forasmuch as, most reverend fathers and lords! it is now come to the knowledge and understanding of the nobles and lords of Bohemia here present, how that certain backbiters and slanderers of the most famous kingdom of Bohemia aforesaid have declared and told unto your reverences, how that the sacrament of the most precious blood of our Lord is carried up and down through Bohemia in vessels not consecrated nor hallowed, and that cobblers do now hear confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our lord unto others: the nobles, therefore, of Bohemia here present, require and desire you, that you will give no credit unto false promoters and tale-tellers, for that, as most wicked and naughty slanderers and backbiters of that kingdom aforesaid, they do report and tell untruths; requiring also your reverences, that such slanderous persons of the kingdom aforesaid may be named and known. And the lord the king, together with your reverences, shall well perceive and see that the lords of Bohemia will go about in such manner as to refel and put away the false and frivolous slanders of these naughty persons, that they shall be ashamed to appear hereafter before the lord the king and your reverences.

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The confutation of certain slanders.

As soon as this their supplication was read, the bishop of Lythomysl rising up said, "Most reverend fathers, I well perceive and understand, that the last part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars, and friends, as though the kingdom of Bohemia were slandered by us. Wherefore I desire to have time and space of deliberation, that I may purge myself from this crime that is laid against me." The principal of the council appointed him the sixteenth day of May, at the which day the lords of Bohemia should be present again, to hear both the answer of the council and also the excuse of the bishop of Lithomysl; the which thing indeed was afterward performed, for the sixteenth day of May, which was the fourth day before Whitsuntide, they met there again; where, first of all, a certain bishop, in the name of the whole council, answered by word to the nobles of Bohemia; the contents of whose answer may easily be known by the second supplication which the Bohemians put up to the council. But first, I shall here, in these few words following, show how the bishop of Lithomysl defended himself against that which is before written.

See Appendix

Answer of the Bishop of Lithomysl to the last Part of the Supplication which the Nobles of Bohemia presented unto the Council.

Most reverend fathers and noble lords! whereas Peter de Mladonyewitz, bachelor of arts, in the name of certain of the nobles of the kingdom of Bohemia, in his writings amongst other things did propound how that certain slanderers and backbiters of the said kingdom have brought to the ears of your reverences, that the most precious blood of Christ is carried up and down in Bohemia in bottles, and that cobblers do hear confessions, and minister the body of Christ unto others;—'Tis true, most reverend fathers and lords: albeit that I, together with the other prelates, doctors, masters, and other innumerable catholics of the said kingdom, who do desire as much as in them lieth to defend the faith of Christ, have laboured for the extirpation of that most wicked and detestable sect of Wiclevists, which now (alas! for sorrow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said kingdom, as is well known; notwithstanding, here in the pursuit of my vocation, not for any shame or reproof but for the honour of the kingdom aforesaid, I have propounded a certain new scandal to have now sprung up in the said kingdom, viz. that the followers of that sect do communicate the common people of both sexes in many cities, towns, and places of the said kingdom under both kinds, both of bread and wine, and do constantly teach

Answer and accusation of the bishop of Lithomysl against John Huss.

Henry V. A. D. 1415.

that it is so to be communicated, obstinately affirming the same, and that the clergy who do repugn or say nay unto it, are to be counted church-robbers; as by the writings of their assertions, being directed and presented hither, shall openly appear.

Moreover, by the report and fame which goeth here abroad, and by the writings which were sent over unto me, I have propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the blood of Christ is carried about in vessels not consecrated, approving the aforesaid erroneous assertion of the Wicklevists, who affirm it necessary for salvation, that the people should communicate under both kinds of bread and wine; and that it is necessary, as the body of Christ is carried in the pix or box, so the blood of Christ should be carried in bottles, or other necessary vessels, from place to place, and especially about the ministration of the sick. Also I declared not of myself, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certain woman, a follower of that sect, who, taking by violence the body of Christ out of a priest's hands, did communicate unto herself, and affirmed that all men ought to do so, if the priests should deny them the communion. And the same woman, amongst many other errors of the which she was convicted, did affirm that a good lay-woman might better consecrate and give absolution, than an evil priest; affirming that an evil priest can neither consecrate nor absolve. But I know that neither I, nor any of my assistants in this matter, have brought this at any time unto your ears, that cobblers in the said kingdom do hear confession, or minister the sacrament of the body of Christ, as is alleged by the said Peter, in behalf of the said supplicants. Notwithstanding that, we did fear, if means were not found to recounter or stop the offences before named, that this would immediately follow upon it. Wherefore, most reverend fathers! lest that the kingdom might be defamed any more by such pestiferous sects, and that the christian faith might happen to be endangered, with all reverence and charity, I do desire you, even by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this most sacred council would provide some speedy remedy for this kingdom, as touching the premises.

Moreover, whether be they backbiters and slanderers, or wicked and false enviers of the kingdom of Bohemia, who do let the errors aforesaid, and many others more, which are sown by the Wicklevists in the said kingdom, and also elsewhere? who also both do labour, and have laboured, for the extirpation and rooting of those errors out of the kingdom aforesaid, and as catholic men for the zeal of their faith have manifestly put forth themselves against the maintainers of the said errors, or such as do maintain and defend the teachers of those errors? this answer I have here presented before your reverences, always wholly submitting myself and assistance unto your judgment, and to the definition of this most sacred council of Constance.

Answer of the bishop confuted.

The day before Whitsuntide, the nobles of Bohemia did confute this answer, made two days before in the council to their former writing, as here followeth.

Answer of the Nobles of Bohemia.

Most reverend fathers and lords! forasmuch as upon Thursday it was answered in the behalf of your reverences, to the requests of the nobles and lords of Bohemia, that the said lords were misinformed of divers points contained in the declaration of their said bill; therefore the aforesaid lords have now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requests more at large unto your reverences, not minding hereby to argue or reprove your fatherly wisdoms and circumspections; but that your reverences (their desires being partly on this behalf fulfilled) might the more effectuously and distinctly discern and judge as touching this matter.

The bishops do quarrel about the safe conduct of John Huss.

And first of all, Whereas, the lords alleging how that Master John Huss was come hither unto Constance freely of his own good-will, under the safe-conduct of our lord the king and the protection of the sacred empire, it was answered thereunto on the behalf of your reverences, that the said lords were misinformed as touching the safe-conduct, for that you had understand by trust-worthy persons, that the friends and favourers of the said Master John Huss did first

procure his safe-conduct on the fifteenth day after his imprisonment:—To this the lords of Bohemia, and especially the lord John de Clum here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, do answer, that not on the fifteenth day after, but even the very same day that John Huss was apprehended and taken, when our reverend father the pope, in the presence of all his cardinals, demanded of Lord John de Clum, whether Master John Huss had any safe-conduct from the king his son, he answered, 'Most holy father and cardinals! know ye that he hath a safe-conduct;' and when he was asked the question again the second time, he answered in like manner.

The safe-conduct of John Huss obtained and showed before his imprisonment.

Yet notwithstanding, none of them required to have the safe-conduct showed unto them: and again, the third day following, the lord John de Clum complained unto our lord the pope, how, notwithstanding the safe-conduct of our sovereign lord the king, he detained and kept Master John Huss as prisoner, showing the said safe-conduct unto many. And for a further truth herein, he referreth himself unto the testimonies and witnesses of divers earls, bishops, knights, gentlemen, and famous citizens of the city of Constance, who, all together at this present, did see the said safe-conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the said John de Clum is ready to bind himself under what penalty shall be required, evidently to prove and confirm that which he hath promised, whosoever say to the contrary.

Moreover, the lords of Bohemia refer themselves unto the knowledge of certain princes electors, and other princes, bishops, and many other noblemen, who were present before the king's majesty, where and when the said safe-conduct was granted and given out by the special commandment of our said lord the king.

The bishops of the council falsely informed touching the safe conduct of John Huss.

Hereby your fatherly reverences may understand and perceive that the said lords of Bohemia are not evil-informed as touching the said safe-conduct; but rather they, who by such reports have falsely and untruly informed your reverences. And first of all, they have offended against the lord our king and his chancellors: Secondly, against the lords and nobles of Bohemia, as though we had privily and by stealth, purchased the said safe-conduct. Wherefore the lords aforesaid most humbly require and desire your reverences, that you will not so lightly believe such as be not worthy of credit; but rather, hearing the contrary part, to labour and discuss, that the truth may the more evidently appear.

John Huss imprisoned before he was either condemned or heard.

Secondly, Whereas, the lords aforesaid alleging how that Master John Huss, coming unto Constance of his own free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned, your reverences made answer thereunto, that he, the said Master John Huss, in the time of Alexander V. was infamed and slandered upon certain heresies, and thereupon cited personally to appear in the court of Rome, and there was heard by his proctors, and forsomuch as he refused obstinately to appear was excommunicated; in the which excommunication he hath continued, as you affirm, by the space of five years; for the which he is to be judged and counted not only a simple and plain heretic, but a heresiarch, that is to say, an inventor and sower of new and strange errors; and that he, coming towards Constance, did preach by the way openly:—To this the lords aforesaid do answer, that, as touching his slander and citation, they can affirm nothing but by report. But, as touching that he did not personally appear, they say they have heard both himself and divers other credible persons say, yea even the most famous prince Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and almost all the whole nobility are witness, that he would willingly have appeared at Rome, or elsewhere, if he might safely have comen thither, and deadly enmity had not letted: and, moreover, his proctors which he sent unto the court of Rome alleging reasonable causes for his non-appearance, some of them were cast into prison, and others very evil entreated.

John Huss falsely charged to preach coming to the council.

The answer touching the citation of John Huss to the court of Rome.

His proctors evil entreated at Rome.

As for the excommunication which he hath so long sustained, they have heard him often say, that he hath not resisted against the same by contumacy or stubbornness, but under evident appellation, and thereupon referreth himself unto the acts of his causes which were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherein all this is more largely contained; the which your reverences may evidently perceive and see in this our present public transumpt, which we have offered unto you upon certain points aforesaid.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithal his enemies do report and charge, that Master John Huss did preach openly in the city of Constance; the lords

Henry V. A.D. 1415.

aforesaid, and specially the lord John de Clum here present, do answer, that he hath continually lodged with the said Master John Huss here in Constance, and that whosoever they be, that have been so bold, or dare be so bold, to say and affirm that Master John Huss had preached, as is premised, or, which is less, that since the time of his coming unto this city, even unto the very day and time of his captivity and imprisonment, he went but one step out of the house of his lodging, that the said lord John de Clum will and is content to bind himself with any such as shall affirm the same, under what penalty soever it be, of money or otherwise, that that which they have falsely reported unto your reverences, they shall never be able justly and truly to affirm and prove.

John Huss falsely reported to preach openly at Constance.

Thirdly, Whereas your reverences do say, that you do not understand or know what the lords do mean, by the heretics condemned at the council holden at Pisa, whether the rival popes, whose ambassadors came thither for unity's sake, and were tolerated, and gently treated, as though their lords had been much inclined unto unity; or else that they do mean the particular heretics, who were there condemned; adjoining thereunto, that even heretics coming unto a council under the pretence of that unity ought to be gently handled and entreated, &c.—reverend fathers and lords! whether the former or the latter be supposed to be meant, the lords aforesaid require none other thing, but that the said Master John Huss may use such liberty as they used, forsomuch as he came willingly unto this most sacred council, not for any other purpose, but only publicly to recognise his faith. And in what point soever he shall seem to vary from the word of God, and the union of holy mother church, in that point he will willingly be united and reconciled again thereunto; and not only himself, but also his favourers and adherents he would move and provoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the kingdom of Bohemia. Also he is come hither, that he might purge and clear the noble kingdom of Bohemia from the sinister and evil slander which was raised upon it.

See Appendix.

Has many well wishers in Bohemia.

Last of all, most reverend fathers and lords! forsomuch as your reverences have most favourably answered unto the principal request made by the lords aforesaid, that the process of Master John Huss, through God's help, should be determined and ended with all expedition and gentleness; the lords aforesaid do render most hearty thanks unto your reverences, and whensoever their desire, by God's help, shall come to the end or effect long wished or looked for, they will not only here, but also before the whole kingdom of Bohemia, and in all other places wheresoever they come, render unbounded thanks unto your reverences for ever.

This declaration of the nobles of Bohemia above prefixed may serve, not only to the confutation of the bishop of Lythomysl, the Bohemian, but also against the cavillations of Alanus Copus, the Englishman,[1] touching the safe-conduct of John Huss, whereof sufficiently before hath been said.[2]

The Copy of a public Testimonial of the whole University of Prague for John Huss, offered up to the Council.[3]

•In the name of God, Amen. The year of our Lord 1411, the tenth day of September, in the second year of the pontificate of our most holy father in Christ and lord, the lord John, by the providence of God pope, the twenty-third of that name; in the greater city of Prague, in the college of Charles, where the weighty affairs of the university of Prague are accustomed to be intreated of; the honourable and devout man, Master John de Hussenitz, master of arts, and bachelor of divinity, and preacher of the word of God in the chapel called Bethlehem, did put up a certain writing in manner of an epistle, written with his own hand, before the reverend man sir Simon de Thysnow, master of arts, and bachelor of divinity, rector of the university, and before the whole college of doctors and masters, in the presence also of the public notaries, the which he would send unto our most holy father, the tenor whereof followeth, word by word.

'According to the reverence which I owe unto Jesu Christ, the supreme pontiff, being ready to satisfy every man, who shall require me to render an

(1) Dial. 6, p. 929.
(2) See p. 424.—Ed.
(3) From the edition of 1563, p. 205. See Appendix.—Ed.

account of the faith which I do hold:—First, I do confess with my whole heart Jesus Christ our Lord to be very God and very man, and his whole law to be of such firm truth, that no iota or tittle thereof can fail. Moreover, I do confess his holy church to be so firmly founded upon a firm rock, that the gates of hell can by no means prevail against it; and in the hope of the Head, our Lord Jesus Christ, I am ready to sustain the punishment of most cruel death, rather than speak evasively or assert any thing which should be contrary to the will of Christ and his church. Whereupon, boldly and truly I do affirm, that I am wrongfully accused unto the apostolic see by such as are enemies unto the truth. For they have falsely accused me in affirming, that I should teach the people, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth only the substance of material bread: with like untruth, also, that when the host is lifted up, then it is the body of Christ, and when it is laid down, it is not. Falsely, likewise, do they affirm that I should teach the people, that a priest being in deadly sin cannot consecrate: untruly, also, do they say of me, that I should teach that the lords may take away the temporalties from the clergy, and not pay the tithes: falsely, that pardons are nothing worth: unjustly have they said, that I have persuaded to punish the clergy by the sword: untruly have they reported that I have preached, taught, or holden, any manner of error or errors, or any kind of heresy, or that I have seduced the people from the way of truth in any manner whatever. Unjustly have they accused me, that I should be the cause that certain German masters were expulsed out of Prague, when they themselves refused to hold and keep the privilege of the foundation of the famous university of Prague; neither would they obey the lawful commandments of the most noble Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Bohemia; thinking, that without their presence the university of Prague could not subsist: whereupon, without any compulsion, they departed and went their ways.

Henry V. A. D. 1415.

'I confess, indeed, that I did appeal from the sentence of the most reverend father in Christ, the lord Sbinco, archbishop of Prague, unto the apostolic see; and, again, that I did appeal from the processes which came forth from the most holy apostolic see through sinister information. For the enemies of the truth, not having any regard unto their own honour or salvation, falsely made suggestion unto the apostolic see, that in the kingdom of Bohemia and the marquisdom of Moravia manifold errors were sprung up, the which had infected the hearts of many; so that, for the multitude of those who were infected with such errors, it was necessary that speedy remedy and correction be had. Finally, they falsely made suggestion, that the chapel of Bethlehem was a private place; whereas that place was confirmed by the ordinary bishop for an ecclesiastical benefice, the destruction whereof would not a little diminish and take away the honour of God amongst the people, hinder the profit of souls, give great offence, and provoke and stir up the people not a little against those who should be the destroyers thereof.

'Further, being cited personally to appear at Rome, I desired with all humility so to do. But, forsomuch as both within the kingdom, and also without, there were snares laid for my life, especially by the Germans, therefore, being advertized by the counsel of many, I thought it should have been but to tempt God to put my life in danger, not profiting the church any thing at all. Whereupon I have not personally appeared, but, willing to show myself obedient unto the most holy apostolic see, have appointed advocates and proctors. I therefore most humbly do implore and desire your clemency, O most high vicar of Christ, that your holiness would vouchsafe, even for the tender mercy of Almighty God, freely to absolve me from personal appearance, and other things which follow thereupon. Forsomuch as by the most famous prince Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Bohemia, and, also, by the reverend fathers and most noble princes, the lord Wenceslaus patriarch of Antioch, the lord Conrad bishop of Olmutz, and also the most famous prince, the lord Rodolph, duke of Saxony, elector of the most sacred empire, and, also, by means of other princes, barons, and lords, as the most noble lord Stiborius, ambassador of the most famous prince, lord Sigismund, king of Hungary, I am fully and wholly agreed and accorded with the aforesaid most reverend father in Christ, the lord Sbinco; for I did offer myself to answer to all and singular such things as should be objected against me, referring myself to the whole audience; and if any thing should be found in me contrary to truth and equity,

Why John Huss went not to Rome.

Henry V. A.D. 1415.

I am contented, even with my whole heart (except that I should give place and be ready to amend the same), to be punished with fire, and am even presently ready, before the whole university of Prague and all the clergy thereof, if any man shall stand up against me, to give an account of all such things as shall be objected. But, unto this day, there would no man stand up against me, who, according to the canonical laws, would bind himself unto the like punishment or forfeit.'

'Written at Prague with mine own hand, upon Saint Giles' day.'

The which brief or epistle being thus put up and read, the said Master John Huss required, that, for the more evidence and greater credence to be had, the said writing should be written over again by us the notaries hereunder written, and should be reduced to a public form and order, and afterward, by the rector, doctors, and masters, of the university aforesaid, be sealed with their common seal. The which lord, the rector, after he had taken counsel and advice with the whole college, with one consent and mind granting to the request of the said John Huss, commanded that the brief aforesaid should be newly written and reduced unto a public form by us the notaries hereunder written; and, for the greater credit to be given thereunto, he commanded also the seal of the university to be put unto it. Upon all which and singular the premises, the foresaid Master John Huss required that we, the said notaries, should make unto him one or more public testimonials. These things were done in the presence of the most honourable and discreet men and lords, Vitus, provost of Myzzin in the diocese of Olmutz; James de Tachau, and John de Teplitz, presbyters; Matthew de Chlumpizan, clerk, and by the imperial authority public notary; John Xapasnick esquire, of Prague; Anthony de Rezce, and Michael de Drenow, clerks; and many other witnesses about the premises.

Michael de Pracatitz, of the diocese of Prague, by the imperial authority public notary, and also sworn notary of the bachelors, doctors, masters, and scholars of the university and school of Prague; and Nicholas de Brunn, of the diocese of Olmutz, by the apostolic and imperial authority public notary.*

When the noble men of Bohemia by long time could receive no answer of those supplications which they had already put up, they determined, the last day of May following, by another supplication put up unto the principals of the council, to entreat that John Huss might be delivered out of prison, and defend his own cause openly: they also put up the testimonial of the bishop of Nazareth, as touching John Huss; the copy whereof is expressed in the beginning of this history, word by word.

Another Supplication of the Nobles of Bohemia for John Huss.

Another supplication of the Bohemians for John Huss.

Most reverend fathers and lords in Christ! of late there was a supplication put up unto your reverences on the behalf of the lords and nobles of Bohemia and the nation of the Poles, wherein they most humbly desired your reverences to consider how the informations which were put up unto your reverences by the enemies of Master John Huss were insufficient, and, with reverence be it spoken, in many points untrue; as in the safe-conduct granted by the king's majesty, and also in other articles, as more plainly appeareth in the schedule, which was then offered unto you; upon which said schedule and other things at that present, being put up, they could not as yet receive any answer. Wherefore the lords aforesaid, most humbly require your fatherly reverences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to give some answer to the lords aforesaid thereupon, and, specially having respect unto the great injuries and griefs which are done unto the said Master John Huss, the which may be understand and known by the schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifully consider and foresee that all those griefs and evils, so far different

The lords could have no answer to their supplication.

from all brotherly love and charity, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred. *Henry V.* A.D. 1415

To the intent, therefore, that rancour and malice may be confounded and overthrown, and the plain and evident truth appear, it may please your fatherly reverences to understand that it is notified and known unto the barons, nobles, and citizens, the clergy and laity of the kingdom of Bohemia, that Master John Huss, in all his acts and doings, as well scholastical as ecclesiastical, and specially in all his public and open sermons, hath made, and hath accustomed to make, these manner of protestations; the which, without any thing to the contrary, he hath always taken pains to ratify and confirm as valid, as by this his protestation here following (which he made about the determination of a certain question) may most evidently and plainly appear unto every man who would behold and look upon the same: the form and tenor whereof here followeth, and is this.

'The Protestation of John Huss.

'Forsomuch as above all things I do desire the honour of God, the profit of the holy church, and that I myself may be a faithful member of our Lord Jesu Christ, who is the head and husband of the holy church which he hath redeemed; therefore, as heretofore oftentimes I have done, even so now again I make this protestation: That I never obstinately said, or hereafter will say, any thing that shall be contrary unto the truth and verity; and, moreover, that I have always holden, do hold, and firmly desire for to hold, the very true and infallible truth and verity; so that before that I would defend and maintain any error contrary thereunto, I would rather choose, by the hope and help of the Lord, to suffer extreme punishment, even unto death: yea, and through the help of God, I am ready even to offer this my miserable life unto death for the law of Christ, the which I do believe, every part and parcel thereof, to be given by the counsel of the most holy Trinity, and promulgated by holy men of God, for the salvation of mankind.

'Moreover,[1] I do believe all and singular the articles of that law, according to the sense and understanding in the which the most blessed Trinity hath commanded them to be believed. Wherefore, like as in my answers and acts scholastical, and also in my public sermons, I have, oftentimes, submitted myself, even so now, again, I do submit myself, and hereafter will most humbly submit myself under the obedience, reconciliation, and ordinance, of this most sacred and holy law; being ready to revoke and retract whatsoever I have heretofore spoken or said, on being truly informed and taught, that it is contrary unto the truth.'

From the which his protestation, and other protestations used by the said Master John Huss, it may be easily gathered, that his whole intent hath been and is, that he neither would nor will speak or write any thing in his books, treatises, doctrines, or public sermons, or affirm any articles, the which wittingly he did know to be either erroneous, offensive, seditious, heretical, or offensive to pious ears; albeit that these and such like things are falsely imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath always been his chief intent, and so is, to affirm every point, conclusion, or article, contained in his books or doctrines, according to the warrant of gospel truth, the holy doctors, and writers upon the holy Scriptures, for to the end before expressed in his protestation; and if in any points he should be found defective or insufficient, or that he were not well understand of others, by information thereof to be directed, corrected, understood, and illuminated; and by no means to defend or sustain any one article against the holy church of Rome and the catholic faith.

Wherefore, most reverend fathers! seeing that, the premises notwithstanding, his enemies, through the extreme hatred which they bear unto him, have picked and taken out by piecemeal certain articles out of the books of Master John Huss, and, rejecting his allegations and reasons, neither adverting to the distinctions of their equivocations, do compound thereof certain false and feigned articles against him, to the end that, all charity being set apart, they may

(1) This paragraph is supplied to complete the document, from the edition of 1563 p. 207.—Ed.

Henry V. A.D. 1415.

overthrow him and bring him unto death, contrary unto the safe-conduct with good and just intent openly assigned unto the said Master John Huss by the most serene prince the lord Sigismund, king of the Romans and of Hungary, for his just defence against all molestations and frivolous accusations of the enemies, not only of the said Master John Huss, but also of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and for the timely appeasing of these contentions springing in the said kingdom of Bohemia or elsewhere; the avoiding of which perilous contentions in the said kingdom of Bohemia, the said king of the Romans doth greatly desire and wish, as the right heir and successor to the said kingdom :—

Articles foisted out of Huss's books by his enemies.

Thereupon the barons and nobles aforesaid humbly pray that, the premises being considered, as also the infamy which may happen by the premises unto the said kingdom and inhabitants thereof, you would put to your hands and take some order and mean, that Master John Huss may be distinctly heard by the enlightened men, learned in holy Scripture, already deputed, and others to be deputed, upon all and singular such articles as shall be laid unto him; to declare his own mind and intent, and also the mind of the doctors alleged for his purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equivocations, wherein the drawers-out of his articles do greatly equivocate among themselves, that so he may not, according to the deposition of witnesses, a great number of whom are and have a long time been his mortal enemies, and at the frivolous instigation of his enemies, while he is so miserably detained prisoner, be condemned unheard: forsomuch as by the said declarations your fatherly reverences might be the better informed of the truth, and he himself is ready always to submit himself under the determination of this most sacred council. For your reverences, by the crafty and feigned persuasions of his enemies, are thus informed, that Master John Huss hath been incorrigibly obstinate by a long time in perilous articles, the which your reverences may then plainly perceive to be untrue: and for the more evident manifestation hereof is presented unto your reverences an instrument of public recognition by the most reverend father in Christ, the lord Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, especially appointed by the apostolic see inquisitor of heretical pravity in the diocese of Prague, the which by your reverences is more diligently to be hearkened unto.

The council evil informed against John Huss.

The nobles require that John Huss not being convicted nor condemned should be delivered out of prison.

Wherefore may it please your fatherly reverences to command the said Master John Huss, being neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken out of the bonds and fetters, in which he is now most grievously kept, and to put him into the hands of some reverend lord bishops or commissioners, deputed, or to be deputed, by this present council; that the said Master John Huss may be recruited in his strength, and be the more diligently and commodiously examined by the said lords commissioners. And for the greater assurance, the barons and nobles aforesaid of the kingdom of Bohemia will provide most sure and good sureties, who would not break their faith for any thing in the world; who also shall promise in his behalf, that he shall not flee out of the hands of the said commissioners, until such time as the matter be fully determined. In the effectual execution of which premises, wholesomely foreseeing to the *status*, fame, and honour of the said kingdom of Bohemia, and also to the safe-conduct of the most serene prince, the king of Romans; and lest the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the said kingdom of Bohemia and of the lords aforesaid, should not a little slander the said lords; pretending perhaps hereafter, that they had made unlawful or unreasonable requests :—for the withstanding of such mischiefs we require your fatherly reverences, that you will decree, and most graciously consent, that this our petition be drawn out and reduced into public form by your notary.

After this supplication was read before the deputies of the four nations, the patriarch of Antioch answered in the name of them all unto every article of the said supplication; but it was done in few words.

See Appendix

Substance of the Answer of the Council to the Supplication.

First, as touching the protestation of John Huss, whether it be true or false, it shall be made evident in the process of his cause. Moreover, whereas they say that the adversaries of John Huss have perversely drawn certain things out of his books, that, also, the matter itself shall declare in the end; when, if it shall be found and decreed that John Huss is unjustly and untruly accused, it shall then come to pass that his adversaries shall incur perpetual ignominy and slander. But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or bound, yet can it not by any means be, that the deputies of the council with a safe conscience may receive or take them in that man's cause, unto whom there is no faith nor credit to be given. Howbeit thus much they will do, upon the fifth day of June next John Huss shall be brought again unto Constance, and there have free liberty to speak his mind before the council, and then they will lovingly and gently hear him.

John Huss in no case must be bailed.

No credit to be kept with a heretic.

But the matter in the end fell out far contrary to this promise.—The same day the said barons and lords presented a supplication of this tenor unto the emperor:

Supplication of the Barons to the Emperor Sigismund for John Huss.

Unto the most high and mighty prince, the lord Sigismund, king of the Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our most gracious lord, faithful and true service in all things, and at all times. Most serene prince and gracious lord, we signify unto your serenity, that we all together, with one mind, consent, and accord, have delivered up unto the reverend fathers and lords, the deputies of the four nations, and to the whole sacred council of Constance, this our supplication hereunder written, as reasonable, just, and worthy of consideration; the tenor whereof here followeth word by word, and is this.[1]

'Wherefore we most humbly require and desire your princely majesty, that both for the love of justice, and also of the fame and renown of that most famous kingdom of Bohemia, whereof we acknowledge you undoubtedly the true lord, heir, and successor; and also foreseeing unto the liberty of your safe-conduct; that you would, beholding with a favourable countenance these reasonable and just supplications which we have put up to the lords aforesaid, interpose your good offices with the said most reverend fathers and lords, that they may effectually hear us in this our just petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforesaid. But lest the enemies of the renown and honour of the famous kingdom of Bohemia (and such be our slanderers also) should hereafter slander us, that we had made unlawful and unreasonable requests unto the said most reverend lords; therefore, we desired of them, that it would please them to decree to authorise our said supplication by setting to their public hand. In like wise, we do earnestly beg of your serene highness, that you would vouchsafe and be pleased to give us your testimonial to the premises.

But what answer the emperor made hereunto, we could never understand or know; but by the process of the matter a man may easily judge, that this good emperor was brought and led even unto this point, through the obstinate mischief of the cardinals and bishops, to break and falsify his promise and faith which he had made and promised: and this was their reason whereby he was driven thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by safe-conduct, or by any other means unto him, who was suspected or judged to be a

The king forced by the importunity of the cardinals to break promise.

(1) The copy of the supplication before written, which was presented unto the deputies of the council, was here inserted, whereunto that which followeth was annexed. See page 440.

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heretic. But by the epistles and letters of John Huss, a man may easily judge what the king's mind was. Now we will proceed in the history.

The fifth day of June, the cardinals, bishops, and the rest of the priests, almost all that were in Constance, assembled to a great number, at the covent of the Franciscans in Constance; and there it was commanded, that before John Huss should be brought forth, in his absence they should rehearse the witnesses and articles which they had slanderously gathered out of his books; which articles, with John Huss's answer, we will hereafter repeat. By chance there was then present a certain notary, named Peter Mladoniewitz, who bare great love and amity unto the said Huss; who, as soon as he perceived that the bishops and cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemn the said articles in the absence of John Huss, went with all speed unto lords Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Clum, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the emperor; who, understanding their intent, sent Louis, the count Palatine of Heidelburgh, and the lord Frederic, Burgrave of Nuremberg, to signify unto them who ruled the council, that nothing should be resolved or done in the case of John Huss before it were first heard with equity, and that they should send him all such articles as were laid against the said Huss, which were either false or heretical; and he would do so much, that the said articles should be examined by good and learned men. Then, according to the emperor's will, the judgment of the principals of the council was suspended, until such time as John Huss were present.

Mischievous counsel of the popish band.

The crafty counsel of the papists stopped by the emperor.

In the mean season, these noble men, lords Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Clum, did give unto the two princes, whom the emperor had sent, certain small treatises which the said John Huss had made, out of the which his enemies had drawn certain articles falsely to present unto them who ruled the council; under this condition, that they would render them again, when they should demand them. The intent and meaning of these barons was, that by this means the adversaries of John Huss might the more easily be reproved, who, of a naughty and corrupt conscience, had picked corrupt sentences out of the said books of John Huss. The books were delivered unto the cardinals and bishops; and, that done, John Huss was brought forth, and the princes who were sent by the emperor, departed back again. Afterwards, they showed the books to John Huss, and he confessed openly, before the whole assembly, that he had made them; and that he was ready, if there were any fault in them, to amend the same.

Now hearken a little to the holy proceedings of these reverend fathers; for here happened a strange and shameful matter. With much ado they had scarcely read one article, and brought forth a few witnesses upon the same against him, but, as he was about to open his mouth to answer, all this mad herd or flock began so to cry out upon him, that he had not leisure to speak one only word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well have called it a bruit or noise of wild beasts, and not of men; much less was it to be judged a congregation of men gathered together, to judge and determine so grave and weighty matters. And if it happened that the noise and cry did ever so little cease, that he might

John Huss forced to keep silence by outrage of the bishops and priests

answer any thing at all out of the holy Scriptures or ecclesiastical doctors, by and by he should hear this goodly reply upon him: "That maketh nothing to the purpose."[1] *Henry V.* A. D. 1415.

Besides all this, some did outrage in words against him, and others spitefully mocked him; so that he, seeing himself overwhelmed with these rude and barbarous noises and cries, and that it profited nothing to speak, determined finally with himself to hold his peace and keep silence. From that time forward, all the whole rout of his adversaries thought that they had won the battle of him, and cried out all together; "Now he is dumb, now he is dumb: this is a certain sign and token, that he doth consent and agree unto these his errors." Finally, the matter came to this point, that certain of the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all should be deferred and put off until another time. Through their advice, the prelates and others parted from the council for that present, and appointed to meet there again on the day after the morrow, to proceed in judgment. An outrageous council. See Appendix

On that day, which was the seventh of June, somewhere about seven of the clock, the sun a little before having been almost wholly eclipsed, this same flock assembled again in the cloister of the friars minor, and by their appointment John Huss was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. Thither went also the emperor, whom the noble men, lords Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Clum, and the notary named Peter, who were great friends of the said Huss, did follow, to see what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard read, on the accusation of Michael de Causis, these words following: "John Huss hath taught the people divers and many errors both in the chapel of Bethlehem, and also in many other places of the city of Prague, of the which errors some of them he hath drawn out of Wickliff's books, and the rest he hath forged and invented of his own head, and doth maintain the same very obstinately and stiffly. First, that after the consecration and pronunciation of the words in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth material bread." And this was proved by the witness of John Protyway, parish-priest of St. Clement's in Prague; John Pecklow, preacher at St. Giles' in Prague; Benise, preacher in the castle of Prague; Andrew Brode, canon of Prague; and divers other priests. Unto this John Huss, taking a solemn oath, answered that he never spake any such word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the archbishop of Prague forbade him to use any more that term or word 'bread,' he could not allow the bishop's commandment; forsomuch as Christ, in the sixth chapter of John, doth eleven times name himself the bread of angels, which came down from heaven, to give life unto the whole world: but as touching material bread, he never spake any thing at all. Then the cardinal of Cambray, taking a certain bill in his hand, which he said he received the day before, said unto John Huss: "Do you prove universalities 'a parte rei,' i. e. 'by part of a thing?'" When John Huss answered that he did, because St. Anselm and divers others had so done, the cardinal did proceed to gather his argument in this manner: "It followeth

A great eclipse of the sun.

'They went forth with swords and staves, as it had been to take a thief.'

Peter and John follow Christ into the bishop's house.

Matter made against John Huss.

False witness against John Huss.

His answer.

Naming of bread forbidden by the archbishops.

(1) The like practice, in these later days, was used at Oxford against the godly fathers.

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then," said he, "that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of material bread; and that I do thus prove: for the consecration being done, whiles the bread is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as you say, either there doth remain the common substance of material bread, or contrariwise. If the substance do remain, then is the proposition proved: if contrariwise, then doth it follow, that by the ceasing of the singularity, the universal ceaseth any more to be."—John Huss answered, "Truly it ceaseth to be in this singular material bread, by reason of the transubstantiation, when it is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ; but notwithstanding, in other singularities the subject remaineth."

The cardinal sophisticateth with John Huss.

Then a certain Englishman by that argument would prove out of the first position, that there remained material bread. Then said John Huss, "That is a childish argument, which every boy in the schools knoweth:" and thereupon gave a solution. Then another Englishman would prove, that there remained material bread in the sacrament, because the bread after the consecration was not annihilated. Unto whom John Huss answered, "Although," said he, "the bread be not annihilated or consumed, yet singularly it ceaseth there to be, by reason of the alteration of its substance into the body of Christ."

The disputation of the Englishmen.

Another Englishman.

Here another Englishman stepping forth, said: "John Huss seemeth unto me to use the same kind of crafty speech which Wickliff used, for he granted all these things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully persuaded that material bread remained in the sacrament after the consecration." Which when John Huss had denied, saying, that he spake nothing but only sincerely and uprightly, according to his conscience; the Englishman proceeded to demand of him again, whether the body of Christ be totally and really in the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto John Huss answered: "Verily, I do think that the body of Christ is really and totally in the sacrament of the altar, which was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, died, and rose again, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty." When they had disputed a good while to and fro, as touching universalities, the Englishman, who before would prove that material bread remained in the sacrament, because the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talk, said: "To what purpose is this disputation upon universalities, which maketh nothing to the purpose, as touching faith? For as far as I can perceive or hear, this man holdeth a good opinion as touching the sacrament of the altar." Then another Englishman, named Stokes, said: "I have seen at Prague a certain treatise, which was ascribed unto this man John Huss, wherein it was plainly set forth, that after the consecration there remained material bread in the sacrament." "Verily," said John Huss, "saving your reverence, that is not true."

John Huss agreeth with that blind time in the sacrament.

Stokes, an Englishman.

False witness.

John Huss falsely accused for calling St. Gregory a rhymer.

Then they returned again unto the testimony of them who were spoken of a little before, who, every man for himself affirmed, with an oath, that which he had said; among whom John Protyway, parish priest of St. Clement's in Prague, when he should come to confirm his testimony, added more, that John Huss should say, that St. Gregory was but a rhymer, when he did allege his authority against him. Unto whom John Huss answered, that in this point they did him great

injury, forasmuch as he always esteemed and reputed St. Gregory for a most holy doctor of the church. *Henry V.*

These contentions and disputations being somewhat appeased, the cardinal of Florence turned himself towards John Huss and said: A. D. 1415. "Master, you know well enough that it is written, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all witness is firm and stable; and here you see now almost twenty witnesses against you, men of authority and worthy of credit, amongst whom some have heard you teach these things themselves, the others by report and common bruit or voice do testify of your doctrine; and all together, generally, bring firm reasons and proofs of their witness, unto the which we are forced and constrained to give credit; and, for my part, I see not how you can maintain and defend your cause against so many notable and well learned men." Unto whom John Huss answered in this manner: "I take God and my conscience to witness, that I never taught any thing, neither was it ever in my mind or fantasy to teach in such sort or manner, as these men here have not feared to witness against me that which they never heard. And albeit they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more esteem, yea, and without comparison, regard the witness of my Lord God, before the witness and judgment of all mine adversaries, upon whom I do in no point stay myself."

The cardinal of Florence. Twenty witnesses prevailed against John Huss, but the testimony of all Bohemia could not serve on his part.

Then said the cardinal again unto him: "It is not lawful for us to judge according to your conscience; for we cannot choose, but that we must needs stay ourselves upon the firm and evident witness of these men here. For it is not for any displeasure or hatred, that these men do witness this against you (as you do allege), for they allege and bring forth such reasons of their witness, that there is no man that can perceive any hatred in them, or that we can, in any case, be in doubt thereof. And as touching Master Stephen Paletz, whereas you say, you do suspect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawn out certain points or articles out of your books, to be produced afterward; it seemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in my opinion he hath used and showed such fidelity, that, in amity toward you, he hath alleviated and moderated many of your articles much more than they are in your own books. I understand, also, that you have like opinion of divers other notable men, and especially you have said, that you do suspect Master Chancellor of Paris, than whom there is no more excellent and christian man in all the whole world."

The cardinal of Cambray. *See Appendix.*

He meaneth Gerson.

Then was there read a certain article of accusation, in the which it was alleged, that John Huss had taught, and obstinately defended, certain erroneous articles of Wickliff's in Bohemia. Whereunto Huss answered, that he never taught any errors of John Wickliff's, or any other man's. "Wherefore, if it be so that Wickliff hath sowed any errors in England, let the Englishmen look to that themselves." But to confirm their article, there was alleged that John Huss did withstand the condemnation of Wickliff's articles, the which had been first made at Rome. And afterward also, when the archbishop of Prague, with other learned men, held a convocation at Prague for the same matter, when they would have there been condemned for this cause, that none of them were agreeing to the catholic faith or doctrine, but were either

Another accusation for defending Wickliff's articles.

Henry V. A.D. 1415.

heretical, erroneous, or offensive; he answered, that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending of his conscience, and especially for these articles: that Silvester the pope, and Constantine, did err in bestowing those great gifts and rewards upon the church: also, that the pope or priest, being in mortal sin, cannot consecrate nor baptize.

Certain articles of Wickliff that John Huss stood to.

"This article," said Huss, "I have thus limited, so as I should say, that he doth unworthily consecrate or baptize, for that, when he is in deadly sin, he is an unworthy minister of the sacraments of God." Here his accusers, with their witnesses, were earnest and instant, that the article of Wickliff was written by John Huss *totidem verbis* in the treatise which he had made against Stephen Paletz. "Verily," said John Huss, "I fear not to submit myself even to the punishment of death, if you shall not find it so as I have said." When the book was brought forth, they found it written as John Huss had said. He added also, moreover, that he durst not agree unto them who had condemned Wickliff's articles for this article, "The tenths are pure alms."

Whether tenths be pure alms.

Here the cardinal of Florence objected unto him this argument: "To constitute alms it is requisite, that it should be given freely without bond or duty: but tenths are not given freely, but of bond or duty: therefore are they no alms." John Huss, denying the major of this syllogism, brought this reason against him: "Forsomuch as rich men are bounden, under the pain of eternal damnation, unto the fulfilling of the six works of mercy, which Christ repeateth in Matthew xxv., and these works are pure alms; ergo, alms are also given by bond and duty." Then an archbishop of England, stepping up, said: "If we all be bound unto those six works of mercy, it doth follow that poor men, who have nothing at all to give, should be damned." "I answer," said Huss, "unto your antecedent, that I spake distinctly of rich men, and of those who had wherewithal to do those works. They, I say, are bound to give alms under pain of damnation."

Alms stand of duty.

See Appendix.

He answered moreover, unto the minor of the first argument, that tenths were at first given freely, and afterward made a bond and duty; and when he would have declared it more at large, he could not be suffered. He declared also divers other causes why he could not, with safe conscience, consent unto the condemnation of Wickliff's articles. But howsoever the matter went, he did affirm and say, that he did never obstinately confirm any articles of Wickliff's, but only that he did not allow and consent that Wickliff's articles should be condemned, before sufficient reasons were alleged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation.

The mind of John Huss touching the condemnation of Wickliff's articles.

'And of the same mind,' saith John Huss, 'are a great many other doctors and masters of the university of Prague; for when Sbinco the archbishop commanded all Wickliff's books to be gathered together in the whole city of Prague, and to be brought unto him, I myself brought also certain books of Wickliff's, which I gave unto the archbishop, desiring him, that if he found any error or heresy in them, he would note and mark them, and I myself would publish them openly. But the archbishop, albeit that he showed me no error nor heresy in them, burned my books, together with those that were brought unto him, notwithstanding he had no such commandment from pope Alexander V. But, notwithstanding, by a certain policy, he obtained a bull from the said pope by means of Jaroslaus, bishop of Sarepta, of the order of Franciscans, that all Wickliff's books, for the manifold errors contained in them (whereof there were none named), should be taken out of all men's hands. The archbishop, using the

Wickliff's books burned in Prague by the archbishop Swinco.

authority of this bull, thought he should bring to pass, that the king of Bohemia and the nobles should consent to the condemnation of Wickliff's books; but therein he was deceived. Yet nevertheless, calling together certain divines, he gave them in commission to sit upon Wickliff's books, and to proceed against them by a definitive sentence in the canon law. These men, by a general sentence, judged all those books worthy to be burned; which when the doctors, masters and scholars of the university heard report of, they, all together, with one consent and accord (none excepted but only they, who before were chosen by the archbishop to sit in judgment), determined to make supplication unto the king to stay the matter. The king, granting their request, sent by and by certain unto the archbishop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing, as touching Wickliff's books, contrary unto the king's will and pleasure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burn them the next day after, yet for fear of the king, the matter was passed over. In the mean time pope Alexander V. being dead, the archbishop, fearing lest the bull which he had received of the pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and shutting the gates of his court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed soldiers, consumed and burned all Wickliff's books. Besides this great injury, the archbishop by means of his bull aforesaid, committed another no less intolerable; for he gave out commandment, that no man after that time, under pain of excommunication, should teach any more in chapels. Whereupon I did appeal unto the pope; who being dead, and the cause of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewise unto his successor John XXIII.: before whom when, by the space of two years, I could not be admitted by my advocates to defend my cause, I appealed unto the high judge Christ.'

The university of Prague maketh supplication to the king for saving of Wickliff's books.

Wickliff's books burned in Prague against the king's will.

A decree that no man should teach any more in chapels.

When John Huss had spoken these words, it was demanded of him, whether he had received absolution of the pope or no? He answered, "no." Then again, whether it were lawful for him to appeal unto Christ or no? Whereunto John Huss answered: "Verily I do affirm here before you all, that there is no more just or effectual appeal, than that appeal which is made unto Christ, forasmuch as the law doth determine, that to appeal, is no other thing than in a cause of grief or wrong done by an inferior judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher judge's hand. Who is then a higher judge than Christ? Who, I say, can know or judge the matter more justly, or with more equity? when in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceived; or, who can better help the miserable and oppressed than he?" While John Huss, with a devout and sober countenance, was speaking and pronouncing those words, he was derided and mocked by all the whole council.

John Huss appealeth to the pope, and from the pope to Christ.

Whether it be lawful to appeal to Christ or no.

The popish church derideth Christ.

Then was there rehearsed another article of his accusation in this manner; that John Huss, to confirm the heresy which he had taught the common and simple people out of Wickliff's books, said openly these words: "That at what time a great number of monks and friars, and other learned men were gathered together in England, in a certain church, to dispute against John Wickliff, and could by no means vanquish him, or give him the foil, suddenly the church-door was broken open with lightning, so that with much ado Wickliff's enemies hardly escaped without hurt." He added moreover, that he wished his soul to be in the same place where John Wickliff's soul was. Whereunto John Huss answered, that a dozen years before any books of divinity of John Wickliff's were in Bohemia, he did see certain works of philosophy of his, which, he said, did marvellously delight and please him. And when he understood the good and godly life of the said Wickliff, he spake these words: "I trust," said he, "that

Huss accused for trusting that Wickliff's soul is saved.

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Wickliff is saved; and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wish, that my soul were in the same place where John Wickliff's is." Then again did all the company jest and laugh at him.

Sedition laid to his charge.

It is also in his accusation, that John Huss did counsel the people, according to the example of Moses, to resist with the sword against all such as did gainsay his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the same, there were found openly, in divers places, certain intimations, that every man, being armed with his sword about him, should stoutly proceed; and that brother should not spare brother, neither one neighbour another. John Huss answered, that all these things were falsely laid to his charge by his adversaries; for he at all times, when he preached, did diligently admonish and warn the people, that they should all arm themselves to defend the truth of the gospel, according to the saying of the apostle, "with the helmet and sword of salvation;" and that he never spake of any material sword, but of that which is the word of God. And as touching intimations, or Moses' sword, he never had any thing to do withal.

Huss accused for moving certain tumults against the clergy, and division in the university of Prague.

It is moreover affirmed in his accusation and witness, that many offences are sprung up by the doctrine of Huss. For first of all, he sowed discord between the ecclesiastical and the politic state: whereupon followed the persecution, spoiling and robbery of the clergy and bishops; and moreover, that he, through his dissension, dissolved the university of Prague. Hereunto John Huss briefly answered, that these things had not happened by his means or default; for the first dissension that was between the ecclesiastical and politic state, sprang up and grew upon this cause, that pope Gregory XII. promised at his election, that at all times, at the will and pleasure of the cardinals, he would depart from, and give over his seat again: for under that condition he was elect and chosen. This man, contrary and against Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, who was then king of the Romans, made Louis, duke of Bavaria, emperor.

A story of popes.

A few years after, it happened, when pope Gregory would not refuse and give over his seat and office at the request of the cardinals, that the whole college of cardinals sent letters to the king of Bohemia, requiring him, that, together with them, he would renounce and forsake his obedience unto pope Gregory; and so it should come to pass, that by the authority of a new bishop he should recover again his imperial dignity. For this cause the king consented to the will of the cardinals as touching a neutrality; that is to say, that he would neither take part with pope Gregory at Rome, neither yet with Benedict XII., residing at Avignon, who was also named pope, as it doth appear by chronicles. In this cause then, forsomuch as the archbishop Sbinco with the clergy were against the king, and, abstaining from the divine service, many of them departed out of the city, yea, and even the archbishop himself, having first broken down the tomb of Saint Wenceslaus, and against the king's will taken and burned Wickliff's books:—thereupon the king, without any gainsaying, suffered that certain goods of theirs, who of their own wills were fled away, should be spoiled; that they might not consent or accord with the archbishop. Whereupon it is easy to be understand and known

See Appendix.

Why Sbinco and other of the clergy did fly out of Prague.

that John Huss was falsely accused for that matter. Howbeit a certain man, one Naso,[1] rising up, said: "The clergy do not abstain from the divine service, because they will not swear to consent unto the king, but because that they are spoiled and robbed of their goods and substance." And the cardinal of Cambray, who was one of the judges said: "Here I may say somewhat which is come into my mind. When I came from Rome, the same year that these things were done, by chance I met on the way certain prelates of Bohemia; of whom when I demanded what news they had brought out of Bohemia, they answered, that there was happened a wonderful cruel and heinous fact; for all the clergy were spoiled of their substance, and very ill entreated and handled."

Then John Huss, alleging the same cause which he did before, went forward unto the second part of the article which was objected against him, denying also that it happened through his fault, that the Germans departed from the university of Prague. "But when the king of Bohemia, according to the foundation of Charles IV., his father, granted three voices unto the Bohemians, and the fourth unto the Germans; thereat the Germans grudging that they should be deprived of part of their voices, whereof they had had three, of their own accord departed and went their ways; binding themselves with a great oath, and under a great penalty,[2] both of their fame and also money, that none of them should return again unto Prague. Notwithstanding, I am not ashamed to confess, that for the commodity and profit of my country I did approve and allow the doings of the king, unto whom of duty I owe obedience. And because you shall not think that I have spoken any untruth, here is present Albert Warren Trapius, who was Dean of the faculty of arts, who had sworn to depart with the rest of the Germans; he, if he will say the truth, shall easily clear me of this suspicion."

A declaration how the Germans departed from the university of Prague.

See Appendix.

But when Albert would have spoken, he could not be heard. But this Naso, of whom before is made mention, after he had asked leave to speak, said: "This matter do I understand well enough, for I was in the king's court when these things were done in Bohemia, when I saw the masters of the three nations of the Germans, the Bavarians, Saxons, and Silesians, amongst whom the Polonians were also numbered, most humbly come unto the king, requiring that he would not suffer the right of their voices to be taken from them; then the king promised them that he would foresee and provide for their requests: but John Huss and Jerome of Prague, with divers others, persuaded the king that he should not so do. Whereat the king at first being not a little moved, gave him a sore check, that he and Jerome of Prague did so much intermeddle themselves, and moved such open controversies, insomuch that he threatened them, that except they would foresee and take heed, he would bring it to pass that the matter should be determined and decreed by fire. Wherefore, most reverend fathers! you shall understand that the king of Bohemia did never favour with his heart these men, whose unshamefastness is such; that they feared not even of late to treat me evil, being so much in the king's favour and credit." After

The slander of the unshamefast sycophant

(1) This doctor Naso was counsellor to king Wenceslaus.
(2) The penalty of money was a hundred silver shock.

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him stepped forth Paletz, saying, "Verily most reverend fathers, not only the learned men of other nations, but also of Bohemia itself, are, through the counsel of John Huss and his adherents, banished out of Bohemia, of which number some remain yet in exile in Moravia." Hereunto John Huss answered: "How can this be true," said he, "since I was not at Prague at that time, when these men you speak of departed and went away from thence?" These things were thus debated the day aforesaid as touching John Huss.

Paletz speaketh against John Huss.

Huss committed to custody.

This done, the said John Huss was committed to the custody of the archbishop of Riga, under whom Jerome of Prague was also prisoner. But before he was led away, the cardinal of Cambray, calling him back again in the presence of the emperor, said, "John Huss, I have heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come unto Constance, neither the emperor himself, nor the king of Bohemia, could have compelled you to do it." Unto whom John Huss answered: "Under your license, most reverend father! I never used any such kind of talk or words. But this I did say, that there were in Bohemia a great number of gentlemen and noblemen, who did favour and love me, who also might easily have kept me in some sure and secret place, that I should not have been constrained to come unto this town of Constance, neither at the will of the emperor, neither of the king of Bohemia." With that the cardinal of Cambray, even for very anger began to change his colour, and despitefully said: "Do you not see the unshamefastness of the man here?" And as they were murmuring and whispering on all parts, the lord John de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which John Huss had spoken, said, that John Huss had spoken very well; "for on my part," said he, "who, in comparison of a great many others, am but of small force in the realm of Bohemia, yet always, if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him easily by the space of one year, even against all the force and power of both these great and mighty kings. How much better might they have done it who are of more force or puissance than I am, and have stronger castles and places than I have?" After the lord de Clum had spoken, the cardinal of Cambray said, "Let us leave this talk; and I tell you, John Huss! and counsel you, that you submit yourself unto the sentence and mind of the council, as you did promise in the prison; and if you will do so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honour."

See Appendix.

The cardinal of Cambray.

John de Clum

And the emperor himself began to tell him the same tale, saying:

The emperor's exhortation to John Huss.

Albeit that there be some who say, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained of us our letters of safe-conduct; notwithstanding, I can well prove, by the witness of many princes and noblemen, that the said safe-conduct was obtained and gotten of us by my lord de Duba and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prague, under whose guard we have sent for you, to the end that none should do you any outrage or hurt, but that you should have full liberty to speak freely before all the council, and to answer as touching your faith and doctrine; and, as you see, my lords the cardinals and bishops have so dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good will towards you; for which we have great cause to thank them. And forasmuch as divers have told us, that we may not, or ought not, of right to defend any man who is a heretic, or suspected of heresy; therefore, now we give you even the same counsel which the cardinal of Cambray hath given you already,

that you be not obstinate to maintain any opinion, but that you do submit yourself under such obedience as you owe unto the authority of the holy council, in all things that shall be laid against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses: which thing if you do according to our counsel, we will give order that for the love of us, of our brother, and the whole realm of Bohemia, the council shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easy and tolerable penance and satisfaction. Which thing if you, contrariwise, refuse to do, the presidents of the council shall have sufficient wherewithal to proceed against you. And, for our part, be ye well assured, that we will sooner prepare and make the fire with our own hands, to burn you withal, than we will endure or suffer any longer that you shall maintain or use this stiffness of opinions, which you have hitherto maintained and used. Wherefore our advice and counsel is, that you submit yourself wholly unto the judgment of the council. *Henry V.* A. D. 1415.

Unto whom John Huss answered in this sort; "O most noble emperor! I render unto your highness immortal thanks, for your letters of safe-conduct." Upon this lord John de Clum did interrupt him, and admonished him that he did not excuse himself of the charge of obstinacy. Then said John Huss: "O most gentle lord! I do take God to my witness, that I was never minded to maintain any opinion ever obstinately; and that for this same intent and purpose I did come hither of mine own good-will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine than mine, I would then change mine opinion without any further doubt." After he had spoken and said these things, he was sent away with serjeants. Answer of John Huss unto the emperor. *See Appendix.*

The morrow after, which was the eighth day of June, the very same company which was assembled the day before, assembled now again at the covent of the Franciscans. And in this assembly were also John Huss's friends, lord de Duba, and lord de Clum, and Peter the notary. Thither was John Huss also brought; and in his presence there were read about thirty-nine articles, which, they said, were drawn out of his books. Huss acknowledged all those that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of which sort there were but very few. The residue were counterfeited and forged by his adversaries, and specially by Stephen Paletz, the principal author of this mischief: for they could find no such thing in the books, out of which they said they had drawn and gathered them; or at least, if they were, they were corrupted by slanders, as a man may easily perceive by the number of articles. Thirty-nine articles laid to John Huss.

These be the same articles in a manner which were showed before in the prison to John Huss, and are rehearsed here in another order. Howbeit there were more articles added unto them, and some others corrected and enlarged. But now we will show them one with another, and declare what the said Huss did answer both openly before them all, as also in the prison, for he left his answers in the prison briefly written with his own hand in these words.

The Answer of John Huss to twenty-six Articles concerning his Book of the Church.

I, John Huss, unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, master of arts, and bachelor of divinity, do confess that I have written a certain small treatise, entituled, 'Of the Church;' a copy whereof was showed me in presence of notaries by the three

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commissioners of the council, that is to say, by the patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Castel-a-mare, and the bishop of Lebus: which commissioners, in reproof of the said treatise, delivered unto me certain articles, saying, that they were drawn out of the said treatise, and were written in the same.

First article.

The first article: 'There is but one holy universal or catholic church, which is the universal company of all the predestinate.' I do confess that this proposition is mine, and it is confirmed by the saying of St. Augustine upon St. John.

Second. St. Paul never member of the devil.

The second article: 'St. Paul was never any member of the devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant church. And likewise St. Peter, who fell into a horrible sin of perjury and denial of his Master, it was by the permission of God, that he might the more firmly and steadfastly rise again and be confirmed.' I answer according to St. Augustine, that it is expedient that the elect and predestinate should sin and offend. Hereby it appeareth that there are two manner of separations from the holy church. The first is, not to perdition, as all the elect are divided from the church. The second is to perdition, by which certain heretics are, through their deadly sin, divided from the church. Yet notwithstanding, by the grace of God, they may return again unto the flock, and be of the fold of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom he speaketh himself, saying, 'I have other sheep which are not of this fold,' John x.

Two manner of separations from the church.

Third. The members of the church never fall finally away.

The third article: 'No part or member of the church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, forasmuch as the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall.' This proposition is thus placed in my book: 'The reprobate of the church proceed out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same, forasmuch as no part or member of the same doth finally fall away; because that the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall away.' This is proved by 1 Cor. xiii., and Romans viii.: 'All things turn to good to them which love God.' Also, 'I am certain that neither death nor life can separate us from the charity and love of God:' as it is more at large in the book.

Fourth. The predestinate is always a member of the universal church.

The fourth article: 'The predestinate, although he be not in the state of grace according to present justice, yet is he always a member of the universal church.' This is an error, if it be understood of all such as be predestinate: for thus it is in the book, about the beginning of the fifth chapter, where it is declared, that there be divers manners and sorts of being in the church: for there are some in the church, according to a misshapen faith; and others according to predestination, as Christians predestinate, now in sin, but who shall return again unto grace.

Fifth. To be in the church, and a member of the church. Predestination.

The fifth article: 'There is no degree of honour or dignity, neither any human election, or any sensible sign, that can make any man a member of the universal church.' I answer, this article is after this manner in my book. 'And such subtleties are understood and known by considering what it is to be in the church, and what it is to be a part or member of the church; and that predestination doth make a man a member of the universal church, which is a preparation of grace for the present, and of glory to come; and not any degree of dignity, neither election of man, neither any sensible sign. For the traitor Judas Iscariot, notwithstanding Christ's election, and the temporal graces which were given him for his office of apostleship, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true apostle of Jesus Christ, yet was he no true disciple, but a wolf covered in a sheep's skin, as St. Augustine saith.'

Sixth. Both good and bad in the church.

The sixth article: 'A reprobate man is never a member of the holy church.' I answer, it is in my book with sufficient long probation out of Psalm xxvi., and out of the Ephesians v., and also by St. Bernard's saying: 'The church of Jesus Christ is more plainly and evidently his body, than the body which he delivered for us to death.' I have also written in the fifth chapter of my book, that the holy church is the barn of the Lord, in which are both good and evil, predestinate and reprobate, the good being as the good corn or grain and the evil as the chaff; and thereunto is added the exposition of St. Augustine.

The seventh article.

The seventh article: 'Judas was never no true disciple of Jesus Christ.' I answer, and I do confess the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is passed afore, and by St. Augustine (Causa xxxiii. quæst. 3, 'De Pœnitentiâ,' Dist. 4, c. 8.)

where he doth expound the meaning of St. John, in the first epistle, chap. ii., where he saith, 'They came out from amongst us, but they were none of us.'—"'He knew from the beginning all them that should believe, and him also that should betray him, and said, Therefore said I unto you, that none cometh unto me except it be given him of my Father. From that time many of the disciples parted from him.' But were not those also called disciples, according to the words of the gospel? And yet, notwithstanding, they were no true disciples, because they did not remain and continue in the word of the Son of God, according as it is said, 'If you continue in my word, you be my disciples:' forsomuch, then, as they did not continue with Christ as his true disciples, so likewise are they not the true sons of God: although they seem so, unto Him they are not so, unto whom it is known what they shall be, that is to say, of good, evil." Thus much writeth St. Augustine. It is also evident that Judas could not be the true disciple of Christ, by reason of his covetousness: for Christ himself said in the presence of Judas, as I suppose, 'Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.' Forsomuch then as Judas did not forsake all things, according to the Lord's will, and follow him, he was a thief, as it is said in John xii.; and a devil, John vi.; whereby it is evident by the word of the Lord, that Judas was not his true, but feigned disciple. Whereupon St. Augustine, writing upon John, declaring how 'the sheep hear the voice' of Christ, saith, "What manner of hearers, think ye, his sheep were? Truly Judas heard him and was a wolf, yet followed he the shepherd; but being clothed in a sheep's skin, he lay in wait for the shepherd."

Eighth article.

The eighth article: 'The congregation of the predestinate, whether they be in the state of grace or no, according unto present justice, is the holy universal church; and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the same church which hath neither wrinkle, nor spot in it, but is holy and undefiled, which the Son of God doth call his own.' Answer: The words of the book out of the which this article was drawn are these: 'Thirdly, the church is understood and taken for the congregation and assembly of the faithful, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present justice, or not. And in this sort it is an article of our faith, of which St. Paul maketh mention in Ephesians v.: 'Christ so loved his church, that he delivered and offered himself for the same,' &c. I pray you then, is there any faithful man who doth doubt that the church doth not signify all the elect and predestinate, which we ought to believe to be the universal church, the glorious spouse of Jesus Christ, holy and without spot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, which we ought firmly to believe according to our creed; 'I believe the holy catholic church:' and of this church do St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Jerome, and divers others make mention.

The church is taken sometime for the congregation of the elect and faithful, and so is the article taken in the creed.

Ninth article. Peter never was head of the whole universal church.

The ninth article: 'Peter never was, neither is the head of the holy universal church.' Answer: This article was drawn out of these words of my book. 'All men do agree in this point, that Peter had received of the Rock of the church (which is Christ), humility, poverty, steadfastness of faith, and consequently blessedness. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ was, when he said, Upon this Rock I will build my church, that he would build every militant church upon the person of Peter, for Christ should build his church upon the Rock which is Christ himself, from whence Peter received his steadfastness of faith, forasmuch as Jesus Christ is the only head and foundation of every church, and not Peter.'

Tenth article. The vicar of Christ, how he is to be taken.

The tenth article: 'If he that is called the vicar of Jesus Christ, do follow Christ in his life, then he is his true vicar. But, if so be he do walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, and the enemy and adversary of St. Peter, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the vicar of Judas Iscariot.' I answer, the words of my book are these: 'If he who is called the vicar of St. Peter, walk in the ways of christian virtues aforesaid, we do believe verily that he is the true vicar, and true bishop of the church which he ruleth; but if he walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, contrary both to St. Peter, and to our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore St. Bernard, in his fourth book, did write in this sort unto pope Eugene: Thou delightest and walkest in great pride and arrogancy, being gorgeously and sumptuously arrayed; what fruit or profit do thy flock or sheep receive by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings

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of devils than of sheep. St. Peter and St. Paul did not so; wherefore thou seemest by these thy doings to succeed Constantine, and not St. Peter.' These be the very words of St. Bernard.[1] It followeth after, in my book, 'That if the manner and fashion of his life and living be contrary to that which St. Peter used, or that he be given to avarice and covetousness, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot, who loved and chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ.' As soon as they had read the same, those who ruled and governed the council, beheld one another, and making mocks and mouths, they nodded their heads at him.

Eleventh article.

The eleventh article: 'All such as do use simony, and priests living dissolutely and wantonly, do hold an untrue opinion of the seven sacraments, as unbelieving bastards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the keys or censures, rites and ceremonies; neither of the divine service of the church, nor of veneration or worshipping of relics; neither of the orders constituted and ordained in the church; neither yet of indulgences or pardons.' I answer, that it is placed in this manner in my book. 'This abuse of authority or power is committed by such as do sell and make merchandise of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by simony, making fairs and markets of the holy sacraments, and living in all kinds of voluptuousness and dissolute manners, or in any other filthy or villanous kind of living: they do pollute and defile the holy ecclesiastical state. And albeit that they profess in words that they do know God, yet do they deny it again by their deeds, and consequently believe not in God; but, as unbelieving bastards, they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the seven sacraments of the church. And this appeareth most evidently, forasmuch as all such do utterly contemn and despise the name of God, according to the saying of Malachi: Unto you, O priests! be it spoken, which do despise and contemn my name.' Chap. i.

Prelates making merchandise of holy orders.

Twelfth article. The pope taketh his original from the emperors.

The twelfth article: 'The papal dignity hath his original from the emperors of Rome.' I answer, and mark well what my words are: 'The pre-eminence and institution of the pope is sprung and come of the emperor's power and authority. And this is proved by the ninety-sixth distinction; for Constantine granted this privilege unto the bishop of Rome, and others after him confirmed the same: That like as Augustus, for the outward and temporal goods bestowed upon the church, is counted always the most high king above all others; so the bishop of Rome should be called the principal father above all other bishops. This notwithstanding, the papal dignity hath its original immediately from Christ, as touching his spiritual administration and office to rule the church.' Then the cardinal of Cambray said: 'In the time of Constantine, there was a general council holden at Nice, in which, albeit the highest room and place in the church was given to the bishop of Rome; for honour's cause, it is ascribed unto the emperor. Wherefore then do ye not as well affirm and say: That the papal dignity took its original rather from that council, than by the emperor's authority and power?'

Thirteenth article. The pope is not the head of any particular church.

The thirteenth article: 'No man would reasonably affirm (without revelation) either of himself or of any other, that he is the head of any particular church.' I answer, I confess it to be written in my book, and it followeth straight after: 'Albeit that through his good living he ought to hope and trust that he is a member of the holy universal church, the spouse of Jesus Christ, according to the saying of the Preacher: No man knoweth whether he be worthy and have deserved grace and favour, or hatred. And Luke xvii.: When ye have done all that ye can, say that you are unprofitable servants.'

Fourteenth article.

The fourteenth article: 'It ought not to be believed that the pope, whatsoever he be, may be the head of any particular church, unless he be predestinate or ordained of God.' I answer, that I do acknowledge this proposition to be mine; and this is easy to prove, forasmuch as it is necessary that the christian faith should be depraved, forasmuch as the church was deceived by N., as it appeareth by St. Augustine.

Fifteenth. The pope's power vain.

The fifteenth article: 'The pope's power as vicar, is but vain and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and address his life according to Jesus Christ, and follow the manners of St. Peter.' I answer, that it is thus in my book; 'That it is meet and expedient that he who is ordained vicar, should address and

(1) Bern ad Eugen. lib. 4. [cap. 2. § 5; cap. 3. § 6.]

frame himself, in manners and conditions, to the authority of him who did put him in place.' And John Huss said, moreover, before the whole council: 'I understand that the power and authority in such a pope as doth not represent the manners of Christ, is frustrate and void, as touching the merit and reward which he should obtain and get thereby, and doth not get the same: but not as concerning his office.' Then certain others standing by, asked of him, saying, 'Where is that gloss in your book?' John Huss answered, 'You shall find it in my treatise against Master Paletz:' whereat all the assistants, looking one upon another, began to smile and laugh.

Distinction of merit and of office.

The sixteenth article: 'The pope is most holy, not because he doth supply and hold the room and place of St. Peter, but because he hath great revenues.' I answer, that my words are mutilated, for thus it is written: 'He is not most holy, because he is called the vicar of St. Peter, or because he hath great and large possessions; but if he be the follower of Jesus Christ in humility, gentleness, patience, labour and travail, and in perfect love and charity.'

Sixteenth article. Holiness cometh not by sitting, but by following.

The seventeenth article: 'The cardinals[1] are not the manifest and true successors of the other apostles of Jesus Christ, if they live not according to the fashion of the apostles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Jesus.' I answer, that it is thus written in my book, and it proveth itself sufficiently; 'For if they enter in by another way than by the door, which is the Lord Jesus, they be murderers and thieves.'

Seventeenth article

Then said the cardinal of Cambray, 'Behold, as to this and all the other articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable things in his book than are presented in the articles. Truly, John Huss, thou hast kept no order in thy sermons and writings. Had it not been your part to have applied your sermons according to your audience? for to what purpose was it, or what did it profit you before the people to preach against the cardinals, when none of them were present? It had been meeter for you to have told them their faults before them all, than before the laity.' Then answered John Huss: 'Reverend father! forasmuch as I did see many priests and other learned men present at my sermons, for their sakes I spake those words.' Then said the cardinal, 'Thou hast done very ill, for by such kind of talk thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the church.'

The eighteenth article: 'A heretic ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient only that he abide and suffer the ecclesiastical censure.' These are my words, 'That they might be ashamed of their cruel sentence and judgment, especially forasmuch as Jesus Christ, Bishop both of the Old and New Testament, would not judge such as were disobedient by civil judgment, neither condemn them to bodily death.' As touching the first point, it may evidently be seen in Luke xii. And for the second, it appeareth also by the woman who was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in John viii.; and it is said in Matthew xviii., 'If thy brother have offended thee,' &c. Mark, therefore, what I do say, that a heretic, whatsoever he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with christian love and gentleness by the holy Scriptures, and by the reasons drawn and taken out of the same; as St. Augustine and others have done, disputing against the heretics. But if there were any, who, after all these gentle and loving admonitions and instructions, would not cease from, or leave off, their stiffness of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporal or bodily punishment.

Eighteenth article. John Huss condemneth the cruelty of the prelates in seeking the death of heretics

As soon as John Huss had spoken those things, the judges read in his book a certain clause, wherein he seemed grievously to inveigh against them who delivered a heretic unto the secular power, not being confuted or convicted of heresy; and compared them unto the high priests, Scribes and Pharisees, who said unto Pilate, 'It is not lawful for us to put any man to death,' and delivered Christ unto him: and yet notwithstanding, according unto Christ's own witness, they were greater murderers than Pilate. 'For he,' said Christ, 'who hath delivered me unto thee, hath committed the greatest offence.' Then the cardinals and bishops made a great noise, and demanded of John Huss, saying: 'Who are they that thou dost compare or assimule unto the Pharisees?' Then he said, 'All those who deliver up any innocent unto the civil sword, as the Scribes and Pharisees delivered Jesus Christ unto Pilate.' 'No, no,' said they again; 'for

The betraying and condemning of innocents.

(1) The cardinals do count it heresy, that they should be compelled to be followers of the apostles.

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all that, you spake here of doctors.' And the cardinal of Cambray, according to his accustomed manner, said: 'Truly they who have made and gathered these articles, have used great lenity and gentleness, for his writings are much more detestable and horrible.'[1]

Nineteenth article. The church militant standeth in three parts.

The nineteenth article: 'The nobles of the world ought to constrain and compel the ministers of the church to observe and keep the law of Jesus Christ.' I answer, that it standeth thus, word for word, in my book. 'Those who be on our part do preach and affirm that the church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is divided, and consisteth in three parts: that is to say, ministers of the church, who should keep purely and sincerely the ordinances and commandments of the Son of God; and the nobles of the world, who should compel and drive them to keep the commandments of Jesus Christ; and of the common people, serving to both these parts and ends, according to the institution and ordinance of Jesus Christ.'

Twentieth article.

Three kinds of obedience.

The twentieth article: 'The ecclesiastical obedience is a kind of obedience which the priests and monks have invented without any express authority of the holy Scriptures.' I answer and confess, that those words are thus written in my book. I say that there be three kinds of obedience, spiritual, secular, and ecclesiastical. The spiritual obedience is that which is only due according to the law and ordinance of God, under which the apostles of Jesus Christ did live, and all Christians ought to live. The secular obedience is that which is due according to the civil laws and ordinances. The ecclesiastical obedience is such as the priests have invented, without any express authority of Scripture.

True obedience ruled by God's commandment.

The first kind of obedience doth utterly exclude from it all evil, as well on his part who giveth the commandment, as on his, also, who doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in Deut. xxiv. 'Thou shalt do all that which the priests of the kindred of Levi shall teach and instruct thee, according as I have commanded them.'

Twenty-first article.

The twenty-first article: 'He that is excommunicated by the pope, if he refuse and forsake the judgment of the pope and the general council, and appealeth unto Jesus Christ, after he hath made his appellation, all the excommunications and curses of the pope cannot annoy or hurt him. I answer, that I do not acknowledge this proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my book, that they had both done me, and such as favoured me, great wrong; and that they refuse to hear me in the pope's court. For after the death of one pope, I did appeal to his successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeal from the pope to the council it were too long; and that were even as much as if a man in trouble should seek an uncertain remedy. And, therefore, last of all, I have appealed to the Head of the church, my Lord Jesus Christ; for he is much more excellent and better than any pope, to discuss and determine matters and causes, forasmuch as he cannot err, neither yet deny justice to him that doth ask or require it in a just cause; neither can he condemn the innocent. Then spake the cardinal of Cambray unto him, and said: 'Wilt thou presume above St. Paul, who appealed unto the emperor, and not unto Jesus Christ?' John Huss answered: 'Forasmuch then as I am the first that do it, am I, therefore, to be reputed and counted a heretic? And yet notwithstanding St. Paul did not appeal unto the emperor of his own motion or will, but by the will of Christ, who spake unto him by revelation, and said: Be firm and constant, for thou must go unto Rome. And as he was about to rehearse his appeal[2] again, they mocked him.

Appealing unto Christ:

forbidden by the cardinal of Cambray.

Twenty-second article. A knot found in a rush.

The twenty-second article: 'A vicious and naughty man liveth viciously and naughtily; but a virtuous and godly man liveth virtuously and godly.' I answer, my words are these: 'That the division of all human works is into two parts; that is, that they be either virtuous or vicious; forasmuch as it doth appear, that if any man be virtuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then virtuously and godly. And, contrariwise, if a man be vicious and naughty, that which he doth is vicious and naughty.' For as vice, which is called crime or offence (and thereby understand deadly sin), doth universally infect or deprave all the acts and doings of the subject (that is, of the man who doth them), so likewise virtue and godliness do quicken all the acts and doings of the virtuous

See Appendix.

(1) And how could this cardinal of Cambray understand the books of John Huss being written in Bohemian speech, which he understood not?

(2) For this appeal of John Huss, see page 467.—Ed.

and godly man; insomuch that he, being in the state of grace, is said to pray and do good works even sleeping, as it were by a certain means working; as St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and divers others affirm. And it appeareth in Luke vi., 'If thine eye (that is to say, the mind or intention) be simple (not depraved with the perverseness of any sin or offence), all the whole body (that is to say, all the acts and doings) shall be clear and shining, (that is, acceptable and grateful unto God). But if thine eye be evil, the whole body is darkened.' And in 2 Cor. x.; 'All things that you do, do them to the glory of God.' And likewise in 1 Cor. xvi. it is said, 'Let all your doings be done with charity.' Wherefore all kind of life and living according unto charity is virtuous and godly; and if it be without charity, it is vicious and evil. This saying may well be proved out of Deut. xxiii., where God speaketh to the people, that he that keepeth his commandments is blessed in the house and in the field, outgoing and in-coming, sleeping and waking; but he that doth not keep his commandments, is accursed in the house and in the fields, in going out and in coming in, sleeping and waking, &c. The same also is evident by St. Augustine, upon the psalm, where he writeth, that a good man in all his doings doth praise the Lord. And Gregory saith, that the sleep of saints and holy men doth not lack their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeal, be not without reward, and consequently be virtuous and good? And contrariwise it is understood of him who is in deadly sin, of whom it is spoken in the law, that whatsoever the unclean man doth touch, is made unclean. To this end doth that also appertain, which is before repeated out of Mal. i. And Gregory, in the first book and first question, saith, 'We do defile the bread, which is the body of Christ, when we come unworthily to the table, and when we, being defiled, do drink his blood." And St. Augustine, on Psalm cxivi. [§ 2, col. 1638, ed. 1689] saith, 'If thou dost exceed the due measure of nature, and dost not abstain from gluttony, but gorge thyself up with drunkenness, whatsoever laud and praise thy tongue doth speak of the grace and favour of God, thy life doth blaspheme the same.'

The tree that is good bringeth forth good fruit.

When he had made an end of this article, the cardinal of Cambray said: 'The Scripture saith that we be all sinners. And again, If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and so we should always live in deadly sin.' John Huss answered, 'The Scripture speaketh in that place of venial sins, which do not utterly expel or put away the habit of virtue from a man, but do associate themselves together.' And a certain Englishman, whose name was W., said: 'But those sins do not associate themselves with any act morally good.' John Huss alleged again St. Augustine's place upon Psalm cxlvi., which when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth said, 'What makes this to the purpose?'

Cardinal of Cambray objecteth.

The twenty-third article: 'The minister of Christ, living according to his law, and having the knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edify the people, ought to preach; notwithstanding the pretended excommunication of the pope. And moreover, if the pope, or any other ruler, do forbid any priest or minister, so disposed, to preach, that he ought not to obey him.' I answer, that these are my words: 'That albeit the excommunication were either threatened or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to do the commandments of Christ, it appeareth by the words of St. Peter, and the other apostles, That we ought rather to obey God than man.' Whereupon it followeth, that the minister of Christ, living according unto this law, &c., ought to preach, notwithstanding any pretended excommunication; for it is evident, that it is commanded unto the ministers of the church to preach the word of God [Acts v.], God hath commanded us to preach and testify unto the people; as by divers other places of the Scripture and the holy fathers, rehearsed in my treatise, it doth appear more at large. The second part of this article followeth in my treatise in this manner: 'By this it appeareth, that for a minister to preach, and a rich man to give alms, are not indifferent works, but duties and commandments. Whereby it is further evident, that if the pope, or any other ruler of the church, do command any minister disposed to preach, not to preach, or a rich man disposed to give alms, not to give, that they ought not to obey him.' And Huss added moreover; 'To the intent that you may understand me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, which is unjustly disordered and given forth, contrary to the order of the law and God's

Twenty third article. Forbidding to preach, whether it ought to be obeyed.

Preaching and almsgiving be not works indifferent, but duties and commandments. To forbid a minister to preach, and to forbid a rich man to give alms, is both one.

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commandments; for which, the meet minister appointed thereunto, ought not to cease from preaching, neither yet to fear damnation.'

Then they objected unto him, that he had said, that such kind of excommunications were rather blessings. 'Verily,' said John Huss, 'even so I do now say again, that every excommunication, by which a man is unjustly excommunicated, is unto him a blessing before God; according to that saying of the prophet, I will curse where you bless: and contrariwise, They shall curse, but thou, O Lord! shalt bless.' Then the cardinal of Florence, who had always a notary ready at his hand to write such things as he commanded him, said: 'The law is, that every excommunication, be it ever so unjust, ought to be feared.' 'It is true,' said John Huss, 'for I do remember eight causes, for which excommunication ought to be feared.' Then said the cardinal: 'Are there no more but eight?' 'It may be,' said John Huss, 'that there be more.'

How the pope's cursings are blessings.

Twenty-fourth article.

The twenty-fourth article: 'Every man who is admitted unto the ministry of the church, receiveth also by special commandment the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfil that commandment, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended to the contrary.' Answer: my words are these: 'Forasmuch as it doth appear by that which is aforesaid, that whosoever cometh, or is admitted unto the ministry, receiveth also by especial commandment the office of preaching, he ought to fulfil that commandment, any excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithstanding. Also no Christian ought to doubt, but that a man sufficiently instructed in learning, is more bound to counsel and instruct the ignorant, to teach those who are in doubt, to chastise those who are unruly, and to remit and forgive those that do him injury, than to do any other works of mercy.' Forasmuch then as he that is rich and hath sufficient, is bound, under pain of damnation, to minister and give corporal and bodily alms, as appeareth Matt. xxv., how much more is he bound to do spiritual alms!

A minister once admitted, is more bound to preach, than to do any other work of mercy, the pope's prohibition notwithstanding.

Twenty-fifth article.

The twenty-fifth article: 'The ecclesiastical censures are antichristian, such as the clergy have invented for their own preferment, and for the bondage and servitude of the common people; whereby if the laity be not obedient unto the clergy at their will and pleasure, it doth multiply their covetousness, defend their malice, and prepare a way for Antichrist. Whereby it is an evident sign and token, that such censures proceed from Antichrist; which censures in their processes they do call fulminations or lightnings, whereby the clergy do chiefly proceed against such as do manifest and open the wickedness of Antichrist, who thrust themselves into the office of the clergy.' These things are contained in the last chapter of his treatise of the church.—I answer, and I deny that it is in that form: but the matter thereof is largely handled in the twenty-third chapter. And in the examination of his audience, they gathered certain clauses still more contrary thereunto; the which when they had read, the cardinal of Cambray renewed his old song, saying: 'Truly, these are much more grievous and offensive, than the articles which are gathered.'

Censures of the pope's church multiply the pope's covetousness.

See Appendix.

Twenty-sixth article.

The twenty-sixth article: 'There ought no interdict to be appointed unto the people, forasmuch as Christ the high bishop, neither for John Baptist, neither for any injury that was done unto him, did make any interdict.' My words are these: 'When I complained, that for one minister's sake an interdict was given out, and thereby all good men ceased from the laud and praise of God. And Christ, the high bishop, notwithstanding that the prophet was taken and kept in prison, than whom there was no greater amongst the children of men, did not give out any curse or interdict, no not when Herod beheaded him; neither when he himself was spoiled, beaten, and blasphemed of the soldiers, Scribes, and Pharisees, did he then curse them, but prayed for them, and taught his disciples to do the same, as it appeareth in Matt. v. And Christ's first vicar, following the same doctrine and learning, saith [1 Pet. ii.], Hereunto are ye called: for Christ hath suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps, who, when he was cursed and evil spoken of, did not curse again. And St. Paul, following the same order and way, in Rom. xii., saith, Bless them that persecute you.' There were besides these, many other places of Scripture recited in that book; but they being omitted, these only were rehearsed, which did help or prevail to stir up or move the judges' minds.

Christ interdicted none, but prayed for all.

And these are the articles which are alleged out of John Huss's book, entituled, 'Of the Church.'

Forasmuch as mention was made, page 464, of the appeal of the said Huss, it seemeth good to show the manner and form thereof.

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The Copy and Tenor of the Appeal of John Huss.

He appeals from pope John XXIII. unto Chris.

Forasmuch as the most mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chief and first, and also the last and uttermost refuge of all those who are oppressed, and that he is the God who defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing justice to such as be wronged, being ready and at hand to all those who call upon him in verity and truth, unbinding those that are bound, and fulfilling the desires of all those who honour and fear him; defending and keeping all those that love him, and utterly destroying and bringing to ruin the stiff-necked and impenitent sinner; and that the Lord Jesus Christ, very God and man, being in great anguish, compassed in with the priests, Scribes, and Pharisees, wicked judges and witnesses, willing, by the most bitter and ignominious death, to redeem the children of God, chosen before the foundation of the world, from everlasting damnation; hath left behind him this godly example for a memory unto them who should come after him, to the intent they should commit all their causes into the hands of God, who can do all things, and knoweth and seeth all things, saying in this manner: O Lord! behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himself against me, and thou art my protector and defender. O Lord! thou hast given me understanding, and I have acknowledged thee; thou hast opened unto me all their enterprises; and for mine own part, I have been as a meek lamb which is led unto sacrifice, and have not resisted against them. They have wrought their enterprises upon me, saying; Let us put wood in his bread, and let us banish him out of the land of the living, that his name be no more spoken of, nor had in memory. But thou, O Lord of hosts! which judgest justly, and seest the devices and imaginations of their hearts, hasten thee to take vengeance upon them, for I have manifested my cause unto thee, forasmuch as the number of those which trouble me is great, and have counselled together, saying, The Lord hath forsaken him, pursue him and catch him. O Lord my God! behold their doings, for thou art my patience; deliver me from mine enemies, for thou art my God; do not separate thyself far from me, forasmuch as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man who will succour me. My God! My God! look down upon me; wherefore hast thou forsaken me? So many dogs have compassed me in, and the company of the wicked have besieged me round about; for they have spoken against me with deceitful tongues, and have compassed me in with words full of despite, and have enforced me without cause. Instead of love towards me, they have slandered me, and have recompensed me with evil for good; and in place of charity, they have conceived hatred against me.'

The fervent complaint and prayer of Christ, against wicked judges.

After the example of Christ, he maketh his prayer to God.

A godly prayer of John Huss. He appealeth from men to Christ.

Wherefore behold I, staying myself upon this most holy and fruitful example of my Saviour and Redeemer, do appeal before God for this my grief and hard oppression, from this most wicked sentence and judgment, and the excommunication determined by the bishops, Scribes, Pharisees, and judges, who sit in Moses' seat, and resign my cause wholly unto him; so as the holy patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostome, appealed twice from the council of the bishops and clergy; and Andrew, bishop of Prague, and Robert, bishop of Lincoln, appealed unto the sovereign and most just Judge, who is not defiled with cruelty, neither can he be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet be deceived by false witness. Also I desire greatly that all the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and especially the princes, barons, knights, esquires, and all others who inhabit our country of Bohemia, should understand and know these things, and have compassion upon me, who am so grievously oppressed by the excommunication which is out against me, which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michael de Causis, my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance of the canons of the cathedral church of Prague, and given and granted out by Peter, cardinal-deacon of the church of Rome by the title of St. Angelo, and also ordained judge by pope John XXIII.; who hath continued almost these two years, and would give no audience unto my advocates and proctors, which they ought not to deny—no not to a Jew or pagan, or to any heretic whatsoever he were; neither yet would he receive any reasonable

John Huss complaineth of Michael de Causis, his great enemy.

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excuse, for that I did not appear personally; neither would he accept the testimonials of the whole university of Prague with the seal hanging at it, or the witness of the sworn notaries, and such as were called to witness. By this all men may evidently perceive that I have not incurred any fault or crime of contumacy or disobedience, forasmuch as it was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes, that I did not appear in the court of Rome.

And moreover, forasmuch as they had laid ambushments for me on every side by ways where I should pass, and also because the perils and dangers of others have made me the more circumspect and advised: and forasmuch as my procurers were willing and contented to bind themselves even to abide the punishment of the fire, to answer to all such as would oppose or lay any thing against me in the court of Rome; as also because they did imprison my lawful proctor in the said court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. Forsomuch then as the order and disposition of all ancient laws, as well divine of the Old and New Testament, as also of the canon laws, is this; that the judges should resort unto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and there to inquire of all such crimes as shall be objected and laid against him who is accused or slandered; and that by such men as by conversation have some knowledge or understanding of the party so accused (who may not be the evil willers or enemies of him who is so accused or slandered, but must be men of an honest conversation, no common quarrel-pickers or accusers, but fervent lovers of the law of God): and finally, that there should be a fit and meet place appointed, whither the accused party might, without danger or peril, resort or come, and that the judge and witnesses should not be enemies unto him that is accused. And also, forasmuch as it is manifest, that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearance for the safeguard of my life, I am excused before God from the frivolous pretended obstinacy and excommunication. Whereupon I, John Huss, do present and offer this my appeal unto my Lord Jesus Christ, my just judge, who knoweth, and defendeth, and justly judgeth, every man's just and true cause.

The proctor of John Huss, laid in in prison at Rome. The pope proved to do against his own canon law.

Other articles moreover out of his other books were collected, and forced against him: first, out of his treatise written against Stephen Paletz, to the number of seven articles; also six other articles strained out of his treatise against Stanislaus Znoyma: whereunto his answers likewise be adjoined, not unfruitful to be read.

Here follow seven Articles, said to be drawn out of the Treatise which John Huss wrote against Stephen Paletz.

First article.

The first article: 'If the pope, bishop, or prelate, be in deadly sin, he is then no pope, bishop, nor prelate.' Answer: I grant thereunto, and I send you unto St. Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostome, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernard; who do say moreover, that whosoever is in deadly sin, is no true Christian; how much less then is he pope or bishop? Of whom it is spoken by the prophet Amos, 'They have reigned and ruled, and not through me; they became princes, and I knew them not,' &c. But afterwards I do grant, that a wicked pope, bishop, or priest, is an unworthy minister of the sacrament, by whom God doth baptize, consecrate, or otherwise work, to the profit of his church: and this is largely handled in the text of the book by the authorities of the holy doctors; for even he who is in deadly sin, is not worthily a king before God, as appeareth in 1 Kings xv.; where God saith to Saul by the prophet Samuel, 'Forasmuch as thou hast refused and cast off my word, I will also refuse and cast thee off, that thou shalt be no more king.'

The emperor's udgment of John Huss.

While these things were thus entreating, the emperor, looking out of a certain window of the cloister, accompanied with the Count Palatine, and the burgrave of Nuremberg, conferring and talking much of John Huss: at length he said, that there was never a worse or more pernicious heretic than he. In the mean while, when John Huss had spoken these words as touching the unworthy king, by and by the emperor was called, and he was commanded to repeat those words again; which after that he had done, his duty therein being considered,

the emperor answered: 'No man doth live without fault.' Then the cardinal of Cambray, being in a great fury, said: 'Is it not enough for thee that thou dost contemn and despise the ecclesiastical state, and goest about, by thy writings and doctrine, to perturb and trouble the same, but that now also thou wilt attempt to throw kings out of their state and dignity?' Then Paletz began to allege the laws, whereby he would prove that Saul was king even when those words were spoken by Samuel; and therefore that David did forbid that Saul should be slain, not for the holiness of his life, of which there was none in him; but for the holiness of his anointing. And when John Huss repeated out of St. Cyprian, that he did take upon him the name of Christianity in vain, who did not follow Christ in his living: Paletz answered, 'Behold and see what a folly is in this man, who allegeth those things which make nothing for the purpose; for albeit any man be not a true Christian, is he not, therefore, true pope, bishop, or king? when these are names of office, and to be a Christian, is a name of merit and desert: and so may any man be a true pope, bishop, or king, although he be no true Christian.' Then said John Huss: 'If pope John XXIII. were a true pope, wherefore have ye deprived him of his office?' The emperor answered: 'The lords of the council have now lately agreed thereupon, that he was true pope; but for his notorious and manifest evil doings, wherewithal he did offend and trouble the church of God, and did spoil and bring to ruin the power thereof, he is rejected and cast out of his office.'

The cardinal of Cambray

The second article: 'The grace of predestination is the bond whereby the body of the church, and every part and member thereof, is firmly knit and joined unto the head.' Answer: I acknowledge this article to be mine, and it is proved in the text out of Romans viii., 'Who shall separate us from the charity and love of Christ,' &c.? and John x. 'My sheep hear my voice; and I know them, and they follow me; and I give them eternal life, neither shall they perish eternally, neither is there any man which shall take them out of my hands.' This is the knot of the body of the church, and of our spiritual head Christ, understanding the church to be the congregation of the predestinate.

Second article.

The third article: 'If the pope be a wicked man, and especially a reprobate, then, even as Judas the apostle, he is a devil, a thief, and the son of perdition, and not the head of the holy militant church, forasmuch as he is no part or member thereof.' Answer: My words are thus: 'If the pope be an evil or wicked man, and especially if he be a reprobate, then even as Judas, so is he a devil, a thief, and the son of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy militant church? whereas he is not truly any member, or part thereof: for, if he were a member of the holy church, then should he be also a member of Christ; and if he were a member of Christ, then should he cleave and stick unto Christ by the grace of predestination and present justice; and should be one Spirit with God, as the apostle saith in 1 Cor. vi., 'Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?'

Third article.

The fourth article: 'An evil pope or prelate, or reprobate, is no true pastor, but a thief and a robber.' Answer. The text of my book is thus: 'If he be evil or wicked, then is he a hireling, of whom Christ speaketh, He is no shepherd, neither are the sheep his own: therefore, when he seeth the wolf coming, he runneth away and forsaketh the sheep. And so, finally, doth every wicked and reprobate man.' Therefore, every such reprobate, or wicked pope or prelate, is no true pastor; but a very thief and a robber, as is more at large proved, in my book. Then said John Huss, 'I do limit all things, that such persons as touching their desert, are not truly and worthily popes and shepherds before God; but, as touching their office and reputation of men, they are popes, pastors, and priests.'

Fourth article.

Then a certain man rising up behind John Huss, clothed all in silk, said: 'My lords! take heed lest John Huss deceive both you and himself with these his glosses, and look whether these things be in his book or not; for of late, I had disputation with him upon these articles, in which I said, that a wicked pope, &c., was no pope, as touching merit and desert; but, as touching his office, he was truly pope. Whereupon he used these glosses which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his book.' Then John Huss, turning himself unto him, said, 'Did you not hear that it was so read out of my book? and this did easily appear in John xxiii., whether he were true pope, or a very

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thief and robber.' Then the bishops and cardinals, looking one upon another, said, that he was a true pope, and laughed John Huss to scorn.

Fifth article.

The fifth article: 'The pope is not, neither ought to be called, according unto his office, Most holy; for then the king ought also to be called Most holy, according to his office. Also the tormentors, lictors, and devils, ought also to be called Holy.' Answer. My words are otherwise placed, in this manner: 'So ought a feigner to say, that if any man be a most holy father, then he doth most holily observe and keep his fatherliness: and if he be a naughty and wicked father, then doth he most wickedly keep the same. Likewise, if the bishop be most holy, then is he also most good; and when he saith that he is pope, it is the name of his office.' Whereupon it followeth, that 'the man who is pope, being an evil and reprobate man, is a most holy man; and consequently by that his office he is most good.' And forasmuch as no man can be good by his office, except he do exercise and use the same his office very well; it followeth, that 'if the pope be an evil and reprobate man, he cannot exercise or use his office well: forasmuch as he cannot use the office well, except he be morally good [Matt. xii.], How can you speak good things, when you yourselves are evil?' And immediately after it followeth, 'If the pope, by reason of his office, be called Most holy, wherefore should not the king of Romans be called Most holy, by reason of his office and dignity? when the king, according to St. Augustine's mind, representeth the Deity and Godhead of Christ, and the priest representeth only his humanity. Wherefore, also, should not judges, yea, even tormentors, be called Holy, forasmuch as they have their office by ministering unto the church of Christ?' 'These things are more at large discoursed in my book; but I cannot find or know,' saith John Huss, 'any foundation whereby I should call the pope Most holy, when this is only spoken of Christ: Thou only art most holy: thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the pope Most holy?'

Sixth article.

The sixth article: 'If the pope live contrary unto Christ, albeit he be lawfully and canonically elected and chosen, according to human election, yet doth he ascend and come in another way than by Christ.' Answer. The text is thus: 'If the pope live contrary to Christ, in pride and avarice, how then doth he not ascend and come in another way into the sheepfold, than by the lowly and meek door, our Lord Jesus Christ?' But admit, as you say, that he did ascend by lawful election (which I call an election principally made of God, and not according to the common and vulgar constitution and ordinance of men), yet for all that, it is affirmed and proved, that he should ascend and come in another way: for Judas Iscariot was truly and lawfully chosen of the Lord Jesus Christ unto his bishopric, as Christ saith in John vi., And yet he came in another way into the sheepfold, and was a thief, and a devil, and the son of perdition. Did he not come in another way when our Saviour spake thus of him, He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me? The same also is proved by St. Bernard unto pope Eugenius. Then said Paletz: 'Behold the fury and madness of this man; for what more furious or mad thing can there be, than to say, Judas is chosen by Christ, and notwithstanding he did ascend another way, and not by Christ?' John Huss answered: 'Verily both parts are true, that he was elected and chosen by Christ, and also that he did ascend, and came in another way; for he was a thief, a devil, and the son of perdition.' Then said Paletz: 'Cannot a man be truly and lawfully chosen pope, or bishop, and afterwards live contrary to Christ? And that, notwithstanding, he doth not ascend by any other ways.' 'But I,' said John Huss, 'do say, that whosoever doth enter into any bishopric, or like office, by simony, not to the intent to labour and travail in the church of God, but rather to live delicately, voluptuously, and unrighteously, and to the intent to advance himself with all kind of pride, every such man ascendeth and cometh up by another way, and, according unto the gospel, he is a thief and a robber.'

The seventh article: 'The condemnation of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff made by the doctors, is unreasonable and wicked, and the cause by them alleged is feigned and untrue; that is to say, that none of those articles are catholic, but that every of them be either heretical, erroneous or offensive.' Answer: 'I have written it thus in my treatise: The forty-five articles are condemned for this cause, that none of those forty-five is a catholic article, but each of them is either heretical, erroneous or offensive. O Master Doctor!

where is your proof? you feign a cause which you do not prove, &c. as it appeareth more at large in my treatise.' Then said the cardinal of Cambray: 'John Huss, thou didst say that thou wouldst not defend any error of John Wickliff's; and now it appeareth in your books, that you have openly defended his articles.' John Huss answered: 'Reverend father! even as I said before, so I now say again, that I will not defend any errors of John Wickliff's, neither of any other man's: but, forasmuch as it seemed to me to be against conscience, simply to consent to the condemnation of them, no Scripture being alleged or brought contrary and against them, thereupon I would not consent or agree to the condemnation of them; and forasmuch as the reason which is copulative cannot be verified in every point, according to every part thereof.'

Henry V. A. D. 1415. The cardinal of Cambray.

Now there remain six articles of the[1] thirty-nine. These are said to be drawn out of another treatise which he wrote against Stanislaus de Znoyma.

Six Articles drawn out of the Treatise of John Huss, written against Stanislaus de Znoyma.

First article

The first article: 'No man is lawfully elected or chosen, in that the electors, or the greater part of them, have consented with a lively voice, according to the custom of men, to elect and choose any person, or that he is thereby the manifest and true successor of Christ, or vicar of Peter in the ecclesiastical office; but in this, that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the church. he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto.' Answer: These things which follow are also written in my book. 'It standeth in the power and hands of wicked electors, to choose a woman into the ecclesiastical office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, who was called John, who held and occupied the pope's place and dignity, by the space of two years and more.' It may also be, that they do choose a thief, a murderer or a devil, and, consequently, they may also elect and choose Antichrist. It may also be, that for love, covetousness, or hatred, they do choose some person whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that person is not lawfully elected and chosen; insomuch as the electors, or the greater part of them, have consented and agreed together according to the custom of men, upon any person, or that he is thereby the manifest successor or vicar of Peter the apostle, or any other in the ecclesiastical office. Therefore they who, most accordingly unto the Scripture, do elect and choose, revelation being set apart, do only pronounce and determine by some probable reason upon him whom they do elect and choose: whereupon, whether the electors do so choose good or evil, we ought to give credit unto the works of him that is chosen; for in that point, that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. And hereupon saith Christ, in John x., Give credit unto works.'

Second article.

The second article: 'The pope being a reprobate, is not the head of the holy church of God.' Answer. I wrote it thus in my treatise: 'That I would willingly receive a probable and effectual reason of the doctor, how this question is contrary to the faith, to say, That if the pope be a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy church? Behold, the truth cannot decay or fail in disputation, for did Christ dispute against the faith, when he demanded of the Scribes and Pharisees [Matt. xii.], Ye stock and offspring of vipers! how can ye speak good things, when you yourselves are wicked and evil? And behold, I demand of the scribes, if the pope be a reprobate, and the stock of vipers, how is he the head of the holy church of God, that the Scribes and Pharisees, who were in the council-house of Prague, may make answer hereunto? For it is more possible that a reprobate man should speak good things, forasmuch as he may be in state of grace according to present justice, than to be the head of the holy church of God. Also in John v., our Saviour complaineth of the Jews, saying: How can you believe, which do seek for glory amongst yourselves, and do not seek for the glory that cometh only of God? and I, likewise, do complain, how that if the pope be a reprobate, can he be

(1) "The" is put in: see above, p. 459.—Ed.

Henry V. A. D. 1415.

the head of the church of God, who receiveth his glory of the world, and seeketh not for the glory of God? For it is more possible, that the pope being a reprobate should believe, than that he should be the head of the church of God; forasmuch as he taketh his glory of the world.'

Third article.

The third article: 'There is no spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head in the spiritualty, to rule the church, which should be always conversant with the militant church.' Answer: I do grant it. For what consequent is this? The king of Bohemia is head of the kingdom of Bohemia: Ergo, the pope is head of the whole militant church? Christ is the head of the spiritualty, ruling and governing the militant church by much more and greater necessity than Cæsar ought to rule the temporalty; forasmuch as Christ, who sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, doth necessarily rule the militant church as head. And there is no spark of appearance that there should be one head in the spiritualty ruling the church, that should always be conversant with the militant church, except some infidel would heretically affirm, that the militant church should have here a permanent and continual city or dwelling-place, and not inquire and seek after that which is to come. It is also further evident in my book, how unconsequent the proportion of the similitude is, for a reprobate pope to be the head of the militant church, and a reprobate king to be the head of the kingdom of Bohemia.

Fourth article.

The fourth article: 'Christ would better rule his church by his true apostles, dispersed throughout the whole world, without such monstrous heads.' I answer, that it is in my book as here followeth: 'Albeit that the doctor doth say, that the body of the militant church is oftentimes without a head, yet, notwithstanding, we do verily believe that Christ Jesus is the head over every church, ruling the same without lack or default, pouring upon the same a continual motion and sense, even unto the latter day; neither can the doctor give a reason why the church in the time of Agnes by the space of two years and five months lived without a head, according to many members of Christ, in grace and favour, but that, by the same reason, the church might be without a head by the space of many years; forsomuch as Christ should better rule his church by his true disciples dispersed throughout the whole world, without such monstrous heads.' Then said they altogether: 'Behold, now he prophesieth.' And John Huss, prosecuting his former talk, said, 'But I say that the church, in the time of the apostles, was far better ruled and governed than now is. And what doth let or hinder, that Christ should not now also rule the same better by his true disciples, without such monstrous heads as have been now alate? For behold, even at this present we have no such head, and yet Christ ceaseth not to rule his church.' When he had spoken these words, he was derided and mocked.

See Appendix.

Fifth article.

The fifth article: 'Peter was no universal pastor or shepherd of the sheep of Christ, much less is the bishop of Rome.' Answer: Those words are not in my book, but these which do follow. Secondly, it appeareth by the words of Christ, that he did not limit unto Peter for his jurisdiction the whole world, no not one only province; so likewise, neither unto any other of the apostles. Notwithstanding, certain of them walked through many regions, and others fewer, preaching and teaching the kingdom of God; as Paul, who laboured and travailed more than all the rest, did corporally visit and convert most provinces; whereby it is lawful for any apostle or his vicar to convert and confirm as much people, or as many provinces in the faith of Christ, as he is able, neither is there any restraint of his liberty or jurisdiction, but only by disability or insufficiency.

Sixth article.

The sixth article: 'The apostles, and other faithful priests of the Lord, have stoutly ruled the church in all things necessary to salvation, before the office of the pope was brought into the church, and so would they very possibly do still, if there were no pope, even unto the latter day.' Then they all cried out again and said, 'Behold the prophet.' But John Huss said: 'Verily it is true that the apostles did rule the church stoutly before the office of the pope was brought into the church; and certainly a great deal better than it is now ruled. And likewise many other faithful men, who do follow their steps, do the same; for now we have no pope, and so, peradventure, it may continue and endure a year or more.

Besides these, were brought against him other nineteen articles, objected unto him being in prison, which with his answers to the same here likewise follow; of which articles the first is this. *Henry V.* A.D. 1415.

Other Nineteen Articles objected against John Huss, being in Prison.

The first article: 'Paul, according unto present justice, was a blasphemer and none of the church, and therewithal was in grace, according unto predestination of life everlasting.' Answer: This proposition is not in the book, but this which followeth. 'Whereby it doth seem probable, that as Paul was both a blasphemer, according to present justice, and therewithal, also, was a faithful child of our holy mother the church, and in grace according to predestination of life everlasting: so Iscariot was both in grace, according unto present justice, and was never of our holy mother the church, according to the predestination of life everlasting, forasmuch as he lacked that predestination. And so Iscariot, albeit he was an apostle, and a bishop of Christ, which is the name of his office, yet was he never any part of the universal church.' First article. Paul, how he was both a blasphemer, and also a member of Christ.

The second article: 'Christ doth more love a predestinate man being sinful, than any reprobate in what grace possible soever he be.' Answer: My words are in the fourth chapter of my book entituled, 'Of the Church:' 'And it is evident that God doth more love any predestinate being sinful, than any reprobate in what grace soever he be for the time; forasmuch as he willeth that the predestinate shall have perpetual blessedness, and the reprobate shall have eternal fire.' Wherefore God partly infinitely loving them both as his creatures, yet he doth more love the predestinate, because he giveth him greater grace, or a greater gift, that is to say, life everlasting, which is greater and more excellent than grace only, according to present justice. And the third article of those articles before,[1] soundeth very near unto this: that the predestinate cannot fall from grace. For they have a certain radical grace rooted in them, although they be deprived of the abundant grace for a time. These things are true in the compound sense. Second article. Predestination.

The third article: 'All the sinful, according to present justice, are not faithful, but do swerve from the true catholic faith, forsomuch as it is unpossible that any man can commit any deadly sin but in that point, that he doth swerve from the faith.' Answer: I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did think upon the punishment which is to be laid upon sinners, and did fully believe, and had the faith of the divine knowledge and understanding, &c. then, undoubtedly, they would not so offend and sin. This proposition is verified by the saying of the prophet Isaiah, 'Thy rulers are unfaithful, misbelievers, fellows and companions of thieves; they all love bribes and follow after rewards.' Behold, the prophet calleth the rulers of the church 'infidels,' for their offences; for all such as do not keep their faith inviolate unto their principal Lord, are unfaithful servants, and they also are unfaithful children who keep not their obedience, fear, and love unto God, their Father. Item, This proposition is verified by the saying of the apostle, Titus i. 'They do confess that they know God, but by their works they do deny him.' And forasmuch as they who are sinful, do swerve away from the meritorious work of blessedness, therefore they do swerve from the true faith grounded upon charity, forasmuch as faith without works is dead. To this end doth also appertain that which the Lord speaketh [Matt. xxiii.] of the faithful and unfaithful servant. Third article Whoso committeth deadly sin, swerveth from the faith.

The fourth article: 'These words of John xxii.: Receive the Holy Ghost; and, Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, &c. and Matthew [xvi. and xviii.], For lack of understanding shall terrify many Christians, and they shall be wonderfully afraid, and others shall be deceived by them, presuming upon the fulness of their power and authority.' Answer: This sentence I do approve and allow, and therefore I say in the same place, that it is first of all to be supposed, that the saying of our Saviour is necessary, as touching the virtue of the word, forasmuch as it is not possible for a priest to bind and loose, except that binding and loosing be in heaven. But, for the lack of the true understanding of those words, many simple Christians shall be made afraid, thinking with themselves, Fourth article. Binding and loosing, unless they be well understood, minister too much fear or presumption.

(1) The reference is to the first series, consisting of twenty-six. See page 459.—Ed.

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that whether they be just or unjust, the priests may, at their pleasures, whensoever they will, bind them. And the ignorant priests do also presume and take upon them to have power to bind and loose whensoever they will. For many foolish and ignorant priests do say, that they have power and authority to absolve every man confessing himself, of what sin or offence soever it be, not knowing that in many sins it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that a hypocrite do confess himself, or such a one as is not contrite for his sin; whereof proof hath oftentimes been found, and it is evident, forasmuch as the letter doth kill, but the Spirit doth quicken.

Fifth article. Binding and loosing chiefly and principally belong to Christ.

The fifth article: 'The binding and loosing of God, is simply and plainly the chief and principal.' Answer: This is evident, forasmuch as it were blasphemous presumption to affirm, that a man may remit and forgive an evil fact or offence done against such a Lord, the Lord himself not approving or allowing the same. For by the universal power of the Lord, it is necessary that he do first absolve and forgive, before his vicar do the same; neither is there one article of our faith, which ought to be more common or known unto us, than that it should be impossible for any man of the militant church to absolve or bind, except in such case as it be conformable to the head of the church, Jesu Christ. Wherefore every faithful Christian ought to take heed of that saying: 'If the pope, or any other, pretend by any manner of sign to bind or loose, that he is thereby bound or loosed, for he that doth grant or confess that, must also, consequently, grant and confess that the pope is without sin, and so that he is a god; for otherwise he must needs err and do contrary unto the keys of Christ.' This saying proveth the fact of the pope, who always in his absolution presupposeth contrition and confession. Yea, moreover, if any letter of absolution be given unto any offender, which doth not declare the circumstances of the offence which ought to be declared, it is said that thereby the letter of absolution is of no force and effect. It is also hereby evident, that many priests do not absolve those who are confessed, because that either through shamefastness they do cloak or hide greater offences, or else that they have not due contrition or repentance: for unto true absolution there is first required Contrition. Secondly, A purpose and intent to sin no more. Thirdly, True confession. And fourthly, Steadfast hope of forgiveness. The first appeareth by Ezekiel. 'If the wicked do repent him,' &c. The second, in John v., 'Do thou not sin any more.' The third part, by this place of Luke: 'Show yourselves unto the priests.' And the fourth is confirmed by the saying of Christ: 'My son, believe, and thy sins are forgiven thee.' I also added many other probations in my treatise out of the holy fathers, Augustine, Jerome, and the Master of the Sentences.

To true absolution four things are required.

Sixth article.

The sixth article: 'The priests do gather and heap up out of the Scriptures those things which serve for the belly; but such as appertain to the true imitation and following of Christ, those they reject, and refuse as impertinent unto salvation.' Answer: This, St. Gregory doth sufficiently prove in his seventeenth Homily, alleging the saying of Christ, 'The harvest is great, the workmen are few;' speaking also that which we cannot say without grief or sorrow, that 'albeit there be a great number who willingly hear good things, yet there lack such as should declare the same unto them; for behold, the world is full of priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarcity of workmen in the harvest of the Lord. We take upon us willingly priesthood, but we do not fulfil and do the works and office of priesthood.' And immediately after he saith, 'We are fallen unto outward affairs and business, for we take upon us one office for honour's sake, and we do exhibit and give another to ease ourselves of labour. We leave preaching, and as far as I can perceive we are called bishops to our pain, who do retain the name of honour, but not the verity.' And immediately after he saith, 'We take no care for our flock; we daily call upon them for our stipend and wages; we covet and desire earthly things with a greedy mind; we gape after worldly glory; we leave the cause of God undone, and make haste about our worldly affairs and business; we take upon us the place of sanctity and holiness, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares and troubles,' &c. This writeth St. Gregory, with many other things more in the same place. Also in his Pastoral, in his Morals, and in his Register. Also St. Bernard, as in many other places, so likewise in his 33d Sermon upon the Canticles, he

Priests more given to their own lucre and belly, than to the service of Christ.

saith, 'All friends and all enemies, all kinsfolks and adversaries, all of one household, and no peace-makers; they are the ministers of Christ, and serve Antichrist; they go honourably honoured with the goods of the Lord, and yet they do not honour,' &c.

The seventh article: 'The power of the pope who doth not follow Christ, is not to be feared.' Answer: It is not so in my treatise, but, contrariwise, that the subjects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the virtuous and good rulers; and also those who are wicked and evil. But, notwithstanding, if the pope do abuse his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And so the lords the cardinals, as I suppose, did not fear the power of Gregory XII., before his deposition, when they resisted him, saying, that he did abuse his power, contrary unto his own oath.

Seventh article. The pope doing ungodly, is not to be feared.

The eighth article: 'An evil and wicked pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Judas.' Answer: I wrote thus in my treatise; 'If the pope be humble and meek, neglecting and despising the honours and lucre of the world; if he be a shepherd, taking his name by the feeding of the flock of God (of which feeding the Lord speaketh, saying, Feed my sheep); if he feed the sheep with the word, and with virtuous example, and become even like his flock with his whole heart and mind; if he do diligently and carefully labour and travail for the church, then is he, without doubt, the true vicar of Christ. But if he walk contrary unto these virtues, forasmuch as there is no society between Christ and Belial, and Christ himself saith, He that is not with me, is against me: how is he then the true vicar of Christ or Peter, and not rather the vicar of Antichrist? Christ called Peter himself, Satanas, when he did contrary him but only in one word, and that with a good affection; even him whom he had chosen his vicar, and specially appointed over his church. Why then should not any other, being more contrary to Christ, be truly called Satanas, and consequently Antichrist, or at least the chief and principal minister or vicar of Antichrist? There be infinite testimonies of this matter in St. Augustine, Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, and Ambrose,' &c.

Eighth article

The pope doing contrary to Christ, is not the vicar of Christ, but Antichrist.

The ninth article: 'The pope is the same beast of whom it is spoken in the Apocalypse, 'Power is given unto him to make war upon the saints.' Answer: I deny this article to be in my book.[1]

Ninth article.

The tenth article: 'It is lawful to preach notwithstanding the pope's inhibition.' Answer: The article is evident, forasmuch as the apostles did preach contrary to the commandment of the bishops of Jerusalem. And St. Hilary did the like, contrary to the commandment of the pope, who was an Arian. It is also manifest by the example of cardinals, who, contrary to the commandment of pope Gregory XII., sent throughout all realms such as should preach against him. It is also lawful to preach under appeal, contrary unto the pope's commandment. And finally, he may preach who hath the commandment of God, whereunto he ought chiefly to obey.

Tenth article. To preach against the pope's commandment

The eleventh article: 'If the pope's commandment be not concordant and agreeable with the doctrine of the gospel or the apostles, it is not to be obeyed.' Answer: I have thus written in my book; 'The faithful disciple of Christ ought to weigh and consider, whether the pope's commandment be expressly and plainly the commandment of Christ or any of his apostles, or whether it have any foundation or ground in their doctrine or no; and that being once known or understood, he ought reverently and humbly to obey the same. But if he do certainly know that the pope's commandment is contrary and against the holy Scripture, and hurtful unto the church, then he ought boldly to resist against it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by consenting thereunto.' This I have handled at large in my treatise, and have confirmed it by the authorities of Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Chrysostome, Bernard and Bede, and with the holy Scripture and canons, which for brevity's cause I do here pass over. I will only rehearse the saying of St. Isidore, who writeth thus: 'He who doth rule, and doth say or command any thing contrary and beside the will of God, or that which is evidently commanded in the Scriptures, he is honoured as a false witness of God, and a church-robber.' Whereupon we are bound to obey no prelate, but in such case as he do command or take counsel of the counsels and commandments of Christ. Likewise St. Augustine upon this saying, upon the chair of Moses, &c. saith: Secondly, they teach

Eleventh article.

How far prelates are to be obeyed.

(1) John Huss need not prove this article, the pope will prove it himself.

Henry V. A.D. 1415.

in the chair of Moses the law of God: ergo, God teacheth by them. But if they will teach you any of their own inventions, do not give ear unto them, neither do as they command you' Also, in the saying of Christ, 'He that heareth you, heareth me,' all lawful and honest things be comprehended, in which we ought to be obedient, according to Christ's saying, 'It is not you which do speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you.' Let therefore my adversaries and slanderers learn, that there be not only twelve counsels in the gospel, in which subjects ought to obey Christ and his appointed ministers, but that there are as many counsels and determinations of God, as there be lawful and honest things joined with precepts and commandments of God, binding us thereunto under the pain of deadly sin: for every such thing doth the Lord command us to fulfil in time and place, with other circumstances, at the will and pleasure of their minister.

Twelfth article.

The twelfth article: 'It is lawful for the clergy and laity, by their power and jurisdiction, to judge and determine of all things pertaining to salvation, and also of the works of prelates.' Answer: I have thus written in my book; 'That it is lawful for the clergy and laity to judge and determine of the works of their heads and rulers;' it appeareth by this: that the judgment of the secret counsels of God in the court of conscience is one thing, and the judgment of the authority and power of the church is another. Wherefore subjects first ought principally to judge and examine themselves [1 Cor. xi.] Secondly, they ought to examine all things which pertain unto their salvation, for a spiritual man judgeth and examineth all things. And this is alleged as touching the first judgment, and not the second; as the enemy doth impute it unto me. Whereupon in the same place I do say that the layman ought to judge and examine the works of his prelate, like as Paul doth judge the doings of Peter in blaming him. Secondly, to avoid them, according to this saying, 'Beware of false prophets,' &c. Thirdly, to rule over the ministry: for the subject ought by reason to judge and examine the works of the prelates. And if they be good, to praise God therefore and rejoice: but if they be evil, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sorry for them, but not to do the like, lest they be damned with them, according to this saying: 'If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.'

The clergy and laity may judge of the works of their prelates.

Secret in the court of conscience. Open in the court of authority.

Thirteenth article. To godward all wicked ministers be suspended.

The thirteenth article: 'God doth suspend, of himself, every wicked prelate from his ministry, while he is actually in sin; for by that means that he is in deadly sin, he doth offend and sin whatsoever he do, and consequently is forbidden so to do; therefore also is he suspended from his ministry.' Answer: This is proved as touching suspension from dignity, by Hosea iv., and Isaiah, and Malachi i. And Paul, in 1 Cor. xi., suspendeth all such as be sinful, or in any grievous crime or offence, from the eating of the body of the Lord, and the drinking of his blood; and consequently suspendeth all sinful prelates from the ministration of the reverend sacrament. And God doth suspend the wicked and sinful from the declaration of his righteousness [Psalm xlix.] Forasmuch then as to suspend, in effect, is to prohibit the ministry, or any other good thing for the offence' sake; or, as the new laws do determine or call it, to interdict or forbid, it is manifest by the Scriptures before rehearsed, that God doth prohibit the sinful, being in sin, to exercise or use their ministry or office, which, by God's commandment, ought to be exercised without offence. Whereupon he saith by Isaiah the prophet, 'Ye that carry the vessels of the Lord, be ye cleansed and made clean;' and to the Corinthians it is said, 'Let all things be done with love and charity,' &c. The same thing also is commanded by divers and sundry canons, which I have alleged in my treatise.

Fourteenth article. The lay-people supplanted by the clergy.

The fourteenth article. (The answer which he made to the twenty-fifth article, in prison, sufficeth for this; that is to say, that the clergy, for their own preferment and exaltation, do supplant and undermine the lay-people, do increase and multiply their covetousness, cloke and defend their malice and wickedness, and prepare a way for Antichrist. The first part he proveth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, who named himself 'Benedict,' by the example of Angelus Coriarius, who named himself 'Gregory XII.;' and also by the example of John XXIII.; likewise by Ezekiel xiii. and xxiv., and out of Gregory, who saith, 'What shall become of the flock, when the shepherds themselves are become wolves,' &c.; also out of Hosea, Micah, and other of the prophets, and many places of St. Bernard. The second part is proved by Jeremiah viii., Gregory,

in his seventeenth Homily, and St. Bernard upon the Canticles. The third part of this article is also proved by experience; for who defendeth the wickedness of any schism but only the clergy, alleging Scriptures, and bringing reasons there-for? Who excuseth simony, but only the clergy? likewise covetousness in heaping together many benefices? and lechery and fornication? For how many of the clergy are there now-a-days who do say, it is no deadly sin; alleging (albeit disorderly) the saying of Genesis, 'Increase and multiply?' Hereby also is the fourth part of the article easily verified. For the way of Antichrist is wickedness and sin, of which the apostle speaketh to the Thessalonians; Gregory in his Register, Pastoral, and Morals: also St. Bernard, upon the Canticles, plainly saith; 'Wicked and evil priests prepare the way for Antichrist.' See Appendix.

Fifteenth article. The dishonesty of such as gathered charges against Huss.

The fifteenth article: 'John Huss doth openly teach and affirm, that these conclusions aforesaid are true.' The answer is manifest by that which I have before written. For some of these propositions I did write and publish; others mine enemy did feign; now adding, then diminishing and taking away; now falsely ascribing and imputing the whole proposition unto me: which thing the commissioners themselves did confess before me; whom I desired, for the false invention and feigning of those articles, that they would punish those whom they themselves knew and confessed to be mine enemies.

Sixteenth article.

The sixteenth article. Hereby also it appeareth, that it is not true which they have affirmed in the article following; that is to say, that all the aforesaid conclusions be false, erroneous, seditious, and such as do weaken and make feeble the power and strength of the church, invented contrary to the holy Scriptures and the church. But if there be any such, I am ready most humbly to revoke and recant the same.

Seventeenth article

The seventeenth article. There was also an objection made against me as touching the treatises which I wrote against Paletz and Stanislaus de Znoyma; which I desired, for God's sake, they might be openly read in the audience of the whole council; and said that I, notwithstanding my former protestation, would willingly submit myself to the judgment of the whole council.

Eighteenth article.

The eighteenth article. There was also another article objected against me in this form: 'Item, John Huss said and preached, that he should go to Constance, and if so be that for any manner of cause he should be forced to recant what he had before taught, yet, notwithstanding, he never purposed to do it with his mind; forasmuch as whatsoever he had before taught, was pure and true, and the sound doctrine of Christ.' Answer: This article is full of lies, to the inventor whereof I suppose the Lord saith thus; 'All the day long thou hast imagined mischief and wickedness, and with thy tongue, as with a sharp razor, thou hast wrought deceit: thou hast delighted and loved rather to talk of wickedness and mischief, than of equity and justice.' Verily I do grant, that I left behind me a certain epistle to be read to the people, which did contain, that all such as did weigh and consider my careful labours and travails, should pray for me, and steadfastly preserve and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, knowing for a certainty, that I never taught them any such errors, as mine enemies do impute or ascribe unto me; and if it should happen that I were overcome by false witness, they should not be vexed or troubled in their minds, but steadfastly continue in the truth.

Nineteenth article.

The nineteenth article. Last it was objected against me, that after I was come into Constance, I did write unto the kingdom of Bohemia, that the pope and the emperor received me honourably, and sent unto me two bishops to make agreement between me and them; and that this seemeth to be written by me to this end and purpose, that they should confirm and establish me and my hearers in the errors which I had preached and taught in Bohemia. This article is falsely alleged, even from the beginning; for how manifestly false should I have written, that the pope and the emperor did honour me, when I had otherwise written before, that as yet we knew not where the emperor was? And before the emperor himself came to Constance, I was, by the space of three weeks, in prison. And to write that I was honoured by my imprisonment, the people of the kingdom of Bohemia would repute the honour as no great renown and glory unto me. Howbeit, mine enemies may in derision say unto me, that according to their wills and pleasures I am exalted and honoured. Wherefore this article is wholly, throughout, false and untrue.

Henry V. A. D. 1415.

Unto these articles above prefixed, were other articles also to be annexed, which the Parisians had drawn out against Master John Huss, to the number of nineteen. The chief author whereof, was John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, a great setter-on of the pope against good men. Of these articles John Huss doth often complain in his epistles, that he had no time nor space to make answer unto them; which articles being falsely collected and wrongfully depraved, although John Huss had no time to answer unto them, yet I thought it not unfit here to set them down for the reader to see and judge.

John Gerson chancellor of Paris.

Second Series of Nineteen Articles formerly contained in or picked, by the Parisians, out of the Treatise of John Huss of Prague, which he entitled "Of the Church," following in this part or behalf the errors, as they term them, of John Wickliff.

First article. The first article: 'No reprobate is true pope, lord, or prelate.' The error is in the faith, and behaviour, and manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well against the poor men of Lyons, as also against the Waldenses and Picards. The affirmation of which error is temerarious, seditious, offensive and pernicious, and tending to the subversion of all human policy and governance; forasmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, for that all men do offend in many points; and thereby should all rule and dominion be made uncertain and unstable, if it should be founded upon predestination and charity: neither should the commandment of Peter have been good, who willeth all servants to be obedient unto their masters and lords, although they be wicked.

Second. The second article: 'That no man being in deadly sin, whereby he is no member of Christ, but of the devil, is true pope, prelate, or lord.' The error of this is like unto the first.

Third. The third article: 'No reprobate or otherwise being in deadly sin, sitteth in the apostolic seat of Peter, neither hath any apostolical power over the christian people.' This error is also like unto the first.

Fourth. The fourth article: 'No reprobates are of the church, neither, likewise any who do not follow the life of Christ.' This error is against the common understanding of the doctors concerning the church.

Fifth. The fifth article: 'They only are of the church, and sit in Peter's seat, and have apostolic power, who follow Christ and his apostles in their life and living.' The error hereof is in faith and manners, as in the first article, but containing more arrogancy and rashness.

Sixth. The sixth article: 'That every man who liveth uprightly, according to the rule of Christ, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not sent; yea, although he be forbidden or excommunicated by any prelate or bishop, even as he might and ought to give alms: for his good life in living, together with his learning, doth sufficiently send him.' This is a rash and temerarious error, offensive, and tending to the confusion of the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Seventh. The seventh article: 'That the pope of Rome being contrary unto Christ, is not the universal bishop, neither hath the church of Rome any supremacy over other churches, except peradventure it be given to him of Cæsar, and not of Christ.' An error lately and plainly reproved.

Eighth. The eighth article: 'That the pope ought not to be called most holy, and that his feet are neither holy nor blessed, nor ought they to be kissed.' This error is temerariously, unreverently, and offensively published.

Ninth. The ninth article: 'That according to the doctrine of Christ, heretics, be they ever so obstinate or stubborn, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed nor excommunicated.' This is the error of the Donatists, temerariously, and not without great offence, affirmed against the laws of the ecclesiastical discipline; as St. Augustine doth prove.

The tenth article: 'That subjects, and the common people, may and ought publicly and openly to detect and reprove the vices of their superiors and rulers, as having power given them of Christ, and the example of St. Paul so to do.' This error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, disobedience, and sedition, and the curse and malediction of Ham.

Eleventh. The eleventh article: 'That Christ only is head of the church, and not the pope.' It is an error according unto the common understanding of the doctors, if all the reason of the supremacy, and of being head, be secluded and taken away from the pope.

Twelfth. The twelfth article: 'That the only church, which comprehendeth the predestinate and good livers, is the universal church, whereunto subjects do owe obedience.' And this is consequent unto the former article: the error is contained as in the former articles.

Thirteenth. The thirteenth article: 'That tithes and oblations given to the church are public and common alms.' This error is offensive, and contrary to the determination of the apostle [1 Cor. ix.]

Fourteenth. The fourteenth article: 'That the clergy living wickedly, ought to be reproved and corrected by the lay-people, by the taking away of their tithes and other temporal profits.' A most pernicious error and offensive, inducing the secular people to perpetrate sacrilege; subverting the ecclesiastical liberty.

Fifteenth. The fifteenth article: 'That the blessings of such as are reprobate or evil livers of the clergy, are maledictions and cursings before God, according to the saying, I will curse your blessings.' This error was lately reproved by St. Augustine, against St. Cyprian and his followers, neither is the Master of the Sentences allowed by the masters in that point that he seemeth to favour this article.

Sixteenth. The sixteenth article: 'That in these days, and for a long time before, there hath been no true pope, no true church, nor faith, which is called the Romish church, whereunto a man ought to obey; but that it both was, and is, the synagogue of Antichrist and Satan.' The error, in this article, is in this point, That it is derived from, and taketh its foundation upon, the former articles.

Seventeenth. The seventeenth article: 'That all gift of money given unto the ministers of the church, for the ministration of any spiritual matter, doth make such ministers, in that case, users of simony.' This error is seditious and temerarious, forasmuch as something may be given unto the clergy, under the title of sustentation or maintaining the minister, without the selling or buying of any spiritual thing.

Eighteenth. The eighteenth article: 'That whosoever is excommunicated by the pope, if he appeal to Christ, he is preserved that he need not fear the excommunication, but may utterly contemn and despise the same.' This error is temerarious and of arrogancy.

Nineteenth. The nineteenth article: 'That every deed done without charity, is sin.' This error was reproved and revoked before this time at Paris, especially if it be understood of deadly sin; for it is not necessary that he who lacketh grace, should continually sin and offend anew, albeit he be continually in sin.

This declaration following, the masters of Paris, by their whole voice and consent, did add and adjoin unto these nineteen articles, for their reason and determination.

Reasons and Determinations of the Masters of Paris.

We affirm, That these articles aforesaid are notoriously heretical, and that they are judicially to be condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with their most seditious doctrines, lest they do infect others. For albeit they seem to have a zeal against the vices of the prelates and the clergy, which (the more is the pity and grief) do but too much abound, yet is it not according unto knowledge: for one of a sober and discreet zeal suffereth and lamenteth those sins and offences, which he seeth in the house of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other vices and errors, forasmuch as devils are not cast out through Beelzebub, but by the power of God, which is the Holy Ghost, who willeth, that in correction

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the measure and mean of prudence be always kept, according to the saying, 'Mark who, what, where, and why, by what means and when.' Prelates and bishops are bound, under grievous and express penalties of the law, diligently and vigilantly to bear themselves against the aforesaid errors, and such others, and the maintainers of them: for let it always be understood and noted, that the error which is not resisted is allowed; neither is there any doubt of privy affinity or society in him, who slacketh to withstand a manifest mischief.

See Appendix.

These things are laid down as an instruction by the way, under correction.

John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, unworthy.

By these things thus declared a man may easily understand, that John Huss was not so much accused for holding any opinion contrary to the articles of faith, but because he did stoutly preach and teach against the kingdom of Antichrist, for the glory of Christ and the restoring of the church.

Now to return to the story: when the first thirty-nine articles, which I have before rehearsed, were all read over, together with their testimonies, the cardinal of Cambray calling unto John Huss, said:—

The words of the cardinal of Cambray unto John Huss after his accusation.

'Thou hast heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what a number of them there are; and now it is thy part to devise with thyself what thou wilt do. Two ways are proponed and set before thee by the council, whereof the one of them thou must, of force and necessity, enter into. First, That thou do humbly and meekly submit thyself unto the judgment and sentence of the council, that whatsoever shall be there determined, by their common voice and judgment, thou wilt patiently bear, and suffer the same. Which thing if thou wilt do, we, of our part, both for the honour of the most gentle emperor here present, and also for the honour of his brother, the king of Bohemia, and for thy own safeguard and preservation, will treat and handle thee with as great humanity, love, and gentleness, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of those articles which we have propounded unto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and license thereunto: but this thou shalt well understand, that here are such manner of men, so clear in understanding and knowledge, and having such firm and strong reasons and arguments against thy articles, that I fear it will be to thy great hurt, detriment and peril, if thou shouldest any longer will or desire to defend the same. This do I speak and say unto thee, to counsel and admonish thee, and not as in manner of a judge.'

A double inconvenience for John Huss to fall into.

This oration of the cardinal many others prosecuting, every man for himself did exhort and persuade John Huss to the like; unto whom, with a lowly countenance, he answered:

'Most reverend fathers! I have often said, that I came hither of mine own free will, not to the intent obstinately to defend any thing, but that if in any thing I should seem to have conceived a perverse or evil opinion, I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I desire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind; whereof, except I shall allege most firm and strong reasons, I will willingly submit myself, as you require, unto your information.'

Then there starte up one, who, with a loud voice said, "Behold, how craftily this man speaketh: He termeth it information, and not correction or determination." "Verily," said John Huss, "even as you will term it, information, correction or determination: for I take

God to my witness, that I speak nothing but with my heart and mind." *Henry V.*

A. D. 1416.

Then said the cardinal of Cambray: "Forasmuch, then, as thou dost submit thyself unto the information and grace of this council, this is decreed by almost threescore doctors, whereof some of them are now departed hence, in whose room and place the Parisians have succeeded; and also it is approved by the whole council, not one man speaking the contrary thereunto: First of all, that thou shalt humbly and meekly confess thyself to have erred in these articles which are alleged and brought against thee: Secondly, that thou shalt promise by an oath, that from henceforth thou shalt not hold, or teach, any of these articles: And last of all, that thou shalt openly recant all these articles.

The cardinal of Cambray appointeth John Huss certain conditions whereby he may be delivered.

Upon which sentence, when many others had spoken their minds at length John Huss said:

'I once again do say, that I am ready to submit myself to the information of the council; but this I most humbly require and desire you all, even for His sake, who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled or forced to do the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against, or which I cannot do without danger of eternal damnation: that is, that I should make revocation, by oath, to all the articles which are alleged against me. For I remember that I have read in the Catholicon, that to abjure, is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And forsomuch as many of these articles are said to be mine, which were never in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how should I then renounce them by an oath? But as touching those articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man who can teach me contrariwise unto them, I will willingly perform that which you desire.'

Then said the emperor: "Why mayest not thou without danger also renounce all those articles which thou sayest are falsely alleged against thee by the witnesses? For I verily would nothing at all doubt to abjure all errors, neither doth it follow that therefore, by and by, I have professed any error." To whom John Huss answered: "Most noble emperor! this word to abjure, doth signify much otherwise than your majesty doth here use it." Then said the cardinal of Florence, "John Huss, you shall have a form of abjuration, which shall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will easily and soon determine with yourself, whether you will do it or no." Then the emperor, repeating again the words of the cardinal of Cambray, said; "Thou hast heard that there are two ways laid before thee: First, that thou shouldest openly renounce those thy errors which are now condemned, and subscribe unto the judgment of the council, whereby thou shouldest try and find their grace and favour. But if thou proceed to defend thy opinions, the council shall have sufficient, whereby, according to their laws and ordinances, they may decree and determine upon thee." To whom John Huss answered; "I refuse nothing, most noble emperor! whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience, or say that I professed those errors which it was never in my mind or thought to profess. But I desire you all, if it may be possible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may answer as much as shall suffice, as touching those things which are objected

The emperor exhorteth John Huss to recant.

The emperor rehearseth the cardinal of Cambray's words.

Henry V. against me, and specially concerning ecclesiastical offices, and the state of the ministry."

A. D. 1416. But when other men began to speak, the emperor himself began to sing the same song which he had sung before. "Thou art of lawful age," said the emperor; "thou mightest easily have understood what I said unto thee yesterday, and this day; for we are forced to give credit unto these witnesses who are worthy of credit, forasmuch as the Scripture saith, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth is tried: how much more then, by so many witnesses of such worthy men? Wherefore, if thou be wise, receive penance at the hands of the council with a contrite heart, and renounce thy manifest errors, and promise by an oath, that from henceforth thou wilt never more teach or preach them; which if thou refuse to do, there are laws and ordinances whereby thou shalt be judged of the council."

The force of false witness. The emperor to John Huss.

Here a certain very old bishop of Poland put to his verdict. He said: "The laws are evident as touching heretics, with what punishment they ought to be punished." But John Huss constantly answered as before, insomuch that they said he was obstinate and stubborn. Then a certain well-fed priest, and gaily apparelled, cried out unto the presidents of the council, saying: "He ought by no means to be admitted to recantation, for he hath written unto his friends, that although he do swear with his tongue, yet he will keep his mind unsworn, without oath; wherefore he is not to be trusted." Unto this slander John Huss answered as is said in the last article; affirming that he was not guilty of any error.

An old bishop of Poland.

Objection of a priest better fed than taught.

Then said Paletz: "To what end is this protestation, forasmuch as thou sayest that thou wilt defend no error, neither yet Wickliff, and yet dost defend him?" When he had spoken these words, he brought forth for witness nine articles of John Wickliff's, and read them openly, and afterwards he said, "When I and Master Stanislaus, in the presence of Ernest of Austria, duke of Prague, preached against them, he obstinately defended the same, not only by his sermons, but also by his books which he set forth; which, except you do here exhibit, we will cause them to be exhibited." So said the emperor also. Unto whom John Huss answered: "I am very well contented that not only those, but also all other my books, be brought forth and showed."

Paletz against John Huss.

A new heap of slanders.

In the mean time there was exhibited unto the council a certain article, wherein John Huss was accused, that he had slanderously interpreted a certain sentence of the pope's, which he denied that he did, saying, that he never saw it but in prison, when the article was showed him by the commissioners. And when he was demanded who was the author thereof; he answered, that he knew not, but that he heard say that Master Jessenitz was the author thereof.

"What then," said they, "do you think or judge of the interpretation thereof?" Then answered John Huss, "What should I say thereunto, when I said I never saw it, but as I have heard it of you." Thus they were all so grievous and troublesome unto him that he waxed faint and weary, for he had passed all the night before without sleep, through the pain of his teeth.

John Huss waxeth faint and weary.

Then was there another article read, in which was contained, that three men were beheaded at Prague, because, through Wickliff's

doctrine and teaching, they were contumelious and slanderous against the pope's letters; and that they were, by the same Huss, with the whole pomp of the scholars, and with a public convocation or congregation, carried out to be buried, and by a public sermon placed among the number of saints. And the same Dr. Naso, of whom you have heard certain testimonies already recited, affirmed the same to be true, and that he himself was present, when the king of Bohemia commanded those blasphemers so to be punished.

Henry V. A.D. 1416.

Another quarrel against John Huss touching these three men beheaded at Prague.

Then said John Huss: "Both those parts are false, that the king did command any such punishment to be done, and that the corses were by me conveyed with any such pomp unto their sepulture or burial, whereas I was not even present: wherefore you do injury both unto me and the king. Then Paletz confirmed the affirmation of Dr. Naso, his fellow, with this argument (for they both laboured to one end and purpose): That it was provided by the king's commandment, that no man should once speak against the pope's bulls: but these three spake against the pope's bulls: ergo, by virtue of the king's commandment, they were beheaded.[1] And what John Huss's opinion and mind was, as touching these men, it is evident enough by his book intituled 'Of the Church,' wherein he writeth thus:[2] "I believe they have read Daniel the prophet, where it is said, 'And they shall perish with sword and fire, and with captivity, and many shall fraudulently and craftily associate themselves unto them.'" And afterward he saith; "How is this fulfilled in those three lay-men, who, not consenting to but speaking against the feigned lies of Antichrist, offered their lives there-for; and many other were ready to do the same; and many were fraudulently associate unto them, who, being feared by the threatenings of Antichrist, are fled, and have turned their backs," &c.

John Huss belied.

See Appendix.

When these things were read, one looking upon another, as though they had been all in a marvellous strange study, they held their peace for a certain space; for this Paletz, and the aforesaid Dr. Naso had also added, that John Huss, in an open sermon, had inflamed and stirred up the people against the magistrates, insomuch that a great number of the citizens did openly set themselves against the magistrates; and by that means was it, he said, that those three were ready to suffer death for the truth. And this sedition was hardly appeased by any benefit or help that the king could do. Then the Englishmen exhibited the copy of a certain epistle, which they said was falsely conveyed unto Prague, under the title of the University of Oxford, and that John Huss did read the same out of the pulpit unto the people, that he might commend and praise John Wickliff to the citizens of Prague. When they had read the same before the council, the Englishmen demanded of John Huss, whether he had read the same openly or no. Which when he had confessed, because it was brought thither by two scholars under the seal of the university, they also inquired of him, what scholars they were. He answered; "This my friend (meaning Stephen Paletz) knoweth one of them as well as I; the other, I know not what he was."

Another quarrel picked by Englishmen against John Huss.

The testimonial of Oxford for Wickliff, brought to Prague.

Then they first inquired of John Huss, as touching the last man, where he was. John Huss answered: "I heard say, that on his return into England he died by the way." As touching the first,

(1) Ex puris affirmativis non consistit argum. in 2 figura.

(2) Cap. 21.– Ed.

Henry V. A.D. 1416.

Paletz said, that he was a Bohemian and no Englishman, and that he brought out of England a certain small piece of the stone of Wickliff's sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this present, do reverence and worship as a thing most holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all these things were done, and that John Huss was the author of them all.

A piece of the stone of Wickliff's sepulchre brought for a relic to Prague.

Then the Englishmen exhibited another epistle, contrary to the first, under the seal of the university, the effect and argument whereof was this: "The senate of the university, not without great sorrow and grief, have experimented and found, that the errors of Wickliff are scattered and spread out of that university throughout all England. And to the intent, that through their help and labour, means may be found to remedy this mischief, they have appointed for that purpose twelve doctors, men of singular learning, and other masters, who should sit in judgment upon the books of Wickliff. These men have noted out above the number of two hundred articles, which the whole university have judged worthy to be burnt; but, for reverence of the said sacred council, the said university have sent them unto Constance, referring and remitting the whole authority of the judgment unto this council."

The oath of Paletz.

Here was great silence kept for awhile. Then Paletz rising up, as though he had now finished his accusation, said: "I take God to my witness before the emperor's majesty here present, and the most reverend fathers, cardinals and bishops, that in this accusation of John Huss I have not used any hatred or evil will; but that I might satisfy the oath which I took when I was made doctor, that I would be a most cruel and sharp enemy of all manner of errors, for the profit and commodity of the holy catholic church." Michael de Causis did also the like. "And I," said John Huss, "do commit all these things unto the heavenly Judge, who shall justly judge the cause or quarrel of both parties." Then said the cardinal of Cambray: "I cannot a little commend and praise the humanity and gentleness of Master Paletz, which he hath used in drawing out the articles against Master John Huss; for, as we have heard, there are many things contained in his book much worse and detestable."

The oath of Michael de Causis.

John Huss witnesseth the Lord.

When he had spoken these words, the archbishop of Riga, unto whom John Huss was committed, commanded, that the said John Huss should be carried again safely to prison. Then John de Clum following him, did not a little encourage and comfort him. No tongue can express what courage and stomach he received by the short talk which he had with him, when, in so great a broil and grievous hatred, he saw himself in a manner forsaken of all men. After that John Huss was carried away, the emperor began to exhort the presidents of the council in this manner following:

John de Clum doth comfort John Huss

Oration of the Emperor Sigismund, addressed to the Council.

'You have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against John Huss, which are not only proved by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him; of which, every one of them, by my judgment and advice, hath deserved and is worthy of death. Therefore, except he do recant them all, I judge and think meet that he be punished with fire. And albeit he do that which he is willed and commanded to do; notwithstanding, I do

counsel you, that he be forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and also that he return no more into the kingdom of Bohemia: for if he be admitted again to teach and preach, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, he will not observe and keep that which he is commanded; but, hoping upon the favour and good will of such as be his adherents and fautors there, he will return again unto his former purpose and intent; and then, besides these errors, he will also sow new errors amongst the people; so the last error shall be worse than the first.

'Moreover, I judge and think it good, that his articles which are condemned, should be sent unto my brother, the king of Bohemia, and afterward into Poland, and other provinces; where men's minds are replenished with his doctrine; with this commandment: That whosoever do proceed to hold or keep the same, they should, by the common aid both of the ecclesiastical and civil power, be punished. So at length shall remedy be found for this mischief, if the boughs, together with the root, be utterly rooted and pulled up: and if the bishops and other prelates, who here in this place have laboured and travailed for the extirpating of this heresy, be commended by the whole voices of the council unto the king and princes, under whose dominion they are. Last of all, if there be any found here at Constance, who are familiars unto John Huss, they also ought to be punished with such severity and punishment as is due unto them, and especially his scholar, Jerome of Prague.'

That which God planteth, man shall never root up.

Jerome of Prague mentioned by the emperor.

Then said the rest: "When the master is once punished, we hope we shall find the scholar much more tractable and gentle."

After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the cloister, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the sixth of July, the emperor Sigismund sent unto him four bishops, accompanied with lords Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Clum, that they should learn and understand of him what he did intend to do. When he was brought out of prison unto them, John de Clum began first to speak unto him, saying: "Master John Huss, I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counsel or advertise you, being a man of learning and understanding: notwithstanding I do require you, if you know yourself guilty of any of those errors which are objected and laid against you before the council, that you will not be ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the council: if contrariwise, I will be no author unto you, that you should do any thing contrary, or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and endure any kind of punishment, than to deny that which you have known to be the truth." Unto whom John Huss, turning himself, with lamentable tears said: "Verily, as before I have oftentimes done, I do take the most high God for my witness, that I am ready with my heart and mind, if the council can instruct or teach me any better by the holy Scripture, and I will be ready with all my whole heart to alter and change my purpose." Then one of the bishops who sat by, said unto him, that he would never be so arrogant or proud, that he would prefer his own mind or opinion before the judgment of the whole council. To whom John Huss answered: "Neither do I otherwise mind or intend. For if he who is the meanest or least in all this council can convict me of error, I will, with an humble heart and mind, perform and do whatsoever the council shall require of me." "Mark," said the bishops, "how obstinately he doth persevere in his errors." And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keepers to carry him again to prison; and so they returned again unto the emperor with their commission.

Four bishops sent to John Huss.

The pitiful and loving oration of John de Clum unto John Huss.

The marvellous constancy of John Huss.

That is no right modesty that mcrs regardeth to obey man, than manifest verity.

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The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth day of July, there was a general session holden of the princes and lords, both of the ecclesiastical and temporal estates, in the head church of the city of Constance, the emperor Sigismund being president in his imperial robes and habit; in the midst whereof there was made a certain high place, being square about like a table, and hard by it there was a desk of wood, on which the garments and vestments pertaining unto priesthood were laid for this cause, that before John Huss should be delivered over unto the civil power, he should be openly deprived and spoiled of his priestly ornaments. When John Huss was brought thither, he fell down upon his knees before the same high place, and prayed a long time. In the mean while the bishop of Lodi went up into the pulpit, and made this sermon following:—

See Append. x

The Sermon of the Bishop of Lodi, before the Sentence was given upon John Huss.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Trusting by humble invocation upon the Divine help and aid, most noble prince, and most christian emperor, and you most excellent fathers, and reverend lords, bishops and prelates, also most excellent doctors and masters, most famous and noble dukes, and high counts, honourable nobles and barons, and all other men worthy of remembrance; that the intent and purpose of my mind may the more plainly and evidently appear unto this most sacred congregation, I am first of all determined to treat or speak of that which is read in the epistle on the next Sunday, in the sixth chapter to the Romans; that is to say, 'Let the body of sin be destroyed,' etc.

The theme.

It appeareth by the authority of Aristotle, in his book entituled 'De Cœlo et Mundo,' how wicked, dangerous, and foolish a matter it seemeth to be, not to withstand perverse and wicked beginnings. For he saith, that a small error in the beginning, is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to have erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthy doctor, St. Jerome, in his book 'On the Exposition of the Catholic Faith,' teacheth how necessary a thing it is, that heretics and heresies should be suppressed, even at the first beginning of them, saying thus: 'The rotten and dead flesh is to be cut off from the body, lest the whole body do perish and putrefy. For a scabbed sheep is to be put out of the fold, lest that the whole flock be infected; and a little fire is to be quenched, lest the whole house be consumed and burned.' Arius was first a spark in Alexandria, who, because he was not at the first quenched, presumed, and went about with his wicked and perverse imaginations, and fantastical inventions, to spot and defile the catholic faith, which is founded and established by Christ, defended with the victorious triumphs of so many martyrs, and illuminated and set forth with the excellent doctrines and writings of so many men. Such therefore must be resisted; such heretics, of necessity, must be suppressed and condemned.

His theme confirmed by Aristotle.

Wherefore I have truly propounded, as touching the punishment of every such obstinate heretic, that the body of sin is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be considered, according to the holy traditions of the fathers, that some sins are adverse and contrary to others. Others are annexed or conjoined together; others are, as it were, branches and members of others; and some are, as it were, the roots and heads of others. Amongst all which, those are to be counted the most detestable, out of which the most and worst have their original and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all sins and offences are to be abhorred of us, yet those are especially to be eschewed, which are the head and root of the rest. For by how much the perverseness of them is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the more speed and circumspection ought they to be rooted out and extinguished, with apt preservatives and remedies. Forasmuch then as amongst all sins, none doth more appear to be inveterate than the mischief of this most execrable schism, therefore have I right well propounded,

that the body of sin should be destroyed. For by the long continuance of this schism, great and most cruel destruction is sprung up amongst the faithful, and hath long continued; abominable divisions of heresies have grown up; threatenings are increased and multiplied; the confusion of the whole clergy is grown thereupon, and the opprobries and slanders of the christian people are abundantly sprung up and increased. And truly it is no marvel, forasmuch as that most detestable and execrable schism is, as it were, a body and heap of dissolution of the true faith of God; for what can be good or holy in that place, where such a pestiferous schism hath reigned so long a time? For, as St. Bernard saith, 'Like as in the unity and concord of the faithful, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord; so likewise in the schism and dissipation of the Christians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the devil.' Is not schsm and division the original of all subversion, the den of heresies, and the nourisher of all offences? for the knot of unity and peace being once troubled and broken, there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Covetousness is uttered in others for lucre's sake; lust and will is set at liberty, and all means opened unto slaughter. All right and equity is banished, the ecclesiastical power is injured, and the calamity of this schism bringeth in all kind of bondage; swords and violence do rule, the laity have the dominion, concord and unity are banished, and all prescript rules of religion utterly contemned and set at nought.

They cannot abide the laity to rule in any case.

Consider, most gentle lords! during this most pestiferous schism, how many heresies have appeared and showed themselves? how many heretics have escaped unpunished? how many churches have been spoiled and pulled down? how many cities have been oppressed, and regions brought to ruin? what confusion hath there happened in the clergy? what and how great destruction hath been amongst the christian people? I pray you mark how the church of God, the spouse of Christ, and the mother of all faithful, is contemned and despised; for who doth reverence the keys of the church? who feareth the censures or laws, or who is it that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it that doth not offend the same, or who doth not invade it, or else what is he that dare not violently lay hands upon the patrimony or heritage of Jesus Christ? the goods of the clergy and of the poor, and the relief of pilgrims and strangers, gotten together by the blood of our Saviour and of many martyrs, are spoiled and taken away: behold, the abomination of desolation brought upon the church of God, the destruction of the faith, and the confusion of the christian people, to the ruin of the Lord's flock or fold, and all the whole company of our most holy Saviour and Redeemer.

All the popish religion lieth in lands, lordships, and liveries.

Note here the pope's divinity, how the blood of Christ serveth to purchase their patrimony.

This loss is more great and grievous than any which could happen unto the martyrs of Christ, and this persecution much more cruel than the persecution of any tyrants; for they did but only punish the bodies, but in the schism and division the souls are tormented. There, the blood of men was only shed; but, in this case, the true faith is subverted and overthrown. That persecution was salvation unto many; but this schism is destruction unto all men. When the tyrants raged, then the faith did increase; but by this division it is utterly decayed. During their cruelty and madness, the primitive church increased; but through this schism it is confounded and overthrown. Tyrants did ignorantly offend; but in this schism many do wittingly and willingly, even of obstinacy, offend. There came in heretics, users of simony, and hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the church; under those tyrants, the merits of the just were increased. But during this schism, mischief and wickedness are augmented: for in this most cursed and execrable division, truth is made an enemy to all Christians, faith is not regarded, love and charity hated, hope is lost, justice overthrown, no kind of courage or valiantness, but only unto mischief; modesty and temperance cloaked, wisdom turned into deceit, humility feigned, equity and truth falsified, patience utterly fled, conscience small, all wickedness intended, devotion counted folly, gentleness abject and cast away, religion despised, obedience not regarded, and all manner of life reproachful and abominable.

With how great and grievous sorrows is the church of God replenished and filled, whilst that tyrants do oppress it, heretics invade it, users of simony do spoil and rob it, and schismatics go about utterly to subvert it? O most miserable and wretched christian people! whom now, by the space of forty years,

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with such indurate and continual schism, they have tormented, and almost brought to ruin! O the little bark and ship of Christ! which hath so long time wandered and strayed now in the midst of the whirlpools, and by and by sticketh fast in the rocks, tossed to and fro with most grievous and tempestuous storms! O miserable and wretched boat of Peter! if the most holy Father would suffer thee to sink or drown, into what dangers and perils have the wicked pirates brought thee! amongst what rocks have they placed thee! O most godly and loving Christians! what faithful devout man is there, who beholding and seeing the great ruin and decay of the church, would not be provoked unto tears? What good conscience is there that can refrain weeping, because that contention and strife are poured upon the ecclesiastical rulers, who have made us to err in the way, because they have not found, or rather would not find, the way of unity and concord? whereupon so many heresies and so great confusion are sprung up, and grown in the flock of Peter, and the fold of the Lord!

This schism continued forty years.

He stirreth up the emperor Sigismund.

Many princes, kings and prelates, have greatly laboured and travailed for the rooting out hereof; but yet could they never bring to pass, or finish that most wholesome and necessary work. Wherefore, most christian king! this most glorious and triumphant victory hath tarried only for thee, the crown and glory thereof shall be thine for ever; and this most happy victory shall be continually celebrated to thy great honour and praise, that thou hast restored again the church which was so spoiled, thou hast removed and put away all inveterate and overgrown schisms and divisions, thou hast trodden down users of simony, and rooted out all heretics. Dost thou not behold and see how great, perpetual, and famous renown and glory it will be unto thee? for what can be more just, what more holy, what better, what more to be desired; or, finally, what can be more acceptable, than to root out this wicked and abominable schism, to restore the church again unto her ancient liberty, to extinguish and put away all simony, and to condemn and destroy all errors and heresies from amongst the flock of the faithful? Nothing truly can be better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole world; and finally, nothing more acceptable unto God. For the performance of which most holy and godly work, thou wast elected and chosen of God; thou wast first deputed and chosen in heaven, before thou wast elected and chosen upon earth. Thou wast first appointed by the celestial and heavenly prince, before the electors of the empire did elect or choose thee; and especially, that by the imperial force and power, thou shouldest condemn and destroy those errors and heresies which we have presently in hand to be condemned and subverted. To the performance of this most holy work, God hath given unto thee the knowledge and understanding of his divine truth and verity, power of princely majesty, and the just judgment of equity and righteousness, as the Highest himself doth say: 'I have given thee understanding and wisdom, to speak and utter my words, and have set thee to rule over nations and kingdoms, that thou shouldest help the people, pluck down and destroy iniquity. And by exercising of justice thou shouldest, I say, destroy all errors and heresies, and specially this obstinate heretic here present, through whose wickedness and mischief, many places of the world are infected with most pestilent and heretical poison, and, by his means and occasion, almost utterly subverted and destroyed. This most holy and godly labour, O most noble prince! was reserved only for thee; upon thee it doth only lie, unto whom the whole rule and ministration of justice is given. Wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renown, even by the mouths of infants and sucking babes; for thy praises shall be celebrate for evermore, that thou hast destroyed and overthrown such and so great enemies of the faith. The which that thou mayest prosperously and happily perform and bring to pass, our Lord Jesus vouchsafe to grant thee his grace and help, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen!

Loripidem rectus derideat, æthiopem albus.

Note the vile flattery of these papists, when they would have any thing of the emperor for their purpose.

The proctor of the council calleth for the sentence.

When this sermon was thus ended, the proctor of the council rising up, named Henricus de Piro, required that the process of the cause against John Huss might be continued, and that they might proceed unto the definitive sentence. Then a certain bishop, who was appointed one of the judges, declared the process of the cause,

which was pleaded long since in the court of Rome, and elsewhere, between John Huss and the prelates of Prague.

At last he repeated those articles which we have before remembered; amongst which he rehearsed also one article, That John Huss should teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhood to be one Christ. John Huss went about briefly, with a word or two, to answer unto every one of them; but as often as he was about to speak, the cardinal of Cambray commanded him to hold his peace, saying, "Hereafter you shall answer all together, if you will." Then said John Huss: "How can I at once answer all these things which are alleged against me, when I cannot remember them all?" Then said the cardinal of Florence: "We have heard thee sufficiently." But when John Huss, for all that, would not hold his peace, they sent the officers who should force him thereunto. Then began he to entreat, pray, and beseech them, that they would hear him, that such as were present might not credit or believe those things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing prevail, he, kneeling down upon his knees, committed the whole matter unto God, and the Lord Jesus Christ; for at their hands he believed easily to obtain that which he desired.

The cardinal of Cambray commanded Huss to keep silence.

Huss could not be heard in the council.

Committeth his cause to the Lord.

When the articles abovesaid were ended, last of all there was added a notable blasphemy, which they all imputed unto John Huss; that is, That he said there should be a fourth person in the Deity, and that a certain doctor did hear him speak of the same. When John Huss desired that the doctor might be named, the bishop that alleged the article, said, That it was not needful to name him. Then said John Huss: "O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to bear such blasphemy and slander!"

Mark the unshamefacedness of them, to feign what they list. *See Appendix.*

Afterward the twenty-first article was repeated, touching his appeal unto Christ; and that, by name, was called heretical. Whereunto John Huss answered: "O Lord Jesu Christ! whose word is openly condemned here in this council, unto thee again I do appeal, who when thou wast evil entreated of thine enemies, didst appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cause unto a most just Judge; that by thy example, we also, being oppressed with manifest wrongs and injuries, should flee unto thee." Last of all, the article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by John Huss. Whereunto he answered as before, that he was excused by his advocates in the court of Rome, wherefore he did not appear when he was cited; and also that it may be proved by the acts, that the excommunication was not ratified; and finally, to the intent he might clear himself of obstinacy, he was for that cause come unto Constance, under the emperor's safe-conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them, who was appointed judge, read the definitive sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

The council doth call it heretical to appeal to Christ.

Contempt of the pope's excommunication laid to John Huss.

The Sentence or Judgment of the Council of Constance against John Huss.

The most holy and sacred general council of Constance, being congregated and gathered together, representing the catholic church, for a perpetual memory of the thing, as the Verity and Truth did witness, 'An evil tree bringeth

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forth evil fruit;' hereupon it cometh, that the man of most damnable memory John Wickliff, through his pestiferous doctrine, not through Jesus Christ by the gospel, as the holy fathers in times past have begotten faithful children; but, contrary unto the wholesome faith of Jesus Christ, as a most venomous root, hath begotten many pestilent and wicked children, whom he hath left behind him, successors and followers of his perverse and wicked doctrine: against whom this sacred synod of Constance is forced to rise up, as against bastards and unlawful children, and, with diligent care, with the sharp knife of the ecclesiastical authority, to cut up their errors out of the Lord's field, as most hurtful brambles and briers, lest they should grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

Forasmuch then as in the holy general council, lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed, That the doctrine of John Wickliff, of most damnable memory, should be condemned, and that his books which contained the same doctrine, should be burned as heretical, and this decree was approved and confirmed by the sacred authority of the whole council: nevertheless, one John Huss, here personally present in this sacred council, not the disciple of Christ, but of John Wickliff, an arch-heretic (after, and contrary to or against, the condemnation and decree), hath taught, preached, and affirmed the articles of Wickliff, which were condemned by the church of God, and in times past by certain most reverend fathers in Christ, lords, archbishops, and bishops, of divers kingdoms and realms, masters of divinity of divers universities; especially resisting in his open sermons, and also with his adherents and accomplices in the schools, the condemnation of the said articles of Wickliff, oftentimes published in the said university of Prague, and hath declared him, the said Wickliff, for the favour and commendation of his doctrine, before the whole multitude of the clergy and people, to be a catholic man, and a true evangelical doctor. He hath also published and affirmed certain and many of his articles, worthily condemned, to be catholic, which are notoriously contained in the books of the said John Huss.

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information first had upon the premises by the reverend fathers and lords in Christ of the holy church of Rome, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, doctors of divinity and of both laws, in great number assembled and gathered together,[1] this most sacred and holy council of Constance, declareth and determineth the articles abovesaid (which after due conference had, are found in his books written with his own hand, which also the said John Huss in open audience, before this holy council, hath confessed to be in his books) not to be catholic, neither worthy to be taught; but that many of them are erroneous, some of them wicked, others offensive to godly ears, many of them temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them notoriously heretical, and even now, of late, by the holy fathers and general councils reproved and condemned. And forasmuch as the said articles are expressly contained in the books of the said John Huss, therefore this said sacred[2] council doth condemn and reprove all those books which he wrote, in what form or phrase soever they be, or whether they be translated by others; and doth determine and decree, that they all shall be solemnly and openly burned in the presence of the clergy and people of the city of Constance, and elsewhere; adding moreover for the premises, That all his doctrine is worthy to be despised and eschewed of all faithful Christians. And, to the intent this most pernicious and wicked doctrine may be utterly excluded and shut out of the church, this sacred synod doth straitly command, that diligent inquisition be made by the ordinaries of the places, by the ecclesiastical censure, for such treatises and works; and that such as are found, be consumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found, who shall contemn or despise this sentence or decree, this sacred synod ordaineth and decreeth, that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquisitors of heresies, shall proceed against every such person as suspected of heresy.

Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the said John Huss, and full information had by the commissaries and doctors of both laws, and also by the sayings of the witnesses who were worthy of credit, and many other things

(1) They shall bring you before their councils, they shall persecute you, and cast you in prison, and bring you before kings and presidents for my name, etc. Luke xii.

(2) The said concilium malignantium.

openly read before the said John Huss, and before the fathers and prelates of this sacred council (by which allegations of the witnesses, it appeareth, that the said John Huss hath taught many evil and offensive, seditious and perilous heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time), this most sacred and holy synod, lawfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost,[1] the name of Christ being invocated and called upon, by this its sentence which is here set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth that John Huss was and is a true and manifest heretic, and that he hath preached openly errors and heresies lately condemned by the church of God, and many seditious, temerarious and offensive things; to no small offence of the Divine Majesty, and of the universal church, and detriment of the catholic faith and church; neglecting and despising the keys of the church, and ecclesiastical censures. In the which his error, he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardened by the space of many years, much offending the faithful Christians by his obstinacy and stubbornness, when he made his appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Most High Judge, omitting and leaving all ecclesiastical means. In the which his appeal he allegeth many false, injurious, and offensive matters, in contempt of the apostolic see, and of the ecclesiastical censures and keys.

The appeal to Christ, is derogatory to the pope's holiness!

Whereupon, both for the premises and many other things, the said synod pronounceth John Huss to be a heretic, and judgeth him, by these presents, to be condemned and judged as a heretic; and reproveth the said appeal as injurious, offensive, and done in derision unto the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and judgeth the said Huss not only to have seduced the christian people by his writings and preachings, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, neither to have been a true preacher of the gospel of Christ unto the said people, according to the exposition of the holy doctors, but also to have been a seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiffnecked person, yea and such a one as doth not desire to return again to the lap of our holy mother the church, neither to abjure the errors and heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred council decreeth and declareth, that the said John Huss shall be famously[2] deposed and degraded from his priestly orders and dignity, &c.

Verity condemned for heresy.

While these things were thus read, John Huss, albeit he was forbidden to speak, notwithstanding did often interrupt them, and especially when he was reproved of obstinacy, he said with a loud voice: "I was never obstinate, but, as always heretofore, even so now again I desire to be taught by the holy Scriptures; and I do profess myself to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by one only word subvert the errors of all heretics, I would not refuse to enter into what peril or danger soever it were." When his books were condemned, he said, "Wherefore have you condemned those books, when you have not proved by any one article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures, or articles of faith? And moreover what injury is this that you do to me, that you have condemned these books written in the Bohemian tongue, which you never saw, neither yet read?" And oftentimes looking up unto heaven, he prayed.

John Huss cleareth himself of obstinacy.

They condemn the books written in the Bohemian-tongue, which they never read.

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

Huss prayeth for his enemies.

See Appendix.

At last the seven bishops who were chosen out to degrade him of his priesthood, commanded him to put on the garments pertaining unto priesthood; which thing when he had done until he came to the putting on of the albe, he called to his remembrance the white vesture[3]

Commanded to put on the priest's garments.

(1) Many shall come in my name, and shall deceive many. Mark xiii.
(2) "Famously," publicly.—Ed.
(3) "Scarlet robe." Matt. xxviii. 28.—Ed.

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which Herod put on Jesus Christ to mock him withal. So, likewise, in all other things he did comfort himself by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the bishops exhorted him that he should yet alter and change his mind and purpose, and provide for his honour and salvation. Then he (according as the manner of the ceremony is), going up to the top of the scaffold, being full of tears, spake unto the people in this sort.

His oration unto the people.

'These lords and bishops do exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred; which thing to do, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of man only, they might peradventure easily persuade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great ignominy and grudge of mine own conscience, I can by no means do that which they require of me. For I do well know, that I never taught any of those things which they have falsely alleged against me; but I have always preached, taught, written, and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the heavens? With what face should I look upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if, through me, it should come to pass that those things, which they have hitherto known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I, by this my example, astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, indued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and gospel of our Lord Jesu Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will never do it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seem more to esteem this vile carcase appointed unto death, than their health and salvation.'

At this most godly word he was forced again to hear, by the consent of the bishops, that he did obstinately and maliciously persevere in his pernicious and wicked errors.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment, and in his coming down, one of the seven bishops before rehearsed, first took away the chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying; "O cursed Judas! why hast thou forsaken the council and ways of peace, and hast counselled with the Jews? We take away from thee this chalice of thy salvation." But John Huss received this curse in this manner: "But I trust unto God, the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I do suffer these things, that he will not take away the chalice of his redemption, but have a steadfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink thereof in his kingdom." Then followed the other bishops in order, who every one of them took away the vestments from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their curse. Whereunto John Huss answered: That he did willingly embrace and hear those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. At last they came to the rasing of his shaven crown; but before the bishops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention between them, with what instrument it should be done; with a razor, or with a pair of shears.

The degrading of John Huss.

His words unto the emperor.

In the mean season, John Huss, turning himself toward the emperor, said: "I marvel that forasmuch as they be all of like cruel mind and stomach, yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty."

The crown of Huss cut with shears.

Notwithstanding, at last they agreed to cut off the skin of the crown of his head with a pair of shears. And when they had done that, they added these words: "Now hath the church taken away all her ornaments and privileges from him. Now there resteth nothing else,

but that he be delivered over unto the secular power." But before they did that, there yet remained another knack of reproach; for they caused to be made a certain crown of paper, almost a cubit deep, on which were painted three devils of wonderfully ugly shape, and this title set over their heads, 'Heresiarcha.' Which when he saw, he said: "My Lord Jesus Christ, for my sake, did wear a crown of thorns; why should not I then, for his sake, again wear this light crown, be it ever so ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly." When it was set upon his head, the bishop said: "Now we commit thy soul unto the devil." "But I," said John Huss, lifting his eyes up towards the heavens, "do commend into thy hands, O Lord Jesu Christ! my spirit which thou hast redeemed." These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the bishops, turning themselves towards the emperor, said: "This most sacred synod of Constance leaveth now John Huss, who hath no more any office or to do in the church of God, unto the civil judgment and power." Then the emperor commanded Louis, duke of Bavaria, who stood before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the cross in his hand, that he should receive John Huss of the bishops, and deliver him unto them who should do the execution; by whom as he was led to the place of execution, before the church doors he saw his books burning, whereat he smiled and laughed. And all men that passed by he exhorted, not to think that he should die for any error or heresy, but only for the hatred and ill-will of his adversaries, who had charged him with most false and unjust crimes. All the whole city in a manner, being in armour, followed him.

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The marvellous constancy and courage of the blessed martyrs.

The paper with the inscription set upon the head of Huss.

The protestation of John Huss, as he was led to the place of execution.

The place appointed for the execution was before the Gottlieben gate, between the gardens and the gates of the suburbs. When John Huss was come thither, kneeling down upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he prayed, and said certain Psalms, and especially the thirty-first and fifty-first Psalms. And they who stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a merry and cheerful countenance, repeat this verse: "Into thy hands, O Lord! I commend my spirit," &c.; which thing when the lay-people beheld who stood next unto him, they said: "What he hath done before, we know not; but now we see and hear that he doth speak and pray very devoutly and godly." Others wished that he had a confessor. There was a certain priest by, sitting on horseback, in a green gown, drawn about with red silk, who said: "He ought not to be heard, because he is a heretic:" yet, notwithstanding, while he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolved by a certain doctor, a monk, as Huss himself doth witness in a certain epistle which he wrote unto his friends out of prison.[1] Thus Christ reigneth unknown unto the world, even in the midst of his enemies. In the mean time while John Huss prayed, as he bowed his neck backwards to look upward unto heaven, the crown of paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the soldiers, taking it up again, said: "Let us put it again upon his head, that he may be burned with his masters the devils, whom he hath served."

The prayers of John Huss well liked of the people.

At the prayer of John Huss the paper with the devils fel down.

When, by the commandment of the tormentors, he was risen up

(1) Ex Epist. Joan. Huss. 31.

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from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he said: "Lord Jesu Christ! assist and help me, that with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gracious help, I may bear and suffer this cruel and ignominious death, wherunto I am condemned for the preaching of thy most holy gospel and word." Then, as before, he declared the cause of his death unto the people. In the mean season the hangman stripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast unto the stake with ropes that were made wet. And whereas, by chance, he was turned towards the east, certain cried out that he should not look towards the east, for he was a heretic: so he was turned towards the west. Then was his neck tied with a chain unto the stake, which chain when he beheld, smiling he said, that he would willingly receive the same chain for Jesus Christ's sake, who, he knew, was bound with a far worse chain. Under his feet they set two faggots, admixing straw withal, and so likewise, from the feet up to the chin, he was enclosed in round about with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, Louis, duke of Bavaria, and another gentleman with him, who was the son of Clement, came and exhorted John Huss, that he would yet be mindful of his salvation, and renounce his errors. To whom he said: "What error should I renounce, when I know myself guilty of none? For as for those things which are falsely alleged against me, I know that I never did so much as once think them, much less preach them. For this was the principal end and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penance and remission of sins, according to the verity of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the exposition of the holy doctors: wherefore, with a cheerful mind and courage, I am here ready to suffer death." When he had spoken these words, they left him, and shaking hands together, departed.

John Huss fastened to the stake.

John Huss turned towards the west.

Pardon offered again to John Huss.

The last confession of John Huss.

Then was the fire kindled, and John Huss began to sing with a loud voice: "Jesu Christ! the Son of the living God! have mercy upon me." And when he began to say the same the third time, the wind drove the flame so upon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding he moved awhile after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lord's Prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the upper part of the body was left hanging in the chain, which they threw down stake and all, and making a new fire, burned it, the head being first cut in small gobbets, that it might the sooner be consumed unto ashes. The heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with staves and clubs, was at last pricked upon a sharp stick, and roasted at a fire apart until it was consumed. Then, with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the river Rhine, that the least remnant of the ashes of that man should not be left upon the earth, whose memory, notwithstanding, cannot be abolished out of the minds of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

The martyrdom of blessed John Huss.

Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.

The heart of Huss beaten with staves, and consumed with fire.

His ashes cast into the Rhine.

I know very well that these things are very slenderly written by me[1] as touching the labours of this most holy martyr John Huss, with whom the labours of Hercules are not to be compared. For that ancient Hercules slew a few monsters; but this our

(1) Probably Johannes Przibram, a Bohemian, as Foxe afterwards suggests.—Ed.

Hercules, with a most stout and valiant courage, hath subdued even the world itself, the mother of all monsters and cruel beasts. This story were worthy some other kind of more curious handling; but, forasmuch as I cannot otherwise perform it myself, I have endeavoured according to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the same unto all godly minds; neither have I heard it reported by others, but I myself was present at the doing of all these things; and as I was able, I have put them in writing, that by this my labour and endeavour, howsoever it were, I might preserve the memory of this holy man and excellent doctor of the evangelical truth.

The author and witness of this story.

What was the name of the author who wrote this story, it is not here expressed. Cochleus, in his second book 'contra Hussitas,' supposeth his name to be Johannes Przibram, a Bohemian, who, afterwards succeeding in the place of John Huss at Prague, at last is thought to have relented to the papists.

M. John Przibram thought to be his name. *See Appendix.*

This godly servant and martyr of Christ was condemned by the cruel council, and burned at Constance, A.D. 1415, the sixth day of the month of July.

How grievously this death of John Huss was taken among the nobles of Bohemia and Moravia, hereafter, Christ willing, shall appear by their letters which they sent unto the council; and by the letters of Sigismund, king of Romans, written unto them, wherein he laboureth all that he can, to purge and excuse himself of the death of John Huss.[1] Albeit he is not altogether free from that cruel fact, and innocent from that blood, yet, notwithstanding, he pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from him, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest upon the bloody prelates of that council; as the words of the king do purport in form as followeth.[2]

The Letter of the Emperor Sigismund, to the Nobles of Bohemia.

The emperor excuseth himself of the death of John Huss.

In the mean time as we were about the coasts of the Rhine, John Huss went to Constance, and there was arrested, as is not to you unknown; who, if he had first resorted unto us, and had gone up with us to the council, perhaps it had been otherwise with him. And God knoweth what grief and sorrow it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no words can be well expressed; whereof all the Bohemians, who were there present, can bear us witness, seeing and beholding how careful and solicitous we were in labouring for him, insomuch that we many times with anger and fury departed out of the council; and not only out of the council, but also went out of the city of Constance, taking his part, unto such time as the rulers of the council, sending unto us, said, that if we would not permit them to prosecute that which right required in the council, what should they then do in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with ourselves, that here was nothing else for us more to do, nor yet to speak in this case, forasmuch as the whole council otherwise had been dissolved. Where is to be noted, moreover, that in Constance, the same time, there was not one clerk, nor two, but there were ambassadors from all the kings and princes in Christendom: especially, since the time that (Petrus de Luna giving over) all those kings and princes who took his part, came to us; so that whatsoever good was to be done, it was now to be passed in this present council, &c.[3]

(1) Ex Cochleo de Hist. Huss. lib. 4.
(2) Interea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni existentibus, pervenit ad Constantiam, &c.
(3) Ex regist. Imp. Sigismund. ad Nobiles, &c.

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By this it may appear that the emperor, as partly ashamed and sorry of that which was done, would gladly have cleared himself thereof, and have washed his hands with Pilate: yet he could not so clear himself, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehension; as may appear by his last words spoken in the council to John Huss, whereof John Huss in his epistles complaineth, writing to certain of his friends in Bohemia, in his thirty-third epistle, as by his words here following may appear.

From a Letter of John Huss to his Friends in Bohemia.

The emperor uncourteous to John Huss.

I desire you yet again, for the love of God, that the lords of Bohemia, joining together, will desire the king for a final audience to be given to me. Forasmuch as he alone said to me in the council, that they should give me audience shortly, and that I should answer for myself briefly in writing, it will be to his great confusion, if he shall not perform that which he hath spoken. But I fear that word of his will be as firm and sure, as the other was concerning my safe conduct granted by him. Certain there were in Bohemia, who willed me to beware of his safe conduct. And others said: 'he will surely give you to your enemies.' And the lord Mikest Dweky told me before Master Jessenitz, saying, 'Master! know it for certain you shall be condemned.' And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intention of the king. I hoped well that he had been well affected towards the law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence: now I conceive that he is not greatly skilful, nor so prudently circumspect in himself. He condemned me before mine enemies did; who, if it had pleased him, might have kept the moderation of Pilate the gentile, who said, 'I find no cause in this man;' or, at least, if he had said but thus, 'Behold, I have given him his safe conduct safely to return; and if he will not abide the decision of the council, I will send him home to the king of Bohemia with your sentence and attestations, that he with his clergy may judge him.' But now I hear, by the relation of Henry Leffy, and of others, that he will ordain for me sufficient audience; and if I will not submit myself to the judgment of the council, he will send me safe, the contrary way, &c.

Pilate more moderate to Christ, than this emperor to John Huss.

This John Huss being in prison, wrote divers treatises; as 'Of the Commandments,' 'Of the Lord's Prayer,' 'Of Mortal Sin,' 'Of Matrimony,' 'Of the Knowledge and Love of God,' 'Of three Enemies of Mankind, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil,' 'Of Penance,' 'Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord,' 'Of the sufficiency of the Law of God to rule the Church,' &c. He wrote, also, divers epistles and letters to the lords, and to his friends in Bohemia; and in his writings he did foreshow many things before to come, touching the reformation of the church: and seemeth in the prison to have had divers prophetical revelations showed to him of God. Certain of which his letters and predictions, I thought here underneath to insert, in such sort, as neither in reciting all, I will overcharge the volume too much; nor yet in reciting of none, will I be so brief, but that the reader may have some taste, and take some profit, of the christian writings and doings of this blessed man; first beginning with the letter of the lord de Clum, concerning the safe conduct of John Huss.

A Letter of the Lord John de Clum, concerning the Safe Conduct of John Huss.

To all and singular that shall see and hear these presents, I John de Clum do it to understand, how Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, under the safe conduct and protection of the renowned prince and lord Sigismund of Romans

always Augustus, and king of Hungary, &c., my gracious lord; and under the protection, defence, and safeguard of the holy empire of Rome, having the letters patent of the said my lord, king of the Romans, &c., came unto Constance to render a full account of his faith in public audience, to all that would require the same. This the said Master John Huss, in this imperial city of Constance, under the safe conduct of the said my lord, king of Romans, hath been and yet is detained. And although the pope with the cardinals have been seriously required by solemn ambassadors of the said my lord, king of Romans, &c., in the king's name and behalf, that the said Master John Huss should be set at liberty, and be restored unto me: yet notwithstanding they have and yet do refuse hitherto to set him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the safe conduct of the king, and of the safeguard and protection of the empire, or imperial majesty. Wherefore I John aforesaid, in the name of the king, do here publish and make it known, that the apprehending, and detaining of the said Master John Huss was done wholly against the will of the beforenamed king of Romans, my lord; seeing it is done in the contempt of the safe conduct of his subjects, and of the protection of the empire, because the said my lord was then absent far from Constance, and if he had been there present, would never have permitted the same. And when he shall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he, for this great injury and contempt of this safe conduct done to him and to the empire, will grievously be molested for the same.

Given at Constance, the day of the Nativity of the Lord, 1414.

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In this instrument above prefixed, note, gentle reader! three things.

First, The goodness of this gentle lord John de Clum, being so fervent and zealous in the cause of John Huss, or rather in the cause of Christ.

Secondly, The safe conduct granted unto the said John Huss, under the faith and protection of the emperor, and of the empire.

Thirdly, Here is to be seen the contempt and rebellion of these proud prelates, in disobeying the authority of their high magistrate, who, contrary to his safe conduct given, and the mind of the emperor, did arrest and imprison this good man, before the coming of the said emperor, and before that John Huss was heard. Let us now, as we have promised, adjoin some of the epistles of this godly man:

An Epistle of John Huss, unto the People of Prague.

Grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ, that you being delivered from sin may walk in his grace, and may grow in all modesty and virtue, and after this may enjoy eternal life.

Dearly beloved, I beseech you who walk after the law of God, that you cast not away the care of the salvation of your souls, when you, hearing the word of God, are premonished wisely to understand that you be not deceived by false apostles, who do not reprehend the sins of men, but rather do extenuate and diminish them; who flatter the priests, and do not show to the people their offences; who magnify themselves, boast their own works, and marvellously extol their own worthiness, but follow not Christ in his humility, in poverty, in the cross, and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our merciful Saviour did premonish us before, saying: 'False Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.' And when he had forewarned his well-beloved disciples, he said unto them: 'Beware and take heed of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits.' And truth it is, that the faithful of Christ have much need diligently to beware and take heed unto themselves; for, as our Saviour himself doth say: 'The elect also, if it were possible, shall be brought into error.' Wherefore, my well-beloved, be circumspect and watchful, that ye be not circumvented with the crafty trains of the devil. And the more circumspect ye ought to be, for that Antichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last judgment is near at hand: death shall swallow up many, but to the elect children of God the kingdom

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of God draweth near, because for them he gave his own body. Fear not death; love together one another; persevere in understanding the good will of God without ceasing. Let the terrible and horrible day of judgment be always before your eyes, that you sin not; and also the joy of eternal life, whereunto you must endeavour.

Furthermore, let the passion of our Saviour be never out of your minds; that you may bear with him and for him gladly, whatsoever shall be laid upon you. For if you shall consider well in your minds his cross and afflictions, nothing shall be grievous unto you, and patiently you shall give place to tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and imprisonment, and shall not doubt to give your lives, moreover, for his holy truth, if need require. Know ye, well-beloved, that Antichrist being stirred up against you, deviseth divers persecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the least hair of their heads, as by mine own example I can testify; although he hath been vehemently incensed against me. Wherefore I desire you all, with your prayers, to make intercession for me to the Lord, to give me intelligence, sufferance, patience, and constancy, that I never swerve from his divine verity. He hath brought me now to Constance. In all my journey, openly and manifestly, I have not feared to utter my name as becometh the servant of God. In no place I kept myself secret, or used any dissimulation: but never did I find in any place more pestilent and manifest enemies than at Constance; which enemies neither should I have had there, had it not been for certain of our own Bohemians, hypocrites and deceivers, who for benefits received, and stirred up with covetousness, with boasting and bragging have persuaded the people that I went about to seduce them out of the right way. But I am in good hope, that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I shall persist strongly in the immutable verity of God unto the last breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that whereas every one here is put in his office, I only as an outcast am neglected, &c.

I commend you to the merciful Lord Jesu Christ, our true God, and the Son of the immaculate Virgin Mary, who hath redeemed us by his most bitter death, without all merits, from eternal pains, from the thraldom of the devil, and from sin.

From Constance, the year of our Lord 1415.

Another Letter of John Huss to his Benefactors.

My gracious benefactors and defenders of the truth! I exhort you by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that now ye, setting aside the vanities of this present world, will give your service to the Eternal King, Christ the Lord. Trust not in princes, nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no health. For the sons of men are dissemblers and deceitful. To-day they are, to-morrow they perish, but God remaineth for ever; who hath his servants, not for any need he hath of them, but for their own profit: unto whom he performeth that which he promiseth, and fulfilleth that which he purposeth to give. He casteth off no faithful servant from him, for he saith; 'Where I am, there also shall my servant be.' And the Lord maketh every servant of his to be the lord of all his possession, giving himself unto him, and with himself, all things; that without all tediousness, fear, and without all defect, he may possess all things, rejoicing with all saints in joy infinite. O happy is that servant, whom, when the Lord shall come, he shall find watching! Happy is the servant who shall receive the King of Glory with joy! Wherefore, well-beloved lords and benefactors; serve you that King in fear, who shall bring you, as I trust, now to Bohemia at this present, by his grace, in health; and hereafter, to an eternal life of glory. Fare you well, for I think that this is the last letter that I shall write to you; who, to-morrow, as I suppose, shall be purged in hope of Jesu Christ, through bitter death for my sins. The things that happened to me this night I am not able to write. Sigismund hath done all things with me deceitfully. God forgive him, and only for your sakes. You also heard the sentence which he awarded against me. I pray you have no suspicion of faithful Vitus.

A Letter of John Huss to the Lord John de Clum.

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A. D. 1416.

Most gracious benefactor in Christ Jesu! dearly beloved! yet I rejoice not a little, that by the grace of God I may write unto your honour. By your letter which I received yesterday, I understand, first, how the iniquity of the great strumpet, that is, of the malignant congregation (whereof mention is made in the Apocalypse), is detected, and shall be more detected; with which strumpet the kings of the earth do commit fornication, fornicating spiritually from Christ; and, as is there said, sliding back from the truth, and consenting to the lies of Antichrist, through his seduction and through fear, or through hope of confederacy, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly, I perceived by your letter how the enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceived the fervent constancy of your charity, wherewith you profess the truth bodily. Fourthly, with joy I perceived that you mind now to give over the vanity and painful service of this present world, and to serve the Lord Jesus Christ quietly at home; whom to serve, is to reign; as Gregory saith, 'He that served him faithfully, hath Jesus Christ himself in the kingdom of heaven to minister unto him, as he himself saith, Blessed is that servant, whom when the Lord shall come, he shall find waking, and so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he rising shall gird himself, and shall minister to him.' This do not the kings of the world to their servants, whom they do love only so long as they are profitable and necessary for their commodities, &c.

An Epistle of John Huss to his Friends, wherein he declareth why God suffereth not his to perish; bringing divers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirm both himself and others.

The Lord God be with you! Many causes there were, well-beloved in God, my dear friends, which moved me to think that those letters were the last, which before I sent unto you, looking that same time for instant death. But now, understanding the same to be deferred, I take it for great comfort unto me, that I have some leisure more to talk with you by letters. And therefore I write again to you, to declare and testify at least my gratitude and mindful duty towards you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doth defer it both to me, and to my well-beloved brother Master Jerome, who I trust will die holily and without blame; and do know also that he doth and suffereth now more valiantly, than I myself, a wretched sinner. God hath given us a long time, that we might call to memory our sins the better, and repent for the same more fervently. He hath granted us time, that our long and great temptation should put away our grievous sins, and bring the more consolation. He hath given us time, wherein we should remember the horrible rebukes of our merciful King and Lord Jesus, and should ponder his cruel death, and so more patiently might learn to bear our afflictions. And, moreover, that we might keep in remembrance, how that the joys of the life to come are not given after the joys of this world immediately, but that through many tribulations the saints have entered into the kingdom of heaven. For some of them have been cut and chopped all to pieces, some have had their eyes bored through, some have been sodden, some roasted, some flayed alive, some buried quick, stoned, crucified, grinded betwixt millstones, drawn and hailed hither and thither unto execution, drowned in waters, strangled and hanged, torn in pieces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, and afflicted in bands. And who is able to recite all the torments and sufferings of the holy saints, which they suffered under the Old and New Testament for the verity of God; namely, those who have at any time rebuked the malice of the priests, or have preached against their wickedness? And it will be a marvel if any man now also shall escape unpunished, whosoever dare boldly resist the wickedness and perversity, especially of those priests, who can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to read my books, in which their malice is somewhat described; and I know they have read the same more exactly and diligently, than the holy gospel, seeking therein to find out errors.

The torments of the martyrs under the Old and New Testament.

Given at Constance, on Thursday, the twenty-eighth day of June, Anno 1415.

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Another Letter of John Huss to his Friends, wherein he rehearseth what Injuries he received of the Council, and of the Deputies.

If my letter be not yet sent to Bohemia, keep it and send it not, for hurt may come thereof, &c.

Item, If the king do ask, who ought to be my judge, since that the council neither did call me, nor did cite me, neither was I ever accused before the council, and yet the council hath imprisoned me, and hath appointed their proctor against me.[1]

Item, I desire you, right noble and gracious lord John! if audience shall be given me, that the king will be there present himself, and that I may have a place appointed near unto him, that he may hear me well, and understand what I say; and that you also, with the lord Henry, and with lord Wenceslaus and other more, if you may, will be present, and hear what the Lord Jesus Christ, my procurator and advocate, and most gracious judge, will put in my mouth to speak; that whether I live or die, you may be true and upright witnesses with me, lest lying lips shall say hereafter that I swerved away from the truth which I have preached.

Item, Know you that, before witnesses and notaries in the prison, I desired the commissioners, that they would depute unto me a proctor and an advocate; who promised so to do, and afterwards would not perform it. Wherefore I have committed myself to the Lord Jesus Christ, that he will be my procurator and advocate, and judge of my cause.

Item, Know you, that they have, as I suppose, no other quarrel against me, but only this, that I stood against the pope's bull, which pope John sent down to Bohemia,[2] to sanctify war with the sign of the cross and full remission of sins to all those who would take the holy cross, to fight for the patrimony of the Romish church against Ladislaus, king of Naples; and they have mine own writing which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secondly, they have also against me, that I have continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take upon me to minister in the church, and say mass. Thirdly, they have against me, because I did appeal from the pope to Christ. For they read my appeal before me, which with a willing mind, smiling, I confessed before them all to be mine. Fourthly, because I left a certain letter behind me, which was read in the church of Bethlehem, which letter my adversaries have very evil-favouredly translated, and sinisterly expounded, in which I did write that I went out with a safe-conduct. Whereunto you yourselves can say and bear me record, that I, in my going out, had no safe-conduct of the pope, neither yet did I know whether you should go out with me, when I wrote that letter.

Item, If audience may be given to me, and that after the same audience the king would suffer me not to be returned again into prison, but that I may have your counsels and those of others my friends; and, if it please God, that I may say something to my sovereign lord the king, for the behalf of Christianity, and for his own profit, &c.

Another Letter of John Huss to his Friends, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and describeth the wickedness of that Council.

John Huss, in hope, the servant of God, to all the faithful in Bohemia who love the Lord, greeting through the grace of God. It cometh in my mind, wherein I must needs admonish you, who be the faithful and beloved of the Lord, how that the council of Constance, being full of pride, avarice, and all abomination, hath condemned my books, written in the Bohemian tongue, for heretical, which books they never saw, nor ever heard them read. And if they had heard them, yet they could not understand the same, being some Italians, some Frenchmen, some Britons, some Spaniards, Germans, with other people of other nations besides; unless, peradventure, John, bishop of Litomysl, understood them, who was present in that council, and certain other Bohemians, and priests, who are against me, and labour all they may, how to deprave both the

The council condemn books which they understand not.

(1) He meaneth, belike, that he should move the king in these matters contained in this epistle
(2) See page 310.—Ed.

verity of God, and the honesty of our country of Bohemia; which I judge, in the hope of God, to be a godly land, right well given to the true knowledge of the faith; for that it doth so greatly desire the word of God, and honest manners. And if you were here at Constance, ye should see the grievous abomination of this council, which they call so holy, and such as cannot err; of which council I have heard it by the Switzers reported, that the city of Constance is not able in thirty years to be purged of those abominations in that council committed. And almost all be offended with that council, being sore grieved to behold such execrable things perpetrated in the same.

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'Praise of Bohemia. The abomination of the council of Constance described.

When I stood first to answer before mine adversaries, seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing them also outrageously crying out, I said plainly unto them, that I looked for more honest behaviour, and better order and discipline, in that council. Then the chief cardinal[1] answered: 'Sayest thou so? but in the tower thou spakest more modestly.' To whom said I: 'In the tower no man cried out against me, whereas now all do rage against me.' My faithful and beloved in Christ, be not afraid with their sentence in condemning my books. They shall be scattered hither and thither abroad, like light butterflies, and their statutes shall endure as spider-webs. They went about to shake my constancy from the verity of Christ; but they could not overcome the virtue of God in me. They would not reason with the Scripture against me, as divers honourable lords can witness with me, who being ready to suffer contumely for the truth of God, took my part stoutly; namely, lord Wenceslaus de Duba, and lord John de Clum: for they were let in by king Sigismund into the council. And when I said, that I was desirous to be instructed if I did in any thing err, then they heard the chief cardinal answer again: 'Because thou wouldest be informed, there is no remedy but that thou must first revoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of fifty bachelors of divinity appointed.' O high instruction!

John Huss seemeth here to prophesy of the council, as it came to pass. The council afraid to be tried by the Scriptures.

After like manner St. Katharine, also, should have denied and revoked the verity of God and faith in Christ, because the fifty masters likewise did withstand her; which, notwithstanding, that good virgin would never do, standing in her faith unto death: but she did win those her masters unto Christ, when I cannot win these my masters by any means. These things I thought good to write unto you, that you might know how they have overcome me, with no grounded Scripture, nor with any reason; but only did assay with terrors and deceits to persuade me to revoke and to abjure. But our merciful God, whose law I have magnified, was and is with me; and, I trust, so will continue, and will keep me in his grace unto death.

St. Katharine, disputing with fifty doctors, converted them; but Huss could not convert his fifty doctors.

Written at Constance after the feast of John Baptist, in prison and in bands, daily looking for death; although for the secret judgments of God, I dare not say whether this be my last epistle: for now also Almighty God is able to deliver me.

Another Letter of John Huss, wherein he comforteth his Friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of his Books: and also declareth the wickedness of the Clergy.

Master John Huss, in hope, the servant of God, to all the faithful who love him and his statutes, wisheth the truth and grace of God.

Beloved! I thought it needful to warn that you should not fear or be discouraged, because the adversaries have decreed that my books shall be burnt. Remember how the Israelities burned the preachings of the prophet Jeremy, and yet they could not avoid the things that were prophesied of in them; for after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the same prophecy again, and that larger; which was also done, for Jeremy, sitting in prison, spake, and Baruch, who was ready at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the thirty-fifth or forty-fifth chapter of the Vision of Jeremy. It is also written in the books of the Maccabees, That the wicked did burn the law of God, and killed them that had the same. Again, under the New Testament, they burned the saints, with the books of the law of God. The cardinals condemned and committed to fire certain of Saint Gregory's books, and had burnt them all, if they had not

Good books of good men have been burned of old time.

Good men with their books to be burned no news. *See Appendix*

(1) This cardinal was the cardinal of Cambray.

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been preserved of God by the means of Peter, Gregory's minister. Having these things before your eyes, take heed lest, through fear, you omit to read my books, and deliver them to the adversaries to be burnt. Remember the sayings of our merciful Saviour, by which he forewarneth us, Matt. xxiv.: 'There shall be,' saith he, 'before the day of judgment, great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning until this day, neither shall be afterwards: so that even the elect of God should be deceived, if it were possible. But for their sakes those days shall be shortened.' When you remember these things, beloved! be not afraid; for I trust in God that that school of Antichrist shall be afraid of you, and suffer you to be in quiet, neither shall the council of Constance extend to Bohemia. For I think, that many of them who are of the council shall die, before they shall get from you my books. And they shall depart from the council and be scattered abroad throughout the parts of the world like storks, and then they shall know when winter cometh, what they did in summer. Consider that they have judged their head, the pope, worthy of death, for many horrible facts that he hath done. Go to now; answer to this, you preachers! who preach that the pope is the god of the earth; that he may, as the lawyers say, make sale of the holy things; that he is the head of the whole holy church, in verity well governing the same; that he is the heart of the church in quickening the same spiritually; that he is the well-spring from which flow all virtue and goodness; that he is the sun of the holy church; that he is the safe refuge to which every christian man ought to fly for succour. Behold now that head is cut off with the sword; now the god of the earth is bound; now his sins are declared openly; now that well-spring is dried up; that sun darkened; that heart is plucked out and thrown away, lest that any man should seek succour thereat. The council hath condemned that head, and that for this offence; because he took money for indulgences, bishoprics, and other such like. But they condemned him, by order of judgment, who were themselves the buyers and sellers of the same merchandise. There was present John, bishop of Litomysl, who went twice about to buy the bishopric of Prague, but others prevented him. O wicked men! why did they not first cast the beam out of their own eyes? These men have accursed and condemned the seller, but they themselves, who were the buyers and consenters to the bargain, are without danger. What shall I say, that they do use this manner of buying and selling at home in their own countries; for at Constance there is one bishop that bought, and another who sold; and the pope, for allowing of both their facts, took bribes on both sides. It came so to pass in Bohemia also, as you know. I would that in that council God had said: 'He that amongst you is without sin, let him give the sentence against pope John;' then surely they had gone all out of the council-house, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him always before this his fall; kiss his feet, and call him 'The most holy father,' seeing they saw apparently before, that he was a heretic, that he was a man-killer, that he was a wicked sinner, all which things now they have found in him? Why did the cardinals choose him to be pope, knowing before that he had killed the holy father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the office of the popedom? for to this end they are his counsellors, that they should admonish him of that which is right. Are not they themselves as guilty of these faults as he, seeing that they accounted these things vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselves? Why durst no man lay aught to his charge, before he had fled from Constance? but, as soon as the secular power, by the sufferance of God, laid hold upon him, then, and never afore, they conspired all together that he should not live any longer. Surely, even at this day is the malice, the abomination and filthiness of Antichrist, revealed in the pope and others of this council.

John Huss seemeth to prophesy of the council of Constance.

The blasphemous opinion of lawyers and papists touching the sovereignty of the pope.

One simonist condemneth another.

The bishops of the council noted for simony.

Pope John made a pope, being known to be a murderer.

Now the faithful servants of God may understand what our Saviour Christ meant by this saying: 'When you shall see the abomination of desolation, which is spoken of by Daniel,' &c., 'whoso can understand it,' &c. Surely, these be great abominations: pride, covetousness, simony, sitting in a solitary place; that is to say, in a dignity void of goodness, humility, and other virtues; as we do now clearly see in those that are constituted in any office and dignity. O how acceptable a thing should it be, if time would suffer me to disclose their wicked acts, which are now apparent; that the faithful servants of God might know them! I trust in God that he will send after me those that shall be more valiant; and there are alive at this day, that shall make more manifest the

Antichrist, now first beginneth to be revealed in the pope.

A prophesy of John Huss.

malice of Antichrist, and shall give their lives to the death for the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall give, both to you and me, the joys of life everlasting. *Henry V.* A. D. 1416.

This epistle was written upon St. John Baptist's-day in prison and in cold irons; I having this meditation with myself, that John was beheaded in his prison and bonds, for the word of God.

Another Letter of John Huss to the Faithful in Bohemia.

John Huss, in hope, the servant of God, to all the faithful in Bohemia, who love the Lord, wisheth to stand and die in the grace of God, and at last to attain unto eternal life. Amen.

Ye that bear rule over others and be rich, and ye also that be poor, well-beloved and faithful in God, I beseech you, and admonish you all, that ye will be obedient unto God, make much of his word, and gladly hearing the same, will humbly perform that which ye hear. I beseech you stick fast to the verity of God's word, which I have written and preached unto you out of his law, and the sermons of his saints. Also I desire you if any man, either in public sermon, or in private talk, heard of me any thing, or have read any thing written by me which is against the verity of God, that he do not follow the same. Albeit I do not find my conscience guilty that I ever have spoken or written any such thing amongst you.

I desire you, moreover, if any man at any time have noted any levity either in my talk or in my conditions, that he do not follow the same; but pray to God for me, to pardon me that sin of lightness. I pray you that ye will love your priests and ministers, who be of honest behaviour, to prefer and honour them before others; namely, such priests as travail in the word of God. I pray you take heed to yourselves, and beware of malicious and deceitful men, and especially of those wicked priests of whom our Saviour doth speak: 'That they are under sheep's clothing, and inwardly are ravening wolves.' I pray such as be rulers and superiors, to behave themselves gently towards their poor inferiors, and to rule them justly. I beseech the citizens, that they will walk every man in his degree and vocation with an upright conscience. The artificers also I beseech, that they will exercise their occupations diligently, and use them with the fear of God. I beseech the servants, that they will serve their masters faithfully. And likewise the schoolmasters I beseech, that they, living honestly, will bring up their scholars virtuously, and teach them faithfully, first to learn to fear God; then, for the glory of God and the public utility of the commonwealth, and their own health, and not for avarice or worldly honour, to employ their minds to honest arts. I beseech the students of the university and all schools, in all honest things to obey their masters, and to follow them; and that with all diligence they will study to be profitable both to the setting forth of the glory of God, and to the soul's health, as well of themselves, as of other men. Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yield most hearty thanks to the right honourable lords, the lord Wenceslaus de Duba, lord John de Clum, lord Henry Plumlovio, lord Vilem Zagecio, lord Nicholas, and other lords of Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland; that their diligence towards me may be grateful to all good men; because that they, like valiant champions of God's truth, have oftentimes set themselves against the whole council for my deliverance, contending and standing against the same to the uttermost of their power; but especially lord Wenceslaus de Duba, and lord John de Clum. Whatsoever they shall report unto you, give credit unto them; for they were in the council when I there answered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many false and slanderous things they brought in against me, and that council cried out against me, and how I also answered to all things whereof I was demanded. I beseech you, also, that ye will pray for the king of Romans, and for your king, and for his wife your queen, that God of his mercy would abide with them and with you, both now and henceforth in everlasting life. Amen!

A note for all noble men to mark and to follow.

This epistle I have written to you out of prison and in bonds, looking the next day after the writing hereof for the sentence of the council upon my death; having a full trust that He will not leave me, neither suffer me to deny his truth, and to revoke the errors, which false witnesses maliciously have devised against me. How mercifully the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with me in marvellous temptations, ye shall know, when hereafter, by the help of

Henry V. A. D. 1416.

Christ, we shall all meet together in the joy of the world to come. As concerning Master Jerome, my dearly beloved brother and fellow, I hear no other but that he is remaining in strait bands, looking for death as I do; and that for the faith which he valiantly maintained amongst the Bohemians, our cruel enemies of Bohemia have given us into the power and hands of other enemies, and into bands. I beseech you pray to God for them.

Moreover, I beseech you, namely you of Prague, that ye will love the temple of Bethlehem, and provide, so long as God shall permit, that the word of God may be preached in the same. For, because of that place, the devil is angry, and against the same place he hath stirred up priests and canons, perceiving that in that place his kingdom should be disturbed and diminished. I trust in God that he will keep that holy church so long as it shall please him, and in the same shall give greater increase of his word by others, than he hath done by me, a weak vessel. I beseech you also, that ye will love one another, and withholding no man from the hearing of God's word, ye will provide and take care that good men be not oppressed by any force and violence.

Written at Constance, the year of our Lord, 1415.

Another right godly Letter of John Huss to a certain Priest, admonishing him of his Office, and exhorting him to be faithful; worthy to be read of all Ministers.

A worthy lesson for all ministers and prelates.

The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. My dear brother! be diligent in preaching the gospel, and do the work of a good evangelist; neglect not your vocation; labour like a blessed soldier of Christ. First, live godly and holily. Secondly, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to others in well-doing, that you be not reprehended in your sayings; correct vice and set forth virtue. To evil livers threaten eternal punishment; but to those that be faithful and godly, set forth the comforts of eternal joy. Preach continually, but be short and fruitful, prudently understanding, and discreetly dispensing the holy Scriptures. Never affirm or maintain those things that be uncertain and doubtful, lest your adversaries take hold upon you, who rejoice in depraving their brethren; whereby they may bring the ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the body and blood of Christ, whereby such as do repent earnestly of their sins, may the more often come to the holy communion. And I warn you that you enter into no taverns with guests, and be not a common company-keeper. For the more a preacher keepeth him from the company of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, deny not yet your help and diligence, wheresoever you may profit others. Against fleshly lust preach continually all that ever you can; for that is the raging beast, which devoureth men, for whom the flesh of Christ did suffer. Wherefore, my heartily beloved! I beseech you to fly fornication; for where a man would most profit and do good, there this vice useth most to lurk. In any case fly the company of young women, and believe not their devotion; for St. Austin saith: 'The more devout she is, the more proclive to wantonness; and, under the pretence of religion, the snare and venom of fornication lurketh.' And this know, my well-beloved! that the conversation with them subverteth many whom the conversation of this world could never blemish nor beguile. Admit no women into your house, for what cause soever it be, and have not much talk with them otherwise, for avoiding of offence. Finally, howsoever you do, fear God and keep his precepts; so shall you walk wisely, and shall not perish; so shall you subdue the flesh, contemn the world, and overcome the devil; so shall you put on God, find life, and confirm others; and shall crown yourself with the crown of glory, which the just Judge shall give you. Amen.

St. Augustine meaneth not here of all, but of the common sort of light persons.

A Letter of John Huss containing a confession of the infirmity of man's flesh; how weak it is, and repugnant against the Spirit: wherein he also exhorteth to persevere constantly in the truth.

Health be to you from Jesus Christ, &c. My dear friend! know that Paletz[1] came to me to persuade me that I should not fear the shame of abjuration, but

(1) This Paletz was the chiefest enemy of John Huss, and procurer of his death.

to consider the good which thereof will come. To whom I said, 'The shame of condemnation and burning is greater than to abjure; and why should I fear then that shame? but I pray you tell me plainly your mind. Presuppose that such articles were laid to you, which you yourself knew not to be true: what would you do in that case? would you abjure?' Who answered: 'The case is sore;' and began to weep. Many other things he spake which I did reprehend. Michael de Causis[1] was, sometimes, before the prison with the deputies. And when I was with the deputies, thus I heard him speak unto the keepers: 'We, by the grace of God, will burn this heretic shortly, for whose cause I have spent many florins.' But yet understand that I write not this to the intent to revenge me of him, for that I have committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

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John Huss prayeth for his enemies.

Yet I exhort you again, to be circumspect about our letters, for Michael hath taken such order, that none shall be suffered to come into the prison; no nor yet the keepers' wives are permitted to come to me. O holy God! how largely doth Antichrist extend his power and cruelty! But I trust that his power shall be shortened, and his iniquity shall be detected, more and more amongst the faithful people.

Almighty God shall confirm the hearts of his faithful, whom he hath chosen before the constitution of the world, that they may receive the eternal crown of glory. And let Antichrist rage as much as he will, yet he shall not prevail against Christ, who shall destroy him with the spirit of his mouth, as the apostle saith; and then shall the creature be delivered out of servitude of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the sons of God, as saith the apostle in the words following: 'We, also, within ourselves, do groan, waiting for the adoption of the sons of God, the redemption of our body.'

A prophecy of John Huss.

I am greatly comforted in those words of our Saviour: 'Happy be you when men shall hate you, and shall separate you, and shall rebuke you, and shall cast out your name as execrable, for the Son of man: rejoice, and be glad, for behold, great is your reward in heaven.' [Luke vi.] O worthy, yea most worthy consolation! which, not to understand, but to practise, in time of tribulation, is a hard lesson.

This rule St. James, with the other apostles, did well understand, who saith: 'Count it exceeding joy, my brethren, when ye shall fall into divers temptations; knowing that the probation of your faith worketh patience. Let patience have her perfect work.' For certainly it is a great matter for a man to rejoice in trouble, and to take it for joy to be in divers temptations. A light matter it is to speak it and to expound it; but a great matter to fulfil it. For why? our most patient and most valiant Champion himself, knowing that he should rise again the third day, overcoming his enemies by his death, and redeeming from damnation his elect, after his last supper was troubled in spirit, and said: 'My soul is heavy unto death;' of whom also the gospel saith: 'That he began to fear, to be sad and heavy.' Who, being then in an agony, was confirmed of the angel, and his sweat was like the drops of blood falling upon the ground. And yet he, notwithstanding, being so troubled, said to his disciples: 'Let not your hearts be troubled, neither fear the cruelty of them that persecute you, for you shall have me with you always, that you may overcome the tyranny of your persecutors.' Whereupon those his soldiers, looking upon the Prince and King of glory, sustained great conflicts. They passed through fire and water, and were saved, and received the crown of the Lord God, of the which St. James, in his canonical epistle, saith: 'Blessed is the man that suffereth temptation; for when he shall be proved, he shall receive the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love him.' Of this crown I trust steadfastly the Lord will make me a partaker also with you who be the fervent sealers of the truth, and with all them who steadfastly and constantly do love the Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for us, leaving to us example that we should follow his steps. 'It behoved him to suffer,' as he saith; and it also behoved us to suffer, that the members may suffer together with the head. For he saith: 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.'

The example of Christ.

'O most merciful Christ! draw us weak creatures after thee; for except thou

(1) Michael de Causis, another bitter enemy of John Huss.

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should draw us, we are not able to follow thee. Give us a strong spirit, that it may be ready; and although the flesh be feeble, yet let thy grace go before us, go with us, and follow us; for without thee we can do nothing, and much less enter into the cruel death for thy sake. Give us that prompt and ready spirit, a bold heart, an upright faith, a firm hope and perfect charity, that we may give our lives patiently and joyfully for thy name's sake. Amen.

The prayer of John Huss to Christ.

Written in prison in bonds, in the vigil of holy St. John the Baptist, who, being in prison and in bonds for the rebuking of wickedness, was beheaded.

Among divers other letters of John Huss, which he wrote to the great consolation of others, I thought also here to intermix another certain godly letter written out of England, by a faithful scholar of Wickliff, as appeareth, unto John Huss and the Bohemians; which, for the zealous affection therein contained, seemeth not unworthy to be read.

A Letter of a Scholar of Wickliff to John Huss and the Bohemians; dated from London.

Greeting, and whatsoever can be devised more sweet, in the bowels of Christ Jesu. My dearly beloved in the Lord, whom I love in the truth, and not I only, but also all they that have the knowledge of the truth; which abideth in you, and shall be with you through the grace of God for evermore. I rejoiced above measure, when our beloved brethren came and gave testimony unto us of your truth, and how you walked in the truth; I have heard, brethren, how sharply Antichrist persecuteth you, in vexing the faithful servants of Christ with divers and strange kinds of afflictions. And surely no marvel, if amongst you (since it is so almost all the world over) the law of Christ be too, too grievously impugned, and that red dragon, having so many heads (of whom it is spoken in the Apocalypse), have now vomited out of his mouth that great flood, by which he goeth about to swallow up the woman; but the most gracious God will deliver for ever his only and most faithful spouse. Let us therefore comfort ourselves in the Lord our God, and in his immeasurable goodness; hoping strongly in him, who will not suffer those that love him to be unmercifully defrauded of any their purpose, if we, according to our duty, shall love him with all our heart: for adversity should by no means prevail over us, if there were no iniquity reigning in us. Let, therefore, no tribulation or sorrow for Christ's cause discourage us: knowing this for a surety, that whomsoever the Lord vouchsafeth to receive to be his children, those he scourgeth: for so the merciful Father will have them tried in this miserable life by persecutions, that afterwards he may spare them. For the gold that this high artificer hath chosen, he purgeth and trieth in this fire, that he may afterwards lay it up in his pure treasury. For we see that the time we shall abide here is short and transitory; the life which we hope for after this, is blessed and everlasting. Therefore, while we have time, let us take pains that we may enter into that rest. What other thing do we see in this brittle life, than sorrow, heaviness, and sadness, and, that which is most grievous of all to the faithful, too much abusing and contempt of the law of the Lord? Let us therefore endeavour ourselves, as much as we may, to lay hold of the things that are eternal and abiding, despising in our minds all transitory and frail things. Let us consider the holy fellowship of our fathers that have gone before us. Let us consider the saints of the Old and New Testament. Did they not pass through this sea of tribulation and persecution? were not some of them cut in pieces, others stoned, and others of them killed with the sword? some others of them went about in pelts and goats' skins, as the apostle to the Hebrews witnesseth. Surely they all walked straitways, following the steps of Christ, who said: 'He that ministereth unto me, let him follow me wheresoever I go,' &c. Therefore, let us also, who have such noble examples given us of the saints that went before us, laying away, as much as in us lieth, the heavy burden and the yoke

Examples of the old martyrs.

of sin which compasseth us about, run forward through patience, to the battle that is set before us, fixing our eyes upon the Author of faith, and Jesus the finisher of the same; who, seeing the joy that was set before him, suffered the pains of the cross, despising death. Let us call upon him, who suffered such reproach against himself of sinners, that we be not wearied, fainting in our hearts; but that we may heartily pray for help of the Lord, and may fight against his adversary Antichrist; that we may love his law, and not be deceitful labourers, but that we may deal faithfully in all things, according to that which God hath vouchsafed to give us, and that we may labour diligently in the Lord's cause, under hope of an everlasting reward. Behold therefore, brother Huss, most dearly beloved in Christ, although in face unknown to me, yet not in faith and love (for distance of places cannot separate those whom the love of Christ doth effectually knit together), be comforted in the grace which is given unto thee; labour like a good soldier of Christ Jesus; preach, be instant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canst to the way of truth: for the truth of the gospel is not to be kept in silence, because of the frivolous censures and thunderbolts of Antichrist. And, therefore, to the uttermost of thy power, strengthen thou and confirm the members of Christ, who are weakened by the devil; and if the Lord will vouchsafe it, Antichrist shall shortly come to an end. And there is one thing wherein I do greatly rejoice, that in your realm and in other places, God hath stirred up the hearts of some men that they can gladly suffer, for the word of God, imprisonment, banishment, and death.

Further, beloved, I know not what to write unto you, but I confess that I could wish to pour out my whole heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the law of the Lord. Also I salute, from the bottom of my heart, all the faithful lovers of the law of the Lord, and especially Jacobellus, your coadjutor in the gospel, requiring that he will pray unto the Lord for me in the universal church of Jesus Christ. And the God of peace, who hath raised from the dead the shepherd of the sheep, the mighty Lord Jesus Christ, make you apt in all goodness, to do his will, working in you that which may be pleasant in his sight. All your friends salute you which have heard of your constancy. I would desire also to see your letters written back to us, for know ye that they shall greatly comfort us.

At London, by your servant, desiring to be fellow with you in your labours, Ricus Wichewitze, priest unworthy.

Another Letter of John Huss to his Friends of Bohemia.

The Lord God be with you. I love the counsel of the Lord above gold and precious stone; wherefore I trust in the mercy of Jesus Christ, that he will give me his Spirit to stand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, 'For the spirit is ready, and the flesh is weak.' The Lord Almighty be the eternal reward unto my lords, who constantly, firmly, and faithfully do stand for righteousness; to whom the Lord God shall give in the kingdom of Bohemia, to know the truth. For the following of which truth, necessary it is that they return again into Bohemia, setting apart all vain glory, and following not a mortal and miserable king, but the King of Glory who giveth eternal life.

O how comfortable was the giving of the hand of lord John de Clum unto me, who was not ashamed to reach forth his hand to me a wretch, and such an abject heretic, lying in fetters of iron, and cried out upon of all men! Now peradventure, I shall not speak much hereafter with you: therefore salute in time, as you shall see them all, the faithful of Bohemia.

Paletz came to me in prison. His salutation in my vehement infirmity was this, before the commissaries: that there hath not risen a more perilous heretic since Christ was born, than were Wickliff and I. Also he said, that all such as came to hear my talk were infected with this heresy, to think that the substance of bread remained in the sacrament of the altar. To whom I answered and said: 'O master! what a grievous salutation have you given me, and how greatly do you sin! Behold I shall die, or peradventure to-morrow shall be burnt; and what reward shall be recompensed to you in Bohemia for your labour.'

This thing, peradventure, I should not have written, lest I might seem to hate

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him. I have always had this in my heart: 'Trust not in princes,' &c. And again: 'Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh to be his arm.' For God's sake be you circumspect how you stand and how you return. Carry no letters with you. Direct your books not all by one, but diversely by divers friends.

The visions of John Huss by dreams.

Know this for certain, that I have had great conflicts by dreams, in such sort, as I had much ado to refrain from crying out. For I dreamed of the pope's escape before he went. And after the lord John had told me thereof, immediately in the night it was told me, that the pope should return to you again. And afterwards also I dreamed of the apprehending of Master Jerome, although not in full manner as it was done. All the imprisonments, whither and how I am carried, were opened to me before, although not fully after the same form and circumstance. Many serpents oftentimes appeared unto me, having heads also in their tail; but none of them could bite me, and many other things more.

These things I write, not esteeming myself as a prophet, or that I extol myself, but only to signify unto you what temptations I had in body, and also in mind, and what great fear I had, lest I should transgress the commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ. Now I remember with myself the words of Master Jerome, who said, that if I should come to the council, he thought I should never return home again. In like manner there was a good and godly man, a tailor,[1] who, taking his leave of me at Prague, spake to me in these words: 'God be with you,' said he, 'for I think verily, my dear and good Master John, that you shall not return again to us with your life. The King, not of Hungary, but of Heaven, reward you with all goodness, for the faithful doctrine which I at your hands received,' &c.

A prophecy of Master Jerome of Prague.

And shortly after the writing hereof, he sendeth also unto them another prophetical vision of his, to be expounded, touching the reformation of the church, written in his forty-fourth epistle, the contents whereof be these.

Letter of John Huss, sent to the Lord John de Clum.

I pray you expound to me the dream of this night. I saw how that in my church of Bethlehem they came to rase and put out all the images of Christ, and did put them out. The next day after, I arose and saw many painters, who painted and made more fair images, and many more than I had done before, which images I was very glad and joyful to behold. And the painters, with much people about them, said: 'Let the bishops and priests come now, and put us out these pictures.' Which being done, much people seemed to me in Bethlehem to rejoice, and I with them. And I awaking therewith, felt myself to laugh, &c.

Prophetia.

This vision lord John de Clum, and John Huss himself, in his book of Epistles, in the forty-fifth epistle, seem to expound, and apply the images of Christ unto the preaching of Christ and of his life; which preaching and doctrine of Christ, though the pope and his cardinals should extinguish in him, yet did he foresee and declare, that the time should come, wherein the same doctrine should be revived again by others so plenteously, that the pope with all his power should not be able to prevail against it. Thus much as concerning this vision of John Huss, whereunto doth well accord the prophecy of Jerome of Prague, printed in the coin called 'Moneta Hussi;' of which coin I have myself one of the plates, having this superscription following printed about it; "Centum revolutis annis Deo respondebitis et mihi," that is, after a hundred years come and

(1) This tailor's name was Andrew, a Polonian.

gone, you shall give account to God and to me. Whereof, God willing, more shall be said hereafter. *Henry V.*

Furthermore, in the forty-eighth epistle the said John Huss, seeming to speak with the like spirit of prophesy, hath these words following: "Sed spero, quod quæ dixi sub tecto, prædicabuntur super tecta:" that is: "but I trust that those things which I have spoken within the house, hereafter shall be preached upon the top of the house." A. D. 1416. Prophetia.

And because we are here in hand with the prophesies of John Huss, it shall moreover serve well in place here to record his words in a certain treatise by him written: "De sacerdotum et monachorum carnalium abominatione;" wherein the said John Huss, speaking prophetically of the reformation of the church, hath these words following.[1]

'Moreover, hereupon, note and mark by the way, that the church of God cannot be reduced to its former dignity, or be reformed, before all things first be made new; the truth whereof is plain by the temple of Solomon. Like as the clergy and priests, so also the people and laity; or else unless all such as now be addicted to avarice, from the least to the most, be first converted and reclaimed, as well the people as clergy and priests. Albeit as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God: of which people new clerks and priests shall come, and be taken; who all shall hate covetousness, and the glory of this life, hastening to an heavenly conversation. Notwithstanding all these things shall come to pass, and be brought by little and little in order of times, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth and will do for his own goodness and mercy, and for the riches of his great longanimity and patience; giving time and space of repentance to them that have long lien in their sins, to amend, and fly from the face of the Lord's fury, while that in like manner the carnal people, and carnal priests, successively, and in time, shall fall away and be consumed as with the moth,' &c. Prophetia.

A Letter of John Huss to his Friend Martin.

Master Martin, my dear brother in Christ, I exhort you in the Lord that you fear God, keep his commandments, and flee the company of women, and beware of hearing their confession, lest, by the hypocrisy of women, Satan deceive you; trust not their devotion. You know how I have detested the avarice and the inordinate life of the clergy; wherefore, through the grace of God, I suffer now persecution, which shortly shall be consummate in me; neither do I fear to have my heart poured out for the name of Christ Jesus; I desire you heartily, be not greedy in seeking after benefices. And yet if you shall be called to any cure in the country, let the honour of God, the salvation of souls, and the travail thereof, move you thereunto, and not the having of the living or the commodities thereof. And if you shall be placed in any such benefice, beware you have no young woman for your cook or servant, lest you edify and increase more your house than your soul.[2] See that you be a builder of your spiritual house, being gentle to the poor and humble of mind, and waste not your goods in great fare. I fear also if you do not amend your life, ceasing from your costly and superfluous apparel, lest you shall be grievously chastised, as I also, wretched man, shall be punished, who have used the like, being seduced by custom of evil men and worldly glory, whereby I have been wounded against God with the spirit of pride. And because you have notably known both my preaching and outward conversation even from my youth, I have no need to write many things unto you, but to desire you, for the mercy of Jesus Christ, that you do not follow me in any such levity and lightness, which you have

He repenteth his gay garments.

(1) "Ex istis ulterius adverte incidentaliter, quod Dei ecclesia nequit ad pristinam suam dignitatem reduci." &c.

(2) Note that then priests were not married, and therefore he willeth them to avoid the company of women.

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seen in me. You knew how, before my priesthood (which grieveth me now) I have delighted to play oftentimes at chess, and have neglected my time, and have unhappily provoked both myself and others to anger many times by that play. Wherefore, besides other my innumerable faults, for this also I desire you to invocate the mercy of the Lord, that he will pardon me, and so direct my life, that having overcome the wickedness of this present life, the flesh, the world, and the devil, I may find place in the heavenly country, at least in the day of judgment. Fare ye well in Christ Jesus, with all them who keep his law. My grey coat, if you will, keep to yourself for my remembrance, but I think you are ashamed to wear that grey colour; therefore you may give it to whom you shall think good. My white coat you shall give the minister N. my scholar. To George or else to Zuzikon sixty groats, or else my grey coat, for he hath faithfully served me.

He repenteth his playing at the chess.

The Superscription.

I pray you that you do not open this letter, before you be sure and certain of my death.

The Consolation of Master Jerome to Master Huss.

My master, in those things which you have both written hitherto, and also preached after the law of God, against the pride, avarice, and other inordinate vices of the priests, go forward, be constant and strong. And if I shall know that you are oppressed in the cause, and if need shall so require, of mine own accord I will follow after to help you, as much as I can.

John Huss condemned for no erroneous doctrine wherein he was culpable.

By the life, acts and letters of John Huss hitherto rehearsed, it is evident and plain, that he was condemned not for any error of doctrine, which they could well prove in him, who neither denied their popish transubstantiation, neither spake against the authority of the church of Rome, if it were well governed, nor yet the seven sacraments, and also said mass himself, and almost in all their popish opinions was a papist with them; but only of evil will was accused of his malicious adversaries, because he spake against the pomp, pride and avarice, and other wicked enormities of the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, and because he could not abide the high dignities and livings of the church, and thought the doings of the pope to be Antichrist-like. For this cause he procured so many enemies and false witnesses against him, who straining and picking matter out of his books and writings, having no one just article of doctrine to lay unto him, yet they made him a heretic, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do where the charity of Christ hath no place; which being so, as thy charity, good reader, may easily understand, in perusing the whole course of his story, I beseech thee then, what cause had John Cochleus to write his twelve books against John Huss and Hussites? in which books how bitterly and intemperately he misuseth his pen, by these few words in his second book thou mayest take a little taste; which words I thought here briefly to place in English, to the end that all Englishmen may judge thereby, with what spirit and truth these catholics be carried. His words be these:[1] "I say therefore John Huss is neither to be counted holy nor blessed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched; insomuch that in the day of judgment, it

Cochleus raileth against John Huss without cause.

(1) Ex Cochleo, lib. ii. hist. Hussitarum, pag. 98. "Dico igitur Joan. Hus. neque sanctum neque beatum habendum esse, sed impium potius," &c.

shall be more easy, not only with the infidel Pagans, Turks, Tartarians, and Jews, but also with the most sinful Sodomites, and the abominable Persians, who do most filthily pollute their daughters, sisters, or mother; yea and also with the impious Cain, killer of his own brother; with Thyestes, killer of his own mother; and the Lestrygones and other Anthropophagi, who devour man's flesh; yea more easy with those infamous murderers of infants, Pharaoh and Herod, than with him," &c. These be the words of Cochleus; whose railing books, although they deserve neither to be read, nor answered, yet, if it please God, it were to be wished that the Lord would stir up some towardly young man, that hath so much leisure, to defend the simplicity of this John Huss, who cannot now answer for himself. In the mean time, something to satisfy or stay the reader's mind against this immoderate hyperbole of Cochleus, in like few words I will bring out John Huss to speak and to clear himself against this slander: whose words in his book 'De Sacerdotum et Monachorum abominatione desolationis,' pag. 84, &c., I beseech the reader to note: "Nam et ista scribens fateor, quod nihil aliud me in illis perurget, nisi dilectio Dom. nostri Jesu crucifixi," &c.; that is, "For in writing these things, I confess nothing else to have moved me hereunto, but only the love of our Lord Jesus crucified, whose prints and stripes (according to the measure of my weakness and vileness) I covet to bear in myself, beseeching him so to give me grace, that I never seek to glory in myself, or in any thing else, but only in his cross, and in the inestimable ignominy of his passion which he suffered for me. And, therefore, I write and speak these things, which I do not doubt will like all such as unfeignedly do love the Lord Christ crucified; and contrary will mislike not a little all such as be of Antichrist. Also again, I confess before the most merciful Lord Jesus Christ crucified, that these things which I do now write, and those that I have written before, neither I could have written, nor knew how, nor durst so have written, unless he, by his inward unction, had so commanded me. Neither yet do I write these things as of authority, to get me fame and name; for as St. Augustine and Jerome do say, that is only to be given to the Scriptures and writings of the apostles, evangelists, and prophets, and to the canonical Scriptures, which do abound in the fulness of the Spirit of Jesus. And whatsoever is there said, is full of verity and wholesome utility," &c.

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And here place also would require something to say to Æneas Sylvius, to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, who falsely impute articles to him, which he never maintained. But because time suffereth not, I will proceed to the story of Master Jerome of Prague.

The tragical and lamentable History of the famous learned Man and godly Martyr of Christ, Master Jerome of Prague, burned at Constance for like cause and quarrel as was Master John Huss.

See Appendix.

* Forsomuch[1] as the variety of men's affections, by means of hatred of persons oftentimes coming between, and other causes

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(1) This preamble to the history of Jerome of Prague precedes the account of that illustrious martyr in the Edition of 1563, p. 242, where the narrative is divided into seven short chapters, written by an eye-witness of his arraignment and sufferings.—Ed.

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growing, doth often very ill, yea, altogether falsely, accumulate and gather the order of things done, far otherwise than, in deed, they were done, and hath used and accustomed to divulgate their feigned doings unto posterity; therefore, that the acts worthy of remembrance, in these our days, should suffer none of the aforesaid incommodities and evils, and that the fervent and true confession of the truth which this worthy man, Jerome of Prague, the fervent and stout champion of the gospel, hath sealed with his blood and death, whereby also, as another Elias, he is carried, without all doubts, in a fiery chariot into the paradise of infinite joys and pleasures; and that the order of his death, by the hasty passing away of time, should not escape away from the posterity to come, and that, by no means, this example of truth and glass of steadfastness, and perfect imitation, might, by any means, be taken away: I have determined to gather together, albeit with a rude style, the acts and doings of the said Master Jerome, as he went unto the council of Constance: which I myself did see, and also heard there, and also were reported unto me by such true and credible men, as did hear and see the same at Constance, to the intent that the memory of this most worthy man may, by favour of the Author of truth and the Rewarder of them that confess him, hereafter be the more celebrated and remembered.*

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These things hitherto being discoursed, touching the life, acts, and constant martyrdom of Master John Huss, with part also of his letters adjoined to the same, whose death was on the sixth of July, A.D. 1415, now remaineth consequently to describe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his christian companion and fellow in bands, Master Jerome of Prague; who, grievously sorrowing the slanderous reproach and defamation of his country of Bohemia, and also hearing tell of the manifest injuries done to that man of worthy memory, Master John Huss, freely, and of his own accord, came to Constance on the fourth day of April, 1415. Who, there perceiving that John Huss was denied to be heard, and that watch and wait were laid for him on every side, departed until the next day to Uberlingen, a city of the empire, which city was a mile off from Constance; and from thence he wrote his letters by me to Sigismund, king of Hungary, and his barons, and also unto the council, most earnestly requiring that the king and council would give him a safe conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to answer unto every man, if there were any of the council that would lay any crime to him, as by the tenor of his intimation shall more at large appear.

Jerome cometh to Constance.

The safe conduct was required, but in vain, of the emperor.

When the said king of Hungary was required thereunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the lord cardinal of Cambray, he denied to give Master Jerome any safe conduct; excusing himself for the evil speed he had with the safe conduct of John Huss before, and alleging also certain other causes. The deputies also of the four nations of the council, being moved thereunto by the lords of the kingdom of Bohemia, answered, "We will give him a safe conduct to come, but not to depart." Whose answers, when they were reported unto Master Jerome, he the next day after wrote certain intimations according to the tenor under-written, which he sent to Constance to be set upon the gates of the city, and upon the

gates of the churches and monasteries, and of the houses of the cardinals and other nobles and prelates; the tenor whereof here followeth word for word in this manner.

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The Intimation of Jerome of Prague, set up in divers places of the Town of Constance.

Unto the most noble prince and lord, the lord Sigismund, by the grace of God king of the Romans, always Augustus, and of Hungary, &c. I Jerome of Prague, master of arts of the general universities of Paris, Cologne, Heidelberg, and Prague, by these my present letters do notify to the king, together with the whole reverend council, and, as much as in me lieth, do all men to understand and know, that because of the crafty slanderers, backbiters, and accusers, I am ready freely and of mine own will, to come to Constance, there to declare openly before the council, the purity and sincerity of my true faith, and mine innocency; and not secretly in corners before any private or particular person. Wherefore, if there be any of my slanderers, of what nation or estate soever they be, who will object against me any crime of error or heresy, let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole council, and in their own names object against me; and I will be ready, as I have written, to answer openly and publicly, before the whole council, of mine innocency, and to declare the purity and sincerity of my true faith. And if so be that I shall be found culpable in error or heresy, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be meet and worthy for an erroneous person, or a heretic. *See Appendix.*

Wherefore I most humbly beseech my lord the king, and the whole sacred council, that I may have to this end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure access. And if it happen that I, offering such equity and right as I do, before any fault be proved against me, be arrested, imprisoned, or have any violence done unto me; that then it may be manifest unto the whole world, that this general council doth not proceed according to equity and justice, if they would by any means put me back from this profound and strait justice, being come hither freely of mine own mind and accord; which thing I suppose to be far from so sacred and holy a council of wise men.

Safe conduct denied to Jerome.

Jerome returneth toward Bohemia, with the testimonies of the lords of Bohemia.

Jerome apprehended in the way by duke John.

When as yet Master Jerome, through such intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latin, and German tongue, being set up as is aforesaid, could not get any safe conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights, especially of the Bohemian nation, present in Constance, gave unto him their letters patent, confirmed with their seals for a testimony and witness of the premises; with which letters the said Master Jerome returned again into Bohemia: but, by the treason and conspiracy of his enemies he was taken in Hirschau by the officers of duke John, and in Zultzbach was brought back again to the presence of the duke. In the mean time such as were the setters-forward of the council against Master John Huss and Master Jerome; that is to say, Michael de Causis and Master Paletz, and others their accomplices, required that the said Master Jerome should be cited by reason of his intimations; and, certain days after, the citation here under-written was set upon the gates and porches of the city and churches, which followeth here in this manner:

The Citation of Jerome of Prague to the Council of Constance.

Jerome cited by the council when he was taken.

This most sacred and holy synod and general council of Constance, faithfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, representing the universal militant church, unto Jerome of Prague, who writeth himself to be a master of arts of so many universities, and pretendeth those things which are only pertaining unto sobriety and modesty, and that he knoweth no more than

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he ought, &c. Know thou that there is a certain writing come unto our understanding and knowledge, which was set up, as it were, by thine own person upon the gates of the churches and city of Constance, upon the Sunday, when there was sung in the church of God, 'Quasi modo geniti;' wherein thou dost affirm, that thou wilt openly answer unto thy accusers and slanderers who shall object any crime, error or heresy against thee, whereof thou art marvellously infamed and accused before us; and specially touching the doctrine of Wickliff, and other doctrines contrary to the catholic faith: so that thou mightest have granted unto thee a safe conduct to come. But, forasmuch as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and look unto these crafty foxes who go about to destroy the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, therefore we do cite and call forth by the tenor of these presents, thy person manifoldly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errors; so that within the term of fifteen days to be accounted from the date of these presents, whereof five days are appointed for the first term, five for the second, and other five for the third, we do ordain and appoint, by canonical admonition and warning, that thou do appear in the public sessions of the sacred council, if there be any holden, in the same day, or else the first day immediately following, when any session shall be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answer to those things which any person or persons shall object or lay against thee in any cause of thy faith, and to receive and have, as justice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in us lieth, and as catholic faith shall require, we offer and assign to thee, by the tenor hereof, our safe conduct from all violence (justice always being saved); certifying thee, that whether thou dost appear or not, the said term or time appointed notwithstanding, process shall go forward against thee by the said sacred council, or by their commissary or commissaries, for the time aforesaid not observed and kept; thy contumacy or stubbornness in any thing notwithstanding.

Given in the sixth session of the general council, the seventeenth day of April, under the seal of the presidents of the four nations.

GRUMPERT FABER, Notary of the Germans.

After Sigismund king of Hungary, with the rest of the council, understood by the aforesaid duke John,[1] that Master Jerome was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that Master Jerome should be brought before them unto the council; which duke John, after he had received letters of the king and the council, sent Master Jerome bound unto Constance, whom his brother duke Louis led through the city to the cloisters of the friars minor in Constance, whereas the chief priests and elders of the people (Scribes and Pharisees) were gathered together, attending and waiting for his coming. He, the said Master Jerome, carried a great handbolt of iron with a long chain in his hand, and as he passed, the chain made a great rattling and noise, and for the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chain after duke Louis aforesaid, holding and stretching out the same a great way from him; with which chain they also kept him bound in the cloister. When he was brought into the cloister, they read before him the letter of duke John, which was sent with the said Master Jerome to the council, containing in effect, how that the said duke John had sent Master Jerome to the council (who by chance was fallen into his hands), because he heard an evil report of him, that he was suspected of the heresies of Wickliff; that the council might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish such as did err and stray from the truth: besides many other flattering tales which were written in the said letter in praise of the council. After this they read the citation which was given out by

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Jerome is sent bound unto Constance by duke John.

(1) This duke John in histories is commonly called the son of Clement.

the council against Master Jerome, whereof we have spoken before. Then certain of the bishops said unto him: "Jerome! why didst thou fly and run away, and didst not appear when thou wast cited?" He answered: "Because I could not have any safe conduct, neither from you, neither from the king, as it appeareth by these letters patent of the barons, which you have; neither by mine open intimations could I obtain any safe conduct. Wherefore I, perceiving many of my grievous and heavy friends to be here present in the council, would not myself be the occasion of my perils and dangers; but if I had known or had any understanding of this citation, without all doubt, albeit I had been in Bohemia, I would have returned again." Then all the whole rabble rising up, alleged divers and sundry accusations and testimonies against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, then spake Master Gerson, the chancellor of Paris: "Jerome, when thou wast at Paris, thou thoughtest thyself, by means of thy eloquence, to be an angel, and didst trouble the whole university; alleging openly in the schools many erroneous conclusions with their 'corolaria,' and especially in the question 'De universalibus et de idæis,' with many other very offensive questions." Unto whom Master Jerome said: "I answer to you, Master Gerson, that those matters which I did put forth there, in the schools at Paris, in which also I answered to the arguments of the masters, I did put them forth philosophically, and as a philosopher and master of the university; and if I have put forth any questions which I ought not to have put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend the same."

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The council neither would give him liberty safely to come, nor freely to go.

Jerome accused by Mr. Gerson, with commendation of his eloquence.

While he was yet speaking, another (as I suppose, the master of the university of Cologne, upon the river Rhine), rising up, said: "When thou wast also at Cologne, in thy position which thou didst there determine, thou didst propound many erroneous matters." Then said Master Jerome unto him: "Show me first one error which I propounded." Wherewithal he, being in a manner astonished, said: "I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shall be objected against you." And by and by the third man, rising up, said: "When you were also at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinity, and there painted out a certain shield or escutcheon, comparing the Trinity of Persons in the Deity to water, snow, and ice, and such like." Unto whom Master Jerome answered; "Those things that I wrote or painted there, the same will I also speak, write, and paint here; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly revoke and recant the same."

The master of the university of Cologne would accuse, but he lacked matter.

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The master of the university of Heidelberg.

Then certain cried out: "Let him be burned, let him be burned."[1] Unto whom he answered: "If my death do delight or please you, in the name of God let it be so." Then said the archbishop of Saltzburg; "Not so, Master Jerome, 'forasmuch as it is written, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather he be converted and live.'" When these and many other tumults and cries were passed, whereby they did then most disorderly and outrageously witness against him, they delivered the said Master Jerome, being bound, unto the officers of

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(1) "Crucifige, crucifige eum."

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the city of Constance, to be carried to prison for that night; and so every one of them returned to his lodgings.

In the mean time, one of the friends of Master John Huss, looking in at a window of the refectory, said unto him; "Master Jerome." Then said he, "You are welcome, my dear brother." Then said Peter unto him; "Be constant, and fear not to suffer death for the truth's sake, of which, when you were in times past at liberty, you did preach so much goodness." Unto whom Jerome answered: "Truly, brother, I do not fear death; and forasmuch as we know that we have spoken much thereof in times past, let us now see what may be known or done in effect." By and by his keepers, coming to the window, threatening him with strokes, did put away the said Peter from the window of the cloister.

Jerome is comforted by Peter the notary.

Then came there one Vitus unto Master Jerome, and saith, "Master, how do you do?" Unto whom he answered, "Truly, brother, I do very well." Then his keepers coming about him, laid hold of the said Vitus, saying, "This is also one of the number,"[1] and kept him. When it drew towards evening, the archbishop of Riga sent certain of his servants who led away Master Jerome, being strongly bound with chains, both by the hands and by the neck, and kept him so for certain hours. When night drew on, they carried him unto a certain tower of the city, in St. Paul's churchyard, where, tying him fast unto a great block, and his feet in the stocks, his hands also being made fast upon them, they left him; where the block was so high, that he could by no means sit thereupon, but that his head must hang downward. They carried also the said Vitus unto the archbishop of Riga, who demanded of him, Why he durst be so bold to talk with such a man, being a reprobate of all men, and a heretic? and when he could find no cause of imprisonment in him, and that he said he was Master John de Clum's friend (taking an oath and promise of him, that he should not go about to endamage the council by reason of that imprisonment and captivity), he dismissed him and sent him away.

Vitus, the companion of John de Clum.

Jerome straitly bound hand and foot.

Vitus had to the archbishop of Riga.

Vitus bound by oath.

Master Jerome, unknown unto us whither he was carried, lay in the said tower two days and two nights, relieved only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers, coming unto Master Peter, declared unto him how that Master Jerome lay hard by, in bonds and chains, and how he was fed. Then Master Peter asked if he might have leave to give him meat, because he would procure plenty of the same for him. The keeper of the prison, granting his request, carried meat unto him. Within eleven days after, so hanging by the heels, he used so small repast, that he fell sore sick even unto death. When he, living then in that captivity and prison, desired to have a confessor, they of the council denied that he should have any, until such time as by great importunity he obtained to have one; his friends being then there present in the same prison and tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one year, lacking but seven days.

Jerome, hanging in the stocks, is fed with bread and water.

Peter bringeth meat to Jerome.

Jerome, in great sickness, calleth for a confessor.

Kept in prison the space of a year.

After they had put John Huss to death, then, about the feast of the nativity of Mary the Virgin, they brought forth Master Jerome whom they had kept so long in chains, unto the church of St. Paul;

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(1) "Et tu de illis es." Luc. xxii.

and, threatening him with death, being instant upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and consent unto the death of Master John Huss, that he was justly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what for fear of death, and hoping thereby to escape out of their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenor which was exhibited unto him, did make abjuration, and that in the cathedral church and open session; the draft whereof, penned for him by the papists, here ensueth.

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The forced Abjuration of Master Jerome of Prague.

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I, Jerome of Prague, master of arts, acknowledging the catholic church, and the apostolic faith, do accurse and renounce all heresies, and especially that whereof I have hitherto been infamed, and that which in times past John Huss and John Wickliff have holden and taught, in their works, treatises, and sermons, made unto the people and clergy; for which cause the said Wickliff and Huss, together with the said doctrines and errors, are condemned by this synod of Constance as heretics, and all the said doctrine sententially condemned, and especially in certain articles expressed in the sentences and judgments given against them by this sacred council.

Also I do accord and agree unto the holy church of Rome, the apostolic seat in this sacred council, and with my mouth and heart do profess in all things, and touching all things; and especially as touching the keys, sacraments, orders, and offices, and ecclesiastical censures, of pardons, relics of saints, ecclesiastical liberty; also ceremonies, and all other things pertaining to christian religion; as the church of Rome, the apostolic see, and this sacred council, do profess: and specially, that many of the said articles are notoriously heretical, and lately reproved by the holy fathers, some of them blasphemous, others erroneous; some offensive unto godly ears, and many of them temerarious and seditious. And such also were accounted the articles lately condemned by the sacred council, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singular catholic men hereafter to preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintain, any of the said articles, under pain of being accursed.

And I, the said Jerome, forsomuch as I have laboured by scholastical arts to persuade the opinion 'De universalibus realibus,' and that one substance of one common kind should signify many things subject under the same, and every one of them, as St. Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, do affirm, and likewise others; for the teaching hereof by a plain example I described as it were a certain triangular form or figure, which I called the shield of faith: therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked understanding thereof, the which, peradventure, some men may gather thereby, I do say, affirm, and declare, that I never made the said figure, neither named it the shield of faith, to that intent or purpose, that I would extol or prefer the opinion of universalities above or before the contrary opinion, in such sort, as though that were the shield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof the catholic faith could not be defended or maintained, when I myself would not obstinately stick thereunto. But this I said, because I had put example in the description of the triangular figure, that one Divine essence consisted in three subjects or persons in themselves distinct; that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The article of which Trinity is the chief shield of faith, and foundation of the catholic truth.

Furthermore, that it may be evident unto all men what the causes were for which I was reputed and thought to stick to, and favour sometime John Huss; I signify unto all men by these presents, that when I heard him oftentimes both in his sermons, and also in the schools, I believed that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainsay the traditions of our holy mother the church, or holy doctors; inasmuch as when I was lately in this city, and the articles which I affirmed were showed unto me, which were also condemned by the sacred council, at the first sight of them I did not believe that they were his; at least not in that form. But when I had further understood, by certain famous doctors and masters of divinity, that they were his articles, I required

Jerome is made here to say not his own mind, but what pleaseth them.

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for my further information and satisfaction, to have the books of his own hand writing showed unto me, wherein it was said those articles were contained. Which books when they were showed unto me written with his own hand, which I did know as well as mine own, I found all, and every one of those articles therein written in like form as they are condemned. Wherefore I do worthily judge and think him and his doctrine, with his adherents, to be condemned and reproved by the sacred council, as heretical and without reason. All which the premises, with a pure mind and conscience, I do here pronounce and speak; being now fully and sufficiently informed of the aforesaid sentences and judgments given by the sacred council against the doctrines of the said John Wickliff and John Huss, and against their own persons; unto which judgment, as a devout catholic in all things, I do most humbly consent and agree.

Also I, the foresaid Jerome who, before the reverend fathers the lords cardinals, and reverend lords, prelates, and doctors, and other worshipful persons of this sacred council in this same place, did heretofore freely and willingly declare and expound mine intent and purpose, amongst other things speaking of the church, did divide the same into three parts: and as I did perceive afterwards, it was understood by some that I would affirm, that in the triumphant church there was faith: whereas I do firmly believe that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all dark understanding and knowledge. And now also I do say, affirm, and declare, that it was never my intent and purpose to prove that there should be faith, speaking of faith as faith is commonly defined, but knowledge far exceeding faith. And, generally, whatsoever I said, either here, there, or at any time before, I do refer, and most humbly submit myself unto the determination of this sacred council of Constance.

Moreover, I do swear both by the holy Trinity, and also by the most holy gospel, that I will for evermore remain and persevere without all doubt, in the truth of the catholic church. And all such as by their doctrine and teaching shall impugn this faith, I judge them worthy, together with their doctrines, of eternal curse. And if I myself, at any time (which God forbid I should), do presume to preach or teach contrary thereunto, I will submit myself unto the severity of the canons, and be bound unto eternal pain and punishment. Whereupon I do deliver up this my confession and tenor of my profession willingly, before this sacred general council, and have subscribed and written all these things with mine own hand.

Jerome, after his abjuration, returned to prison.

After all this they caused him to be carried again unto the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before; notwithstanding kept every day with soldiers and armed men. And when, afterwards, his enemies who were appointed against him, as Michael de Causis, and wicked Paletz, with other their companions in these affairs, understood and knew by the words and talk of Master Jerome, and by other certain tokens, that he made the same abjuration and recantation, not of a sincere and pure mind, but only to the intent thereby to escape their hands, they, together with certain friars of Prague of the order of Carmelites, then coming in, put up new accusations against the said Master Jerome, and drew the same into articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto. And forasmuch as his judges, and certain cardinals, as the cardinal of Cambray, the cardinal de Ursinis, the cardinal of Aquileia, and the cardinal of Florence, considering the malice of the enemies of Master Jerome, did see the great injury that was done unto him, they laboured before the whole council for his delivery.

Accused anew by Causis Paletz, and the Carmelites.

The cardinal of Cambray, with certain other cardinals, labour for his delivery.

See Appendix.

It happened on a certain day, as they were labouring in the council for the delivery of the said Master Jerome, that the Germans and Bohemians, his enemies, with all force and power resisted against it,

crying out that he should in no case be dismissed. Then started up one called doctor Naso, who said unto the cardinals: "We marvel much of you, most reverend fathers, that your reverences will make intercession for such a wicked heretic, for whose sake we in Bohemia, with the whole clergy, have suffered much trouble and mischief, and peradventure your fatherhoods shall suffer; and I greatly fear, lest you have received some rewards either of the king of Bohemia, or of these heretics."[1] When the cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselves of Master Jerome's cause and matter.

The patriarch of Constantinople gives sentence of death both against Huss, and Jerome of Prague.

Then his enemies aforesaid obtained to have other judges appointed, as the patriarch of Constantinople, and a German doctor; forasmuch as they did know that the patriarch was a grievous enemy to Master Jerome, because he being before appointed judge by the council, had condemned John Huss to death.

But Master Jerome would not answer them in prison, requiring to have open audience, because he would there finally declare unto them his mind; neither would he by any means consent unto those private judges. Whereupon the presidents of the council, thinking that the said Master Jerome would renew his recantation before the said audience, and confirm the same, did grant him open audience.

Jerome brought again before the council.

In the year of our Lord 1416, the twenty-third day of May, which was the Saturday before the ascension of our Lord, the said Master Jerome was brought unto open audience before the whole council, to the great cathedral church of Constance, where by the commissioners of the council, in behalf of his aforesaid enemies, there were laid against him anew, a hundred and seven articles, to the intent that he should not escape the snare of death, which they provided and laid for him; inasmuch as the judges had before declared that by the saying of the witnesses it was already concluded in the same audience. The day aforesaid, from morning until noon, he answered unto more than forty articles, most subtlely objected against him; denying that he held or maintained any such articles as were either hurtful or false, and affirming that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsely and slanderously, as his most cruel and mortal enemies. In the same session they had not yet proceeded unto death, because that the noon-time drew so fast on, that he could not answer unto the articles. Wherefore, for lack of time sufficient to answer unto the residue of the articles, there was another time appointed, which was the Tuesday after the aforesaid Saturday and before the ascension of our Lord; at which time again, early in the morning, he was brought unto the said cathedral church, to answer unto all the residue of the articles.

False witness against Jerome.

See Appendix.

The dexterity of Jerome in confuting his adversaries.

In all which articles, as well those which he had answered unto on the Saturday before, as in the residue, he cleared himself very learnedly; refelling his adversaries (who had no cause, but only of malice and displeasure were set against him, and did him great wrong) in such sort, that they were themselves astonied at his oration, and his refutation of their testimonies brought against him, and with shame enough were put to silence. As when one of them had demanded of him what he thought by the sacrament of the altar, he

(1) "Si dimittis hunc non es amicus Cæsaris."

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answered: "Before consecration," said he, "it is bread and wine; after the consecration it is the true body and blood of Christ:" adding withal more words according to their catholic faith. Then another rising up: "Jerome," said he, "there goeth a great rumour of thee, that thou shouldest hold bread to remain upon the altar." To whom he pleasantly answered, saying, "that he believed bread to be at the baker's." At which words being spoken, one of the Dominic friars fumishly took on, and said; "What! dost thou deny, that which no man doubteth of?" Whose peevish sauciness Jerome with these words did well repress: "Hold thy peace," said he, "thou monk! thou hypocrite!" And thus the monk, being nipped in the head, sat down dumb. After him started up another, who, with a loud voice, cried out: "I swear," said he "by my conscience, that to be true, that thou dost deny." To whom said Jerome again, speaking in Latin: "Heus sic jurare per conscientiam tutissima fallendi via est." That is, "Thus to swear by your conscience is the next way to deceive." Another there was, a spiteful and a bitter enemy of his, whom he called by no other name than dog or ass. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter, nor in any other, they were all driven to keep silence.

See Appendix.

False witnesses.

This done, then were the witnesses called for, who coming in presence gave testimony unto the articles before produced; by reason whereof the innocent cause of Jerome was oppressed, and began in the council to be concluded. Then Jerome rising up began to speak: "Forasmuch," saith he, "as you have heard mine adversaries so diligently hitherto, convenient it is that you should also now hear me to speak for myself." Whereupon, with much difficulty, at last audience was given in the council for him to say his mind; which being granted, he, from morning to noon continuing, treated of divers and sundry matters, with great learning and eloquence. Who, first beginning with his prayer to God, besought him to give him spirit, ability, and utterance, which might most tend to the profit and salvation of his own soul. And so entered he into his oration. "I know," saith he, "reverend lords! that there have been many excellent men, who have suffered much otherwise than they have deserved; being oppressed with false witnesses, and condemned with wrong judgments." And so, beginning with Socrates, he declared how he was unjustly condemned by his countrymen, neither would he escape when he might; taking from us the fear of two things, which seem most bitter to men, to wit, of imprisonment and death. Then he inferred the captivity of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the torments of Zeno. Moreover, he brought in the wrongful condemnation of many Gentiles, as the banishment of Rupilius; reciting also the unworthy death of Boetius and of others, of whom Boetius himself doth write.

Audience hardly given to Jerome to speak for himself.

The oration of Jerome before the council.

Socrates.

Plato.

Anaxagoras.

Zeno.

Rupilius.

Boetius.

From thence he came to the examples of the Hebrews, and first began with Moses, the deliverer of the people, and the lawgiver; how he was oftentimes slandered of his people as being a seducer and contemner of the people. "Joseph also," saith he, "for envy was sold by his brethren, and for false suspicion of whoredom was cast into bonds." Besides these, he reciteth Esaias, Daniel, and

Moses.

Joseph.

Esaias.

Daniel.

almost all the prophets, who, as contemners of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongful condemnation. From thence he proceeded to the judgment of Susanna, and of divers other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they unjustly cast away with wrongful sentence. At length he came to John Baptist, and so, in long process, he descended unto our Saviour, declaring how it was evident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and John Baptist were condemned. Moreover, how Stephen was slain by the college of the priests, and how all the apostles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as seditious stirrers up of the people, and contemners of the gods, and evil doers. "It is unjust," saith he, "unjustly to be condemned one priest of another:" and yet he proved that the same hath so happened most unjustly in that council of priests. These things did he discourse at large, with marvellous eloquence, and with singular admiration of all that heard him.

The prophets. Susanna. John Baptist. Christ.

The apostles.

And forasmuch as all the whole sum of the cause did rest only in the witnesses, by many reasons he proved that no credit was to be given unto them, especially seeing they spake all things of no truth, but only of hatred, malice, and envy. And so prosecuting the matter, so lively and expressly he opened unto them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost persuaded them. So lively and likely their hatred was detected, that almost no trust was given to their testimonies, save only for the cause and quarrel wherein they stood, touching the pope's doctrine. All men's minds here were moved and bending to mercy towards him; for he told them how that he of his own accord came up to the council, and, to purge himself, he did open unto them all his life and doings, being full of virtue and godliness. "This was," saith he, "the old manner of ancient and learned men and most holy elders, that in matters of faith they did differ many times in arguments, not to destroy the faith, but to find out the verity. So did Augustine and Jerome dissent, not only being diverse; but also contrary one from the other, and yet without all suspicion of heresy."

The false witnesses of Jerome refuted.

All this while the pope's holy council did wait still, when he would begin to excuse himself, and to retract those things which were objected against him, and to crave pardon of the council. But he, persisting still in his constant oration, did acknowledge no error, nor gave any signification of retractation.

At last, entering into the praise and commendation of Master John Huss, he affirmed that he was a good, just, and holy man, and much unworthy that death which he did suffer; whom he did know from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any evil or vicious person, but a chaste and sober man, and a just and true preacher of the holy gospel; and whatsoever things Master John Huss and Wickliff had holden or written, especially against the abuse and pomp of the clergy, he would affirm even unto the death, that they were holy and blessed men; and that in all points of the catholic faith he doth believe as the holy catholic church doth hold or believe. And finally he did conclude, that all such articles as John Wickliff and John Huss had written and put forth against the enormities, pomp, and disorder, of the prelates, he would firmly

Jerome commendeth the life, and bewaileth the death of John Huss.

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and steadfastly, without recantation, hold and defend even unto the death. And, last of all, he added, that all the sins that ever he had committed, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience, as did that only sin, which he had committed in that most pestiferous fact, when, in his recantation, he had unjustly spoken against that good and holy man and his doctrine; and especially in consenting unto his wicked condemnation: concluding, that he did utterly revoke and deny that wicked recantation which he made in that most cursed place, and that he did it through weakness of heart and fear of death; and, moreover, that whatsoever thing he hath spoken against that blessed man, he hath altogether lied upon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart that ever he did it.

Jerome repenteth his speaking against John Huss.

And at the hearing hereof the hearts of the hearers were not a little sorry, for they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man should be saved, if otherwise their blind superstition would have suffered it. But he continued still in his prefixed sentence, seeming to desire death, rather than life. And persisting in the praise of John Huss, he added moreover, that he never maintained any doctrine against the state of the church, but only spake against the abuses of the clergy, against the pride, pomp, and excess of the prelates; forasmuch as the patrimonies of the churches were first given for the poor, then for hospitality, and thirdly to the reparations of the churches. "It was a grief to that good man," said he, "to see the same mispent and cast away upon harlots, great feastings, and keeping of horses and dogs, upon gorgeous apparel, and such other things unbeseeming christian religion." And herein he showed himself marvellous eloquent; yea never more.

Huss never maintained any doctrine against the church of Rome, but only spake against their naughty life.

Jerome puts them to silence.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by divers of them carping at his sentences as he was speaking, yet was there none of all those that interrupted him who escaped unblancked; but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began, he ceased to speak, and, after, began again, proceeding in his oration, and desiring them to give him leave awhile to speak, whom they hereafter should hear no more; neither yet was his mind ever dashed at all these noises and tumults.

How long Jerome was in prison. His excellent memory.

See Appendix.

And this was marvellous in him to behold; notwithstanding he continued in strait prison three hundred and forty days, having neither book, nor almost light to read by, yet how admirably his memory served him, declaring how all those pains of his strait handling did not so much grieve him, as he did wonder rather to see their inhumanity towards him.

When he had spoken these and many things as touching the praise of John Wickliff, and John Huss, they who sat in the council whispered together, saying: "By these his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himself." Then was he again carried into prison, and grievously fettered by the hands, arms, and feet, with great chains and fetters of iron.

Jerome brought again before the council.

The Saturday next after the Ascension-day, early in the morning, he was brought with a great number of armed men unto the cathedral church before the open congregation, to have his judgment given him. There they exhorted him that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid, touching the praise and com-

mendation of Master John Wickliff, and Master John Huss, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he would yet recant the same. But he, marvellous stoutly, without all fear spake against them, and, amongst other things, said unto them: "I take God to my witness, and I protest here before you all, that I do believe and hold the articles of the faith, as the holy catholic church doth hold and believe the same; but for this cause shall I now be condemned, for that I will not consent with you unto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid, whom you have most wickedly condemned for certain articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life." Then he confessed there before them all his belief, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, insomuch that all men there present could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning: and by no means could they induce or persuade him to recant.

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Jerome holdeth all the articles of the catholic church.

His eloquence.

Then a certain bishop, named the bishop of Lodi, made a certain sermon exhortative against Master Jerome, persuading to his condemnation.

See Appendix.

After the bishop had ended the said sermon, Master Jerome said again unto them; "You will condemn me wickedly and unjustly. But I, after my death, will leave a remorse in your conscience, and a nail in your hearts: 'Et cito vos omnes, ut respondeatis mihi coram altissimo et justissimo Judice post centum annos." That is; "And here I cite you to answer unto me before the most high and just Judge, within a hundred years."

His prophecy.

No pen can sufficiently write, or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and philosophically, had spoken in the said audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same; wherefore I have but only touched here the superficial matter of his talk, partly, and not wholly, noting the same. Finally, when by no means he might be persuaded to recant the premises, immediately, even in his presence, the sentence and judgment of his condemnation was given against him, and read before him.

The Sentence read against Jerome.

In the name of God, Amen. Christ our God and our Saviour, being the true vine, whose Father is the husbandman, taught his disciples, and all other faithful men, saying: 'If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry,' &c. The doctrine and precepts of which most excellent Doctor and Master this most sacred synod of Constance executing and following in the cause of inquisition against heretics, being moved by this sacred synod, through report, public fame, and open infamation, proceeding against Jerome of Prague, master of arts, lay-man. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appeareth that the said Master Jerome hath holden, maintained, and taught divers articles heretical and erroneous, lately reproved and condemned by the holy fathers, some being very blasphemous, others offending godly ears, and many temerarious and seditious, which have been affirmed, maintained, preached and taught by the men of most damnable memory, John Wickliff and John Huss; which are also written in divers of their works and books. Which articles of doctrine and books of the said John Huss and John Wickliff, together with their memory, and the person of the said John Huss, were by the said sacred synod condemned of heresy. Which sentence of condemnation this Jerome afterwards, during the time of inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred synod, and approved the true catholic and apostolic faith, thereunto consenting; accursing all heresy, especially that whereof he was infamed, and con-

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fessed himself to be infamed, and that which in times past John Huss and John Wickliff maintained and taught in their works, sermons, and books; for which the said Wickliff and Huss, together with their doctrine and errors, were by the said sacred synod as heretical condemned. The condemnation of all which the premises he did openly profess and allow, and did swear that he would persevere and continue in the verity of that faith; and, that if he should presume at any time to hold opinion, or preach contrary thereunto, that he would submit himself to the trial and truth of the canons, and be bound to perpetual punishment. And this his profession, written with his own hand, he delivered up unto the holy council. Many days after his said profession and abjuration, as a dog returning unto his vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit up the most pestilent poison which had long lurked and lien hid in his breast, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the council. Which being granted unto him, he affirmed, said, and professed, before the whole synod, being publicly gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and judgment of the condemnation of the said Wickliff and Huss, and that he had most shamefully lied in approving and allowing the said sentence; neither was he ashamed to confess that he had lied: yea, he did also revoke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made upon their condemnation, affirming that he never at any time had read any errors or heresy in the books and treatises of the said Wickliff and Huss; albeit he had before confessed it, and it is evidently proved, that he did diligently study, read, and preach their books, wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said Master Jerome did profess, as touching the sacrament of the altar, and the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ, that he doth hold and believe as the church doth hold and believe; saying also that he doth give more credit unto St. Augustine and the other doctors of the church, than unto Wickliff and Huss. It appeareth moreover by the premises, that the said Jerome is an adherent and maintainer of the said Wickliff and Huss, and of their errors, and both is and hath been a favourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred synod determineth the said Master Jerome, as a rotten and withered branch, not growing upon the vine, to be cut off and cast out. The said synod also pronounceth, declareth, and condemneth him, as a heretic and drowned in all kind of heresies, excommunicate and accursed; leaving him unto the arbitrement and judgment of the secular judge, to receive just and due punishment, according to the quality of so great an offence; the sacred synod notwithstanding entreating, that the said judge would moderate his sentence of judgment without peril of death.

Jerome left to the secular power.

A paper with red devils put upon the head of Jerome by devilish papists.

Which sentence so given before his face, and ended, a great and long mitre of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red devils; which when he beheld and saw, throwing away his hood upon the ground amongst the prelates, he took the mitre and put it upon his head, saying: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he should suffer death for me most wretched sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I, for his sake, instead of that crown, will willingly wear this mitre and cap." Afterwards he was laid hold of by the secular power.

Jerome committed to the secular power.

Jerome passeth on singing, unto his martyrdom.

After that, he was led out of the said church to the place of execution: when he was going out of the church, with a cheerful countenance and a loud voice, lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he began to sing; "Credo in unum Deum," as it is accustomed to be sung in the church. Afterwards, as he passed along, he did sing some canticles of the church, which being ended, in the entering out of the gate of the city, as men go unto Gottlieben, he did sing this hymn, "Felix namque." And that respond being ended, after he came to the place of execution where Master John Huss before had suffered death innocently, kneeling down before an image which was like unto the picture of Master John Huss, which was there prepared to burn Master Jerome, he made a certain devout prayer.

He prayeth.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors took him up, and lifting him up from the ground, spoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked; and afterwards girded him about the loins with a linen cloth, and bound him fast with cords and chains of iron, to the said image which was made fast unto the earth. And so standing upon the ground, when they began to lay the wood about him, he sung "Salve festa dies." And when the hymn was ended, he sung again, with a loud voice, "Credo in unum Deum," unto the end. That being ended, he said unto the people, in the German tongue, in effect as followeth. "Dearly beloved children! even as I have now sung, so do I believe, and none otherwise; and this creed is my whole faith, notwithstanding now I die for this cause, because I would not consent and agree to the council, and with them affirm and hold that Master John Huss was by them holily and justly condemned; for I did know well enough that he was a true preacher of the gospel of Jesu Christ."

Jerome tied to an image like to John Huss.

He singeth at his burning.

The words of Jerome to the people.

Jerome giveth testimony of John Huss.

After that he was compassed in with the wood up to the crown of the head, they cast all his garments upon the wood also, and with a firebrand they set it on fire; which being once fired, he began to sing with a loud voice, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum." When that was ended, and he began vehemently to burn, he said in the vulgar Bohemian tongue: "O Lord God, Father Almighty! have mercy upon me, and be merciful unto mine offences; for thou knowest how sincerely I have loved thy truth." Then his voice, by the vehemency of the fire, was choked and stopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moved continually his mouth and lips, as though he had still prayed or spoken within himself.

The last words of Jerome.

When in a manner his whole body with his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning upon his body certain great bladders as big as an egg, yet he continually very strongly and stoutly moved, and shaked his head and mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an hour. So burning in the fire, he lived with great pain and martyrdom, while one might easily have gone from St. Clement's over the bridge unto our lady-church: he was of such a stout and strong nature After he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his straw-bed, his boots, his hood, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them all to ashes in the same fire; which ashes, after the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a cart, and cast them into the river Rhine, which ran hard by the city.

The cruelty of his death.

His ashes cast into the river Rhine.

That man who was the true reporter hereof, and who testified unto us the acts and doings about the condemnation of Master Jerome, and sent the same unto us to Prague in writing, doth thus conclude. "All these things," said he, "I did behold, see, and hear to be done in this form and manner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credit him; for all those things which happened unto him when he came toward Constance, and also at his first coming unto Constance, of his own free will, and afterwards when he was brought bound unto Constance, as is aforesaid, I myself did see and perfectly behold; and, for a perpetual memory thereof to be had for ever, I have directed the same unto you, not lying or falsifying any point thereof; as He, who is the searcher of all men's hearts, can bear me

The witness of the writer.

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witness; willing rather to sustain the note of ignorance and rudeness of style, to bear witness unto the truth, than I would by any means be compelled, by tickling or flattering the ears of the hearers with feigned and cloked speech, to swerve or go aside from the truth of this story."

Thus end the tragical histories of Master John Huss, and Master Jerome of Prague, faithfully gathered and collected by a certain Bohemian, being a present witness and beholder of the same; written and compiled first in Latin, and so sent by the said Bohemian into his country of Bohemia, and again translated out of the Latin, with like fidelity, into our English tongue.

In the meantime, while Master Jerome was in this trouble, and before the council, the nobles and lords of Bohemia and of Moravia (but not a little aggrieved thereat) directed their letters unto this barbarous council of popish murderers, in tenor and form of words as followeth.

THE LETTER OF THE FIFTY-FOUR NOBLES OF MORAVIA, WRITTEN UNTO THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE IN DEFENCE OF MASTER JOHN HUSS AND MASTER JEROME OF PRAGUE.

To the right reverend Fathers and Lords in Christ, the Lords Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ambassadors, Doctors and Masters, and to the whole Council of Constance, we the Nobles, Lords, Knights, and Esquires, of the famous Marquisdom of Moravia, wish the desire of all goodness, and the observation of the Commandments of our Lord Jesu Christ.

Forasmuch as every man, both by the law of nature, and also by God's law, is commanded to do that unto another man, which he would have done unto himself, and is forbidden to do that thing unto another, which he would not have done unto himself, as our Saviour saith, "All things whatsoever you will that men should do unto you, the same do you unto them, for this is the law and the prophets" [Matt. vii.]; yea, the law is fulfilled in this one point, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" [Rom. xiii.]: we, therefore (God being our author), having respect as much as in us lieth unto the said law of God, and the love of our neighbour, before did send our letters unto Constance for our dearly beloved friend of good memory, Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, and preacher of the gospel; whom of late, in the council of Constance (we know not with what spirit being led), you have condemned as an obstinate heretic; neither having confessed any thing, neither being lawfully convicted as were expedient; having no errors or heresies declared or laid against him, but only at the sinister, false, and importune accusations, suggestions, and instigations of his mortal enemies, and the traitors of our kingdom and marquisdom of Moravia. And being thus unmercifully condemned, you have slain him with most shameful and cruel death, to the perpetual shame and infamy of our most christian kingdom of Bohemia, and the famous marquisdom of Moravia (as we have written unto Constance, unto the most noble prince and lord, the lord Sigismund, king of Romans

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(when in a manner all other kingdoms of the world have oftentimes wavered, making schisms and antipopes),[1] our most gracious kingdom of Bohemia, and most noble marquisdom of Moravia, since the time they did receive the catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a most perfect quadrant,[2] have always, without reproof, stuck upon the church of Rome, and have sincerely done their true obedience. Also with how great costs and charges, and great travail, with what worship and due reverence, they have reverenced the holy mother the church and her pastors, by their princes and faithful subjects, it is more manifest than the day-light unto the whole world; and yourselves, if you will confess the truth, can witness the same also.

Wherefore, that we, according to the mind of the apostle, may procure honest and good things, not only before God, but before men also; and lest, by neglecting the famous renown of the kingdom and marquisdom, we be found cruel toward our neighbours; having a steadfast hope, a pure and sincere conscience and intent, and a certain true faith in Christ Jesu our Lord, by the tenor of these we signify and declare unto your fatherhoods, and to all faithful Christians; openly professing both with heart and mouth, that whatsoever man, of what estate, pre-eminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion soever he be, who hath said, or affirmed, either doth say or affirm, that in the said kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, heresies have sprung up which have infected us and other faithful Christians, as is aforesaid (the only person of our most noble prince and lord, Sigismund, king of Romans, and of Hungary, &c., our lord and heir successor, being set apart, whom we trust and believe, not to be guilty in the premises), all and every such man, as is aforesaid, doth lie falsely upon his head, as a wicked and naughty traitor and betrayer of the said kingdom and marquisdom, and most traitorous unto us, and most pernicious heretic, the son of all malice and wickedness, yea, and of the devil himself, who is a liar, and the father of all lies. [John viii.]

These noblemen offered their obedience to the pope, no further than was lawful, honest, and agreeable to reason and the law of God. Mark this, and learn, you noblemen.

Notwithstanding we, for this present, committing the aforesaid injuries to God, unto whom vengeance pertaineth, who will also abundantly reward the workers of iniquity [Deut. xxxviii.; Psal. xxx.], will prosecute them more amply before him, whom God shall appoint in the apostolic see, to govern his holy church, as the only and undoubted pastor. Unto whom, God willing, we exhibiting our due reverence and obedience as faithful children, in those things which are lawful, honest, and agreeable to reason and the law of God, will make our request and petition, that speedy remedy may be provided for us, our said kingdom and marquisdom, upon the premises, according to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the institutions of the holy fathers. The premises notwithstanding, we, setting apart all fear and men's ordinances provided to the contrary, will maintain and defend the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the devout, humble and constant preachers thereof, even to the shedding of our blood.

Dated at Sternberg, in the year of our Lord 1415, upon the day of St. Wenceslaus, martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(1) He meaneth the long schism spoken of before, where three popes were striving one against another.

(2) A quadrant, being four square, proverbially signifieth a man that is constant and immutable.

Round about the said letters there were fifty-four seals hanging, and their names subscribed, whose seals they were. The names of which noblemen I thought it good here to annex withal, partly for the more credit of that which hath been said, partly also for example's sake, to the intent that our noblemen and gentlemen in this our realm of England, now living in this clear light of the gospel, may, by their example, understand, that if they join themselves with the gospel of Jesus, zealously, and as they should do, yet are they neither the first nor the most that so have done before them: if not, yet the truth may here remain in the story to their shame, or else to their instruction, seeing so many noble and worthy gentlemen, within the small kingdom of Bohemia, to be so forward in those so dark days, and among so many enemies, two hundred years ago, to take part with Christ; and yet our gentlemen here in such long continuance of time, being so diligently taught, are neither in number nor in zeal to them to be compared, but will still take part, contrary both to Christ, and to the example of these nobles, whose names they may see and read here following: *Henry V.* A.D. 1416.

1. Alssokabat de Wiscowitz.
2. Ulricus de Lhota.
3. Joan. de Ksimicz.
4. Jossko de Sczitowcz.
5. Pærdus Zwiranowicz.
6. Joan. de Ziwla.
7. Joan. de Reychenberg.
8. Wildo Skitzyny.
9. Diliko de Biela.
10. Kos de Doloylatz.
11. Joan. de Simusin.
12. Dobessimus de Tissa.
13. Drazko de Hradeck.
14. Steph. de Hmodorkat.
15. Joan. Dern de Gabonecx.
16. Barso dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.
17. Joan. Hmrsdorfar.
18. Psateska de Wilklek.
19. Petrus Mog. de Sczitowicy.
20. N. Studenica.
21. N. Brischell.
22. N. de Cromassona.
23. Arannisic Donant de Polonia.
24. Joan. Donant de Polonia.
25. Joan. de Cziczow.
26. Wenceslaus de N.
27. N.deN.deest sigillum.
28. N. N.
29. Josseck de N.
30. Henricus de N.
31. Waczlas de kuck.
32. Henr. de Zrenowicz.
33. Baczko de Convald.
34. Petr. dictus Nienick de Zaltoroldeck.
35. Czenko de Mossnow.
36. N.
37. Zibilutz de Clezam.
38. Joannes de Paterswald.
39. Parsifal de Namyescz.
40. Zodoni de Zwietzick.
41. Raczeck Zawskalp.
42. Jon de Tossawicz.
43. Diwa de Spissnia.
44. Steffko de Draczdw.
45. Issko de Draczdw.
46. Odich de Hlud.
47. Wosfart de Paulowicz.
48. Pirebbor de Tyrezenicz.
49. Rynard de Tyrczewicz.
50. Bohunko de Wratisdow.
51. Ulricus de Racdraw.
52. Deslaw de Nali.
53. Bonesb de Frabrenicz.
54. Eybl de Roissowan.

After these things thus declared and discoursed, concerning the history of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the order of place and country next would require, consequently to infer and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations which happened after, and upon the death of these men, in the country of Bohemia; but the order of time calleth me back, first to other matters here of our own country, which passed in the mean time with us in England. Which things being taken by the way and finished, we will (Christ willing) afterwards return to the tractation hereof, to prosecute the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things beside, pertaining to

(1) This nobleman did accompany John Huss, and, with certain horsemen, conduct him to Constance.

Henry V.

the latter end of the council of Constance, and to the choosing of Pope Martin, as the order of years and time shall require.

A. D. 1416.

* But first[1] I will declare a certain vision, which the said John Huss had in his country of Bohemia, before his martyrdom. He, being the minister in the church of Bethlehem, had a vision by night, that he had painted, in the said church of Bethlehem, certain pictures of Christ and his apostles; which pictures the bishop of Rome, with certain cardinals, came and defaced: which being done, within a while after, it seemed unto him that other painters came in place, renewing and repairing the said pictures, which he had painted before, of Christ and his apostles, and much more fair than he had done before. The number of which painters was so great that they gloried against the pope and all the cardinals, bidding them now to come and put them out if they could: which thing, with all their power, they were not able to do.

This vision John Huss himself, in his book of epistles, expoundeth; and applieth these pictures of Christ and his apostles, unto the preaching of Christ and his apostles. Which preaching and doctrine, though the pope and his cardinals should extinguish in *him*, yet did he foresee and declare that the time should come that the same doctrine should be renewed again by other preachers, so plenteously, that the pope, with all his power, should not be able to prevail against it.

Thus much as concerning the vision of John Huss, whereunto doth well accord the prophecy of the same Huss[2] a little before his death, and printed on the coin, there, in Bohemia, called 'Moneta Hussiana,' having this subscription, CENTUM REVOLUTIS ANNIS DEO RESPONDEBITIS ET MIHI; ANNO 1415. That is, "One hundred years come and gone, you shall give account to God and me. Anno 1415;" for the exposition of this prophecy, if we count from this year of John Huss, which is 1415, unto the year of our Lord, 1516, in which year Martin Luther first began to write against the pope, we shall find the number of a hundred years fully complete.*

Vide supra. Henry Chichesley archbishop of Canterbury. *See Appendix.*

Ye heard before, how, after the death of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Henry Chichesley, A. D. 1414, and sat twenty-nine years; in whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England; of whom many were compelled to abjure, some were burned, divers were driven to exile. Whereof, partly now to treat as we find them in registers and histories recorded, we will first begin with John Claydon, currier, of London, and Richard Turming; whom Robert Fabian doth falsely affirm to be burned in the year wherein sir Roger Acton and Master Brown suffered; who indeed suffered not before the second year of Henry Chichesley being archbishop of Canterbury, which was A. D. 1415.[3] The history of which John Claydon, in the registers, is thus declared.

(1) See edition 1563, p. 250; and the Latin edition of 1559, p. 67, where the story is less fully related.—ED.
(2) See page 508, where the prophecy is attributed to Jerome.—ED.
(3) See page 404.—ED.

The History of John Claydon, Currier, and of Richard Turming, Baker.[1]

Henry V. — A. D. 1415 to 1416.

The seventeenth of August one thousand four hundred and fifteen, did personally appear John Claydon, currier of London (arrested by the mayor of the said city for the suspicion of heresy), before Henry archbishop of Canterbury, in St. Paul's Church; which John (it being objected to him by the archbishop, that in the city of London, and other places of the province of Canterbury, he was suspected by divers godly and learned men for heresy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church) did openly confess, and denied not, but that he had been for the space of twenty years suspected both about the city of London, and also in the province of Canterbury, and especially of the common sort, for Lollardy and heresy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church of Rome, and defamed of the same all the time aforesaid: insomuch, that in the time of Master Robert Braybrook, bishop of London deceased, he was, for the space of two years, commanded to the prison of Conway for the aforesaid defamation and suspicion, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the Fleet for three years; out of which prison he (in the reign of king Henry IV.) was brought before the lord John Searle, then chancellor to the king, and there did abjure all heresy and error. And the said John Claydon, being asked of the said archbishop whether he did abjure the heresy of which he was suspected before any other, did confess, that in a convocation at London in Paul's Church before Thomas Arundel, late archbishop deceased, he did abjure all such doctrine, which they called heresy and error, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church; and that he had not only left such articles and opinions, wherein he was defamed, but also did abstain from all company that were suspected of such opinions, so that he should neither give aid, help, counsel, nor favour unto them.

John Claydon examined

Claydon first imprisoned by Robert Braybrook, bishop of London.

Claydon had before abjured.

And moreover, the said John was asked by the said archbishop, whether he ever had in his house, since his abjuration, in his keeping, any books written in English. Whereunto he confessed, that he would not deny, but that he had in his house, and in his keeping, many English books; for he was arrested by the mayor of the city of London for such books as he had, which books (as he thought) were in the mayor's keeping. Upon which the mayor did openly confess, that he had such books in his keeping, which in his judgment were the worst, and the most perverse, that ever he did read or see; and one book that was well bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand: and among the other books found with the said John Claydon, the mayor gave up the said book before the archbishop. Whereupon the said John Claydon, being asked of the archbishop if he knew that book, did openly confess that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written at his own costs and charges; for he spent much money thereupon since his abjuration. Then was he asked who wrote it? He did answer: "One called John Grime."

English books

The judgment of the mayor of London.

Claydon had bestowed much money upon English books.

(1) Ex Regist. Cant. [See the Appendix.]

Henry V. A.D. 1415 to 1416.

And further, being required what the said John Grime was, he answered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the same book, he did confess, that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read by one John Fullar. And being asked, whether he thought the contents of that book to be catholic, profitable, good, and true, he answered, that many things which he had heard in the same book, were both profitable, good, and healthful to his soul; and as he said, he had great affection to the said book, for a sermon preached at Horsleydown, that was written in the said book. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said abjuration, he did commune with one Richard, a baker, of the city aforesaid, he did answer, yea; for the said Richard the baker did come often unto his house to have communication with him. And being asked whether he knew the said Richard to be suspected, and defamed of heresy, he did answer again, that he knew well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed of many men and women in the city of London, as one whom they thought to be a heretic.[1]

Claydon could not read.

Richard Turming, baker.

Which confession being made, he did cause the said books to be delivered to Master Robert Gilbert, doctor of divinity, to William Lindewood, doctor of both laws, and other clerks, to be examined; and in the mean time, David Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthasar Mero, were taken for witnesses against him, and were committed to be examined to Master John Escourt, general examiner of Canterbury. This done, the archbishop continued his session till Monday next in the same place. Which Monday being come, which was the nineteenth of the said month, the said Master Escourt openly and publicly exhibited the witnesses, being openly read before the archbishop, and other bishops; which being read, then, after that, were read divers tractations, found in the house of the said John Claydon; out of the which being examined, divers points were gathered and noted for heresies and errors, and especially out of the book aforesaid, which book the said John Claydon confessed by his own costs to be written and bound, which book was intituled, 'The Lanthorn of Light;' in which, and in the other examined, were these articles underwritten contained:

William Lindewood, doctor of both laws. See Appendix.

Articles contained in an English Book, entitled, 'The Lanthorn of Light.'

I. First, Upon the text of the gospel, how the enemy did sow the tares, there is said thus: That wicked Antichrist, the pope, hath sowed among the laws of Christ his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authority, strength, or value.

II. That the archbishops and bishops, speaking indifferently, are the seats of the beast Antichrist, when he sitteth in them, and reigneth above other people in the dark caves of errors and heresies.

III. That the bishops' license, for a man to preach the word of God, is the true character of the beast, i. e. Antichrist; and therefore simple and faithful priests may preach when they will, against the prohibition of that Antichrist, and without license.

The head and tail of Antichrist.

IV. That the court of Rome is the chief head of Antichrist, and the bishops be the body; and the new sects (that is, the monks, canons and friars), brought

(1) This Turming, belike, was then in prison.

in not by Christ, but damnably by the pope, be the venomous and pestiferous tail of Antichrist.

V. That no reprobate is a member of the church, but only such as be elected and predestinated to salvation;[1] seeing the church is no other thing but the congregation of faithful souls, who do, and will, keep their faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

VI. That Christ did never plant private religions in the church, but, while he lived in this world, he did root them out. By which it appeareth that private religions be unprofitable branches in the church, and to be rooted out.

VII. That the material churches should not be decked with gold, silver, and precious stones sumptuously; but the followers of the humility of Jesus Christ ought to worship their Lord God humbly, in mean and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the churches be now-a-days.

VIII. That there be two chief causes of the persecution of the Christians: one is, the priests' unlawful keeping of temporal and superfluous goods; the other is, the unsatiable begging of the friars, with their high buildings. Two causes of persecution.

IX. That alms be given neither virtuously nor lawfully, except it be given with these four conditions: first, unless it be given to the honour of God: secondly, unless it be given of goods justly gotten: thirdly, unless it be given to such a person as the giver thereof knoweth to be in charity; and fourthly, unless it be given to such as have need, and do not dissemble. Four conditions in giving alms.

X. That the often singing in the church is not founded on the Scripture, and therefore it is not lawful for priests to occupy themselves with singing in the church, but with the study of the law of Christ, and preaching his word.

XI. That Judas did receive the body of Christ in bread, and his blood in wine; in which it doth plainly appear, that after consecration of bread and wine made, the same bread and wine that was before, doth truly remain on the altar. That bread remaineth in the sacrament.

XII. That all ecclesiastical suffrages do profit all virtuous and godly persons indifferently.

XIII. That the pope's and the bishops' indulgences be unprofitable, neither can they profit them to whom they be given by any means.

XIV. That the laity is not bound to obey the prelates, whatsoever they command, unless the prelates do watch to give God a just account of the souls of them.

XV. That images are not to be sought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawful for Christians to bow their knees to them, neither to kiss them, nor to give them any manner of reverence.

For the above articles, the archbishop with other bishops, and divers learned men communing together, first condemned the books as heretical, and burned them in fire; and then, because they thought the said John Claydon to be forsworn and fallen into heresy, the archbishop did proceed to his definitive sentence against the said John, personally appearing before him in judgment (his confessions being read and deposed against him) after this manner: The books of Claydon burned.

In the name of God, amen. We, Henry, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause of heretical pravity, and of relapse into the same; whereupon John Claydon, layman, of the province of Canterbury, was detected, accused and denounced, and in the said our province of Canterbury publicly defamed (as by public fame and common report notoriously to us hath been known), first, sitting in judgment-seat, and observing all things lawfully required in this behalf, do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitive in form as followeth. The name of Christ being invocated and only set before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, producted, exhibited, and confessed before us, also by divers signs and evidences, we have found the said John Claydon to have been, and to be, publicly and notoriously relapsed again into his former heresy, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and The sentence and condemnation of Claydon.

(1) This is true, speaking of the invisible church.

Henry V. A.D. 1415 to 1416.

deserts of the said cause, being of us diligently searched, weighed, and pondered before, to the intent that the said John Claydon shall not infect others with his scab: by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren Richard, bishop of London, John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Stephen, bishop of St. David's, and of other doctors, as well of divinity as of both laws, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce, and declare the said John Claydon to be relapsed again into his heresy which he before did abjure; finally and definitively appointing him to be left unto the secular judgment, and so do leave him, by these presents.

Claydon committed to the secular power.

Thus John Claydon, receiving his judgment and condemnation of the archbishop, was committed to the secular power, and by them unjustly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporal magistrates had no such law sufficient for them to burn any such man for religion condemned of the prelates, as is above sufficiently proved and declared. But to be short, 'quo jure, quaqua injuria,' John Claydon notwithstanding, by the temporal magistrates not long after, was had to Smithfield, where meekly he was made a burnt offering unto the Lord, A.D. 1415.

The law 'de comburendo' insufficient.

The death and martyrdom of Claydon.

Robert Fabian, and other chronologers who follow him, add also, that Richard Turming, baker, of whom mention is made before in the examination of John Claydon, was likewise the same time burned with him in Smithfield. Albeit in the Register I find no sentence of condemnation given against the said Turming, neither yet in the Story of St. Alban's is there any such mention of his burning made, but only of the burning of John Claydon aforesaid: wherefore the judgment hereof I leave free to the reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the said Turming this is certain, that he was accused to the bishops, and no doubt was in their hands and bands. What afterwards was done with him, I refer it unto the authors.

Claydon, Turming, both martyrs according to Fabian.

A.D. 1416.

The next year after the burning of these two aforesaid, and also of John Huss, being burnt at Constance, which was A.D. 1416, the prelates of England seeing the daily increase of the gospel, and fearing the ruin of their papal kingdom, were busily occupied, with all their counsel and diligence, to maintain the same. Wherefore, to make their state and kingdom sure, by statutes, laws, constitutions, and terror of punishment, as Thomas Arundel and other prelates had done before, so the before-named Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, in his convocation holden at London, maketh another constitution (as though there had not enough been made before) against the poor Lollards; the copy and tenor whereof he sendeth abroad to the bishop of London, and to other his suffragans, by them to be put in strait execution, containing in words as followeth.

Proclamation of Archbishop Chichesley, against the Lollards.[1]

Henry, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the chief seat; to our reverend brother in the Lord, Richard, by the grace of God, bishop of London, health and brotherly love, with continual increase. Lately, in our last convocation in St. Paul's Church, in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergy of our province, we do remember to have made this order under written, by your consents: 'Whereas, among many other our cares, this ought to be chief, that by some means we may take those heretics, who, like foxes, lurk and hide themselves in the Lord's

(1) Ex Regist. Chichesley, fol. 217.

vineyard; and that the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our feet,[1] and from the feet of our fellow-brethren; in this the said convocation of the prelates and clergy, we have ordained, that our fellow-brethren, our suffragans and archdeacons of our province of Canterbury, by themselves, their officials or commissaries in their jurisdictions, and every of their charges in their country, twice every year at the least, do diligently inquire of such persons as are suspected of heresy; and that in every such their archdeaconries, in every parish wherein it is reported that any heretics do inhabit, they cause three or more of the honestest men, and best reported of, to take their oath upon the holy Evangelists, that if they shall know or understand any frequenting, either in privy conventicles, or else differing in life or manners,[2] from the common conversation of other catholic men, or else that hold any either heresies or errors, or else that have any suspected books in the English tongue, or that do receive any such persons suspected of heresies and errors into their houses, or that be favourers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conversant with them, or else have any recourse unto them; they make certificates of those persons in writing, with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspected, unto the said our suffragans or archdeacons, or to their commissaries, so soon and with as much speed as possibly they can; and that the said archdeacon, and every of their commissaries aforesaid, do declare the names of all such persons denounced, together with all the circumstances of them, the dioceses and places, and secretly under their seals do send over unto us the same: and that the same diocesans effectually direct forth lawful process against them, as the quality of the cause requireth; and that with all diligence they discern, define, and execute the same.

Twice every year to inquire for Lollards.

Against privy conventicles.

Against English books.

'And if perhaps they leave not such persons convict unto the secular court, yet notwithstanding, let them commit them unto the perpetual or temporal prisons, as the quality of the cause shall require, until the next convocation of the prelates and clergy of our province of Canterbury, there personally to remain: and that in the same prisons they cause them to be kept according as the law requireth: and that of all and singular the things aforesaid, that is, what inquisition they have made, and what they have found, and how in the process they have behaved themselves, and what persons so convicted they have caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the commissaries aforesaid, with all and all manner of other circumstances premised, and thereunto in any wise appertaining; and especially of the abjurations (if in the mean time they shall chance to abjure any heresies), that then, in the next convocation of the prelates and clergy under the form aforesaid, they cause the same distinctly and apertly to be certified to us and our successors; and that they deliver effectually to the official of our court, the same process to remain with them, or else in the register of our court of Canterbury; so that every one to whom such things appertain, for the further execution of the same process, may have recourse unto the same official with all effect.'

We therefore command, that as touching the constitution brought unto your city and diocese, you cause the same in convenient place and time to be published; and that in all points you both observe the same yourselves, and cause it also of others to be diligently observed: commanding furthermore, all and singular our fellow-brethren and suffragans, that they, in like wise, cause the same to be published throughout all their cities and dioceses, and both diligently observe the same themselves, and also cause all others to do the same; and, what thing soever you shall do in the premises, that you certify us betwixt this and the feast of St. Peter ad vincula, next coming, that you duly certify us of these things, by your letters-patent, containing the same effect, sealed with your seals.

Dated at our house in London, the first day of July, Anno 1416.

THE TROUBLE OF JOHN BARTON AND ROBERT CHAPEL, FOR RELIGION.

During the time of this convocation in the year above-said, two priests were presented and brought before the bishops, noted and

(1) You should be better occupied to shake off the dust from your dusty pulpits
(2) To differ from the common sort in life and manners, against the pope's law.

Henry V. A.D. 1416.

defamed for heretics; one named John Barton, unto whom it was objected by Philip, bishop of Lincoln, that he had been excommunicated about six or seven years before, upon articles concerning religion; and yet neither would appear, being cited, nor would seek to be reconciled again to the church. Which things being so proved against him, he was committed to the custody of the aforesaid Philip,[1] bishop of Lincoln, and so to be holden in prison, till he should hear further what should be done.

See Appendix.

The other was Robert Chapel, otherwise named Holbech, chaplain some time to the lord Cobham; unto whom likewise it was objected, that he, being under the sentence of excommunication about three or four years, yet notwithstanding, to the contempt of the keys, did continue saying mass, and preaching, and sought not to be reconciled; Chapel denying that he did know any such excommunication given out against him. Then was the copy of his excommunication, first made by the bishop of Rochester, afterwards denounced by the bishop of London at Paul's Cross, brought and read before him; and so that done, that session broke up for that time, which was about the latter end of May, A.D. 1416.

Chapel abjureth.

The twelfth day of the month of July next following, the said Chapel appeared again before the archbishop and the prelates. To whom when it was objected as before, how he had preached without the bishop's license in divers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne; at length, he, confessing and submitting himself, desired pardon. Which although it was not at the first granted unto him, yet at the last the bishop of Rochester, putting in his hands the decree of the canon law,[2] and causing him to read the same, made him to abjure all his former articles and opinions as heretical and schismatical, never to hold the same again, according to the contents of the aforesaid canon. Whereupon the said Robert, being absolved by the authority of the archbishop (save only that he should not intermeddle with saying mass, before he had been dispensed from the pope himself, for irregularity), was enjoined by the archbishop himself for his penance, standing at Paul's, to publish these articles following unto the people, instead of his confession given him to be read.

Articles obtruded upon Chapel to confess.

Imprimis, I confess that bishops, priests, and other ecclesiastical persons, having no other profession to the contrary, may lawfully have, receive, and retain lands and possessions temporal, to dispense and dispose the same and the rents thereof, to the behoof of themselves, or of their church where they dwell, according as seemeth good to them.

II. Item, I confess, that it were very unlawful, yea rather unjust, that temporal men upon any occasion, whatsoever it be, should take away temporal lands and possessions from the church, either universal or particular, to which they are given; the consideration of the abuse of mortal prelates, priests, or other ministers in the church conversant (who are mixt together good with bad), abusing the same, to the contrary notwithstanding.

III. Item, I confess, that peregrinations to the relics of saints, and to holy places, are not prohibited, nor to be contemned of any catholic; but are avail-

(1) This Philip seemeth to be Philip Repington before mentioned, in the story of Wickliff.
(2) 1 q. 7 cap 'Quoties,' &c.

able to remission of sins,[1] and approved by holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

IV. Item, I confess, that to worship the images of Christ or of any other saints, being set up in the church, or in any other place, is not forbidden; neither is it any cause inductive of idolatry, being so used as the holy fathers do will them to be worshipped;[2] but rather such images do profit much to the health of Christians, because they do put us in remembrance of the merits of those saints whom they represent, and the sight of them doth move and stir up the people to prayers and devotion.

V. Item, I confess, that auricular confession used in the church is necessary for a sinner to the salvation of his soul, and necessary to be done by such a priest as is ordained by the church to hear the confession of the sinner, and to enjoin him penance for the same;[3] without which confession (if it may be had), there is no remission of sins to him that is in sin mortal.

VI. Item, I confess and firmly do hold, that although the priest be in mortal sin, yet may he make the body of Christ, and minister other sacraments and sacramentals; which nevertheless are profitable to all the faithful, whosoever receive them in faith and devotion of the church.[4]

VII. Item, I confess, that bishops in their own dioceses may forbid, decree, and ordain, upon reasonable causes, that priests should not preach, without their special license, the word of God; and that those that do against the same, should suffer the ecclesiastical censures.

VIII. Item, I confess, that private religions, as well of monks, canons and others, as also of the begging friars, being allowed by the church of Rome, are profitable to the universal church, and in no means contrary to God's law, but rather are founded and authorized thereon.

Private religions profitable, if ye could tell wherefore.

IX. Item, I promise and swear upon these holy Evangelists, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth never hold, affirm, or, by any means, teach any thing contrary unto the premises either openly or privately.

After the setting out of the constitution aforesaid, in the days of the abovenamed Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, great inquisition hereupon followed in England, and many good men, whose hearts began to be won to the gospel, were brought to much vexation, and caused outwardly to abjure.

Great inquisition in England

Thus, while Christ had the inward hearts of men, yet the catholic Antichrist would needs possess their outward bodies, and make them sing after his song. In the number of whom, being compelled to abjure, besides the others aforesaid, was also John Taylor, of the parish of St. Michael's at Quern; William James, master of arts and physician, who had long remained in prison, and at length, after abjuration, was licensed with his keeper, to practise his physic.

Christ had the hearts of men, they had their bodies.

Notice of some who abjured.

Also John Dwarf, so named for his low stature, who was sent by the duke of Bedford to the aforesaid Chichesley and other bishops, to be examined before them in the convocation: there he, at length revolting from his doctrine, recanted and did penance.

John Dwarf.

In like manner John Jourdelay of Lincolnshire, well commended in the registers for his learning, accused by the priests of Lincoln for a certain book which he, contrary to the former decree of the bishops, did conceal, and did not exhibit unto them, was therefore enforced to abjure; after whom was brought likewise before the bishops, one Katharine Dertford, a spinster, who being accused and examined upon these three articles concerning the sacrament of the pope's altar, adoration of images, and pilgrimage, answered, that she was not able,

John Jourdelay abjureth. See Appendix.

(1) Mark well this catholic doctrine of the pope's church, concerning remission of sins!
(2) Mark how this doctrine joineth with God's commandment and with his word!
(3) Ergo, by this doctrine the just man liveth not by his faith, but by his confession auricular.
(4) How can these priests be servants of Christ, who be makers of Christ?

Henry V. A.D. 1416.

being unlearned, to answer to such high matters, neither had she any further skill, but only her Creed and Ten Commandments: and so was she committed to the vicar-general of the bishop of Winchester (for that she was of the same diocese), to be kept, and further to be examined of the same.[1]

Robert, the parson of Heggeley, examined.

At the same sitting was also brought before the said archbishop and his fellow bishops, by the lieutenant of the Tower, the parson of Heggeley in Lincolnshire, named Master Robert, who, being long kept in the Tower, at length, by the king's writ, was brought and examined the same time upon the like articles: to wit, touching the sacrament of their altar, peregrination, adoration of images, and whether it was lawful for spiritual men to enjoy temporal lordships, &c. To which articles he answered (saith the register) doubly and mockingly, save only in the sacrament he seemed something more conformable; albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Wherefore, being committed to the custody and examination of Richard, bishop of Lincoln, in the end he was also induced to submit himself.

See Appendix.

William Hervey of Tenterden examined.

The same, likewise, did William Hervey of Tenterden, being suspected and arrested for company-keeping with those whom the bishops called Lollards, and for having suspected books.

Book of the new Law. Several persons troubled for their doctrine.

Besides these, divers others there were also, who, in the same convocation were convented, and revoked their opinions, as John Galle, a priest of London, for having a book in English, entituled, 'A Book of the new Law.' Item, Richard Monk, vicar of Chesham in Lincolnshire, who submitted himself likewise. In this race and number followed moreover, Bartholomew Cornmonger, Nicholas Hooper, servant to the lord Cobham, Thomas Granter, with others more, mentioned in the aforesaid register.

See Appendix.

Among the rest who were at this time troubled for their faith, was one Radulph Mungin, priest, who, for the same doctrine, was arrested and sent by the lord chancellor of England to the aforesaid archbishop, and by him committed to David Price, vicar-general to the bishop of London: where, after he had endured four months in prison, he was by the said David presented to the convocation, against whom divers articles were objected.

A subsidy gathered by the pope to fight against the faithful of Bohemia.

But, for the better explaining of the matter, first here is to be noted, that during the time of this convocation provincial, pope Martin had sent down to the clergy of England for a subsidy to be gathered of the church, to maintain the pope's war against the Lollards (so the papists did term them) of Bohemia. Also another subsidy was demanded to persecute one Peter Clerk, master of arts of Oxford, who, flying out of England, was at the council of Basil, disputing on the Bohemians' side. And thirdly, another subsidy was also required to persecute William Russel, warden of the grey friars in London, who the same time was fled from England to Rome, to maintain his opinion before the pope, and who there escaped out of prison, &c. of whom more largely hereafter (Christ willing) we shall entreat. In the mean time mark here the pretty shifts of the pope to hook in the English money, by all manner of pretences possible.

Romish sleights to get English money.

Thus Ralph Mungin, the aforesaid examinate, appearing before the bishops in the convocation, it was articulated against him, first that he

(1) Ex Regist. H. Chichesley

should affirm and hold, that it was not lawful for any Christian to fight and make war against the heretics of Bohemia. *Henry V.*

A.D. 1416.

Item, It was to him objected, that he did hold and say, that it was not lawful for any man to have propriety of goods, but the same to be common; which he expressly denied that ever he so said or affirmed. Whereby we have to observe, how the crafty malice of these adversaries useth falsely to collect and surmise of men, what they never spake, whereby to oppress them wrongfully, whom by plain truth they cannot expugn. Articles objected against Ralph Mungin.

Moreover, they objected against him, that he should keep company with Master Clerk aforesaid, and also that he dispersed in the city of London certain books of John Wickliff and of Peter Clerk, namely, the book 'Trialogus,' and the gospels of John Wickliff, &c. He was charged, moreover, to have spoken against the pope's indulgences, affirming that the pope had no more power to give indulgences than he had. *See Appendix.* Trialogus. The gospels translated by Wickliff.

Upon these and other such articles objected, the said Mungin, being asked if he would revoke, answered, that it seemed to him not just or meet so to do, who did not know himself guilty of any heresy. Thus he being respited for that time, was committed to prison till the next sitting; who, then, being called divers and sundry times afterwards before the bishops, after long inquisition and strait examination made, also depositions brought in against him so much as they could search out, he, notwithstanding, still denied, as before, to recant. Wherefore the aforesaid Henry, the archbishop, proceeding to his sentence definitive, condemned him to perpetual prison. Ralph Mungin condemned to perpetual prison.

After whose condemnation, the Sunday next following, the recantations of Thomas Granter, and of Richard Monk, priests abovementioned, were openly read at Paul's Cross; the bishop of Rochester the same time preached at the said cross. The tenor of whose recantation, with his articles in the same expressed, hereunder followeth: Thomas Granter Richard Monk.

Recantation of Thomas Granter.

In the name of God. Before you my lord of Canterbury, and all you my lords here being present, and before you all here gathered at this time, I Thomas Granter, priest unworthy, dwelling in this city of London, feeling and understanding that afore this time I affirmed open errors and heresies, saying, believing, and affirming, within this city, that he that christian men call pope, is not very pope, nor God's vicary on earth, but I said he was Antichrist.[1] Also I said, believed, and affirmed, that after the sacramental words said by a priest in the mass, there remain material bread and wine, and are not turned into Christ's body and his blood. Also I said and affirmed, that it was not to do, in anywise, to go on pilgrimage, but it was better, I said, to abide at home, and beat the stools with their heels; for it was, I said, but tree and stone that they sought. Also I said and affirmed, that I held no Scripture, catholic, or holy, but only what is contained in the Bible. For the legends and lives of saints, I held them nought, and the miracles written of them I held untrue. Because of which errors and heresies I was before Mr. Davie Price, vicar-general of my lord of London, and since, before you my lord of Canterbury and your brethren in your council provincial, and by you fully informed, who so said, that mine affirming, believing, and teaching, had been of open errors and heresies, and contrary to the determination of the church of Rome. Wherefore I, willing to follow and sow the doctrine of holy church, and depart from all manner of

(1) Note the doctrine and opinions in those days, where the gospel took place.

Henry V. A.D. 1416.

errors and heresies, and turn with good will and heart to the one head of the church,[1] considering that holy church shutteth not nor closeth her bosom to him that will turn again, and that God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be turned and live: with a pure heart I confess, detest, and despise my said errors and heresies; and the said opinions I confess, as heresies and errors to the faith of the church of Rome, and to all universally holy church repugnant. And therefore these said opinions in special, and all other errors and heresies, doctrines and opinions, against the faith of the church, and the determinations of the church of Rome, I abjure and forswear here before you all, and swear by these holy gospels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, nor preach error or errors, heresy, or heresies, or false doctrine against the faith of holy church, and determination of the church of Rome, nor any such thing I shall obstinately defend, nor any man holding or teaching such manner of things by me or another person, openly or privily I shall defend. I shall never after this time be receiver, fautor, counsellor, or defender of heretics, or of any person suspect of heresy, nor shall I trow to him, nor wittingly fellowship with him, nor give him counsel, favour, gifts, or comfort. And if I know any heretics, or of heresy, or of such false opinions any person suspected, or any man or woman making or holding privy conventicles, or assemblies, or any divers or singular opinions from the common doctrine of the church of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, counsellors or defensers, or any that have suspect books or quiers of such errors and heresies; I shall let you, my lord of Canterbury, or your officers in your absence, or the diocesans and ordinaries of such men, have soon and ready knowing: so help me God and holydeme, and these holy Evangelists by me bodily touched.

Men tied to the church of Rome.

After this recantation at the Cross thus published, and his submission made, the said Granter then was, by the advice of the prelates, put to seven years' imprisonment, under the custody and charge of the bishop of London.

See Appendix.

After this followed in like manner the recantation of Richard Monk: also of Edmund Frith, who was, before, butler to sir John Oldcastle.

The affliction and trouble in Kent, under Chichesley.

Besides these above remembered, many and divers there be in the said register recorded, who likewise, for their faith and religion, were greatly vexed and troubled, especially in the diocese of Kent, in the towns of Romney, Tenterden, Woodchurch, Cranbrook, Staphelherst, Beninden, Halden, Rolvenyden, and others; where whole households, both man and wife, were driven to forsake their houses and towns for danger of persecution; as sufficiently appeareth in the process of the archbishop Chichesley against the said persons, and in the certificate of Burbath, his official, wherein are named the following sixteen persons:

Persons persecuted in Kent.

W. White, priest,	William Everden,	William Somer,
Tho. Grenested, priest,	Stephen Robin,	Marion, his wife,
Bartho. Cornmonger,	W. Chiveling,	John Abraham,
John Wadnon,	John Tame,	Robert Munden,
Joan, his wife,	John Fowlin,	Laurence Coke.
Tho. Everden,		

These being cited up together by the bishop, would not appear. whereupon great inquisition being made for them by his officers, they were constrained to fly their houses and towns, and shift for themselves as covertly as they might. When Burbath and other officers had sent to the archbishop, that they could not be found,

(1) One head, that is, the unity of the church.

then he directed down an order that citations should be set up for them on every church door, through all towns where they did inhabit, appointing them a day and term when to appear. But notwithstanding, when they yet could not be taken, neither would appear, the archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, proceeded to the sentence of excommunication against them. What afterwards happened to them, in the register doth not appear; but, like it is, at length they were forced to submit themselves.

Henry V. A.D. 1417.

THE SECOND APPREHENSION OF THE LORD COBHAM.

Concerning sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, and of his first apprehension, with his whole story and life, sufficiently hath been expressed before, how he, being committed to the Tower, and condemned falsely of heresy, escaped afterwards out of the Tower, and was in Wales about the space of four years. In the mean time, a great sum of money was proclaimed by the king, to him that could take the said sir John Oldcastle, either quick or dead: *who[1] confederated with the lord Powis (who was at that time a great governor in Wales), feeding him with lordly gifts and promises, to accomplish their desire.*

The lord Powis playeth Judas.

About the end of which four years being expired, the lord Powis, whether for love and greediness of the money, or whether for hatred of the true and sincere doctrine of Christ, seeking all manner of ways how to play the part of Judas, and outwardly pretending him great amity and favour, at length obtained his bloody purpose, *and most cowardly and wretchedly took him,* and in conclusion brought the lord Cobham bound up to London; which was about the year of our Lord 1417, and about the month of December; at which time there was a parliament assembled in London, for the relief of money the same time to be sent to the king, whom the bishops had sent out (as ye heard before) to fight in France. The records of which parliament do thus say: That on Tuesday the fourteenth day of December, and the nine and twentieth day of the said parliament, sir John Oldcastle, of Cowling in the county of Kent, knight, being outlawed (as is afore minded) in the King's Bench, and excommunicated before by the archbishop of Canterbury for heresy, was brought before the lords; and having heard his said convictions, answered not thereto in his excuse. Upon which record and process it was adjudged, that he should be taken as a traitor to the king and the realm; that he should be carried to the Tower of London, and from thence drawn through London, unto the new gallows in St. Giles without Temple-Bar, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.

*[2]Thus, after long process, they condemned him again of heresy

(1) For these, and other words following in asterisks, see Edition 1563, p. 276.—Ed.

(2) This interesting narration of the execution of the lord Cobham is from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, page 276. The particulars here recorded are briefly repeated at page 281 of that edition, with the following variation: "In this manner, he, having finished the course of his life, commending his soul unto God, and praying for the salvation of his enemies, after he had exhorted the people to the study of the pure and sincere faith and religion, he slept in the Lord, An. 1418." In the year 1544, John Bale, afterwards bishop of Ossory, published a full account of the life and martyrdom of lord Cobham, under the following title; "A brefe Chronycle concernynge the Examinacyon and Death of the blessed Martyr of Christ, Sir Johan Oldecastele the Lorde Cobham." See also Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii.—The Registers of Archbishop Arundel at Lambeth.—Harleian MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 420, art. 69; and 421, art. 132, &c.—Ed.

Henry V. and treason, by force of the aforenamed act;[1] he rendering thanks unto God, that he had so appointed him to suffer for his name's sake.

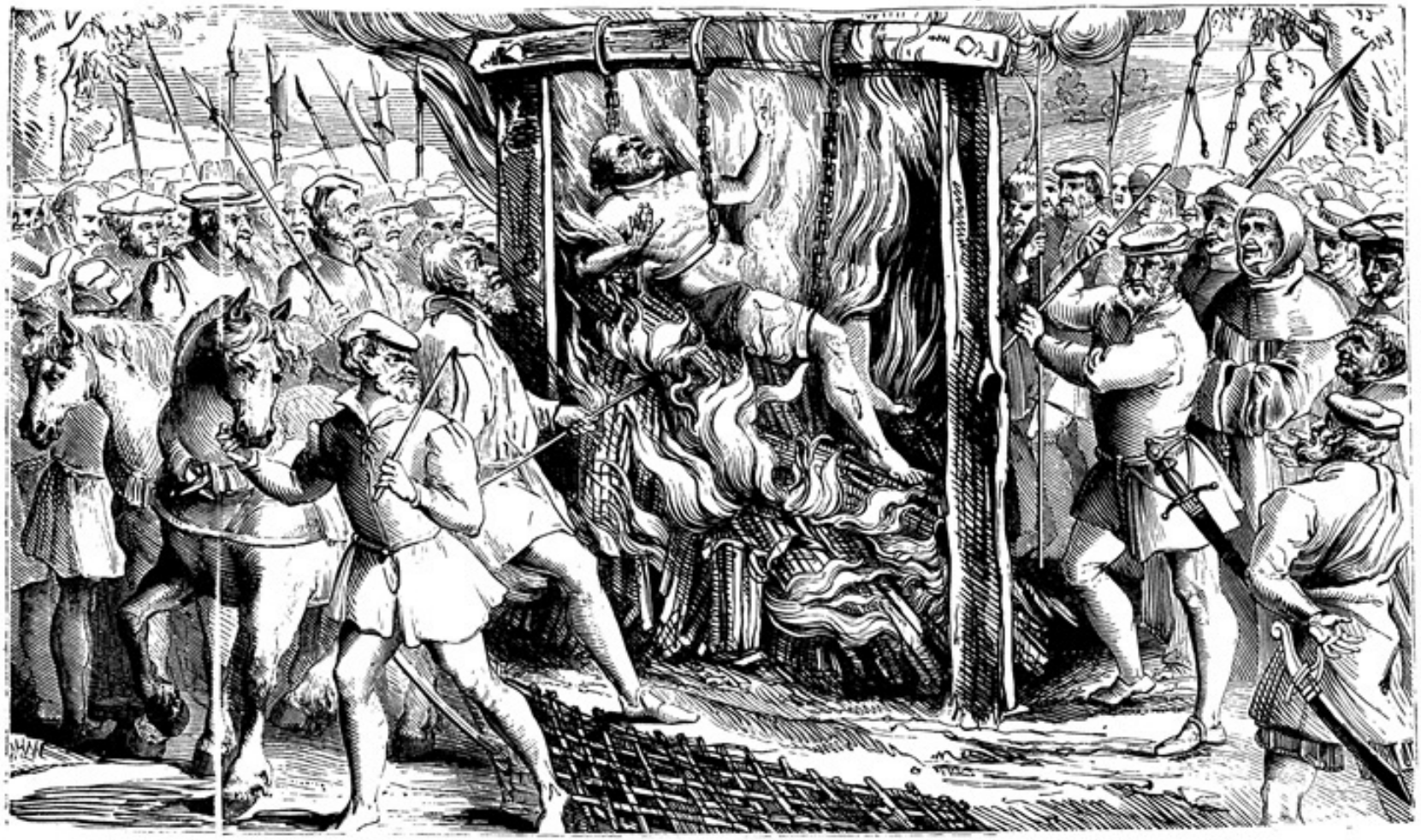
A. D. 1418. And, upon the day appointed, he was brought out of the tower with his arms bound behind him, having a very cheerful countenance. Then was he laid upon a hurdle, as though he had been a most heinous traitor to the crown, and so drawn forth into St. Giles's field, where they had set up a new pair of gallows. As he was comen to the place of execution, and was taken from the hurdle, he fell down devoutly upon his knees, desiring Almighty God to forgive his enemies. Then stood he up and beheld the multitude, exhorting them in most godly manner to follow the laws of God written in the Scriptures, and in any wise to beware of such teachers as they see contrary to Christ in their conversation and living; with many other special counsels. Then was he hanged up there by the middle in chains of iron, and so consumed alive in the fire, praising the name of God so long as his life lasted. In the end he commended his soul into the hands of God, and so departed hence most christianly, his body resolved into ashes. And this was done A. D. 1418, which was the fifth year of the reign of king Henry V.; the people, there present, showing great dolour. How the priests that time fared, blasphemed, and accursed, requiring the people not to pray for him, but to judge him damned in hell, for that he departed not in the obedience of their pope, it were to long to write.

Not the pope's servant, but Christ's.

This terrible kind of death, with gallows, chains, and fire, appeareth not very precious in the eyes of men that be carnal, no more than did the death of Christ, when he was hanged up among thieves. "The righteous seemeth to die" (saith the wise man) "in the sight of them which are unwise, and their end is taken for very destruction. Ungodly foles thinketh their lives very madness, and their passage hence without all honour; but, though they suffer pain before men," saith he, "yet is their expectation full of immortality. They are accounted for the children of God, and have their portion among the saints. As gold in the furnace doth God try his elect, and as a most pleasant brent-offering receiveth he them to rest." The more hard the passage be, the more glorious shall they appear in the latter resurrection. Not that the afflictions of this life are worthy of such a glory, but that it is God's heavenly pleasure so to reward them. Never are the judgments and ways of men like unto the judgments and ways of God, but contrary, evermore, unless they be taught of him. "In the latter time," saith the Lord unto Daniel, "shall many be chosen, proved, and purified by fire; yet shall the ungodly live wickedly still, and have no understanding that is of faith." By an angel from heaven was John earnestly commanded to write that "blessed are the dead which hence departeth in the Lord." "Right dear," saith David, "in the sight of God, is the death of his true servants."

Thus resteth this valiant christian knight, sir John Oldcastle, under the altar of God, which is Jesus Christ, among that godly company, who, in the kingdom of patience, suffered great tribulation with the death of their bodies, for his faithful word and testimony, abiding there with them the fulfilling of their whole number and the full restoration

(1) "Aforenamed act." See page 353 of this Volume. "A new and cruel law, which, at that time, was made by king Henry V., against the Wickliffites." Edition 1563, p. 281.—Ed.



Vol. iii. BURNING OF LORD COBHAM. P. 542.

of his elect. The which He grant in effect, at his time appointed, who is one God eternal! Amen. *Henry V.*

A. D. 1418.

Thus have you heard the whole matter concerning the martyrdom of the good lord Cobham, as we have gathered it partly out of the collections of John Bale and others.* As touching the pretensed treason of this lord Cobham, falsely ascribed unto him in his indictment, rising upon wrong suggestion and false surmise, and aggravated by rigour of words, rather than upon any ground of due probation, sufficiently hath been discoursed before in my defence of the said lord Cobham, against Alanus Copus; where again it is to be noted, as I said before, how by this it appeareth, that the lord Cobham was never executed by force of the indictment or outlawry, because if he had, he should then have been brought to the bar in the King's Bench, and there the judges should have demanded of him, what he could have said, why he should not have died; and then not showing sufficient cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the judges should have awarded and given the judgment of treason: which being not so, it is clear he was not executed upon the indictment. Besides, to prove that he was not executed upon the indictment and the outlawry, the manner of the execution proveth it, because it was neither the execution of a traitor, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the judge, as by due order of law was requisite. Treason falsely surmised.

Finally, as I said before, here I repeat again, that albeit the said lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons, assented to the act; yet all that bindeth not in such sort (as if indeed he were no traitor) that any man may not, by search of the truth, utter and set forth sincerely and justly the very true and certain cause whereupon his execution did follow. Which seemeth by all circumstances and firm arguments to rise principally of his religion, which first brought him in hatred of the bishops; the bishops brought him in hatred of the king; the hatred of the king brought him to his death and martyrdom. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthy servant of Christ, the lord Cobham.

* This [1] is not to be forgotten, which is reported by many, that he should say: that he should die here in earth after the sort and manner of Elias; which, whether it sprang of the common people without cause, or was foreshowed by himself, I think it, not without good consideration. That it sprang not without some gift of prophecy, the end of the matter doth sufficiently prove; for, like as when Elias should leave this mortal life, he was carried by a fiery chariot into immortality; even so the order of this man's death, not being much unlike, followed the figure of his departure. For he, first of all, being lifted up upon the gallows, as into a chariot, and encompassed round about with flaming fire; what other thing, I pray you, did this most holy martyr of Christ represent, than only a figure of a certain Elias, flying up into heaven, who went up into heaven by a fiery chariot.[2]

Such, gentle reader, are the fruits of Wickliff's doctrine. Now let

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 281.—Ed.

(2) Among the many rumours, which either the superstition of the age, or the subtlety of the lord Cobham's enemies were accustomed to circulate respecting him, was the following: "That at the time of his execution he requested sir Thomas Erpington to procure protection to the followers of Wickliff, and the maintainers of the antipapal doctrines, in case he (the lord Cobham) should rise from the dead the third day." See Walsingham's History, page 400. The reader will receive, in this absurd charge, a distorted version of the above narration.—Ed.

Henry V. A. D. 1418.

the papists mark and consider what profits or fruits their papistical holiness hath brought forth unto the world. If we would measure every man's doctrine by his fruits, let us behold this man, whom, together with an infinite number of others, this most optable doctrine of Wickliff hath brought forth. For thus, as is before said, Walden,[1] who otherwise was his most grievous enemy, reported of the said sir John Oldcastle: That he did never understand how great the poison and spot of sin was, but only by reading of Wickliff's books.[1] This I thought good to recite in this place, because of Polydore Virgil, who, in the twenty-second book of his Story of England, calleth him valiant, but a wicked man. But if Polydore had showed himself so faithful in the writing of the history, as the lord Cobham was distant from impiety and wickedness, he would never have spoken those words, and would have defiled so noble a history with fewer lies.*

Moreover, in the records above mentioned, it followeth, how, in the said parliament, after the martyrdom of this valiant knight, motion then was made, that the lord Powis might "be thanked and rewarded, according to the proclamation made, for his great travail taken in the apprehension of sir John Oldcastle, knight, heretic." Thus stand the words of the record; where two things are to be noted: First, how sir John here in the record is called, not traitor, but heretic only: Secondly, mark how this brother of Judas here craveth his reward for betraying the innocent blood. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee, and 'quid vultis mihi dare,' in this world, will have a heavy reward hereafter in the world to come, unless he repented.

Judas seeketh for his reward.

* In D. Johan. Cobhami equitis aurati et Martyris cineres, Carmen I. F. in felicem memoriam. Anno 1418.

Stemmate, pace, toga præstans, et clarus in armis;
Miles, eques, martyr; gemma, monile, decus;
Militiæque domique potens Cobhamius Heros,
Lux patriæ, et gentis gloria digna suæ;
Pertulit infestas acies, tulit aspera multa,
Bella profana gerens, prælia sacra gerens.
Hæc mente, illa manu, parili cum laude subibat,
Parte etenim victor semper utraque stetit.
Hinc equitis debetur honos, hinc martyris illi
Gloria, qua victor tempus in omne manet.
Victus erat. Quid tum? mens quando invicta manebat,
Pars potior, nullis cedere docta malis.
O tibi se dignas rex si, Cobhame, tulisset
Suppetias, nec te destituisset ope,
Turmis sat fueras istis turbisque Cyclopum,
Quas tua fregisset dextra labore levi.
Hoc sibi sed Christus quid si diadema reponit?
Tu meliore, quidem, tempore dignus eras.*[2]

Furthermore, in the said parliament,[3] it was enacted, That the church and all estates should enjoy all their liberties, which were not repealed or repealable by the common law: meaning, belike, the excluding of the jurisdiction of the pope's foreign power, which hath always by the common law been excluded out of this realm.

(1) Walden, in his preface to his 7th book of Doctrine.
(2) These verses are introduced from the Latin Edition of 1559, page 97.—Ed.
(3) Anno 5. Hen. V., act. 7.

In the same parliament also,[1] a grievous complaint was made (by the bishops, no doubt) against insurrections. In the end they suspected that they were the Lollards, heretics, and traitors, with a request that commissions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Whereunto answer was made, That the statutes therefore made should be executed, &c. Thus the clergy, 'Tanquam leones rugientes,' ceased not to roar after christian blood; and whosoever was else in fault, still the clergy cried, "Crucify Christ, and deliver us Barabbas:" for then all horrible facts and mischiefs, if any were done, were imputed to the poor Lollards.

Henry V. A.D. 1417.

All the blame laid to the Lollards.

Continuation of the Memorable History of the Bohemians;

WHEREIN IS PLAINLY AND TRULY SET FORTH, WHAT VEXATIONS AND CONFLICTS THEY HAD FOR THE RELIGION OF JOHN HUSS AND JEROME OF PRAGUE, AND OF THEIR VICTORIES OBTAINED AND GOTTEN, BOTH AGAINST THE PAPISTS, AND ALSO AGAINST THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND; AND, FINALLY, THE DEATH OF THEIR VALIANT CAPTAIN, ZISCA.

And now from our English matters, to return again to the story of the Bohemians, from whence we have a little digressed, as touching such things as happened after the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

When the news of the barbarous cruelty exercised at Constance against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, was noised in Bohemia, the nobles and gentlemen of Moravia and Bohemia, such as favoured the cause of John Huss, gathering themselves together in the zeal of Christ, first sent their letter unto the council; expostulating with them for the injury done to those godly men, as is before expressed; for which letter they were all cited up to the council. Unto this letter Sigismund the emperor maketh answer again in the name of the whole council; first, excusing himself of the death of John Huss, which, he said, was against his safe-conduct, and against his will; insomuch that he rose in anger from the council, and departed out of Constance, as is before remembered. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiet, and to conform themselves peaceably unto the order of the catholic church of Rome, &c.

Also the council, hearing or fearing some stir to rise among the Bohemians, did make laws and articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of twenty-four.

Articles decreed in the Council of Constance, against the Bohemians. *See Appendix.*

I. That the king of Bohemia should be sworn to defend the liberties of the church of Rome and of the churches under his dominion against the Hussites.

II. That all masters and priests should abjure the doctrine of Wickliff and Huss, in that council condemned, and revoke if they have held or preached it.

III. That all they who, being cited, would not appear, should also abjure; and they who would not appear after process had against them for one or more years, contemning the power of the keys, should suffer condign punishment.

IV. That all such laymen as had defended the cause of John Wickliff and John Huss, should swear to defend them no more, but should approve and ratify the doings of that council in condemning both them and their articles.

V. That all such secular men as had spoiled the clergy, should be compelled to restitution, and swear to trespass no more.

(1) Anno 5. Hen. V., act 17.

Henry V. A.D. 1417.

VI. That the priests expelled from their benefices, should be restored again, and those who had been intruded expelled and punished.

VII. That all profane persons should be punished after the canonical sanctions, that the authority of the keys be not despised.

VIII. That such as had been promoters in the council against John Huss, should be permitted safely to return into Bohemia again, and to enjoy their benefices.

IX. That the relics and treasure taken out of the church of Prague and the other churches in Bohemia and Moravia, should be restored fully again.

X. That the university of Prague should be restored again and reformed, and that the Wiclevists, who had been the disturbers thereof, should be really punished.

The favourers of Huss in Bohemia. *See Appendix.*

XI. That the principal heresiarchs and doctors of that sect should be sent up to the see apostolic; namely, Johannes Jessenetz, Jacobellus de Misnia, Simon de Tysna, Simon de Rochinzano, Christianus de Prachatitz, Johannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de Loben, the provost of Allhallows, Zdislaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

XII. That all secular men, who communicated under both kinds, should abjure that heresy, and swear to stop the same to their power hereafter.

XIII. That they who were ordained priests by the suffragan[1] of the archbishop of Prague, taken by the lord Zdenco de Wartenberg, should not be dispensed with, but sent up to the see apostolic.

Wickliff's books translated.

XIV. That the treatises of John Wickliff, translated into the Bohemian tongue by John Huss and Jacobellus, and their own, should be brought to the legate or ordinary.

XV. That the treatises of John Huss, condemned in the council, should also be brought to the legate or ordinary.

XVI. That all the treatises of Jacobellus, 'De Utraque Specie,' 'De Antichristo' (wherein he calleth the pope Antichrist), and 'De Remanentia Panis post Consecrationem,' should likewise be brought and burned.

XVII. That all songs and ballads made to the prejudice of the council and of the catholic persons of both states, or in praise of John Huss or Jerome, should be forbid to be sung in cities, towns, and villages, under the severest punishment.

XVIII. That none should preach the word without the license of the ordinary and of the parson of the place.

XIX. That ordinaries and prelates, having jurisdiction, should not be stopped in their jurisdiction by the secular power, under pain of excommunication.

XX. That all and singular persons should be commanded to obedience, under pain of excommunication; and that whosoever had favoured any Wicklevists or Hussites, or their doctrine, or that had kept company with such, and knoweth the suspected books, he should present the same to the diocesan or his officials.

XXI. That the confederacy of the seculars made between themselves or any of the spiritualty to the prejudice of the foresaid council and of the apostolic see and church of Rome, in favour of John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and of the preachers of that sect, in the said council condemned, should be dissolved.

Concilium malignantium.

XXII. That the rites and ceremonies of the christian religion, touching God's service, images, and worshipping of relics, should be observed, and transgressors of the same be punished.

XXIII. That all and singular, either spiritual or secular, that should preach, teach, hold, or maintain, the errors and heresies of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, in this council condemned, and declare John Huss and Jerome to be catholic and holy persons, being convicted of the same, should be holden for heretics; and, falling in relapse, should be burned.

XXIV. That all secular persons being monished and charged by the ordinaries, should be bound to give their aid and furtherance unto them touching the premises, on pain of being treated as fautors of heresy.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding these cruel articles, contemning the vain devices of these prelates and fathers of the council, ceased not to proceed in their league and purpose begun, joining themselves more strongly together.

In this mean time it happened, that during this council of Con-

(1) This suffragan ['Dominus Hermannus,' Cochl.] was a good man, and held with Huss.

stance, after the deposing of pope John, and spoiling of his goods, which came to seventy-five thousand pounds of gold and silver, as is reported in the Story of St. Alban's, pope Martin, on the day of St. Martin, was elected;[1] concerning whose election great preparation was made before of the council, so that besides the cardinals, six other bishops of every nation should enter into the conclave, who there together should be kept with thin diet, till they had founded a pope. At last, when they were together agreed upon this man, they, not tarrying for opening of the door, like madmen, for haste brast open a hole in the wall, crying out "Habemus papam Martinum," "We have a Martin pope." The emperor hearing thereof, with the like haste came apace, and, falling down, kissed the new pope's feet. Then went they all to the church together, and sang Te Deum.

Henry V. A.D. 1418

Deposing of pope John XXIII. Election of pope Martin. The emperor kisseth his feet.

The next day following, this Martin was made priest, who before was but a cardinal-deacon, and the next day after was consecrate bishop, and sang his first mass; whereat were present one hundred and forty mitred bishops. After this, the next morrow, the new holy pope ordained a general procession, where a certain clerk was appointed to stand with flax and hemp; who setting the flax on fire thus said, "Ecce, Pater sancte! sic transit gloria mundi." i.e. "Behold, holy Father! thus vadeth the transitory glory of this world!" Which done, that day week the holy father was brought up unto a scaffold twenty feet high, saith the story (I will not say to a high mountain, where was offered to him all the glory of the world, &c.), there to be crowned for a triple king. This done, the same day after dinner the new-crowned pope was brought with great triumph through the midst of the city of Constance, where all the bishops and abbots followed with their mitres. The pope's horse[2] was all trapped with red scarlet down to the ground. The cardinals' horses were all in white silk; the emperor on the right side, and a prince-elector on the left (playing both the pope's footmen), went on foot, leading the pope's horse by the bridle.

Nov. 12th

The coronation of pope Martin.

Nov. 21st

The pope on horseback, the emperor on foot.

See Appendix.

As this pageant thus with the great giant proceeded, and came to the market-place, there the Jews, according to the manner, offered to him their law and ceremonies; which the pope receiving, cast behind him, saying, "Recedant vetera, nova sunt omnia." i. e. "Let old things pass, all things be made new," &c.[3] This was A. D. 1417.

Thus the pope, being now confirmed in his kingdom, first beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemians, wherein partly he moveth them to catholic obedience, partly he dissembleth with them, feigning that if it were not for the emperor's request, he would enter process against them. Thirdly, and finally, he threateneth to attempt the uttermost against them, and with all force to invade them, as well with the apostolic, as also with the secular arm; if they did still persist, as they began.

Albeit, these new threats of the new pontiff did nothing move the constant hearts of the Bohemians, whom the inward zeal of Christ's word had before inflamed. And although it had been to be wished, such bloodshed and wars not to have followed; yet to say the truth,

(1) Ex hist. S. Alb. ex paralip. Ursperg.
(2) 'Meretrix equitans super bestiam.' Vid. Apocalyp.
(3) Why then doth the pope keep still the old Jews' ceremonies, if all things be made new?

Henry V. A. D. 1419.

how could these Rabbins greatly blame them herein, whom their bloody tyranny had before provoked so unjustly, if now, with their glozing letters, they could not so easily appease them again?

Wherefore[1] these aforesaid Bohemians, partly for the love of John Huss and Jerome their countrymen, partly for the hatred of their malignant papistry, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate a solemn memorial of the death of John Huss and Jerome, decreeing the same to be holden and celebrated yearly; and afterwards, by means of their friends they obtained certain churches of the king, wherein they might freely preach and minister the sacraments unto the congregation. This done, they suppressed divers monasteries, Pharisaical temples, and idolatrous fanes; beginning, first, with the great monastery of the Black Friars, outside the town of Glattau; driving away the wicked and vicious priests and monks out of them, or compelling them unto a better order. And thus their number more and more increasing, under the conduct of the noble man Nicholas de Hussinetz, they went again unto the king, requiring to have more and ampler churches granted unto them. The king seemed at first willingly and gently to give ear to the said Nicholas entreating for the people, and commanded them to come again the next day.

A yearly memorial of Huss and Jerome kept among the Bohemians.

See Appendix.

When the people were departed, the king turning himself to the noble man Nicholas, who tarried still behind, said: "Thou hast begun a web to put me out of my kingdom, but I will make a rope of it, wherewithal I will hang thee." Whereupon he immediately departed out of the king's presence, and the king himself went into the castle of Wischerad, and within awhile after into a new castle, which he himself had builded five miles distant from thence; sending ambassadors to his brother to require aid.

Wenceslaus threateneth Nicholas.

These protestants being assembled in the town of Prague, holding their conventions, the king sent forth his chamberlain with three hundred horsemen to run upon them; but he, having respect unto his life, fled. When news thereof was brought unto the king, all that were about him, being amazed, utterly detested the fact; but the king's cupbearer standing by, said, "I knew before, that these things would thus come to pass." Whom the king in a rage taking hold of, threw him down before his feet, and with a dagger would have slain him; but, being letted by such as were about him, with much ado he pardoned him his life. Immediately the king, being taken with a palsy, fell sick, and within eighteen days after, when he had marked the names of such whom he had appointed to be put to death,[2] incessantly calling for aid of his brother and other his friends, he departed this life before the princes, whom he had sent unto, were come with aid, when he had reigned five and fifty years, and was about the age of fifty-seven years, August 16th, A.D. 1419.

Death of king Wenceslaus.

The Story of Zisca.[3]

Immediately after the death of Wenceslaus, stepped forth a certain noble man named Zisca, born at Trocksnow, who, from his youth

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.
(2) See the marvellous work of God's judgment, in defending his people.
(3) Out of Æneas Silvius.

upward, was brought up in the king's court, and had lost one of his eyes in a battle, where he had valiantly borne himself. This man being sore grieved for the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, minding to revenge the injuries which the council had done, greatly to the dishonour of the kingdom of Bohemia, upon their complices and adherents, gathered together a number of men of war, and subverted the monasteries and idolatrous temples, pulling down and breaking in pieces the images and idols, driving away the priests and monks, who, he said, were kept up in their cloisters, like swine in their sties, to be fatted. After this his army being increased, having gathered together about forty thousand men, he attempted to take the castle of Wischerad, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said Zisca, under the conduct of one Coranda, went speedily unto Pilsen, where he knew he had many friends of his faction, and took the town into his power, fortifying the same very strongly, and those who tarried behind took the castle of Wischerad.

Henry V. A.D. 1419.

Zisca getteth Pilsen.

Then the queen Sophia, being very anxious, sent letters and messengers unto the emperor Sigismund, and other nobles neighbours unto her, requiring aid and help; but the emperor was busy making preparation against the Turks, who had already taken the field. Whereupon, the queen seeing all aid so far off, together with Zenko de Wartenberg, gathered a host with the king's treasure, and fortified the castle of Prague, and the lesser city which joineth unto the castle, making gates and towers of wood upon the bridge, over the river Moldau, to stop that the protestants should have no passage that way. Then it happened that at the isle of St. Benedict one Peter Sternberg fought with them; but neither party had the advantage.

The queen sendeth for Sigismund.

See Appendix

In the mean time, the number of the protestants being increased in Prague, they fought for the bridge. In which battle many were slain on both parts, but at the length the Hussites wan the bridge and the nether part of lesser Prague; the queen's part flying into the upper part thereof: where they, turning again, fiercely renewed the battle, and fought continually day and night by the space of five days. Many were slain on both parts, and goodly buildings were rased, and the council-house, which was in a low place, was set on fire and utterly destroyed.

During the time of this troublous estate, the ambassadors of the emperor Sigismund arrived; who, taking upon them the rule and governance of the realm, made a truce or league with the city of Prague under this condition, that the castle of Wischerad being surrendered, it should be lawful for them to send ambassadors to the emperor Sigismund to entreat as touching their estate, and that Zisca should render up Pilsen and Piesta with the other places which he had taken. These conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the foreign protestants departed out of the city, and the senate[1] of the city began to govern again according to their accustomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the papists, who were gone out of the town, durst not return again, but still looked for the emperor, by whose presence they thought they should shortly be safe. But this their hope was frustrate by reason of certain letters which were sent from the emperor, wherein it was written, That he would shortly

The emperor's ambassadors agree with the citizens of Prague.

(1) The original says "consules."—Ed.

Henry V. A.D. 1420.

come and rule the kingdom, even after the same order and manner as his father Charles had done before him. Whereby the protestants understood that their sect and religion was to be utterly banished; which had not begun during the reign of the said Charles.

About Christmas the emperor Sigismund came to Brunn, a city of Moravia, and there he pardoned the citizens of Prague, under condition that they would let down the chains and bars of the city, and receive magistrates of his choosing; whereunto the whole city assented, and the nobles of the realm, lifting up their hands unto heaven, hailed the prospect of the new king's coming. But the emperor turned another way, and went unto Breslau, the capital city of Silesia, where, a little before, the commonalty of the city had slain in an insurrection the magistrates, whom his brother Wenceslaus had set in authority: the principals whereof he beheaded. The news whereof when it was reported at Prague, the citizens being feared by the example of the Breslavians, distrusting their pardon, rebelled out of hand; and having bribed over to their part Zenko, who had the government of the castle of Prague, they sent letters into all the realm, that no man should suffer the emperor to enter, who was an enemy unto Bohemia, and sought nothing else but to destroy the kingdom; who also had mortgaged the ancient state of the Prutenians to the Teutonic order, and had alienated Brandenburg from the Bohemian crown; and had not only suffered John Huss and Jerome of Prague to be burned at the council of Constance, but also procured the same, and with all his endeavour did impugn the doctrine and faith which they followed. While these things were thus doing, Zisca, having quitted Pilsen according to the treaty, was twice assaulted by his enemies, but through his tactics came off victor. The places where they fought were rough and unknown; his enemies were on horseback, and his own men on foot, neither could there be any battle fought but on foot. Whereupon, when his enemies were alighted from their horses, Zisca commanded the women who customably followed the host to cast their kerchiefs upon the ground, wherein the horsemen being entangled by their spurs, were slain before they could disentangle their feet.

Prague falls from the emperor.

The complaint of the city of Prague against Sigismund. *See Appendix.*

The policy of Zisca.

After this, he went unto Austi, a town situate upon the river Lauschnitz, out of which town Procopius and Ulricius, two brethren, papists, had cast out many protestants. This town Zisca took by force of arms the first night of Lent, rased it, and set it on fire. He also took the castle of Litius, which was a mile off, whither Ulricius was fled, and put Ulricius and all his family to the sword, saving one only.

Then, forsomuch as he had no walled or fenced town to inhabit, he chose out a certain place upon the same river, which was fenced by nature, about one mile from the city of Austi. This place he compassed in with walls, and commanded his men to build them houses where they had pitched their tents, and named this city Tabor, and the inhabitants, his companions, Taborites; because their city, by all like, was builded upon the top of some hill or mount. This city, albeit that it was fenced with high rocks and cliffs, yet was it compassed with a wall and vaumure,[1] and the river Lauschnitz feneeth

The city of Tabor builded.

(1) A counterscarp, or outwork.—Ed

a great part of the town; the rest is compassed in with a great brook, the which, all but running into the river Lauschnitz, is stopped by a great rock, and driven back towards the right hand all the length of the city, and at the further end it joineth with the great river. The way unto it by land is scarce thirty feet broad, for it is almost an island. In this place there was a deep ditch cast, and a triple wall made, of such thickness, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of towers and forts set in convenient and meet places. Zisca was the first that builded the castle, and those that came after him fortified it, every man according to his own device. At that time the Taborites had no horsemen amongst them, until such time as Nicholas, master of the Mint (whom the emperor had sent into Bohemia with a thousand horsemen to set things in order, and to withstand the Taborites), lodging all night in a village named Voticz, was surprised by Zisca coming upon him suddenly in the night, taking away all his horse and armour, and setting fire upon the village. Then Zisca taught his soldiers to mount on horseback, to leap, to run, to turn, and to cast in a ring, so that after this he never led army without his wings of horsemen.

See Appendix.

Sigismund getteth the castle of Prague.

In this mean time, Sigismund the emperor, gathering together the nobles of Silesia, entered into Bohemia and went unto Kœnig-Gratz, and from thence with a great army unto Cuttenberg; and, alluring Zenko with many great and large promises to render up the castle of Prague unto him, there placed himself to annoy the town. Thus Zenko, infamed with double treason, returned home. The citizens of Prague sent for Zisca, who, speeding himself thither with the Taborites, received the city under his governance. In the Bohemians' host, there were but only two barons, Hyneck Crussina of Lichtenberg and Nicolas de Waldstein, with a few other nobles; all the residue were of the common people. They went about, first, to subdue the castle, which was by nature very strongly fenced, and could not be won by any other means than by famine: whereupon all the passages were stopped, that no victuals should be carried in. But the emperor opened the passage by dint of sword, and when he had given unto those who were besieged all things necessary, having sent for aid out of the empire, he determined shortly after to besiege the city. There were in the emperor's camp his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, the dukes of Saxony, and the marquises of Misnia and Brandenburg. The city was assaulted by the space of six weeks. The emperor Sigismund was crowned in the metropolitan church in the castle, Conrad, the archbishop, solemnizing the ceremonies of the coronation. The city was straitly besieged. In the mean time, the barons of Rosenberg and Gradtzy, who had taken the tents of the Taborites, being overcome in battle by Nicholas Huss, whom Zisca had sent with part of his power for that purpose, were driven out of the tents; and Kœnig-Gratz was also taken by storm.

Zisca getteth the city of Prague.

Besieged by Sigismund.

There is above the town of Prague a high hill, which is called Viclechon. On this hill had Zisca strongly planted a garrison, that his enemies should not possess it; with whom the marquis of Misnia skirmishing, lost a great part of his soldiers. For when the Misnians had gotten the top of the hill, being driven back into a corner which was broken and steep, and fiercely set upon, when they could no

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A.D. 1421.

longer withstand the violent force of their enemies, some of them were slain, and some perished by falling headlong from the hill. Whereupon the emperor Sigismund, raising his siege, departed into Cuttenberg; and Zisca with his company departed unto Tabor, and subdued many places; among which he subverted a town pertaining to the captain of Wischerad. During this time the castle of Wischerad was strongly besieged, where, when other victuals wanted, they were compelled to eat horse-flesh. At length, they promised to yield it up if the emperor did not aid them by a certain day; but under this condition, that if the emperor did come, they within the castle should be no more molested.

The marquis of Misnia overcome.

Sigismund raiseth his siege.

The emperor, fighting against Zisca, has the overthrow.

The emperor was present before the day, but being ignorant of the truce taken, entering into a strait underneath the castle, was suddenly set upon by the soldiers of Prague, where he had a great overthrow; and so leaving his purpose unperformed, returned back again. There were slain in that conflict fourteen noblemen of the Moravians, and of the Hungarians and other a great number. The castle was delivered up to the Pragueians. While these things were in doing, Zisca took Bohuslaus, surnamed de Swanberg, by force, in a very strong town of his, and brought him unto his religion; who a few years after, leading the protestants' host in Austria, was wounded before Retz and died. There were in the territory of Pilsen many monasteries, of the which Zisca subverted and burned five; and forsomuch as the monastery of St. Clare was the strongest, there he pitched himself.

The abbeys of Pilsen subverted.

Zisca putteth the emperor to flight.

Thither also came the emperor with his army; but when Zisca brought forth his power against him, he most cowardly fled, and not long after he departed and left Bohemia. Then Zisca went with his army unto Pilsen; but forsomuch as he saw the city so fenced, that he was in doubt of winning the same, he went from thence to Commothau, a famous city, the which he took by force, burning all the priests therein. Afterward, when he lay before the town of Raby,[1] and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken with a shaft in the eye; having but that one before to see withal. From thence he was carried into Prague, to physicians, where, being cured of his wound, and his life saved, yet he lost his sight; and for all that, he would not forsake his army, but still took the charge of them. A.D. 1421.

Zisca loseth his other eye, yet would not forsake his army.

Zisca taketh divers towns.

After this the garrisons of Prague went unto Beraune, where there was a great garrison of the emperor's, and took it by force, many being slain of either part. They also took the town of Teutsch-Brode, and slew the garrison; and afterward took Cuttenberg and many other cities by composition. Further, as they led their army unto a town called Pons which is inhabited by the Misnians, the Saxons meeting them by the way, because they durst not join battle they returned back. After all this, the emperor appointed the princes-electors a day, that at Bartilmew-tide they should with their army invade the west part of Bohemia, and he, with a host of Hungarians, would enter on the east part. There came unto his aid the archbishop of Mentz, the count palatine of the Rhine, the dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and many bishops out of Almaine: others sent their aids. They encamped before the

The Bohemians retire before the Saxons.

(1) "Raby," on the river Wattawa.—Ed.

town of Saatz, a strong and well-fenced place, which they could by no means subdue. The country was spoiled and wasted round about, and the siege continued until the feast of St. Galle:[1] then it was broken up, because the emperor was not come at his day appointed. But he, having gathered together a great army of Hungarians, Austrians, and Moravians, about Christmas entered into Bohemia, and took certain towns by force; and Cuttenberg was yielded unto him. But when Zisca (although he was blind) came towards him and set upon him, he, being a-feared, and many of his nobles slain, fled: but first he burned Cuttenberg, which the Taborites, because of its silver-mines, called 'The Pouch of Antichrist.' Zisca pursuing the emperor a day's journey got great and rich spoil, and taking the town of Teutsch-Brode by force, set it on fire; the which afterward, almost by the space of fourteen years, remained disinhabited. The emperor passed by a bridge over the river Iglau; but Piso, a Florentine, who had brought fifteen thousand horsemen out of Hungary to this expedition, was marching them over the ice, when it broke under the weight, and a great number of horsemen were immersed and drowned. Zisca, having obtained this victory, would not suffer any image or idol to be in the churches, neither thought it to be borne withal, that priests should minister with copes or vestments: for the which cause he was much the more hated amongst the states of Bohemia. And the consuls of Prague, being aggrieved at the insolence of John, formerly a Premonstratensian monk, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principals of this faction, into the council-house, as though they would confer with them as touching the common wealth: and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home every man to his own house, thinking the city had been quiet, as though nothing had been done. But their servants, being not circumspect enough, washing down the court or yard, washed out also the blood of those that were slain, through the sinks or canels; the which being once seen, the people understood what was done. By-and-by there was a great tumult; the council-house was straightway overthrown, and eleven of the principal citizens, who were thought to be the authors thereof, were slain, and divers houses spoiled.

Henry V.

A.D. 1422.

The emperor with his power entereth again into Bohemia; but afraid of Zisca, flieth.

The pouch of Antichrist.

Noble victory of Zisca.

Zisca destroyeth images and idols in churches.

The martyrdom of certain godly Bohemians, falsely circumvented, and killed with the sword.

Privy murder at length comes out.

About the same time the castle of Purglitz, wherein the emperor had left a small garrison (whither also many papists with their wives and children were fled), was through negligence burned, and those who escaped out of the fire went unto Pilsen. After this, divers of the Bohemian captains, and the senate of Prague, sent ambassadors to Vitold, duke of Lithuania, and made him their king. This did Zisca and his adherents gainsay. This Vitold sent Sigismund Coributus with two thousand horsemen into Bohemia, who was honourably received of the inhabitants of Prague. At his coming they determined to lay siege unto a castle situated upon a hill, which was called Carlstein.

Here Sigismund had left, for a garrison, four centuries of soldiers. The tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six months, and the assault never ceased day and night. Five great slings threw continually great stones over the walls, and about two

(1) October 16th: L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—Ed.

Henry V. A.D. 1422.

thousand vessels, tubs, or baskets, filled with dead carcasses and other excrements, were cast in amongst those who were besieged; which thing did so infect them with stench, that their teeth did either fall out or were all loose. Notwithstanding, they bare it out with stout courage, and continued their fight until the winter, having privily received medicine out of Prague to fasten their teeth again.

Stench very hurtful to the teeth.

In the mean time Frederic the elder, prince of Brandenburg, entering into Bohemia with a great power, caused them of Prague to raise the siege; and Vitold, at the request of Uladislaus, king of Poland, who had talked with the emperor on the borders of Hungary, called Coributus, his uncle, with his whole army, out of Bohemia. Whereupon the emperor supposed that the protestants, being destitute of foreign aid, would the sooner do his commandment; but he was far deceived therein, for they, leading their armies out of Bohemia, subdued the borders thereupon adjoining. It is also reported that Zisca went into Austria, and when the husbandmen of the country had carried away a great number of their cattle by water into an isle of the river Danube, and by chance had left certain calves and swine in their villages behind them; Zisca drave them unto the river side, and kept them there so long, beating them and causing them to roar out and cry, until that the cattle feeding in the island, hearing the lowing and grunting of the cattle on the other side the water, for the desire of their like did swim over the river; by the means whereof he got and drave away a great booty.

Another warlike policy of Zisca.

About the same time the Emperor Sigismund gave unto his son-in-law Albert, duke of Austria, the country of Moravia, because it should not want a ruler. At the same time, also, Eric, king of Denmark, and Peter the Infant, brother to the king of Portugal and father of James, cardinal of St. Eustace, came unto the emperor (being both very expert men in the affairs of war), who did augment the emperor's host with their aid and power: whereupon they straightway pitched their camp before Lutemberg, a town of Moravia, and continued the siege by the space of three months. There was at that time a certain knight at Prague surnamed Aqua, who was very rich and of great authority. This man, forsomuch as he had no child of his own, adopted unto him his sister's son, named Procopius; whom, when he was of mean stature and age, he carried with him into France, Spain, and Italy, and unto Jerusalem; and, at his return, caused him to be made priest. This man, when the gospel began to flourish in Bohemia, took part with Zisca, and, forsomuch as he was strong and valiant, and also painful, he was greatly esteemed.

Valiant courage of Procopius Magnus.

This Procopius for his valiant acts was afterward called Procopius Magnus, and had committed unto him the whole charge of the province of Moravia, and the defence of Lutemberg; who, receiving a great power, by force (maugre all the whole power which lay in the siege) carried victuals into the town which was besieged, and so did frustrate the emperor's siege. The emperor, before this, had given to the marquises of Misnia the towns of Pons and Aussig, upon the river Elbe, that they should fortify them with their garrisons. Whereupon Zisca besieged Aussig; and Frederic, the marquis of Misnia, with his brother, the landgrave of Thuringia, gathering

together a great army out of Saxony, Thuringia, Misnia, and both the Lusatias, determined to rescue and aid those who were besieged. There was a great battle fought before the city, and the victory depended long uncertain; but at last it fell on the protestants' part. There were slain in that battle the burgraves of Misnia, the barons of Kirchberg and Gleichen, and many other nobles, besides nine thousand common soldiers; and the town of Aussig was taken and utterly rased. *Henry V.* A. D. 1422. Victory of the protestants. *See Appendix*

At the last, dissension arising between Zisca and them of Prague, they of Prague prepared an army against him, wherewith he perceiving himself overmatched fled unto the river Elbe, and was almost taken, but that he had passage through the town of Podiebrad; but they of Prague, hanging on the rear of his army, slew many of his Taborites. At the length they came unto certain hills, where Zisca, going into the valley, and knowing the straits of the place, that his enemies could not spread their army, commanded his standard to stand still; and exhorting and encouraging his soldiers, he gave them battle. Battle between the city of Prague and Zisca.

This battle was very fierce and cruel: but Zisca, having the upper hand, slew three thousand of them of Prague, and put the rest to flight, and straightways took the city of Cuttenberg by force (which they of Prague had repaired), and set it on fire: then, with all speed he went with his army to besiege Prague, and encamped within a bow-shot of the town. There were many both in the city and also in his host, who grudged sore at that siege; some accusing Zisca, other some them of Prague. There were great tumults in the camp, the soldiers saying that it was not reasonable, that that city should be suppressed, which was both the head of the kingdom and did not dissent from them in opinion; adding, that the Bohemians' power would soon decay, if their enemies should know that they were divided within themselves; also that they had sufficient wars against the emperor, and that it was but a foolish device to move wars amongst themselves. This talk came unto the ear of Zisca, who, calling together his army, standing upon a wine cask to be heard, spake these words:— Noble victory of Zisca.

A Notable Oration of Zisca to his Soldiers.

Brethren! be ye not aggrieved against me, neither accuse him who hath sought your health and safeguard. The victories which ye have obtained under my conduct are yet fresh in memory, neither have I brought you at any time unto any place, from whence you have not come victors. You are become famous and rich, and I, for your sake, have lost my sight, and dwell in darkness. Nothing have I gotten by all these fortunate battles, but only a vain name. For you have I fought, and for you have I vanquished; neither do I repent me of my travails; neither is my blindness grievous unto me, but because I cannot provide for you according to my accustomed manner; neither do I persecute them of Prague for mine own cause, for it is your blood that they thirst and seek for, and not mine. It were but small pleasure for them to destroy me, being now an old man and blind; it is your valiantness and stout stomachs which they fear. Either must you or they perish; who, whilst they seem to lie in wait for me, do seek after your lives. You must rather fear civil wars than foreign; and civil sedition ought first to be put down. We will subdue Prague, and banish the seditious citizens, before the emperor shall have any news of this sedition. And then, having but a few of his faction left, we may, with the less fear, look for him, better than if these doubtful citizens of Prague were still in our camp. But, because ye shall accuse me no more, I give you free liberty to do what you will.

Henry VI. A. D. 1424.

If it please you to suffer them of Prague to live in quietness, I will not be against it, so that there be no treason wrought. If you determine to have war, I am also ready. Look, which ever part you will incline unto, Zisca will be your aid and helper.

The hearts of the soldiers altered by the oration of Zisca.

When he had spoken these words, the soldiers' minds were changed, and wholly determined to make war, so that they ran, by-and-by, to take up their armour and weapons, to run unto the walls, to provoke their enemies to fight for the gates of the city. Zisca, in the mean time, prepared all things ready for the assault. There is, a little from Pilsen, a certain village named Rochezana. In this place there was a child born of poor and base parentage, whose name was John; he came to Prague, and got his living there by begging, and learned grammar and logic. When he came to man's estate, he became the schoolmaster of a noble man's child; and, forasmuch as he was of an excellent wit and ready tongue, he was received into the college of the poor; and, last of all, being made priest, he began to preach the word of God to the citizens of Prague, and was named Johannes de Rochezana, by the name of the town where he was born. This man grew to be of great name and authority in the town of Prague. Whereupon, when Zisca besieged Prague, he, by the consent of the citizens, went out into the camp, and reconciled Zisca again unto the city.

Peace between Zisca and Prague.

The emperor glad to be reconciled with Zisca.

When the emperor perceived that all things came to pass according to Zisca's will and mind, and that upon him alone the whole state of Bohemia did depend, he sought privy means to reconcile and get Zisca into his favour, promising him the governance of the whole kingdom, the guiding of all his hosts and armies, and great yearly revenues, if he would proclaim him king, and cause the cities to be sworn unto him. Upon which conditions, when Zisca, for the performance of the covenants, went unto the emperor, being in his journey at the castle of Brisau, he was stricken with sickness and died, Oct. 11th, A.D. 1424.

The death of Zisca. *See Appendix.*

The words of Zisca at his death.

It is reported, that when he was demanded, being sick, in what place he would be buried; he commanded the skin to be pulled off from his dead carcase, and the flesh to be cast unto the fowls and beasts, and that a drum should be made of his skin, which they should use in their battles: affirming, that as soon as their enemies should hear the sound of that drum, they would not abide, but take their flight. The Taborites, despising all other images, yet set up the picture of Zisca over the gates of the city.

The Epitaph of John Zisca, the valiant Captain of the Bohemians.

I, John Zisca, not inferior to an emperor or captain in warlike policy, a severe punisher of the pride and avarice of the clergy, and a defender of my country, do lie here. That which Appius Claudius, by giving good counsel, and M. Furius Camillus, by valiantness, did for the Romans; the same I, being blind, have done for my Bohemians. I never slacked opportunity of battle, neither did fortune at any time fail me. I, being blind, did foresee all opportunity of well ordering or doing my business. Eleven times, in joining battle, I went victor out of the field. I seemed to have worthily defended the cause of the miserable and hungry against the delicate, fat, and gluttonous priests, and for that cause to have received help at the hands of God. If their envy had not let it, without doubt I had deserved to be numbered amongst the most famous men. Notwithstanding my bones lie here in this hallowed place, even in despite of the pope.

Zisca eleven times victor in the field.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΖΙΣΚΑΣ ὁ Βωιημὸς, των αἰσχροκερδῶν ἱερέων ἐχθρὸς, ἀλλὰ ἐν θείῳ ζήλῳ. *Henry V.*

In English.—John Zisca, a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and covetous priests, but with a godly zeal. A. D. 1418.

And thus have you the acts and doings of this worthy Zisca and other Bohemians, which, for the more credit, we have drawn out of Æneas Silvius; only his railing terms excepted, which we have here suppressed.

All this while, the emperor, with the whole power of the Germans, was not so busy on the one side, but Martin the pope was as much occupied on the other side; who, about the same time, directed down a terrible bull, full of all poison, to all bishops and archbishops, against all such as took any part or side with Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, or with their doctrine and opinions. The copy of which bull, which I found in an old written monument, I wish the reader thoroughly to peruse; wherein he shall see the pope to pour out at once all his poison.

The Bull of Pope Martin directed forth against the Followers of John Wickliff of England, of John Huss of Bohemia, and of Jerome of Prague.

Pope Martin's bloody bull to all bishops and archbishops.

Martin, bishop, the servant of God's servants, to our reverend brethren the archbishops of Saltzburg, Gnesen, and Prague, and to the bishops of Olmutz, Lythomysl, Bamberg, Meissen, Passau, Breslau, Ratisbon, Cracow, Posen, and Neitra, and also to our beloved children the inquisitors appointed by the prelates above recited, or where else soever, unto whom these present letters shall come, greeting and apostolical benediction.

Amongst all other pastoral cares wherewith we are oppressed, this chiefly and specially doth enforce us: that heretics, with their false doctrine and errors, being utterly expulsed from amongst the company of christian men, and rooted out (so far forth as God will make us able to do), the right and catholic faith may remain sound and undefiled; and that all christian people, immovable and inviolate, may stand and abide in the sincerity of the same faith, the whole veil of obscurity being removed. But lately, in divers places of the world, but especially in Bohemia, and the dukedom of Moravia, and in the straits adjoining thereunto, certain arch-heretics have risen and sprung up, not against one only, but against divers and sundry documents of the catholic faith, being land-lopers, schismatics, and seditious persons, fraught with devilish pride and wolvish madness, deceived by the subtlety of Satan, and from one evil vanity brought to a worse; who although they rose and sprang up in divers parts of the world, yet agreed they all in one, having their tails, as it were, knit together; to wit, John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, of damnable memory, who drew with them no small number to miserable ruin and infidelity. For when those, and such like pestiferous persons, did, in the beginning of their poisoned doctrine,[1] obstinately sow and spread abroad perverse and false opinions, the prelates, who had the regiment and execution of the judicial power, like dumb dogs not able to bark, neither yet revenging speedily with the apostle all such disobedience, nor regarding corporally to cast out of the Lord's house (as they were enjoined by the canons) those subtle and pestilent arch-heretics, and their wolvish fury and cruelty, with all expedition; but, suffering their false and pernicious doctrine negligently, by their over-long delays, to grow and wax strong; a great multitude of people, instead of true doctrine, received those things which they did long, falsely, perniciously, and damnably sow among them; and, giving credit unto them, fell from the right faith, and are entangled (the more the pity) in the foul errors

(1) All these be errors and heresies, for that they speak against the pride of prelates and their excessive dignities.

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of paganism:[1] insomuch, that these arch-heretics, and such as spring of them, have infected the catholic flock of Christ in divers climates of the world, and parts bordering upon the same, and have caused them to putrefy in the filthy dunghill of their lies. Wherefore the general synod of Constance was compelled, with St. Augustine, to exclaim against so great and ruinous a plague of faithful men, and of the sound and true faith itself, saying: 'What shall the sovereign medicine of the church do? with motherly love[2] seeking the health of her sheep, chafing as it were, amongst a company of men frantic, and having the disease of the lethargy. What! shall she desist and leave off her good purpose? No, not so. But rather let her, if there be no remedy, be sharp to both these sorts, which are the grievous enemies of her womb. For the physician is sharp unto the man bestraught and raging in his frenzy; and yet he is a father to his own rude and unmannerly son, in binding the one, in beating the other, by showing therein his great love unto them both.' 'But, if they be negligent, and suffer them to perish,' saith St. Augustine, 'this mansuetude is rather to be supposed false cruelty.'

And therefore the aforesaid synod, to the glory of Almighty God, and preservation of his catholic faith, and augmenting of christian religion, and for the salvation of men's souls, hath corporally rejected and cast forth of the household of God, the aforesaid John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome; who, amongst other things, did believe, preach, teach, and maintain, of the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments of the church, and articles of the faith, contrary to that the holy church of Rome believeth, holdeth, preacheth, and teacheth; and have presumed obstinately to preach, teach, hold, and believe many other besides, to the damnation of themselves and others: and the said synod hath separated the same, as obstinate and malapert heretics, from the communion of the faithful people; and hath declared them to be spiritually thrown forth. And many other things, both wholesome and profitable, hath the same council, as touching the premises, established and decreed; whereby they, who, by the means of those arch-heretics, and by their false doctrine, have spiritually departed from the Lord's house, may, by the canonical rules, be reduced to the straight path of truth and verity.

And, moreover, as we to our great grief do hear, not only in the kingdom of Bohemia, and the dukedom of Moravia, and in other places above recited, but also in certain parts and provinces near adjoining and bordering upon the same, there be many other of the sectaries and followers of the aforesaid arch-heretics and heretical opinions; casting behind their backs as well the fear of God, as the shame of the world, neither receiving fruit of conversion and repentance by the miserable destruction of the aforesaid John Huss and Jerome; but who, as men drowned in the dungeon of their sins,[3] cease not to blaspheme the Lord God, taking his name in vain (whose minds the father of lies hath damnably blinded), and do read and study the aforesaid books or works, containing heresies and errors, being lately by the aforesaid synod condemned to be burned; who, also, to the peril of themselves and many other simple men, and against the statutes, decrees, and ordinances in the synod aforesaid, and the canonical sanctions, do presume to preach and teach the same, to the great peril of souls, and derogation of the catholic faith, and to the slander of many others besides: We, therefore, considering that error, where it is not resisted, seemeth to be allowed and liked: and having a desire to resist such evil and pernicious errors, and utterly root them out from amongst the company of faithful Christians, especially from the afore-recited places of Bohemia, Moravia, and other straits and islands joining and bordering upon the same (lest they should stretch out and enlarge their limits), we will and command your discretions, by our letters apostolical, the holy council of Constance approving and allowing the same, that you that are archbishops, bishops, and others of the clergy, and every one of you by himself, or by any other or others, being grave and fit persons to have spiritual jurisdiction, do see that all and singular persons, of what dignity, office, pre-eminence, state, or condition[4] soever they be, and by what name soever they are known, who shall presume otherwise to teach, preach, or observe,

(1) All are pagans, with the pope, that like not his superstitious and idolatrous traditions.
(2) Great difference between a loving mother, and the frantic whore of Babylon.
(3) We fools thought their life to be madness, and their end without honour.' [Wisd. v.]
(4) 'Et os ejus sicut os leonis.'—i.e. 'And his mouth is like the mouth of a lion.' [Apoc. xiii.]

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according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a judge, show and declare his proper and own innocency with devotion; as beseemeth in that behalf. And if, in his purgation, being canonically interdicted, he do fail, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or refuse to take his oath by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation; then let him be condemned as a heretic. But such as through negligence or through slothfulness shall omit to show their said innocency, and to make such purgation, let them be excommunicated, and so long be put out from the company of christian men, till that they shall make condign satisfaction; so that if, by the space of one whole year, they shall remain in such excommunication, then let them, as heretics, be condemned.

And further, if any shall be found culpable in any point of the aforesaid pestiferous doctrine of the arch-heretics aforesaid, or in any article thereof, whether it be by the report of the seditious, or else well-disposed; let them yet be punished according to the canons.[1] If only, through infamy and suspicion of the aforesaid articles, or any of them, any man shall be found suspected, and in his purgation canonical for this thing, being interdicted, shall fail; let him be accounted as a man convicted; and, as a convicted person, by the canons let him be punished.

And furthermore, we, invocating and putting in execution the canon of our predecessor of happy memory, pope Boniface VIII., which beginneth thus, 'Ut inquisitionis negotium,' &c., in exhorting-wise require,[2] and also command, all temporal potentates, lords, and judges before recited, by whatsoever dignities, offices, and names they are known, that, as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the faithful members and children of the church, and do rejoice in the name of Christ, so in likewise, for defence of the same faith, they will obey, intend, and give their aid and favourable help to you that are archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical men, inquisitors of all heretical pravity, and other judges and ecclesiastical persons by you hereunto, as aforesaid, appointed (holding the faith and communion of our holy mother the church) for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid heretics, their believers, their favourers, their receivers, and their defenders, whensoever they shall be thereunto of them required.

And that they bring, and cause to be brought (all delay set apart), the aforesaid pestiferous persons so seeking to destroy others with them, into such safe keeping and prisons, as by you the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and inquisitors aforesaid, are to be appointed; or else unto such other place or places, as either you or they shall command within any of their dominions, governments, and rectories, where they, by catholic men, that is, by you the archbishops, bishops, the clergy and inquisitors, or any others that shall be by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in safe keeping; putting them in fetters, shackles, bolts, and manacles of iron, under most straight custody for escaping away, till such time as all that business, which belongeth unto them, be, by the judgment of the church, finished and determined, and that of such heresy, by a competent ecclesiastical judge (who firmly holdeth the faith and communion of the aforesaid holy church of Rome) they be condemned.

Satan raiseth his chains.

The residue let the aforesaid temporal lords, rectors, judges, or other their officers and pursuivants take amongst them, with condign deaths, without any delay to punish. But fearing lest, to the prejudice and slander of the aforesaid catholic faith and religion, through the pretext of ignorance, any man herein should be circumvented, or that any subtle and crafty men should, under the veil of frivolous excuse, cloak and dissemble in this matter; and that as touching the convincing or apprehending of the aforesaid heretics, their receivers and defenders, favourers, believers and adherents; and also of such as are suspected of heresy, and with such like perverse doctrine in any wise spotted, we might give more perfect instruction: therefore, as well to the kingdom of Bohemia, and parts near adjoining to the same, as all others where this superstitious doctrine first began to spread, we have thought it good to send the articles hereunder

(1) Note again the tenderness of this loving mother, the church of Rome.

(2) 'Et faciet omnes, pusillos et magnos, et divites et pauperes, et servos, accipere characterem in manu sua dextra.' i.e. 'And he shall make both little and great, rich and poor, free and bond to take his character in their hand,' &c. [Apoc. xiii.]

written, concerning the sect of those arch-heretics, for the better direction of the aforesaid catholic faith. *Henry V.* A.D. 1418.

Touching which articles, by virtue of holy obedience, we charge and command you and all other archbishops and bishops, all manner of commissaries and inquisitors, that every of them, within the diocese and limits of their jurisdiction, and also in the aforesaid kingdom and dukedom, and places near adjoining (although the same places be beyond the same their jurisdiction), in the favour of the catholic faith, do give most diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of those errors, arch-heresies, and most pestiferous sects aforesaid; and also that they compel all defamed persons and suspected of so pestiferous a contagion, whether it be under the penalty of the crime confessed, or of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, or any other formidable pain canonical or legal, when and wheresoever it shall seem good unto them, and as the quality of the fact requireth, by an oath corporally taken, either upon the Holy Evangelists, or upon the relics of saints, or upon the image of the crucifix, according to the observances of certain places, and according to the interrogatories, to make convenient answer to every article therein written. The old manner of the popish oath. For we intend, against all and singular archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical persons, or inquisitors, who shall show themselves negligent and remiss in the extirpation of the leaven of this heretical pravity, and in purging their territories, dioceses, and places to them appointed, of such evil and wicked men; to proceed and cause to be proceeded, unto the deprivation and deposition of their pontifical dignities: and shall substitute such others in their places, who can and may be able to confound the said heretical pravity; and shall proceed to further pains against such by the laws limited. And to others yet more grievous (if need require) we ourselves will proceed and cause to be proceeded, according as the fact of the party, and the filthiness of his crime committed, shall deserve. The tenor of those articles whereof we have made mention in this our own writing, is in words as follows:

The Articles of John Wickliff to be inquired upon.[1]

The Articles of John Huss to be inquired upon.

I. There is one only universal church, which is the university of the predestinate; and it afterward followeth, The universal church is only one; as there is one university of those that are predestinate. *See Appendix.*

II. Paul was never a member of the devil, although he did certain acts like unto the acts of the church malignant.

III. The reprobate are not parts of the church, for that no part of the same finally falleth from her, because the charity of predestination, which bindeth the same church together, never faileth. Speaking of the invisible church, the article is true.

IV. The two natures, that is, the divinity and the humanity, be one Christ.

V. The reprobate, although he be some time in grace, according to present justice, yet is he never a part of the holy church; and the predestinate is ever a member of the church, although some time he fall from grace 'adventitia,' but not from grace of predestination.

VI. Ever taking the church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice; after this sort, the church is an article of our belief.[2]

VII. Peter is not, nor ever was, the head of the holy catholic church.

VIII. Priests living viciously do defile the authority of priesthood; and so, as unfaithful children, do unfaithfully believe of the seven sacraments, of the keys of the church, of offices, of censures, of ceremonies, of the worshipping of relics; of indulgences, orders, and other holy things of the church.

IX. The papal dignity came and grew from the emperor, and its government and institution sprang from the emperor's government. The papal dignity touched.

X. No man can reasonably affirm, either of himself or others, that he is the head of any particular church, or that the bishop of Rome is the head of the church of Rome.

XI. A man ought not to believe, that he who is bishop of Rome is the head of every particular church, unless God have predestinated him.

XII. None is the vicar of Christ, or of Peter, unless he follow him in manners

(1) See infrà, p. 564 note (1): also the note in the Appendix on p. 567, note (2).—Ed.
(2) This article seemeth to be wrested out of the words of Jerome of Prague.

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and conditions; seeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwise apt to receive of God this power procuratory. For unto the office of a vicegerent of Christ is required the conformity of manners, and the authority of the institutor.

XIII. The pope is not the manifest and true successor of Peter, the prince of the apostles, if he live in manners contrary to Peter; and if he hunt after avarice, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot. And likewise the cardinals be not the true and manifest successors of the college of the other apostles of Christ, unless they live according to the manner of the apostles, keeping the commandments and councils of our Lord Jesus Christ.

XIV. The doctors, alleging that, if a man who will not be amended by the ecclesiastical censures, is to be delivered to the secular powers, do follow in this point the bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees, who delivered Christ to the secular power, saying, 'It is not lawful for us to kill any man' (because he would not obey them in all things); and that such be greater homicides than Pilate.

XV. The ecclesiastical obedience is such an obedience as the priests of the church have found out, beside the express authority of the Scripture.

XVI. The immediate division of human works is, that they be either virtuous or vicious: and if a man be vicious, and doth any thing, then doth he it viciously; and if he be virtuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it virtuously. For like as vice, which is otherwise called crime or mortal sin, doth infect all the doings of a vicious man; so virtue doth quicken all the doings of a virtuous man.

XVII. A priest of God, living after his law, and having the knowledge of the Scripture, and a desire to edify the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended. And further, If the pope, or any other prelate, doth forbid a priest, so disposed, to preach, the priest ought not to obey him.

XVIII. Every one that taketh upon him the order of priesthood, receiveth in charge the office of a preacher; and that charge ought he well to execute, any excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

XIX. By the censures ecclesiastical (as of excommunication, suspension, and interdict) the clergy, to their own advancement, force the lay-people to aid them; multiply avarice, screen wickedness, and prepare the way for Antichrist. And this is an evident sign that such censures proceed from Antichrist, which in their processes they call 'fulminationes' [that is, their thunderbolts], wherewith the clergy principally proceed against those that lay bare the wickedness of Antichrist; who hath mostly gotten over the clergy to be on his side.

XX. If the pope be evil, especially if he be a reprobate, then is he, with the apostle Judas, a devil, a thief, and a son of perdition; and is not the head of the holy church militant, since he is not even a member of the same.

XXI. The grace of predestination is the band wherewith the body of the church, and every member of the same, are indissolubly joined to their head, Christ.

XXII. The pope or prelate that is evil and a reprobate, is a pastor in name, but in truth a thief and a robber.

XXIII. The pope ought not to be called "most holy," even for his office-sake; for then ought a king to be called by his office "most holy;" and the hangman with other such officers also, were to be called "holy;" yea, the devil himself ought to be called "holy," forasmuch as he is God's officer.[1]

XXIV. If the pope live contrary unto Christ, although he climb up by right and lawful election, according to the common custom of men; yet, notwithstanding, would he otherwise climb than by Christ; yea, though we admit that he should enter by the election principally made by God. For Judas Iscariot was rightly and lawfully elect of God, Christ Jesus, to his bishopric, and yet came he by some other way than he ought to do into the sheepfold.[2]

XXV. The condemnation of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff made by the doctors, is unreasonable, wicked, and naught; and the cause by them alleged is feigned; that is, that none of them are catholic, but every one of them heretical, erroneous, or slanderous.

(1) John Huss expoundeth this article with this distinction, 'Non ratione meriti, sed ratione officii.'

(2) John Huss declareth his mind touching this article sufficiently before.

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X. Item, Whether he know any that have the treatises, works, epistles, or any other writings of the aforesaid John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, in whatsoever tongue they are made or translated, and that he detect and manifest the same, for the purgation of their faith and execution of justice.

XI. Item, Especially let the learned be examined, whether he believe that the sentence of the holy council of Constance upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff and the thirty articles of John Huss above-written[1] be catholic, which saith that some of them are notoriously heretical, some erroneous, other some blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, and some offensive to godly ears.

See Appendix.

XII. Item, Whether he believe and affirm that in no case it is lawful for a man to swear?

XIII. Item, Whether he believe, that at the commandment of a judge, or any other, it is lawful to take an oath to tell the truth in any convenient cause, although it be but purging of an infamy, or not?

XIV. Item, Whether he believe that perjury wittingly committed, upon what cause soever, whether it be for the safeguard of his own life, or of any other man's life, yea although it be in the cause and defence of the faith, be a sin or not?

XV. Item, Whether a man contemning purposely the rites of the church, and the ceremonies of exorcism, of catechism, and the consecration of the water of baptism, be in deadly sin or not?

XVI. Item, Whether he believe, that after the consecration of the priest in the sacrament of the altar, under the figure of bread and wine, be no material bread and wine; but in all points the same very Christ who was crucified upon the cross, and sitteth upon the right hand of the Father?

XVII. Item, Whether he believe, that after the consecration made by the priest, under the only form of bread, and besides the form of wine, be the very flesh of Christ and his blood, his soul and his deity, and so whole Christ as he is? and in like wise, whether, under the form of wine, without the form of bread, be the very flesh of Christ and his very blood, his soul and deity, and so whole Christ, and the same body absolutely under every one of those kinds singularly?

Heresy to minister in both kinds.

XVIII. Item, Whether he do believe, that the custom of houseling of the lay-people under the form of bread only, observed of the universal church, and allowed by the holy council of Constance, be to be used; and not, without the authority of the church, at men's pleasures, to be altered? and whether they that obstinately affirm the contrary to this, are to be punished as heretics, or not?

XIX. Item, Whether he believe that those who contemn the receiving of the sacraments of confirmation, or extreme unction, or the solemnization of matrimony, commit deadly sin or not?

XX. Item, Whether he believe that a christian man, over and besides the contrition of heart, being licensed of a convenient priest, is bound to confess himself only to a priest, and not to any lay-man, be he ever so devout or good, upon the necessity of salvation?

XXI. Item, Whether he believe, that in the cases before put, a priest may absolve a sinner confessing himself and being contrite, from all sins, and enjoin him penance for the same?

XXII. Item, Whether he believe, that an evil priest, with due manner and form, and with the intention of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolve, doth verily baptize, and doth verily dispose all other sacraments even as the church doth?

XXIII. Item, Whether he believe that St. Peter was the vicar of Christ, having power to bind and to loose upon the earth?

XXIV. Item, Whether he believe that the pope, being canonically elect (who for the time shall be), by that name expressly be the successor of Peter or not, having supreme authority in the church of God?

XXV. Item, Whether he believe that the authority or jurisdiction of the pope, an archbishop, or a bishop, in binding or loosing, be more than the authority of a simple priest or not, although he have charge of souls?

Heresy to deny the pope's indulgences.

XXVI. Item, Whether he believe that the pope may, upon a just and good cause, give indulgences and remission of sins to all christian men, being verily contrite and confessed, especially to those that go on pilgrimage to holy places and do good deeds?

XXVII. Item,[2] Whether he believe, that by such grant the pilgrims that visit those churches, and give them any thing, may obtain remission of sins or not?

(1) See suprà, p. 561: also see the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) See Appendix.

XXVIII. Item, Whether he believe that all bishops may grant unto their subjects, according as the holy canons do limit, such indulgences, or not?

XXIX. Item, Whether he believe and affirm, that it is lawful for faithful Christians to worship images and the relics of saints, or not?

XXX. Item, Whether he believe that those religions, which the church hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in by the holy fathers, or not?

Heresy not to worship images.

XXXI. Item, Whether he believe that the pope, or any other prelate for the time being, or their vicars, may excommunicate their subject ecclesiastical or secular for disobedience or contumacy; so that such a one is to be holden and taken for excommunicated, or not?

XXXII. Item, Whether he believe, that for the disobedience and contumacy of persons excommunicated, increasing, the prelates, or their vicars, in spiritual things, have power to aggravate and to re-aggravate, to put upon men the interdict, and to call for the secular arm; and that the same secular arm or power ought to be obedient to the censures, by their inferiors called for?

XXXIII. Item, Whether he believe that the pope and other prelates, or else their vicars, have power in spiritual things to excommunicate priests and laymen, that are stubborn and disobedient, from their office, benefice, or entrance into the church, and from the administration of the sacraments of the church; also to suspend them?

These popes will be sure to lose nothing

XXXIV. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful for ecclesiastical persons, without committing sin, to have any possessions and temporal goods? and whether he believe that it is not lawful for lay-men to take away the same from them by their authority; but rather that such takers away of, and encroachers upon, ecclesiastical goods, are to be punished as committers of sacrilege, yea, although such ecclesiastical persons live naughtily, that have such goods?

Wealthy wickedness maintained.

XXXV. Item, Whether any such taking-away from, or encroaching upon, any priest rashly or violently made, although the priest be an evil liver, be sacrilege, or not?

XXXVI. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful for lay-men, of what sex soever, that is, men and women, to preach the word of God, or not?

XXXVII. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful to all priests freely to preach the word of God wheresoever, whensoever, and to whomsoever it shall please them, although they be not sent at all?[1]

XXXVIII. Item, Whether he believe that all mortal sins, and especially such as be manifest and public, are to be corrected and to be extirpated, or not?

Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, that if any, by secret information, by you or any other to be received, shall be found either infamed or suspected of any kind of the pestiferous sect, heresy, and doctrine of the most pestilent men, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, the archheretics aforesaid, or of favouring, receiving, or defending the aforesaid damned men while they lived on the earth, their false followers and disciples, or any that believeth their errors, or any that after their death prayeth for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongst the number of catholic men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongst the number of the saints, either by their preaching, worshipping, or other ways, wherein they deserve to be suspected; that then they, by you or some of you, may be cited personally to appear before you or some of you, without either proctor or doctor to answer for them, an oath being openly taken by them as is aforesaid, to speak the plain and mere verity of the articles above written, and every of them, or other opportune, as case and circumstance shall require, according to your discretion, as you or any of you shall see expedient to proceed against them, or any of them, according to these presents, or otherwise canonically, as you shall think good.

Also that you do publish solemnly, and cause to be published these present letters, omitting the articles and interrogatories herein contained, in the cities and other places of your diocese, where conveniently you may, under our authority; and there to denounce, and cause to be denounced, all and singular such heretics, with their abettors and favourers of their heresies and errors; of what sex or kind soever, that do hold and defend the said errors, or do participate any manner of way with heretics, privily or apertly; of what state, dignity, or

[1] The pope neither preacheth himself, nor yet will suffer other good priests to preach.

Henry V. A. D 1418.

condition soever he or they be, patriarch, archbishop, bishop, king, queen, duke, or of whatsoever other dignity, either ecclesiastical or secular, he be; also with their advocates and proctors whosoever, which are believers, followers, favourers, defenders, or receivers of such heretics, or suspected to be believers, followers, fautors, defenders, or receivers of them, to be excommunicate every Sunday and festival day, in the presence of the people.

Papa spirat minas et edes.

Furthermore, that you diligently cause to be inquired, by the said our authority, upon all and singular such persons, both men and women, that maintain, approve, defend, and teach such errors, or that be favourers, receivers, and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt; of what dignity, state, preeminence, degree, order, or condition soever. And that such as you shall find in the said your inquisition, either by their own confession, or by any other mean to be defamed, or otherwise infected with the spot of such heresy or error, you, through the sentence of excommunication, suspension, interdict, and priva tion of their dignities, parsonages, offices, or other benefices of the church, and fees which they hold of any church, monastery, and other ecclesiastical places; also of honours and secular dignities and degrees of sciences, or other faculties; as also by other pains and censures of the church, or by ways and means whatsover else shall seem to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning their bodies, and other corporal punishments wherewith heretics are punished, or are wont and are commanded by canonical sanctions to be used; and, if they be clerks, that you by degradation, do correct and punish, and cause them to be corrected and punished, with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you do rise up stoutly and courageously against such heretics,[1] and the goods as well of them, as of the lay-men, according to the canonical sanction made against heretics and their followers, under which we will and command them and their partakers to be subject. And also such persons as shall be infamed of the heresies or errors aforesaid, or any of the premises, shall be bound to purge themselves at your arbitrement: but the others, who, either by witnesses, or by their own confessions, or other allegations or probations, shall be convicted of the aforesaid heresies or articles, or of any the premises, they shall be compelled to revoke and abjure publicly and solemnly the said articles and errors, and to suffer condign penance and punishment, yea even to perpetual imprisonment, if need be, for the same.

And, to the intent that they shall not nourish any kind of heresies hereafter, either in word, deed, or gesture, or shall induce others either in word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, to believe the same, they shall be forced to put in sufficient surety: who, if it so chance that they will not publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure their articles and errors, and take at your hands condign penance, though it be to perpetual or temporal punishment according to your discretion, neither will be contented to put in sufficient surety that they will not hereafter hold or nourish these errors and heresies, neither will induce others by word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other manner of colour to believe the same, that then you shall proceed against them, according to the quality of their errors and demerits; yea, and if you see it so expedient, as against heretics, and as infected with heresy, by our authority, according to the canonical sanctions summarily, and simply and plainly, 'sine strepitu et figura judicii,' and of office (all appellation or appellations whatsoever ceasing); and that you punish the same, according to the sanctions and traditions canonical, yea, if need be, in leaving and committing them to the secular power; and against such as be superiors or learned doctors, laying the censures of ecclesiastical excommunication, all appellation set aside: also invocating, if need shall require, aid of the secular arm. The constitution as well of our predecessor pope Boniface VIII. of blessed memory, wherein is decreed that no man shall be called to judgment out of his city or diocese except in certain cases, and even in those cases only one day's journey from the border of the diocese in which he dwelleth; and that no judges deputed from the see apostolic do presume to proceed against any person out of the city and diocese, wherein they are deputed to act; or do presume to commit their authority to any other person or persons, or to fetch and remove any man beyond one day's journey from out his diocese where he dwelleth; as also the constitution passed at the general Council of Lateran 1215, limiting two days' journey at most; as also all other constitutions of any bishop of Rome, touching as well judges delegate,

Pope Martin V. contrary to pope Boniface VIII.

(1) See here the dragon casting out whole floods to swallow up the saints.

as persons not to be called to judgment beyond a certain number; or else any other edict, indulgence, privilege, or exemption, general or special, to the contrary hereof granted from the apostolic see, for any person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or cited up to judgment without the compass of certain limits; or else whatsoever thing otherwise may hinder, stop, or impeach your jurisdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any means—notwithstanding.[1]

Given at Constance, February 22nd, the first year of our popedom. [A.D. 1418.][1]

Pope Martin undoeth the acts and edicts of all other popes.

This bloody and abominable commission of pope Martin, which I have copied out of a certain old monument remaining in the hands of Master Hackluyt, student in the Temple[2], seemeth to be directed and given out for the public destruction of all faithful christian men, about the latter end and breaking up of the council of Constance, A. D. 1418; by which the prudent reader hath this to note and consider: what labour, what policy, what counsel, and what laws have been set, what ways have been taken, what severity hath been showed, how men's power, wit, and the authority of the whole world, have conspired together from time to time, continually, by all manner of means, to subvert and supplant the word and way of the Lord; and yet, notwithstanding, man hath not prevailed, but all his force and devised policies have been overthrown, dispatched, and, with the counsel of Ahithophel and Haman, have been brought to nought; and, contrary to the fury of the world, the gospel of Christ hath still increased. Neither yet for all this will the pope cease to spurn and rebel still against the kingdom of Christ and his gospel, against which neither he, nor yet the gates of hell, shall ever prevail. The Lord of hosts be merciful to his poor persecuted flock! Amen.

Note how Antichrist rageth and riseth against Christ

Man's power and counsel too weak against Christ.

Against this pestilent bull and inquisition of pope Martin, the great Antichrist, I thought good here to adjoin and annex another contrary writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and subscription of Procopius, Conrad, and other captains of the Bohemians; which seemeth, not long after the death of Zisca, to be written against the pestiferous see of Rome; the tenor whereof here followeth.

A Fruitful and Christian Exhortation of the Bohemians, to Kings and Princes, to stir them up to the zeal of the Gospel.

May the Almighty God the Father, by his well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, by his Holy Spirit, open the understanding both of you and of all Christians, and enlighten your hearts with the light of his doctrine of righteousness, and make you to continue therein surely established to the end! This we desire of you for your salvation, all ye honourable, wise, and honest noble men; and all the commonalty, yea rich and poor, hear and consider with diligent heed the words of this present letter, which is sent unto you from the country of the Bohemians.

It is manifest and well known to you and many other cities, kings, princes, and lords, that now a certain number of years there hath been great discord betwixt us and you; and there have been some who have moved you by letters, and provoked you to make war against us, and to destroy us. And, as well on your part as on ours, many men, as well noble as unnoble, have foolishly lost their lives. Yet never hitherto have ye in any part understood our faith by our own confession, neither whether we be able to prove the same out of the Scriptures, yea or no; and yet, in the mean time, kings, princes, lords, and cities, have sustained great damage. And hereof we greatly marvel that you do so much trust and believe the pope and his priests, who give you drink full of poison, and such comfort as no man can understand, in that they say that they will

The pope and prelates, by their letters, stirred them to fight.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.—Ed.

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give you forgiveness of all your sins,[1] and great grace and pardon, to this end, that you should war upon us and destroy us: whereas their graces and pardons are none other than great lies, and a great seducing of the body and soul of all them that believe them, and put their trust in them. This we would prove unto them, and overcome them by the holy Scripture; and we would suffer, that whosoever is desirous to hear, the same should hear it. For the pope and all his priests herein deal with you, as the devil would have done with our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom Luke writeth [chap. iv.], That he brought him upon a high hill, and showed unto him, in the twinkling of an eye, all the kingdoms that are in the compass of the earth, and said unto him, 'I will give thee,' &c. So the devil deceiveth the pope and all the priests, with the riches of the world, and worldly power; and they think they can give grace and pardon when they will; and they themselves shall never find favour before Almighty God, except they repent and make amends, because of their great deceiving of Christendom. And how can they give that to others, which they themselves have not? So did the devil, who was rich in promising, and poor in giving. And like as the devil is not ashamed to tell a lie, so all they are not ashamed to speak that which shall never be found true, nor be proved by the holy Scriptures; because for no cause they stir up kings, princes, lords, and cities, to make war against us, not to the end that the christian faith should thereby be defended, but because they fear that their secret vices and heresies shall be disclosed and made manifest. For if they had a true cause, and a godly love to the christian faith, they would then take the books of the holy Scripture, and would come unto us, and overcome us with the weapons of God's word: and that is our chief desire. For so did the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to the Pagans and Jews, and brought them from their infielity to the true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; and this they did in the spirit of meekness, as the apostle Paul writeth in Galatians vi. 'Brethren, if any man be grieved,' &c. So ought they also to do, if they perceived that they were just and we unjust. And if we would not abide instruction, then they might take to them kings, princes, lords, and imperial cities, and resist us according to the commandments of the holy Scripture. But this is the subtle defence of all the bishops and priests, that they say that Master Huss and Jerome, who were burnt at Constance, were overcome by the holy father the pope, and by the whole council. For ye must understand that they were not overcome by the Holy Ghost, but unjustly, with wrongful violence, which God may yet hereafter grievously punish in all them that gave their counsel and aid thereto. And they say, it ought not to be suffered, that we should be heard in confessing our faith.[2] How may that be proved by the holy Scripture, since Christ heard the devil, as it is written in Matt. iv.? and they are not better than Christ, nor we worse than the devil. If they be just and have the truth with them (as they say they have), and we be unrighteous, why do they fear, since the truth ought not be afraid of falsehood, as Esdras writeth in his second book, chap. iii. Zerubabel declared that truth is of all things the most mighty, and overcometh all things. For Christ is the truth [John xiv.], 'I am the way, the truth,' &c.; and the devil is the father of lies, [John viii.]; 'He is a liar from the beginning, and never abode in the truth, and there is no truth in him.' Therefore, if the pope and his priests have the truth, let them overcome us with the word of God. But if they have lies, then they cannot long abide in all their presumption. Wherefore, we exhort and beseech all the imperial cities, all kings, princes, noble men, rich and poor, for God's sake and for his righteousness, that one of them write hereof to another, and that there may be some means made, how we may commune with you safely and friendly, at some such place as shall be fit both for you and us; and bring with you your bishops and teachers, and let them and our teachers fight together with the word of God, and let us hear them, and let not the one overcome the other by violence or false subtlety, but only by the word of God. And if your bishops and teachers have better proofs of their faith out of the holy Scripture, than we, and our faith be found untrue, we will receive penance and satisfaction, according to the gospel; but if your bishops and teachers be overcome of ours by the holy Scripture, then do ye repent and hearken to us, and hold with us. And if your bishops and teachers

The pope seduceth the world with vain promises of things which he cannot give.

The devil and the pope rich in promising, and poor in giving.

False pretences of the papists.

Huss and Jerome, by wrongful violence, put to death.

A just and godly request of the Bohemians.

(1) Fair words do make fools fain.
(2) Christ heard the devil, but the pope will not hear men confess their faith.

will cease from their spiritual pride, and repent and make satisfaction, then we will help you according to our power, and will compel them, either to join with us, or else we will expel them out of Christendom. And if your bishops and teachers will say, that it is not lawful for laymen to hear such reasoning, or to be present at it; that may you understand to tend to no other end, but that they fear they should be overcome and put to shame in the sight of you. For, if they knew that they should overcome therein, out of doubt they would desire that every man should hear it; and thereby their glory should become the greater, and their fame and praises should be increased upon the earth. And if your bishops and teachers counsel you to come to no hearing with us, then do it, whether they will or no; and suffer not yourselves, at any time, to be so foolishly seduced with their foolish pardons, but tarry at home in your houses with your wives and children. And let the pope of Rome come to us with all his cardinals and bishops, and with all his priests, with his own person and power, to war with us, and let themselves deserve the absolution of sins, grace, and pardon, which they preach to you (for they have great need of forgiveness of sins, grace and pardon), and, by the grace of God, we will give them pardon enough as they shall need. But their subtle excuse is this; they say, that it belongeth not to priests to fight with bodily weapons: and true it is, that belongeth not to them; but it belongeth as little to them to stir up, to counsel, and to fortify others thereto. For Paul saith in Romans i., and Galatians v., that all that do such things are worthy of everlasting death.

Wherefore the pope's clergy will abide no conference with the laity.

The pope's pretensed excuse detected.

And if ye will not determine to do any other thing than to fight against us, then will we take the Lord to our help, and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we will not be afraid for the excommunication or curse of the pope, or his cardinals, or of the bishops; because we know that the pope is not God, as he maketh himself, that he can curse and excommunicate when he will, or bless when he will; who hath now these many years cursed and excommunicated us, and yet, notwithstanding, God and his gracious blessing have been our help. But, peradventure, ye will say, that though we see that bishops and priests be evil and wicked, yet we cannot lack them; for who should baptize our children, who should hear confessions, and minister the holy sacraments? and then also we should be within the excommunication of the pope, and of his bishops. Well-beloved! ye need to take no care for these matters. The excommunicating of the pope hurteth you nothing. Fear ye the excommunicating of God, and the Lord will provide for those things well enough. If ye would banish evil bishops and priests, ye should have good priests who should baptize your children, hear confessions, and minister the holy mysteries; because when the devil is banished, then place is made for the Holy Ghost: so when ill bishops and priests shall be banished, then place shall be made for good priests and bishops. Also, your bishops and priests say, that we are miscreants and heretics, and that we believe not on purgatory, nor upon the Virgin Mary, nor upon the saints; wherein they say ill, for we will prove, by the holy Scripture, that we know better, by God's grace, how we ought to believe upon purgatory, and upon Mary, the mother of our Lord, and upon his well-beloved saints, than they can tell us. Also they say, that we will not be obedient unto the pope. Truly, when he shall become holy and just, then we know well that we ought to be obedient to him in all things, and not before. They say, also, that we destroy God's holy service, in that we destroy monasteries, banishing thence the wicked monks and nuns. Truly we did it, thinking once that they were holy, that they did the reverend service of God; but after that we well perceived and considered their life and works, then we perceived that they were false lowly hypocrites, and wicked builders on high, and sellers of pardons and masses for the dead, and such as devoured in themselves the sins of the people. And whereas they said that they rise at midnight when other men sleep, and pray for the sins of the people—forasmuch as their selling of their prayers and masses for the dead for gifts, is no better than hypocrisy and heresy; therefore, if we do speak against them and destroy their monasteries, we do not therein destroy the service of God, but rather the service of the devil, and the schools of heretics: and if ye knew them as we know them, ye would as diligently destroy them as we do. For Christ our Lord did not ordain any such order, and therefore it must needs come to pass that shortly it shall be destroyed; as our Lord saith in the Gospel

Experience of God's blessing, where the pope hath cursed.

Objection.

Answer

The pope's false accusation answered.

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of St. Matthew [chap. xv.], 'Every plant which my Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.' We desire you also, that ye would diligently consider the articles here written, wherein your bishops and priests are guilty.

The first article is, That when your bishops will ordain priests, they do it not except he that is to be made priest have sufficient living, either of inheritance left him by his parents, or of benefices: whereas notwithstanding, Christ would that priests should be poor, forasmuch as it is enough for the scholar to be as his Master is, and for the servant to be as his Lord is; and the bishops will that they should be rich upon earth, which is unjust before the Lord.

Abuse of popish religion in making priests, cardinals, &c.

The second article is, 'That bishops take money of such as are to be ordained; but St. Peter did therefore sharply rebuke Simon Magus, when he would have given him money, as it is written in Acts viii.

Abuse of popish religion in taking orders.

The third article is, That they that come to be priests, enter into priesthood, not for God's service-sake, because they mean to preach and increase it among the christian people, so as the people may be edified and made better, but rather for an idle life, and that they may eat well and drink well, that they may be honoured and reverenced upon earth. For every one waiteth upon his priest as a thief and a robber, as John writeth, chap. x.

Popish excommunication abused.

The fourth article is, Of excommunication, which the pope and all his priests take to themselves, and therewith fetter and bind all christian people as they will; and they think that whosoever they excommunicate or curse, he is accursed and excommunicated before God. And we will prove by the holy Scripture, that they themselves are excommunicated and accursed before God, because they keep not the commandment of the love of God, whereof the apostle writeth in 1 Cor. xvi., 'If any man loveth not our Lord Jesus Christ, he is excommunicated in the day of the coming of the Lord.' For they cannot excommunicate you, who are already bound and excommunicate before God and his saints; and, therefore, why fear ye their excommunication?

The pope's church poisoned with buying and selling their praying and singing, and all their doing for money.

The fifth article is, That they take gifts to pray for the dead, and to say mass for their souls. This is a wickedness and heresy before the Lord, and all they that contribute to them to this end, do wickedly, for that hereby priests become merchants of prayers and of masses; and herewith is all the church of Rome poisoned and defiled. For if they would pray for the dead, and say mass for their souls, yet no man ought to hire them thereto, forasmuch as they ought to take no gifts, neither little nor great. And every one that taketh rewards to this end, to redeem souls out of purgatory, doth therewithal cast his own soul down into hell; and they that give any thing to that end, do altogether lose that which they give. And with such devilish subtlety the pope with all his priests have deceived, spoiled, and disherited kings, princes, lords, and knights, and good householders, and many others, of their lawful inheritances; because their ancestors and progenitors gave them to colleges, monasteries and churches, that they might make memorials of them, and sing or say prayers or masses for their souls, that they might be redeemed out of purgatory.[1] And, with such goods, bishops, canons, and monasteries have made themselves so rich, that now they fall at variance with cities and princes:[2] and whereas they should procure peace betwixt cities and rulers, there they are the first that begin war; and as long as they have such goods, they will never cease to be at strife with lords and cities, neither will they begin to teach you the true foundation of the truth. For they do as a dog, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth and gnaweth it, so long he holdeth his peace, and cannot bark; even so, as long as they have this bone of pleasant riches, it will never be well in the world. Wherefore, all kings, princes, and imperial cities would do a great work of godliness and mercy, if by them they were compelled to do this, as the dog is, when the bone is taken from him.

The subtlety of the devil in making the church rich.

And, therefore, ye noble men, kings, princes, lords, imperial cities, and all the commonalty, both rich and poor, if ye have been asleep, yet now awake and open your eyes, and behold the subtlety of the devil, how he hath blinded the church of Rome, and take again that which is yours, and not theirs. And if you will make a good memorial for your souls, then do as the wise man saith [Eccles. xix], 'Lay up alms.' &c.

(1) Fear of purgatory hath robbed almost all the whole world.
(2) So long as priests be rich, they will never be true teachers

The sixth article is, That they are full of pride and of high mind; which is manifestly known by their long, costly, and superfluous garments, wherein they walk very unlike to Christ our Lord, who had a garment without a seam, and to the well-beloved John Baptist, who had a garment of camels' hair; and they will be honoured and worshipped; and they preach and say that priesthood ought to be honoured (and so it ought indeed to be); but there are none that do so much slander and abase it, as they themselves, with their evil works and gay apparel, and with their evil words, wherein they pass all other men. St. Paul saith [1 Tim. iii.], 'Let the elders that govern well, be honoured with double honour; chiefly, they that labour in the word and doctrine of the Lord.' Consider what he saith, 'They that govern well.'

Popish priests, with their long and sumptuous gowns, more like to the Pharisees than Christ.

The seventh article is, That they are covetous, from the highest to the lowest and for covetousness they preach many foolish deeds and manifest lies, and sell the holy sacraments, which is a great heresy; for God commanded that they should give freely. St. Paul writeth [1 Tim. i.], 'Covetousness is the root of all mischief, whereunto many have been given; and, therefore, they are separated from the faith, and have denied the truth.'

† The pope's church poisoned with covetousness and whoredom.

The eighth article is, That they commonly are called 'Notorious whoremongers.' This is manifestly seen in their concubines and children, who walk openly in all men's sight, and make many men's wives adulterous, or corrupt their daughters being virgins, and make them priests' harlots, and ribalds.

The pope's church and monasteries poisoned with devilish envy.

The ninth article is, That they are full of devilish envy; and especially in all monasteries they have great envy and hatred amongst themselves, because when any thing is given or disposed to one monastery or college, then there are others that hate it, and envy at it, and would more gladly have it themselves: like as among dogs, when any thing is given to the one and not to the other, which the other seeing, envieth his fellow, and the other likewise will rather devour all himself, than give any part to his fellow. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great sin of envy, by giving nothing unto them; and it were better that their possessions were taken from them, and that they should do that which the Lord spake to his disciples, saying, 'Go ye and preach the gospel to all men.'

The pope's church poisoned with idleness and belly-cheer.

The tenth article is, That they are idle, and chiefly the bishops, canons, and other prelates, who will not labour diligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miseries of Christendom, whereto they have bound themselves; and they eat the bread thereof in idleness, because when other men watch and labour to maintain themselves and their little ones, then are they with their lemans; or else they walk in some city, carrying hawks on their fists; or else they sit at their good wine with their concubines, and there they sing and play the Lucians, and eat of the best: and therefore all that willingly bring and give to them, shall be made partners of that curse which is given them of God, because they eat their bread unjustly, whereof St. Paul writeth [2 Thess. iii.], 'He that laboureth not, let him not eat.'

Infamous for notorious lies.

The eleventh article, That they are notorious liars; because, to the end that they may please men, they tell many tales and lies, which have no foundation nor proof in the holy Scripture. Of such writeth John in the Apocal. xxi.

Erreth in diminishing one part of the sacrament.

The twelfth article is, That they do not rightly give or minister to the people the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they give it not as God hath instituted it and commanded. This is a great and devilish sin, and too great malapertness. Herein we would overcome them, with the testimonies of the evangelists; I say, we would overcome the pope, and all his priests, with the authorities of Mark, Luke, and Paul. [Rom. xiii.], and we would suffer that kings, princes, lords, and all that are willing to hear, should hear it.

The pope's church charged with partiality.

The thirteenth article is, That they sit in spiritual judgment, and then, many times, they judge according to favour, and not according to the righteousness of God; that they take bribes, giving sentence for him, who, in God's sight, hath the wrongful cause. Woe be to such sentencers, as it is written in Isaiah v., 'Woe be to you that,' &c.

The fourteenth article is, That they sit hearing confessions, and when there come to them usurers, raveners, and thieves, they take bribes of them of their ill-gotten goods, to spare them; and they willingly suffer them in cities and towns. And likewise of adulterers and other notorious whoremongers and whores: and they neither let nor stay them in their great sins; to the end that

Henry VI. A. D. 1424.

the Scripture may be fulfilled in them, which saith, 'Gifts and the love of money do draw to hell, and do blind the eyes of judges.'

The fifteenth article is, That they receive tithes of men, and will of right have them,[1] and preach and say that men are bound to give them tithes. And therein they say falsely; for they cannot prove by the New Testament, that our Lord Jesus Christ commanded it, and his disciples warned no man to do so, neither did themselves receive them. But although in the Old Testament it were commanded to give tithes, yet it cannot thereby be proved, that christian men are bound thereto; for this precept of the Old Testament had an end in the first year of our Lord Jesus Christ, like as the precept of circumcision. Wherefore, beloved! consider and see how your bishops seduce you and shut your eyes with things that have no proof. Christ saith [Luke xi.], 'Give alms of those things that remain;' but he said not, Give the tenth of the goods which ye possess, but give alms. But when they hear the word, they may say as the lawyer said to Christ, 'Master, when thou sayest so, thou givest offence,' [Ib.]

The pope's church charged with usury.

The sixteenth article is, That they, in many places, lend money or goods to have treasure or usury, and have in cities and towns yearly payments and perpetual revenues, as great princes and lords; wherein they do against the gospel, which saith, 'Do not ye possess gold nor silver.' And whereas they lend for gain and usury, against that speaketh the Lord [Deut. xxiv.], 'Lend not on usury to thy brother,' &c. Yea, honest, discreet, and well-beloved lords! all the aforesaid articles we will prove against the pope and all his priests, with many testimonies of the holy Scripture, which, for brevity's sake, we have not here mentioned. But note ye chiefly these four articles, for which we strive, and desire to defend them to the death.

The first article is, That all public and customable mortal sins ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all priests and laymen, according to the commandment of the holy Scripture.

The second article is, That riches[2] ought to be taken from the pope and all his priests, from the highest to the lowest; and they ought to be made poor, as the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ were, who had nothing of their own, neither possessions in this world, neither worldly power.

Men appointed, may preach, though the pope forbid them.

The third article is, That the word of God ought to be free for every man appointed and ordained thereto, to preach and read in all places whither they shall come, without resistance of any man, and without any inhibition of either spiritual or earthly power, openly or manifestly.

When the pope holdeth his council, let men look to their wives and daughters.

The fourth article is, That the body of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to be delivered to every Christian as our Lord hath ordained it, and as the holy evangelists have written. We have also understood that there shall be a council in Basil; wherefore let no man be exalted, but let them diligently keep their wives, their daughters, and their virgins, from bishops, priests, and monks. And do not think that there is made any holy assembly of bishops and priests for the common commodity and profit of Christendom; but only to this end, that they may hide their secret vices and heresies with the cloak of hypocrisy, and let and hinder the righteousness of God, which is much contrary to them. And for this cause, consider ye diligently, that they will not make a holy assembly, but the congregation of Satan. And take ye heed that it be not done as some did at Constance, who took money of bishops and prelates, and suffered them to sleep with their wives. Ye well-beloved and honest lords! if ye find any thing in these aforesaid articles or words written somewhat sharply, we did it not to offend or contemn you, but to the end that ye should diligently consider and devise, how Christendom is so ill kept and led by the priests of this present age. Our Lord Jesus Christ keep you both in body and soul, Amen. In the year of our Lord 1430.[3]

Procopius, Smahors, Conrad, Samssmolich; captains of Bohemia.

See Appendix.

Now to prosecute the wars of the Bohemians again. After Zisca was dead, A.D. 1424, whereof we did intreat before, there was great

(1) He meaneth of claiming tithes by mere necessity of the old law, and not by the positive law of princes. (2) He meaneth the immoderate riches, and temporal possessions.
(3) Ex vetustissimo codice manuscripto.

fear, sorrow, and lamentation in their army, the soldiers accusing fortune which gave over such an invincible captain to be overcome with death. Immediately there was division in the host, the one part choosing Procopius Magnus to be their captain, the other part saying that there was none could be found worthy to succeed Zisca: whereupon they, choosing out certain to serve the wars, named themselves 'Orphans.' *Henry VI.* A. D. 1428. The army of Zisca divided.

Thus the Taborites, being divided into two armies, the one part retained their old and accustomed name, and the other, because of the death of their captain, named themselves 'Orphans.' And albeit that oftentimes there was dissension between them, yet whensoever any foreign power came towards them, they joined their powers together in one camp, and defended themselves. They seldom went unto any fenced towns, except it were to buy necessaries, but lived with their wives and children in their camp and tents. They had amongst them many cars, the which they used as a fortification; for whensoever they went unto battle, they made two wings of them, placing the footmen in the centre, and wings of horsemen on the outside. When they saw their time to begin the fight, those who drove the cars in the two wings making direct for the emperor's standard closed in continually towards each other, compassing thereby such part of the enemy as they chose: who, being enclosed so that they could not be rescued, were slain, partly by the swords of the footmen, partly by the darts of men and women in the cars. The horsemen fought outside the fortification; and if it happened that they were oppressed or put to flight, by-and-by the cars received them through the openings as it were into a fenced city: and by this means they got many victories, forsomuch as their enemies were ignorant of these tactics. *See Appendix.* The order and policy that the army of Zisca used in war after his decease.

These two armies went forth, the one into Silesia, and the other into Moravia, and returned again with great prey, before their enemies knew of their coming. After this they besieged the town of Swietla in Austria, where the Taborites and the Orphans during two nights and a day assaulted the walls without ceasing. But Albert, duke of Austria, coming with his host to aid the citizens, they fought by the space of almost four hours, the valiantest warriors being slain on both parts. At the length the battle was broken off, and the Taborites lost their cars, and Albert was fain to strike his tents and retire. Within a while after, Procopius Magnus came again and enclosed the city of Retz in Austria with a notable siege. They of Prague were in his army, and Bohuslaus de Swanberg, of whom we spake before,[1] was slain there with a dart, and the city of Retz was taken by force, sacked, and burnt. The burgrave of Magdeburg, lord of the town, was also taken and carried unto Prague, where also he died in prison. [Dec. 10th, A.D. 1427.]

These things thus done, the emperor sent for the nobles of Bohemia, who went unto him unto a town of Hungary, called Presberg, in the borders of Austria, upon the banks of the river Danube; but they would not enter into the town, but remained without the town in their tents; whither the emperor going out unto them, communed much with them as touching his right and title and the recovering of his father's kingdom, promising if there were any cause Sigismund, who burned Huss and Jerome before, now is fain to treat for his kingdom.

(1) See before, p. 552.—Ed.

Henry VI. A. D. 1430.

which did alienate the Bohemians' minds from him, that he would take away all the occasion thereof. They made answer, that he had made war upon them without cause, and that he had suffered their countrymen, contrary to his promise, to be burnt at Constance not being heard, and the kingdom to be contumeliously interdicted, and the nobles of Bohemia to be condemned by the church of Rome as heretics; and that he should think the force and power of the Bohemians not to be so small, but that they would provide for their own honour. Whereunto the emperor answered very gently, and offered them a general council, wherein they might declare their innocency, if they would submit themselves to the judgment of the universal church: but the Bohemians, who were now become valiant victors in arms, would not now be overcome with words; and so, nothing being finally concluded, the emperor returned home.

The death of John Huss and Jerome dwelt upon.

A cardinal sent into Germany, to raise war against the Bohemians.

Then pope Martin, perceiving the gospel to increase daily more and more, sent the cardinal of Winchester, an Englishman, born of a noble house, into Germany, to move them unto war against the Bohemians; whereunto the emperor also did assist him.

There were three armies provided. In the first army were the dukes of Saxony, and the Hanseatic towns. *See Appendix.*

The second army, which was gathered of the Franconians, was under the conduct of the marquis of Brandenburg.

The third army was led by Otho, archbishop of Treves, whom the Rhenates, the Bavarians, and the imperial cities of Suabia followed. These armies entering into Bohemia in three several parts, after they were passed the wood they joined together and pitched before Meiss. This town a certain learned and eloquent protestant, named Prichicho, the night before had won from the papists; wherefore the army was determined first to recover that city before they would go any further. But when news came unto the host, how the protestants had gathered an army, and were coming with all speed towards them; they fled before they saw their enemies, and went unto Tachau, leaving behind them their warlike engines, with a great prey. The cardinal was not yet come into the camp, but meeting them in their flight at Tachau, he marvelled at the cowardly flight of so many noble and valiant men, desiring them that they would turn again unto their enemies, who, he said, were far weaker than they. Which thing when he had long travailed about in vain, he was fain to be a companion with them in their flight. They were scarcely entered the wood, when the Bohemians, coming upon them, set upon their rearward. Then was their flight much more disordered and fearful than before, neither did they leave flying, before the Bohemians left following. These, all impediment or let being taken away, soon vanquished Tachau; then, having obtained great store of warlike engines, they ravaged Misnia. And when they would have returned home by Franconia, they had great sums of money sent unto them, that they should not waste or destroy the countries of Bamberg and Nuremberg; whereby the host of the Bohemians was greatly enriched.

God rescueth his people newly converted.

The pope's army flieth.

Like captain, like soldier.

The pope raiseth war the second time against the Bohemians.

Sigismund the emperor, having news of these things, went straight unto Nuremberg, and gathered there new aid and help. Also pope Martin sent Julian, the cardinal of St. Angelo, into Germany with

commission to make war against the Bohemians, and that he should, in the council of Basil, which doth now shortly draw on,[1] be president in the pope's name. He, entering into Germany, went straight to Nuremberg to the emperor, where many of the nobles of Germany were assembled. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1431.

There was a new expedition decreed against the Bohemians against the eighth of the kalends of July, and Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, was appointed general of that war, who should follow the cardinal. He was to enter into Bohemia by the way that leadeth unto Tœpl, and Albert, prince of Austria, was appointed to bring an army through Moravia. *See Appendix.*

In this expedition were Albert and Christopher of Bavaria, and Frederic, duke of Saxony; John and Albert, princes of Brandenburg, with their father, who was commander-in-chief; also the bishops of Wurtzburg, Bamberg, and Eichstat; also the knights of Suabia, whom they called the knights companions of St. George; and the magistrates of the imperial cities; the archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne sent their aids, and with them the chief men of their provinces. It is said that the number of their horsemen was above forty thousand; but their footmen were not full so many, for the Germans, for the most part, do use to fight their battles on horseback. The number of the pope's army against the Bohemians

Also, Rhené, prince of Lorraine, promised to join the expedition; but being letted by his civil wars, forsomuch as he went about to vanquish the earl of Vaudemont, he could not keep his promise; and the count Palatine of the Rhine, who did aid and succour the earl of Vaudemont, could not go against the Bohemians. The cardinal, staying for them, deferred his journey until the kalends of August. In the mean time Albert, leading his army out of Austria, when he found that the cardinal was not present at the day appointed, and seeing himself unable to encounter with the Bohemian power, returned back again. After this the cardinal entered into Bohemia with a huge army, and destroyed many of the protestants' towns, killing men, women, and children, sparing neither old nor young: notwithstanding, this his tyranny was exercised in the uttermost borders of Bohemia, for his captains feared to enter far into the land. The Bohemians, as soon as they heard tell that their enemy was coming, made ready and gathered their host with all speed, and laid siege to a town called Schiltberg, and brought it under subjection. Cardinal Julian entereth Bohemia. His cruel slaughter.

In the mean season there fell such a marvellous sudden fear amongst the papists throughout the whole camp, that they began most shamefully to run away before any enemy appeared in sight. The cardinal Julian, marvelling at this most sudden fear, and what should move so great an army to flee, went about unto the captains, exhorting them to put on armour, to order their battel, and courageously to abide their enemies, saying, they did not fight for the glory of their kingdom, or for the possession of lands, but for their lives and the honour and religion of Christ,[2] and for the salvation of souls. God striketh fear into the pope's army.

(1) The History of the Council of Basil is given subsequently in detail, in the chronological order of events (see p. 605). The council of Constance, as we have seen, commenced its sittings in 1414, and was dissolved in 1418: in 1431 a council assembled at Pavia, from whence it was removed to Sienna, and finally met at Basil on the 23d of June, 1431.—Ed.

(2) Rather for the religion of Antichrist. This cardinal belike loved to preach rather in the camp than in the church.

Henry VI. A. D. 1432.

"How ignominious a thing is it," saith he, "for the Germans to fly in battle, whose courage and valiantness all the world doth extol? It were much better to die, than to give place to any enemies before they are seen; for they can by no means live in safety within the walls, who give place unto their enemy in the field; for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the walls; and except they would even presently defend their liberty with the sword, they should shortly perish, or be in bondage more miserable than any death." But this exhortation was all in vain, for fear had overcome the sense of shame; for the ensigns were snatched up, and, as though there had been no captain in the host, every man ran headlong away. No man regarded any commandment, neither once took his leave of his comrade, but, casting away their armour, with speedy flight they ran away, as though their enemy had been at their backs. The cardinal, also, although it were against his will, was forced to do the like.

The cardinal's army run away for fear.

Thus the protestants, by the fear of their enemies made the more bold and courageous, pursued them through the woods, and had a great prey and spoil of them. Notwithstanding, Albert, when he heard tell that the cardinal was entered into Bohemia, with all speed came again out of Austria with his army, and besieged the strong town of Przibislau. But when he understood how the cardinal was fled, he left off his purpose, and returned through Moravia, which was not yet subject unto him, and destroyed above five hundred towns with fire and sword, took many of their cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murder and slaughter, and so afflicted them that they took upon them his yoke, and promised to be subject and obedient to him under this condition, that, as touching religion, he would be bound to do that which the council of Basil should determine.

See Appendix.

Great slaughter in Moravia by duke Albert.

The legate being thus driven out of Bohemia betook himself unto Basil, where Sigismund opened the council, who, during the time of the wars, had kept himself at Nuremburg. Soon after, on taking his journey unto Rome to be crowned emperor, he wrote letters unto the nobles of Bohemia, wherein was contained, how that he was a Bohemian born, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation than to his own, and that he went to Rome for none other cause but to be crowned; the which his honour should also be a renown to the Bohemians, whom to advance it had been always his special care; also, how that through his endeavour the council was begun at Basil; exhorting all such as were desirous to be heard as touching religion, that they should come thither, and that they should not maintain any quarrel contrary to holy mother church; that the council would lovingly and gently hear their reasons; that they should only endeavour themselves to agree with the council as touching religion, and reserve and keep a quiet and peaceable kingdom for him, against his return; neither should the Bohemians think to refuse his regiment, whose brother, father, and uncle, had reigned over them; and that he would reign over them after no other mean or sort, than other christian kings used to do.

A letter of the emperor to the Bohemians.

The council of Basil also wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they should send their ambassadors who should show a reason of their faith, promising safe-conduct to go and come, and free liberty to

The Bohemians sent for.

speak what they would. The Bohemians on this point were of two opinions; for the protestants, and almost all the common people, said it was not good to go, alleging the examples of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who, going to Constance under the safe-conduct of the emperor, were there openly burned. But the nobility, following the mind of Maynard,[1] prince of Neuhaus, said, that they ought to go to the council, and that they were not to be suffered who had invented those new and strange opinions of faith, and the new religious rites, except they would render account of their doings and sayings before the universal church, and defend those things which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion prevailed, and an ambassade of three hundred gentlemen was sent to Basil, the chief whereof were William Cosca, a valiant knight, and Procopius Rasus, surnamed Magnus, a man of worthy fame for his manifold victories, John de Rhochezana, preacher of Prague, Nicholas Gallecus, minister of the Taborites, and one Peter,[2] an Englishman, of excellent, prompt, and pregnant wit, A.D. 1433. The people came in great number out of the town, and many members likewise of the council, who stood before the gates to see the coming of this valiant and famous people; other some gathered together in great number into the streets where they should pass through. The matrons, maids, and children, filled the windows and houses to behold and see, and to marvel at their strange kind of apparel and stout courageous countenances; saying, that it was not untrue which was reported of them. But all fixed their eyes on Procopius, saying, "This is he who hath overthrown the papists in so many battles, who hath subverted so many towns, and slain so many men, whom both his enemies, and also his own soldiers do fear and reverence;" also, that he was a bold, valiant, and invincible captain, who could not be overcome with no terror, labour, or travail.

Henry VI. A.D. 1433.

Safe-conduct given them.

A doubt among them whether to go.

See Appendix

Three hundred Bohemians, horsemen, sent ambassage to the council.

The receiving of them at Basil.

Procopius famous among the Germans

These Bohemian ambassadors were gently received. The next day after, cardinal Julian, sending for them unto the council house, made a gentle, long, and eloquent oration unto them, to this effect:—

The Oration of Cardinal Julian.

He exhorted them to unity and peace, saying, that the church was the spouse of our Saviour Christ, and the mother of all the faithful; that it hath the keys of binding and loosing; and also that it is white and fair, without spot or wrinkle, and cannot err in those points that are necessary to salvation; and that he who doth contemn the same church is to be counted as profane, a heathen, and a publican, neither could this church be represented better by any means than in a general council. He exhorted them also to receive the decrees of councils as the mind of the church, and to give no less credit to councils than unto the gospel, seeing that upon their authority the Scriptures themselves are received and allowed. Also that the Bohemians, who called themselves the children of the church, ought to hear the voice of their mother, who is never unmindful of her children; how that now, of late, they had lived apart from their mother; 'albeit,' said he, 'that is no new or strange thing, for there have been many in times past, who have forsaken their mother, and yet, seeking after salvation, have returned to her again; that in the time of Noah's flood, as many as were without the ark perished; that the Lord's passover was to be eaten in one house; that there is no salvation to be found out of the church; and that she is the enclosed garden, and the sealed fountain of water, whereof whosoever shall drink,

See Appendix

(1) This Maynard was afterwards a great back friend to the faithful Bohemians.
(2) This Englishman was Peter Paine.

Henry VI. A.D. 1433.

shall not thirst everlastingly; that the Bohemians had done as they ought, in that they had sought the streams of this water at the council, and had determined now at length to give ear unto their mother. Now all hatred ought to cease, all armour and weapon to be laid apart, and all occasion of war utterly to be rejected. For the fathers would lovingly and gently hear whatsoever they would there say in their own cause or quarrel; requiring only that they would willingly receive and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred synod; whereunto not only the Bohemians, but also all other faithful Christians, ought to consent and agree, if they would be partakers of eternal life.'

The Bohemians' answer to the cardinal's oration.

This oration of the cardinal was heard and very well allowed of the fathers. Whereunto the Bohemians answered in few words: That they neither contemned the church nor councils; that the sentence was given at Constance against men who were unheard; that they subtracted nothing from the christian religion; that the authority of the fathers remained amongst them inviolate; and that whatsoever thing the Bohemians had taught, was confirmed by the Scriptures and gospel; and that they were now come to manifest their innocency before the whole church, and begged for an open audience, where the laity also might be present. Their request was granted them; and being further demanded in what points they did disagree from the church of Rome, they propounded four articles.

Articles wherein the Bohemians dissented from the church of Rome.

First, They affirmed, That all such as would be saved, ought of necessity to receive the communion of the last supper under both kinds, bread and wine.

The second article, They affirmed all civil rule and dominion to be forbidden unto the clergy by the law of God.

The third article, That the preaching of the word of God is free for all men, and in all places.

The fourth article, As touching open crimes and offences, that they are in no wise to be suffered for the sake of avoiding greater evil.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the council in the name of the whole realm. Then the legate affirmed, that he had heard concerning the Bohemians divers other things offensive to christian ears, amongst the which this was one point, that they had preached, That the invention of the order of begging friars was diabolical.

Then Procopius rising up, said, "Neither is it untrue; for if neither Moses, neither before him the patriarchs, neither after him the prophets, neither in the new law Christ and his apostles, did institute the order of begging friars, who doth doubt but that it was an invention of the devil, and a work of darkness?"

This answer of Procopius was derided of them all; but cardinal Julian went about to prove, that not only the decrees of the patriarchs and prophets, and those things which Christ and his apostles had instituted, were only of God, but also that all such decrees as the church should ordain, being guided through the Holy Ghost, be the works of God. Albeit, as he said, the order of begging friars might seem to be taken out of some part of the gospel.

Certain appointed by the Bohemians and the council to dispute.

The Bohemians chose out four divines who should shew their articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise, on the contrary part, there were four appointed by the council. This disputation continued fifty days, where many things were alleged on either part,

whereof, as place shall serve, more hereafter, by the grace of Christ, shall be said, when we come to the time of that council. *Henry VI.*

In the mean season, while the Bohemians were thus in long conflicts with Sigismund the emperor and the pope, fighting for their religion, unto whom, notwithstanding all the fulness of the pope's power was bent against them, God, of his goodness, had given such noble victories, as is above-expressed, and ever did prosper them so long as they could agree among themselves;—as these things, I say, were doing in Bohemia, king Henry V., fighting likewise in France, albeit for no like matter of religion, fell sick at Bois de Vincennes and died, after he had reigned nine years, four months, and odd days, from his coronation. This king, in his life, and in all his doings, was so devout and serviceable to the pope and his chaplains, that he was called of many the 'prince of priests:' who left behind him a son being yet an infant, nine months and fifteen days of age, whom he had by queen Katherine, daughter to the French king, married to him about two or three years before; the name of which prince, succeeding after his father, was Henry VI., who was left under the government and protection of his uncle, named Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. A. D. 1422.

Death of king Henry V., called prince of priests, for favouring the pope.

The Names of the Archbishops of Canterbury in this Fifth Book Contained.

54. Simon Islepe . .	17 years.	59. William Courtney .	15 years.
56. Simon Langham .	2 ..	60. Thomas Arundel .	18 ..
57. William Wittlesey .	5 ..	61. Henry Chichesley .	29 ..
58. Simon Sudbury . .	6 ..		

The following Table is a continuation of that given at vol. ii. p. 723, and is derived from the same sources:—Ed.

		CONSECRATED	DIED
54	Simon Islip (bull of provision dated Oct. 7th)	Dec. 20th, A.D. 1349	April 26th, A.D. 1366
55	Simon Langham (bull of transl. dated July 24th) resigned Nov. 27th, A.D. 1368.		
56	William Wittlesey (bull of transl. dated Oct. 11th)		June 5th, A.D. 1374
57	Simon Sudbury (bull of transl. dated May 4th, A.D. 1375)		June 14th, A.D. 1381
58	William Courtney (bull of transl. dated Sept. 9th)		July 31st, A.D. 1396
59	Thomas Arundel (bull of transl. dated Sept 25th).		Feb. 20th, A.D 1414
60	Henry Chichesley (bull of provision dated April 27th, A.D. 1414)		April 12th, A.D. 1443
61	John Stafford (bull of transl. dated May 13th)		May 25th, A.D. 1452
62	John Kemp (bull of transl. dated July 21st)		March 22d, A.D. 1454
63	Thomas Bourchier (translated July 21st)		March 30th, A.D. 1486
64	John Morton (bull of transl. dated Oct. 6th)		Sept. 15th, A.D. 1500
65	Henry Deane (transl. April 26th, A.D. 1501)		Feb. 16th, A.D. 1503
66	William Warham (transl. Nov. 29th)		Aug. 23d, A.D. 1532
67	Thomas Cranmer (nomin. by bull, Feb. 22d)	March 30th, A.D. 1533	March 21st, A.D. 1555
68	Reginald Pole (bull of provision, dated Dec. 11th)	March 22d, A.D. 1556	Nov. 17th, A.D. 1558
69	Matthew Parker (elected Aug. 1st, A.D. 1559)	Dec. 17th, A.D. 1559	May 17th, A.D. 1575

END OF BOOK THE FIFTH.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK VI.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.[1]

A PREFACE TO THE READER.

ACCORDING to the five sundry diversities and alterations of the church, so have I divided hitherto the order of this present church-story into five principal parts, every part containing three hundred years; so that now coming to the last three hundred years (that is, to the last times of the church, counting from the time of Wickliff), forasmuch as in the compass of the said last three hundred years are contained great troubles and perturbations of the church, with the marvellous reformation of the same through the wondrous operation of the Almighty; all which things cannot be comprehended in one book: I have therefore disposed the said latter three hundred years into divers books, beginning now with the sixth book, at the reign of king Henry VI. In which book, beside the grievous and sundry persecutions raised up by Antichrist, to be noted, herein is also to be observed, that whereas it hath of long time been received and thought of the common people, that this religion now generally used hath sprung up and risen but of late, even by the space (as many do think) of twenty or thirty years, for the avoiding of which fond and vain opinion it may now manifestly appear, not only by the Acts and Monuments heretofore passed, but also by the histories hereafter following, how this profession of Christ's religion hath been spread abroad in England of old and ancient time, not only for the space of these two hundred late years, from the time of Wickliff, but hath continually from time to time sparkled abroad, although the flames thereof have never so perfectly burst out, as they have done within these hundred years and more; as by these histories here collected and gathered out of registers, especially of the diocese of Norwich, shall manifestly appear: wherein may be seen what men, and how many, both men and women, within the said diocese of Norwich there have been, who have defended the same cause of doctrine which now

(1) The period of three hundred years, to which the events here recorded pertain, commenced with the opening of the fifth book, at page 724, in the second volume of this edition.—ED.

is received by us in the church. Which persons, although then they were not so strongly armed in their cause and quarrel as of late years they have been, yet were they warriors in Christ's church, and fought to their power in the same cause. And although they gave back through tyranny, yet judge thou the best, good reader! and refer the cause thereof to God, who revealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.

Henry VI. A.D. 1422.

HENRY THE SIXTH.[1]

THIS young prince, being under the age of one year, after the death of his father succeeded in his reign and kingdom of England, A.D. 1422, and in the eighth year was crowned at Westminster; and in the second year after was crowned also at Paris (Henry bishop of Winchester, cardinal, being present on both occasions), and reigned thirty-eight years; and then was deposed by Edward IV., as hereafter, Christ willing, shall be declared in his time.[2] *See Appendix*

William Tailor, Priest.

There[3] hath been no region or country more fertile or fruitful for martyrs, than our only region of England. Whether it happeneth or cometh by the singular gift or privilege of God's divine grace, or else through the barbarous and foolish cruelty of such as at that time ruled and governed the church, it is uncertain. Oxford at the present was, as it had been, a continual spring of christian knowledge and learning, from whence, as out of the Trojan horse, there hath come forth so many invincible witnesses of Christ and his truth, who, with singular learning, and with their blood, have not only deserved praise of such as were in their days, but also of all such as shall come after.

In the first year of this king's reign was burned the constant witness-bearer and 'testis' of Christ's doctrine, William Tailor, a priest, *[3]master of arts, being a favourer of Wickliff,* under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury.

William Tailor the first time apprehended.

Of this William Tailor I read,[4] that in the days of Thomas Arundel he was first apprehended, and excommunicated. Afterward, in the days of Henry Chichesley, he presented himself to the convocation on Monday, February 12th, A.D. 1420, and craved absolution, offering to abjure. To which they consented. And thus the said William Tailor, appointed to appear the next Wednesday at Lambeth before the archbishop, to take his absolution from his long excommunication during the time of Thomas Arundel, appeared accordingly; when he, laying aside his 'armilausa' (that is, his cloak), and his cap, and stripped unto his doublet, kneeled at the feet of the archbishop. Who then standing up, and having a rod in his hand, began the psalm 'Miserere,' &c., his chaplains answering every second verse. After that, was said the Lord's prayer, and the collect, 'Deus cui proprium,' &c., with certain other prayers. And

The form of canonical absolution in the church, used against them that were excommunicated.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 347; Ed. 1570, p. 780; Ed. 1576, p. 635; Ed. 1583, p. 658; Ed. 1596, p. 605; Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 748.—Ed.
(2) Ex Scala Mundi.
(3) See Edition 1563, p. 347.—Ed.
(4) Ex. Regist. Cant. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

Henry VI. A.D. 1423.

thus was William Tailor for that time absolved, being enjoined notwithstanding to appear at the next convocation, whensoever it should be, before the said archbishop, or his successor that should follow him.

The next convocation met May 5th, A.D. 1421 (which was two years before his burning), at which the said William Tailor appeared again before the archbishop on Saturday, May 24th, being brought by the bishop of Worcester, being complained of to have taught at Bristol these articles following:—

Articles objected to him.

First, That whosoever hangeth any writing about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the devil.

Secondly, That Christ himself is not to be worshipped so far as regardeth his manhood.

Thirdly, That the saints in heaven are not to be worshipped by the people.

Upon these articles the said William Tailor being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talk upon the same, especially upon the second and third articles, only in way of reasoning and for argument's sake. And to justify his opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his bosom a paper or libel written, wherein were contained certain articles, with the testimonies of the doctors alleged, and exhibited the same unto the archbishop. Who then being bid to stand aside, the archbishop, consulting together with the bishops and other prelates what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writings unto Master John Castle, and John Rikynghale, the two chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and to John Langdon, monk of Canterbury; who, advising with themselves and with other divines about the articles and allegations, on the Monday following presented the said articles of William Tailor to the archbishop and prelates, as erroneous and heretical. Whereupon William Tailor, being called before them, in conclusion was contented to revoke the same, and for his penance, was by them condemned to perpetual prison.

Notwithstanding, on his showing signs of penitence, through favour they were contented that he should be released from his carceral endurance, in case he would put in sufficient surety in the king's chancery, and swear that he would never hold or favour any such opinions hereafter. And so taking an oath of him, the archbishop committed him to the custody of the bishop of Worcester, to whom power and authority were permitted to release him, upon the conditions aforesaid.

See Appendix

In the mean time there passed certain writings between him and one Thomas Smith, priest at Bristol, in which William Tailor replied against the said Thomas concerning the question of worshipping of saints. Upon the occasion of which reply being brought to the hands of the bishop of Worcester, William Tailor began anew to be troubled, and was brought again before the public convocation of the clergy by the said bishop of Worcester, to answer unto his writings. This was A.D. 1423, the eleventh day of February; unto the which convocation the said William being presented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not, deny to be of his own hand-writing. The tenor and effect of whose writings only tended to prove, that every petition and prayer for any supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and to no creature. Albeit,

in this his writing, he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any respect to pray to saints (and bringeth for the same Thomas Aquinas), but only in respect of that worship, which is called 'cultus latriæ:'[1] and he further so prosecuted his mind herein, that he seemed little or nothing to differ from the superstition of the papists, as most plainly appeareth by his own words, saying, "Nunquam tamen negavi, aut negare intendo, merita aut sanctorum suffragia tam beatorum quam viantium, tam vivis quam mortuis ad hoc dispositis, quantum possunt, suffragari vel proficere; quia hoc est elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, et ex consona ratione," &c. And, moreover, he inferred the example of Moses, who prayed unto God, alleging the merits of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who were dead, &c. And furthermore, passing from the testimony of Jerome, he alleged that of St. Austin, who of Stephen saith, "Quod nunc multò magis exaudietur pro veneratoribus suis, quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus."[2] And at length he came to this conclusion, proving by St. Austin in this manner: "Ne igitur, cum impiis et idololatris in Veteri Testamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquam deveniendo ad centrum, sanum est quod faciamus secundum consilium Apostoli sic dicentis, 'Accedamus um fiducia ad thronum gratiæ ejus, ut misericordiam consequamur, et gratiam inveniamus in auxilio opportuno,'" &c.[3] That is, "And therefore, lest we run about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of the Old Testament, and never come to the centre, therefore it is good that we follow the counsel of the apostle, saying, 'Let us resort with boldness unto the throne of his grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of opportune help,'" &c.

The opinion of Tailor concerning the worshipping of saints.

See Appendix.

Thus much out of the aforesaid writings of William Tailor I have excerped, to the intent that the indifferent reader, using his judgment herein, may see how little matter was in this, wherefore he should be condemned by the papists. And yet notwithstanding, the same writing, being delivered by the archbishop on Saturday, February 20th, to the four orders of friars of London to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in these points:

Four articles by the four orders of friars laid against him.

I. That every prayer which is a petition of some supernatural gift or free gift, is to be directed only to God.

II. Item, That prayer is to be directed to God alone.

III. Item, To pray to any creature is to commit idolatry.

IV. Item, That prayer is to be directed to God, not in respect of his manhood but of his Godhead only.

So that although all these opinions agreed in one, yet, to make up a number, every order of the four sorts of friars thought to find out some matter to offer up to the archbishop against him, lest one order should seem more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more than could another; or else perchance lest any of them should seem to favour the party, in bringing nothing against him, as the rest had done.

When the Thursday was come, which was the twenty-fifth day of February, upon the which day the four orders were appointed to declare their censure upon the articles in the chapter-house of Paul's, first appeared friar John Tille, for the Black friars; then friar

(1) "Cultus latriæ," that is, worship which is only due to God.
(2) See Appendix.—Ed. (3) Augustin super Psal. xxi.

Henry VI. A.D. 1424.

Thomas Winchelsey, for the friars Minor; then friar John Low, for the Augustines; and after him friar Thomas Ashwel, for the Carmelites; each friar for his order severally bringing his heresy, as is above specified.

Thus the verdict of these four orders being given up to the archbishop, and severally each order coming in with his heresy, which was the twenty-fifth day of February; hereupon cometh down a writ from the king, directed to the lord-mayor and sheriffs of London, 'De hæretico comburendo,' dated the first day of March, the first year of his reign, the copy whereof remaineth in the Records of the Tower, beginning thus: 'Rex majori et vice-comitibus.' Whereupon the said William Tailor was condemned as a relapse, first to be degraded, and afterwards to be burned; and so was committed to the secular power: who then being had to Smithfield, with christian constancy, after long imprisonment, there did consummate his martyrdom, the first day of March, 1423.

William Tailor degraded, and burned in Smithfield.

The pope's manner of degradation. *See Appendix.*

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of John Huss before; for the papists use but one form for all men. First, degrading them from priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and patin, and the casule and stole; from deaconship, by taking from them the gospel-book, and the dalmatic and stole; from subdeaconship, by taking from them the epistle-book, and the dalmatic and maniple; from acolyteship, by taking from them the cruet and taper-holder; from an exorcist, by taking away the book of exorcisms; from the sextonship, by taking away the church keys, and the albe and amice; and likewise from bene't, by taking away the surplice and first tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished upon this godly martyr, before his burning.

John Florence, a Turner.

John Florence, a turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the diocese of Norwich, was attached for that he held and taught these heresies (as they called them) here under-written, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome:

Imprimis, That the pope and cardinals have no power to make or constitute any laws.

Item, That there is no day to be kept holy, but only the Sunday, which God hath hallowed.

Item, That men ought to fast no other time, but the 'Quatuor temporum.'

Item, That images are not to be worshipped; neither that the people ought to set up any lights before them in the churches; neither to go on pilgrimage; neither to offer for the dead, nor with women that are purified.

Item, That curates should not take the tithes of their parishioners,[1] but that such tithes should be divided amongst the poor parishioners.

Item, That all such as swear by their life or power, shall be damned, except they repent.

A.D. 1424. On Wednesday, August 2d, A.D. 1424, the said John Florence personally appeared before William Bernham, chancellor to William[2] bishop of Norwich, where he, proceeding against him, objected the first article touching the power of the pope and cardinals; to which article the said John Florence answered in this manner: "If the pope live uprightly, as Peter lived, he hath power to make laws; otherwise I believe he hath no power." But being afterward

(1) He meaneth they should not claim such riches by any exaction. (2) See Appendix.—Ed.

threatened by the judge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and submitted himself to the correction of the church, and was abjured; taking an oath that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend, any error or heresy contrary to the determination of the church of Rome; neither maintain, help, nor aid, any that shall teach or hold any such errors or heresies, either privily or apertly. And for his offence in this behalf done, he was enjoined this penance following: Three Sundays, in a solemn procession, in the cathedral church of Norwich, he should be disciplined before all the people.[1] The like also should be done about his parish-church of Shelton, three other several Sundays, he being bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-necked, after the manner of a public penitentiary; his body being covered with a canvass-shirt and canvass-breeches; carrying in his hand a taper of a pound weight: and that done, he was dismissed.

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Richard Belward, and others.

Richard Belward, of Ersham, in the diocese of Norwich, was accused for holding and teaching these errors and opinions here under written, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome. A.D.1424

Imprimis, That ecclesiastical ministers and ordinaries[2] have no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate. And albeit that a bishop do excommunicate any man, God doth absolve him.

Item, That he held the erroneous opinions and conclusions[3] which sir John Oldcastle held when he was in prison, and affirmed that sir John Oldcastle was a true catholic man, and falsely condemned, and put to death without any reasonable cause.

Item, That such as go on pilgrimage, offering to images made of wood and stone, are excommunicated, because they ought to offer to the quick, and not to the dead; and that the ecclesiastical ministers (that is to say, the curates,) do sell God upon Easter-day, when they receive offerings of such as should communicate, before they do minister the sacrament unto them.

Item, That he counselled divers women, that they should not offer in the church for the dead, neither with women that were purified.

Item, That he blamed divers of his neighbours that refused his doctrine, saying unto them, 'Truly ye are fools that deny to learn the doctrine of my sect; for your neighbours who are of my sect, are able to confound and vanquish all others that are of your sect.' The words of the register.

Item, That the saints who are in heaven ought in no case to be prayed unto, but only God.

Item, That the said Richard keepeth schools of Lollardy in the English tongue, in the town of Dychingham, and a certain parchment-maker bringeth him all the books containing that doctrine from London.

On the fifth of July, 1424, the said Richard Belward, was brought before John, bishop of Norwich, sitting in place of judgment, where the aforesaid articles were objected against the said Richard, which he there denied; whereupon the bishop appointed him another day to purge himself, the Monday next after the feast of St. Margaret: upon which day, being the twenty-fourth of July, in the year aforesaid, he appeared again before the bishop, and brought with him nine

(1) The manner of this disciplining was with a white rod thrice laid upon the head of the penitentiary.
(2) He meaneth the wicked bishops of that time, whose curses God did bless.
(3) This proveth sir John Oldcastle to be no traitor

Henry VI. A.D. 1424.

of his neighbours to purge him upon those articles, and there did solemnly purge himself. And afterwards, forasmuch as the said bishop suspected the said Richard Belward greatly of Lollardy, he commanded him there, presently, to swear upon the evangelists, that from that day forward he would not wittingly preach, teach, or defend, any error or heresy contrary to the church of Rome, neither aid, assist, favour, nor maintain, privily or apertly, any manner of person or persons, who should hold or maintain the said errors or heresies. In the presence of Master William Bernham, John Wadden, Robert Serle, and John Berne, esquire, and other of his neighbours who came unto his purgation.

John Goddesel, of Dychingham.

In like manner John Goddesel, of Dychingham, parchment-maker, was detected and accused upon the same articles, and thereupon brought before the bishop, where he, denying them, purged himself by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being sworn also in like manner as he was; and so was dismissed and set at liberty until A.D. 1428, when he was again apprehended and accused, and abjured, as shall be more at large declared in the history, when we come to that year.

Sir Hugh Pie, priest.

Sir Hugh Pie also, chaplain of Ludney in the diocese of Norwich, was likewise accused and brought before the bishop of Norwich on the fifth of July, A.D. 1424, for holding these opinions following:

That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That the people ought not to give alms, but only unto such as beg at their doors.

Image of the cross not to be worshipped.

Item, That the image of the cross and other images are not to be worshipped; and that the said Hugh had cast the cross of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Welgate of Ludney.

Which articles, as is aforesaid, being objected against him, he utterly denied; whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himself by the witness of three lay-men, and three priests. That so done, he was sworn as the other before, and so dismissed.

A.D. 1428.

After this, A.D. 1428, king Henry VI. sent down most cruel letters of commission unto John Exeter and Jacolet Germain, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of sir William White, priest, and others suspected of heresies, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth.

See Appendix.

The Copy of the King's Letters directed to John Exeter and Jacolet Germain, Keeper of the Castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White, Priest, and other Lollards, as they called them.

Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, to his well-beloved John Exeter, and Jacolet Germain, keeper of the castle of Colchester, health:

Ye shall understand that we, fully trusting to your fidelity and circumspections, have appointed you jointly and severally to take and arrest William White, priest, and Thomas, late chaplain of Setling, in the county of Norfolk, and William Northampton, priest, and all others, whatsoever they be, that are suspected of heresy or Lollardy, wheresoever they may be found within the liberties or without, and straightway, being so taken, to send them unto our next gaol or prison.

until such time as we shall have taken other order for their delivery: and therefore we straightly command you, that ye diligently attend about the premises, and fulfil the same in form aforesaid. Also we charge and command all and singular justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our faithful officers, by the tenor of these presents, that they do assist, aid, and counsel you and every of you, in the execution of the premises, as it shall be comely for them. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made.

Witness myself at Westminster, the sixth of July, the sixth year of our reign.

By virtue of which commission we find in old monuments, that within short space after, John Exeter, who was appointed one of the commissioners, attached six persons in the town of Bungay, in the diocese of Norwich; and committed them to William Day and William Roe, constables of the town of Bungay, to be sent within ten days following, under safe custody, unto the castle of Norwich; whose names, through the antiquity of the monument, were so defaced, that we could not attain to the perfect knowledge of them all; only three names partly remained in the worn book to be read, which were these: John Waddon, of Tenterden, in the county of Kent; Bartholomew, monk of Ersham, in the county of Norfolk; Corneleader, a married man; William Skuts.

These three were in the custody of the duke of Norfolk, at his castle of Framlingham.

Beside these, we also find in the said old monuments within the diocese of Norfolk and Suffolk, especially in the towns of Beccles, Ersham, and Ludney, a great number both of men and women to have been vexed and cast into prison; and, after their abjuration, brought to open shame in churches and markets, by the bishop of the said diocese, called William, and his chancellor, William Bernham, John Exeter being the registrar therein; so that within the space of three or four years (that is, from the year 1428, unto the year 1431), about the number of one hundred and twenty men and women were examined, and sustained great vexation for the profession of the christian faith; of whom some were only taken upon suspicion, for eating of meats prohibited upon vigil-days, who, upon their purgation made, escaped more easily away, and with less punishment: whose names here follow subscribed.

A Catalogue of good Men and Women that were taken and examined upon suspicion of Heresy.

Robert Skirving, of Harlstone.
William Skirving.
John Terry, of Ersham.
John Abtre, of Ersham.
John Middleton, of Halvergate.
John Wayde, of Ersham.
Richard Clark, of Sething.
Thomas White, of Bedingham.
Master Robert Beert, of Berry.
Richard Page, of Clipsly.

The others were more cruelly handled, and some of them were put to death and burned; among whom we do specially find mention made of these three: Father Abraham, of Colchester; William White, priest; John Waddon, priest.

The residue (for a great number of good men and women were forced to abjure), sustaining such cruel penance as pleased the said

Henry VI. A.D. 1428.

bishop and his chancellor then to lay upon them. The names of whom, both men and women, here follow together in this brief catalogue to be seen.

John Beverley.
John Wardon.
John Baker.
John Middleton.
John Kynget.
Margery Backster.
John Skilley.
John Godhold.
Thomas Albeck.
John Pierce.
Nicholas Canon, of Eye.
Thomas Pie.
John Mendham.
John Middleton.
Thomas Chatris.
Thomas Wade.
William Tailor.
John Cupper, vicar of Tunstal.
Sir Hugh Pie, priest.
Bartholomew Tatcher.
Thomas James.
John Fouling.
Bertram Cornmonger.
Thomas Swerden.
Alanus Andrew.
William Wright.
William Everden.
William Tailor.
Avis, the wife of Thomas Moon, and her daughter.
Richard Fletcher, of Beckles.
Nicholas Belward.
Thomas Grenemere.
John Clark.
William Bate.
William Scherming.
William Osbourne.
John Rene, of Beckles.
Baldwin Cooper, of Beckles.
John Pert, Master Moon's servant.
Robert Brigs.
John Finch.
John Wropham.
Thomas Moon.
Isabel Chaplain, of Martham.
William Masse, of Ersham.
John Goodwin, of Ersham.
Henry Latchcold, of Ersham.
Henry Boode, of Ersham.
Richard Horne, of Ersham.
John Belward, sen., of Ersham.
John Belward, jun., of Ersham.
John Spire, of Bungay.
Rob. Cole, of Turning.
The herd of Shepemedow.
Isabel Davy, of Costes.
Sibyl, wife of John Godesel, of Dicham.
John Pyry, of Bartham.
John Baker.
Margery Wright.
Thomas Burrel, and his wife.
John Pert.
Edmund Archer.
The clerk of Ludney.
Richard Clark, of Sething.
Katherine, wife of William Wright.
William Collin, of Southcreke.
Richard King, of Windham.
Thomas Plowman.
John Fellis.
Thomas Love, of Rokeland.
Richard Knobbing, of Beckles.
Richard Grace, of Beckles.
John Eldon, of Beckles.
William Hardy.
William Bate.
John Weston.
Katherine Hobs.
John Daw.
Robert Grigs, of Martham.
William Calis, priest.
Thomas Pert, priest.
Katherine Davy.
Jacob Bodhome, and Margaret, his wife.
John Manning, of Marton.
John Culling, of Beemster.
Richard Fletcher, of Beckles, and Matilda, his wife.
John Elden, of Beckles.
Robert Canel, priest.
Nicholas Drey.
William Hardy, of Mundham.
John Poleyne.

These before-named persons, and soldiers of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of those days, although they were constrained to relent and abjure (that is, to protest otherwise with their tongues, than their hearts did think), partly through correction, and partly through infirmity, being as yet but newly-trained soldiers in God's field, yet for the good will they bare unto the truth, although with their tongues they durst not express it, we have thought good that their names should not be suppressed, as well for other sundry causes, as especially for this: either to stop the mouths of malignant adversaries, or to answer to their ignorance, who, following rather blind affection, than the true knowledge of times and antiquities, for lack of knowledge blame that they know not, accusing the true doctrine of the word of God for neweltie, and carping at the teachers thereof for new-broached brethren; who, if they did as well foresee times past, as they be unwilling to follow times now present, they

should understand as well by these stories as by others before, how this doctrine of the grace of God, lacking no antiquity, hath, from time to time, continually sought to burst out, and in some places hath prevailed, although in most places, through the tyranny and malice of men, Christ's proceedings have been suppressed and kept under from rising, so much as men's power and strength, joined with craft and subtlety, could labour to keep down the same; as here by these good men of Norfolk and Suffolk may well appear. For if the knowledge and good-towardness of those good men had had the like liberty of time, with the help of like authority, as we have now, and had not been restrained, through the iniquity of time and tyranny of prelates, it had well appeared how old this doctrine would have been, which now they contemn and reject for the newness thereof: neither needed Bonner to have asked of Thomas Hawks, and such others, where their church was forty years ago; inasmuch as for forty years ago, and more, within the county of Norfolk and Suffolk, was then found such plenty of the same profession and like doctrine which we now profess. And thus much for the number and names of these persons.

Bonner might see the church here in this age, more than forty years before he was born.

Now as touching their articles which they did maintain and defend: First, this is to be considered, as I find it in the registers, such society and agreement of doctrine to be amongst them, that in their assertions and articles there was almost no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the others. What their articles were, partly is showed in the leaf before; and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these articles, that many of them either were falsely objected against them, or not truly reported of the notaries (according as the common manner is of these adversaries, where the matter is good, there to make heresy, and of a little occasion to stir up great matter of slander, as they did before by the articles of John Wickliff and John Huss, and others): so, in like manner, it seemeth they did in the articles of these men, either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they meant, especially in these two articles concerning baptism and paying of tithes. For where they, speaking against the ceremonial and superflous traditions then used in baptism, as salt, oil, spittle, taper, light, chrisms, exorcising of the water, with such other like, accounted them as no material thing in the holy institution of baptism; the notaries, slanderously depraving this their assertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people, so gave out the article, as though they should hold, that the sacrament of baptism, used in the church by water, is but a light matter, and of small effect.

These men are falsely slandered about baptism.

Again, in speaking against the christening which the midwives use in private houses, against the opinion of such as think such children to be damned who depart before they come to their baptism, they are falsely reported, as though they should say: That christian people be sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water; and that infants be sufficiently baptized, if their parents be baptized before them. Which thing is so contrary to the manifest Word, that it is not to be thought that any are so ignorant of the gospel, that they ever would, or did, affirm the same.

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Moreover they thought or said peradventure, That in certain cases tithes might be withholden from wicked priests sometimes, and be conferred to better uses; to the behoof of the poor. Therefore they are falsely slandered, as saying and affirming, that no tithes are to be given to the ministers and curates of the churches.

The papists are but quarrel pickers.

And likewise for matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirm, as though it consisted only in the mutual consent betwixt the man and the woman, needing no other solemnizing in the public church; and all because (as it is likely) they denied it to be a sacrament.

Other articles were objected against them, as these which hereafter follow:

Articles.

That auricular confession is not to be made unto a priest, but unto God only; because no priest hath any power to absolve a sinner from his sin.

Item, That no priest hath power to make the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but that, after the sacramental words, there remaineth pure material bread as before.

Item, That every true christian man is a priest to God.

Item, That no man is bound, under pain of damnation, unto Lent, or any other days prohibited by the church of Rome.

Item, That the pope is Antichrist, and his prelates the disciples of Antichrist, and that the pope hath no power to bind and loose upon earth.

Item, That it is lawful for every Christian to do any bodily work (sin only excepted) upon holy-days.[1]

Item, That it is lawful for priests to have wives.

Item, That the excommunications and ecclesiastical censures given out by the prelates, are not to be regarded.

Item, That it is not lawful to swear in private cases.

Item, That men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That there is no honour to be given to the images of the crucifix, of our lady, or any other saint.

Item, That the holy water, hallowed in the church by the priest, is not holier or of more virtue than other running or well-water, because the Lord blessed all waters in their first creation.

Death of Becket.

Item, That the death of Thomas Becket was neither holy nor meritorious.

Item, That relics, as dead men's bones, ought neither to be worshipped nor digged out of their graves, nor set up in shrines.

Item, That prayers made in all places are acceptable unto God.

Item, That men ought not to pray to any saint, but only to God.

Item, That the bells and ringing in the church, were ordained for no other purpose, than to fill the priests' purses.

Item, That it is no sin to withstand the ecclesiastical precepts.

Item, That the catholic church is only the congregation of the elect.[2]

These were the articles which were generally objected against them all, wherein they did so agree in one uniform faith, that whatsoever one did hold, all the others did maintain, and hold the same. By which their consent and doctrine it appeareth, that they all received it of some one instructor, who was William White; who being a scholar and follower of John Wickliff, resorted afterwards into this country of Norfolk, and there instructed these men in the light of the gospel. And now, as we have declared the names and articles of these good men, so it remaineth somewhat to speak of their troubles (how they were handled), beginning first with William White.

(1) In case of necessity urgent, they meant.
(2) In this article is meant, that the wicked be in the church but not of the church

William White, Priest.

This William White, being a follower of John Wickliff,[1] and a priest, not after the common sort of priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them of whom the wise man speaketh, [Ecclus. xviii.] 'He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud,' &c.; this man was well learned, upright, and a well-spoken priest. He gave over his priesthood and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Joan; notwithstanding he did not therefore cease or leave from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of the spouse of Christ, by reading, writing, and preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury: *Henry VI.* A.D. 1428

That men should seek for the forgiveness of their sins only at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the pope and his holiness, is nothing else but a devilish estate and heavy yoke of Antichrist, and therefore he is an enemy unto Christ's truth.

That men ought not to worship images, or other idolatrous paintings.

That men ought not to worship the holy men who are dead.

The Romish church aptly resembled to the cursed fig-tree.

That the Romish church is the fig-tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

That such as wear cowls, or be anointed or shorn, are the lance-knights and soldiers of Lucifer; and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out, when the Lord Christ shall come.

Upon which articles he, being attached at Canterbury under the archbishop Henry Chichesley, A.D. 1424, there, for a certain space, stoutly and manfully witnessed the truth which he had preached. But like as there he lost his courage and strength, so afterwards he became again much more stout and strong in Jesus Christ, and confessed his own error and offence. For after this, going into Norfolk with his said wife Joan, and there occupying himself busily in teaching and converting the people unto the true doctrine of Christ, at last, by means of the king's letters sent down for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended and taken, and brought before William bishop of Norwich, by whom he was convicted, and condemned of thirty articles, and there was burned in Norwich, in the month of September, A.D. 1428.

This William White and his wife had their chief abode with one Thomas Moon of Ludney. He was of so devout and holy a life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them; insomuch that one Margaret Wright confessed, that if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him than any other. When he was come unto the stake, thinking to open his mouth to speak unto the people, to exhort and confirm them in the verity, one of the bishop's servants struck him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keep silence. And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life to the great dolor and grief of all the good men of Norfolk; whose said wife Joan, following her husband's footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in God's truth; wherefore she suffered much trouble and punishment the same year at the hands of the said bishop.

See Appendix.

The bishop's man smiteth him on the mouth, exhorting the people.

(1) Ex Waldens.

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About the same time also were burned Father Abraham, of Colchester, and John Waddon, priest, for the like articles.

Father Abraham, John Waddon, priest, martyrs, and burned.

Concerning those who abjured, how and by whom they were examined, what depositions came in against them, and what was the order and manner of the penance enjoined them, here it might be set out at large; but, for avoiding of prolixity, it shall be sufficient briefly to touch certain of the principals, whereby the better understanding may be given to the reader, after what manner and order all the others were treated.

First, amongst those who were arrested and caused to abjure in this year before specified (1428), were Thomas Pie and John Mendham of Aldborough; who, being convicted upon divers of the articles before-mentioned, were enjoined penance to be done in their own parish church, as by the bishop's letter, directed to the dean of Rhodenhall, and to the parish priest of Aldborough, doth more at large appear; the tenor whereof here ensueth:

See Appendix.

Copy of the Letter of the Bishop of Norwich, respecting Thomas Pie and John Mendham.

William, by the divine permission bishop of Norwich, to our well-beloved sons in Christ, the dean of Rhodenhall of our diocese, and to the parish priest of the parish church of Aldborough of the same our diocese, health, grace, and benediction. Forsomuch as we, according to our office, lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the souls of Thomas Pie and John Mendham of Aldborough of the diocese aforesaid, because they have holden, believed, and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy church of Rome and the universal church, and to the catholic faith, have enjoined the said Thomas and John, appearing before us personally, and confessing before us judicially that they have holden, believed, and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, this penance hereunder written for their offences, to be done and fulfilled in manner, form, and time, hereunder written, according as justice doth require—that is to say, six fustigations [or displings, or whippings] about the parish church of Aldborough aforesaid before the solemn procession six several Sundays, and three whippings [or displings] about the market-place of Harlstone of our said diocese three principal market-days; bare neck, head, legs, and feet; their bodies being covered only with their shirts and breeches; either of them carrying a taper in his hand of a pound weight, as well round about the church, as about the market-place, in every of the foresaid appointed days; which tapers, the last Sunday after the penance finished, we will that the said John and Thomas do humbly and devoutly offer unto the high altar of the parish church of Aldborough at the time of the offertory of the high mass the same day, and that either of them, going about the market-place aforesaid, shall make four several pauses or stays, and, at every of those same pauses, humbly and devoutly receive at your hands three whippes [or displings]—Therefore we straitly charge and command you, and either of you, jointly and severally, by virtue of your obedience, that every Sunday and market-day after the receipt of our present commandment, you do effectually admonish and bring forth the said Thomas Pie and John Mendham to begin and accomplish their said penance; and so successively to finish the same in manner and form afore-appointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandments in this behalf, and begin and finish their said penance effectually, you or one of you shall cite them peremptorily, that they, or either of them, appear before us, or our commissary, in the chapel of our palace at Norwich, the twelfth day after the citation so made, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, to declare if they or any of them have any cause why they should not be excommunicated for their manifest offence in this behalf committed, according to the form and order of law, and further, to receive such punishment, as justice shall provide in that behalf. And what you have done in the premises, whether the said Thomas and John have

The manner of the pope's penance.

obeyed your admonitions, and performed the same penance or no, we will that you or one of you, who have received our said commandment for the execution thereof, do distinctly certify us between this and the last day of November next coming. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1428.

Dated at our palace of Norwich, under our commissary's seal, the eighth day of October, Anno 1428.

This, gentle reader! was, for the most part, the order of their whole penance, howbeit some were oftentimes more cruelly handled; and after their penance they were banished out of the diocese, and others were more straitly used by longer imprisonment, whereof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

John Beverly, alias Battild, a Labourer.

John Beverly, alias Battild, a labourer, was attached by the vicar of Southcreke, the parish priest of Waterden, and a lawyer, and so delivered unto Master William Bernham, the bishop's commissary, who sent him to the castle of Norwich, there to be kept in irons: where afterwards, being brought before the commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an oath, that every year afterwards he would confess his sins once a year to his curate, and receive the sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did. And for his offence he was enjoined, that upon the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast on bread and water, and upon the Saturday be whipped[1] from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tomblands, and *See Appendix.* by St. Michael's church, by Cottlerew, and about the market, having in his hand a wax-candle of two-pence, to offer to the image of the Trinity after he had done his penance. And, forasmuch as he confessed that he had eaten flesh upon Easter-day, and was not shriven in all Lent, nor received upon Easter-day, the judge enjoined him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, in Whitsun-week, having but one meal a day of fish and other white meats; and, after this penance so done, he should depart out of the diocese, and never come there any more.

John Skilley of Flixton, Miller, and others.

John Skilley of Flixton, miller, being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich on the 14th of March, A. D. 1428, for holding and maintaining the articles above-written, was thereupon convicted and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration solemnly made (which here, to avoid tediousness, we omit), he had a most sharp sentence of penance pronounced against him, the effect whereof, being briefly collected, was this: that forasmuch as the said Skilley was convicted by his own confession, for holding and maintaining the articles before-written, and for receiving certain good and godly men into his house, as sir William White, priest, and John Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretics, and had now abjured the same, being first absolved from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by means of his opinions, he was enjoined for penance seven years' imprisonment in the monastery of Langley, in the diocese of Norwich. And forasmuch as in times past

(1) "Whipped," alias fustigated

Henry VI. A.D. 1428.

he used upon the Fridays to eat flesh, he was enjoined to fast on bread and water every Friday for the space of seven years to come; and that by the space of two years next immediately after the seven years expired, on every Wednesday in the beginning of Lent, and on every Maunday-Thursday, he should appear before the bishop, or his successor or commissary for the time being, in the cathedral church of Norwich, together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

Besides these there were divers others of the same company, who the same year were forced to like abjuration and penance. And so, to proceed to the next year following, which was A. D. 1429, there ensueth a great number in the same register, who were examined, and did penance in like sort, to the number of sixteen or seventeen; in the number of whom was John Baker, otherwise called Usher Tunstal, who, for having a book with the Pater-Noster, the Ave, and the Creed, in English, and for certain other articles of fasting, confession, and invocation, contrary to the determination of the Romish church, after much vexation for the same, was caused to abjure and sustain such penance, as the others before him had done.

The Story of Margery Backster and others.

Another was Margery Backster, wife of William Backster, wright, in Martham, the same year accused; against whom one Joan, wife of Cliffland, was brought in by the bishop, and compelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in form following:

A woman brought in for witness in the pope's court. The bee will sting.

First, That the said Margery Backster did inform this deponent, that she should in no case swear; saying to her in English: 'Dame, beware of the bee, for every bee will sting; and therefore take heed you swear not, neither by God, neither by our lady, neither by any other saint; and if ye do contrary, the bee will sting your tongue and venom your soul.'

Against images.

Item, This deponent being demanded by the said Margery, what she did every day at church; she answered, that she kneeled down and said five Pater-Nosters, in worship of the crucifix, and as many Ave Marias in worship of our lady. Whom Margery rebuked, saying, 'You do evil to kneel or pray to such images in the churches, for God dwelleth not in such churches, neither shall he come down out of heaven; and he will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a candle lighted and set under the cover of the font, will give light by night to those who are in the church:' saying, moreover, in English: 'Lewd wrights of stocks hew and form such crosses and images, and, after that, lewd painters gleer them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the true cross of Christ, I will show it you at home in your own house.' Which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery, stretching out her arms abroad, said to this deponent: 'This is the true cross of Christ, and this cross thou oughtest and mayest every day behold and worship in thine own house; and therefore it is but vain to run to the church, to worship dead crosses and images.'

The sacrament is not God.

Item, This deponent, being demanded by the said Margery how she believed touching the sacrament of the altar, said that she believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be the very body of Christ in form of bread. To whom Margery said: 'Your belief is nought. For if every such sacrament were God, and the very body of Christ, there should be an infinite number of gods, because that a thousand priests, and more, do every day make a thousand such gods, and afterwards eat them, and void them out again in places, where, if you will seek them, you may find many such gods. And, therefore, know for certainty, that by the grace of God it shall never be my god, because

it is falsely and deceitfully ordained by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry; for it is only material bread.'

Moreover, The said Margery said to this deponent, that Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called Saint Thomas, was a false traitor, and damned in hell, because he injuriously endowed the churches with possessions, and raised up many heresies in the church, which seduce the simple people; and, therefore, if God be blessed, the said Thomas is accursed; and those false priests that say that he suffered his death patiently before the altar, do lie; for as a false cowardly traitor, he was slain in the church door, as he was flying away.

Thomas Becket a traitor: slain, not before the altar, but in his flight.

Moreover, this deponent saith, that the said Margery told her, that the cursed pope, cardinals, archbishop, and bishops, and especially the bishop of Norwich, and others that support and maintain heresies and idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, shall shortly have the very same or worse mischief fall upon them, than that cursed man, Thomas of Canterbury, had. For they falsely and cursedly deceive the people with their false mammetries and laws, to extort money from the simple folk, to sustain their pride, riot, and idleness. And know assuredly that the vengeance of God will speedily come upon them, who have most cruelly slain the children of God, Father Abraham, and William White, a true preacher of the law of God, and John Wadden, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the said Caiaphas, the bishop of Norwich, and his ministers, who are members of the devil, before this time, if the pope had not sent over these false pardons unto those parties, which the said Caiaphas had falsely obtained, to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the church; which pardons brought the simple people to cursed idolatry.

Father Abraham, William White, John Wadden.

Item, The said Margery said to this deponent, that every faithful man or woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or on other days appointed for fasting by the church; and that every man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meats upon the said days and times; and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon Thursday at night on the fasting days, than to go to the market to bring themselves in debt to buy fish; and that pope Silvester made the Lent.

Against the popes' fasting days.

Item, The said Margery said to this deponent, that William White was falsely condemned for a heretic, and that he was a good and holy man; and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where she saw that when he would have opened his mouth to speak unto the people to instruct them, a devil, (one of bishop Caiaphas's servants), struck him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

White, willing to speak at the stake, is stricken on the mouth.

Item, This deponent saith, that the said Margery taught her, that she should not go on pilgrimage, neither to our lady of Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

Also this deponent saith, that the said Margery desired her, that she and Joan her maid would come secretly, in the night, to her chamber, and there she should hear her husband read the law of Christ unto them, which law was written in a book that her husband was wont to read to her by night: and that her husband is well learned in the christian verity.

Also that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Joan West, and that the said woman is in a good way of salvation.

Also that the said Margery said to this deponent, 'Joan, it appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I have said unto you;' and this deponent sware that she would never disclose it, without the said Margery gave her occasion. Then said Margery unto this deponent: 'If thou do accuse me unto the bishop, I will do unto thee, as I did once unto a certain friar, a Carmelite of Yarmouth, who was the best learned friar in all the country.' Then this deponent desired to know what she had done to the friar. Unto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said friar, rebuking him because he did beg, saying, that it was no alms to give him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to the plough, and so he should please God more, than following the life of some of those friars. Then the friar required of the said Margery, whether she could teach him or tell him any thing else. Then the said Margery (as she affirmed to this deponent) declared to this friar the gospel, in English; and then the friar departed from her. After this the said friar accused the said Margery of heresy; and she, understanding that the friar had accused her, accused the friar again, that he would have

Henry VI. A. D. 1429.

seduced her; and because she would not consent unto him, the friar had accused her of heresy. And, moreover, she said, that her husband would have killed the friar there-for; and so the friar, for fear, held his peace, and went his way for shame.

Against auricular confession.

This Margery also said, that she had oftentimes been feignedly confessed to the dean of the fields, because he should think her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gave the said Margery oftentimes money. Then this deponent asked her whether she had confessed her sins to a priest or not. And she answered, that she had never offended any priest, and therefore she would never confess herself to any priest, neither obey him; because they have no power to absolve any man from his sins, for that they offend daily more grievously than other men; and therefore that men ought to confess themselves only unto God, and to no priest.

Against image worship.

Item, That the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship devils who fell from heaven with Lucifer; which devils, in their fall to the earth, entered into the images which stand in the churches, and have long lurked and dwell in them; so that the people, worshipping those images, commit idolatry.

Against holy water and holy bread.

Item, She said moreover to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force; and that the bells are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicated who first ordained them.

Moreover, that she should not be burned, although she were convicted of Lollardy, for that she had a charter of salvation in her body.

Also the said deponent saith, that Agnes Berthem, her servant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the Saturday after Ash-Wednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a brass pot standing over the fire, with a piece of bacon and oatmeal seething in it; as the said Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were also, besides this deponent, divers others sworn and examined upon the said Margery, as John Grimley and Agnes Berthem, servants to William Cliffland, who all together confirmed the former depositions.

Thus much we have thought good to note, as concerning Margery Backster, which we have gathered out of the old monuments and registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we find no mention made in the said registers, we are not able to declare.

The same year also were the like depositions made by one William Wright against divers good men, as here followeth.

First, This deponent saith, that William Taylor told John Piry of Ludney, in the house of John Bungay of Beghton, in the presence of John Bungay, Robert Grigges, wright, of Martham, and John Usher, that all the good men of Martham who were favourers and helpers to that good man William White, are evil troubled now-a-days; and that the said William White was a good and holy doctor; and that the best doctor after him was William Everden, who wrought with the said William Taylor of Ludney, by the space of one month; and that the first Sunday of the same month, the said William Everden did sit all day upon the table at work, saying to the said William Taylor, that he would not go to church to show himself a scribe or a pharisee; and the second Sunday he put on gentlemen's apparel, and went to Norwich, to hearken how the bishop and his ministers used the poor Christians there in prison.

Also the said William Wright deposed, that William Taylor of Ludney was one of the sect, and went to London with sir Hugh Pie, and had conversation oftentimes with sir William White, having often conference upon the Lollards' doctrine.

Item, That Anise, wife of Thomas Moon, is of the same sect, and favoured

them, and receiveth them often; and also the daughter of Thomas Moon is partly of the same sect, and can read English. *Henry VI.*

Item, That Richard Fletcher, of Beckles, is a most perfect doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the holy Scriptures, and hath a book of the new law in English, which was first sir Hugh Pie's. A. D. 1430.

Item, That Nicholas Belward, son of John Belward, dwelling in the parish of Southelem, is one of the same sect, and hath a New Testament which he bought at London for four marks and forty-pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament.

Item, That Thomas Gremner, turner, of Dychingham, is perfect in that sect and law.

John Clark the younger, of Burgh, had the bedding and apparel of William Everden in his custody, after the return of William White from Burgh, and is of the same sect.

Item, William Bate, tailor, of Sething, and his wife, and his son, who can read English very well, are of the same sect.

Item, William Skirving, of Sething, received Joan, the wife of William White, into his house, being brought thither by William Everden, after their departure from Martham.

Item, William Osbourn of Sething, John Reve, glover, and Bawdwin Cooper of Beckles, are of the same sect.

Item, John Pert, late servant of Thomas Moon, is of the same sect, and can read well, and did read in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought sir Hugh Pie into the company of the Lollards, who assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said Thomas Moon, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

Item, sir Hugh Pie bequeathed to Alice, servant to William White, a new Testament, which they then called the book of the new law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

John Perker, mercer, of a village by Ipswich, is a famous doctor of that sect. Also he said, that Father Abraham of Colchester is a good man.

Item, The said William Wright deposeth, that it is read in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of the Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed; notwithstanding at length the Lollards shall prevail and have the victory against all their enemies. Also he said, that Tucke knoweth all of that sect in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex. A prophecy.

Besides these, there were many others the same year troubled, whose names being before expressed in the table of Norfolk-men, here, for brevity's sake, we omit further to treat of, passing over to the next year following, which was 1430.[1]

John Burrel, servant to Thomas Moon of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresy the ninth day of December, in this year of our Lord 1430, and examined by Master William Bernham, the bishop's commissary, upon the articles beforementioned, and divers others hereafter following objected against him. A.D. 1430.

Imprimis, That the catholic church is the soul of every good christian man.

Item, That no man is bound to fast the Lent, or other fasting days, appointed by the church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the priests; and that every man may eat flesh or fish upon the same days, indifferently, according to his own will, and every Friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently. Lent fast, fish-days.

Item, That pilgrimage ought not to be made, but only unto the poor. Pilgrimage to the poor.

Item, That it is not lawful to swear, but in case of life and death.

Item, That masses and prayers for the dead are but vain, for the souls of the dead are either in heaven or hell; and there is none other place of purgatory but this world. Masses for the dead unprofitable.

(1) Ex Regist. Norw.

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Upon which articles he, being convicted, was forced to abjure, and suffered like penance as the others before had done.

Thomas Moon of Ludney was apprehended and attached for suspicion of heresy, against whom were objected by the bishop the articles before written, but especially this article: that he had familiarity and communication with divers heretics, and had received, comforted, supported, and maintained divers of them, as sir William White, sir Hugh Pie, Thomas Pert, and William Callis, priests, with many more; upon which articles he, being convicted before the bishop, was forced to abjure; and received the like penance, in like manner as before.

White, Pie, Pett, Callis, priests, persecuted.

In like manner, Robert Grigges, of Martham, was brought before the bishop the seventeenth day of February, in the year aforesaid, for holding and affirming the aforesaid articles, but especially these hereafter following.

Grigges of Martham.

Articles.

That the sacrament of confirmation, ministered by the bishop, doth avail nothing to salvation.

That it is no sin to withstand the ordinances of the church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water are but trifles, and that the bread and water are the worse for the conjurations and characters which the priests make over them.

Upon which articles he, being convicted, was forced to abjure, and received penance in manner and form as the others had done before him. The like also (albeit somewhat more sharp) happened unto John Finch of Colchester, the twentieth day of September, who, albeit he was of the diocese of London, being suspected of heresy, was attached at Ipswich in the diocese of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there, before whom he, being convicted of the like articles, as all the others before him, was enjoined penance, namely, three disciplinings at solemn procession about the cathedral church of Norwich three several Sundays; and three disciplinings about the market-place of Norwich three principal market-days; his head, neck, and feet, being bare, and his body covered only with a short shirt or vesture; having in his hands a taper of wax of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he should offer to the Trinity; and that for the space of three years after, every Ash-Wednesday and Maunday-Thursday, he should appear in the cathedral church at Norwich, before the bishop or his vicegerent, to do open penance among the other penitentiaries for his offences.

Popish penance.

There were, besides these men whom we have here rehearsed, divers and many others, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and also because their articles and punishments were all one, we have thought good at this time to pass over; especially forasmuch as their names be before recited in the catalogue.

Richard Hoveden, Martyr.

About the same time, even the same year 1430, shortly after the solemn coronation of king Henry VI., a certain man named Richard Hoveden, a wool-winder, and citizen of London, received also the crown of martyrdom; which man, when he could by no persuasions

be withdrawn or plucked back from the opinions of Wickliff, was, by the rulers of the church, condemned for heresy, and as Fabian writeth, burned, hard by the Tower of London. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1431.

Nicholas Canon, of Eye.

Now to proceed in our story of Norfolk and Suffolk, in following the order of years, we find that in the year of our Lord 1431, one Nicholas Canon, of Eye, was brought before the bishop of Norwich for suspicion of heresy, with certain witnesses sworn to depose against him touching his manners and conversation; which witnesses appointing one William Christopher to speak in the name of them all, he deposed, in manner and form following:

Depositions against Nicholas Canon.

First, That on Easter-day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, the said Nicholas Canon, as it were mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrary way, and met the procession.—This article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

Item, The said Nicholas asked of Master John Colman of Eye, this question: Master Colman, what think you of the sacrament of the altar?' To whom the said Colman answered: 'Nicholas, I think that the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the form of bread and wine.' Unto whom Nicholas in derision said: 'Truly, if the sacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ, then may very God and very man be put in a small room; as when it is in the priest's mouth, that receiveth it at mass. And why may not we simple men as well eat flesh upon Fridays, and all other prohibited days, as the priest to eat the flesh, and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently?'—Which article the said Nicholas denied that he spake unto Master Colman, but unto a monk of Hockesney: and, furthermore, he thought he had spoken well in that behalf. *If the sacrament be very flesh, then the priests eat flesh on Friday.*

Item, That on Corpus Christi day, at the elevation of high mass, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the sacrament, the said Nicholas went behind a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he also acknowledging, affirmed that he believed himself to do well in so doing.

Item, When his mother would have the said Nicholas to lift up his right hand, and to cross himself from the crafts and assaults of the devil, forasmuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother took up his right hand and crossed him, saying, 'In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' Which so ended, the said Nicholas, immediately deriding his mother's blessing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and blessed him otherwise; as his adversaries report of him.—This article the said Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

Item, That upon Allhallows-day, at the time of the elevation of high mass, when many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the sacrament, the said Nicholas, carrying a torch, went up hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priest's back saying mass, at the time of the elevation, stood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face towards the people, and would do no reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf. *Nicholas Canon turned his back to the sacrament.*

All which articles the bishop's commissary caused to be copied out word for word, and to be sent unto Master William Worsted, prior of the cathedral church of Norwich, and to other doctors of divinity, of the order of begging-friars, that they might deliberate upon them, and show their minds between that and Thursday next following; on which Thursday, being the last of November in the year abovesaid, the said Nicholas was again examined before [A.D. 1430.]

Henry VI. A. D. 1431.

Another examination.

Articles objected.

Master Bernham and divers others, upon two other articles which he had confessed unto John Exeter, notary, and Thomas Gerusten, bachelor of divinity, and others. Whereof the first article was this: That the said Nicholas Canon, being of perfect mind and remembrance, confessed that he doubted whether, in the sacrament of the altar, there were the very body of Christ or no.—This article he confessed before the commissary to be true.

Item, That he, being of perfect mind and remembrance, believed that a man ought not to confess his sins to a priest.—This article he also confessed that he doubted upon.

Now remaineth to declare what these doctors aforesaid concluded upon the articles; whose answer unto the same was this:

Judgment on his articles.

First of all, as touching the first article, they said that the article in the same terms as it was propounded, is not simply a heresy, but an error.

Item, As touching the second article, the doctors agree as in the first.

Item, As touching the third article, they affirm that it is a heresy.

Unto the fourth article, they answered as unto the first and second.

Item, The doctors affirm the fifth article to be a heresy.

Heresy to doubt whether the sacrament be the perfect body of Christ.

Item, As touching the sixth article, the doctors conclude, that if the said Nicholas, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the sacrament of the altar were the very perfect body of Christ or no, then the article is simply a heresy.

Canon declared a heretic.

Penance enjoined him.

Whereupon the said commissary declared and pronounced the said Nicholas, upon the determination of the said doctors, to be a heretic; and thereupon forced the said Nicholas to abjure all the said articles. That done, he enjoined the said Nicholas penance for his offences: three displings about the cloister of the cathedral church of Norwich, before a solemn procession, bare-headed and bare-foot, carrying a taper of half a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforesaid, like a mere penitentiary: which his penance the judge commanded should be respited until the coming of the bishop into his diocese, and that in the mean time he should be kept in prison; to the end that he should not infect the flock with his venom and poison of errors and heresies.

Thus we have briefly discoursed unto you the great trouble and afflictions which happened in Norfolk and Suffolk by the space of those four years before mentioned, having drawn out briefly, for every year, certain notable examples sufficient for the declaration of all the rest, forasmuch as their opinions being nothing different, their penance and punishment did also nothing differ, otherwise than by those particular examples may be plainly seen.

Thomas Bagley, Priest.

And now to proceed as we have begun with our former stories, generally we find in Fabian's Chronicles, that in the same year of our Lord, 1431, Thomas Bagley, a priest, vicar of Monenden beside Malden, being a valiant disciple and adherent of Wickliff, was condemned by the bishops of heresy at London, about the middle of Lent, and was degraded and burned in Smithfield.

Paul Craw, a Bohemian, Martyr.

The same year also was Paul Craw, a Bohemian, taken at St. Andrew's by the bishop Henry, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt, for holding opinions contrary unto the church of

Rome, touching the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the worshipping of saints, auricular confession, with other of Wickliff's opinions.[1]

Henry VI.

A. D. 1431.

The Story of Thomas of Rennes, a Frenchman and Carmelite Friar, Burnt in Italy for the Profession of Christ.[2]

See Appendix.

We have declared before, how this cruel storm of persecution which first began with us in England, after it had long raged here against many good and godly men, brake out and passed into Bohemia; and after, within a short time, the fire of this persecution, increasing by little and little, invaded Scotland; and from thence now with greater force and violence this furious devouring flame hath entered Italy, and suffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murder and slaughter of most good and godly men. It happened about this time that one Thomas of Rennes, a friar of that sect which taketh its name of the Mount Carmel, by chance came with the Venetian ambassadors into Italy. This man, although he was of that sort and sect, which instead of Christians are called Carmelites, yet was he of a far other religion, and understood the word of God, judging that God ought to be worshipped neither in that mount, nor at Jerusalem only, but in spirit and truth. This man, being a true Carmelite, and favouring with his whole heart that new sweet must,[3] of Jesus Christ, with earnest study and desire seeking after a christian integrity of life, prepared himself first to go into Italy, trusting that he should find there, or else in no place, some, by whose good life and living he might be edified and instructed. For where ought more abundance of virtue and good living to be, than in that place which is counted to be the fort and fountain of all religion? And how could it otherwise be, but that where so great holiness is professed; whereupon all men's eyes are bent as upon a stage; where St. Peter's seat is, and is thought to be the ruler and governor of all the church, all things should flourish and abound worthy of so great expectation in that place? This holy man, having these things before his eyes, and considering the same with himself, forsook his own country and city, and went unto Rome, conceiving a firm and sure hope, that by the example of so many notable and worthy men, he should greatly profit in godliness and learning; but the success of the matter did utterly frustrate his hope, for all things were clean contrary. Whatsoever he saw, was nothing else but mere dissimulation and hypocrisy. Instead of gold, he found nothing but coals;[4] and, to say the truth, he found nothing else, there, but gold and silver; for instead of heavenly gifts, there reigned amongst them the pomp and pride of the world; in place of godliness, riot; instead of learning and study, slothfulness and superstition. Tyranny and haughtiness of mind had possessed the place of apostolic simplicity; so that now there remained no more any place or liberty for a man to learn that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly understood. Finally, all things were turned bottom upwards; all things happened unto him contrary to his expectation, wheresoever he went. But nothing so much offended this good man's mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in them, whom example

Rennes cometh into Italy.

The golden city of Rome.

All things corrupt there.

(1) Ex Hector. Boetio. (2) Ex Antonino, 3 part. Hist. fol. 165. (3) "Illud novum mustum;" sweet wine. Lat. Edition, page 78.—Ed. (4) See Appendix.—Ed

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of humility should especially commend and praise to the whole world. And albeit that he saw here nothing which did accord and agree with the rule of the apostles, yet these things did so much pass all measure and patience, that he could by no means refrain his tongue, in so great abuse and corruption of the church, seeing such ambitious pride in their buildings, in their apparel, in their palaces, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of servants, in their horse and armour; and, finally, in all things pertaining unto them. Which things by how much they did vary from the prescribed rule of the gospel, so much the more was this good man forced to speak: albeit he did well understand how little he should prevail by speaking; for, if admonition would profit any thing at all, the books of Wickliff and divers others were not wanting. The famous testimonies of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, and their blood shed for the same, were yet present before their eyes; at whose most effectual exhortations, they were so little corrected and amended, that they seemed twice more cruel than they were before. Yet all this could not fear this good man Thomas, but that in so necessary and wholesome an office he would spend his life, if need should be. So by this means, he who came to be a scholar unto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he, who determined to follow other men's lives and manners, had now, contrariwise, set before them his life to be marked and followed: for he lived so amongst them, that his life might be a rule unto them all; and so taught, as he might also be their schoolmaster. For, even as Paul hath foreshowed unto such as desired to live godly in Christ, that they should suffer persecution, such like reward happened unto this man. He gave unto them the fruit of godliness, which they should follow: they again set upon his head the diadem of martyrdom. He showed them the way to salvation; and they, for the benefit of life, rewarded him with death: and whereas no rewards had been worthy for his great labours and travails, they, with most extreme ignominy, persecuted him even unto the fire. For when, by continual preaching, he had gotten great envy and hatred, the rulers began to consult together by what means they might circumvent this man's life. Here they had recourse to their accustomed remedies; for it was a peculiar and continual custom amongst the prelates of the church, that if any man did displease them, or if his talk was not according to their mind, or by any means hurtful, or a hinderance to their lucre and gain, by and by they framed out articles of some heresy, which they charged him withal. And like as every living thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himself from harm, as nature hath armed the boar with his tusks, the hedgehog with his prickles, the lion is feared for his claws, the dog for his biting, the bull fighteth with his horns, neither doth the ass lack his hoofs to strike withal: even so this is the only armour of the bishops, to strangle a man with heresy, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition; which thing may be easily perceived and seen in this most holy man, besides a great number of others. Who, when now he began to wax grievous unto them, and could no longer be suffered, what did they? Straightways flee to their own policies, and, as they had done with Huss, and Jerome of Prague, even so went they about to practise against this man. They overwhelm him

The wickedness and pride that reign there.

The corruption will admit no reformation.

Piety rewarded with persecution.

Heresy made where none is.

Popery armed with policy, and defended with tyranny.

with suspicion, they seek to entangle him with questions, they examine him in judgment, they compile articles against him, and lay heresy to his charge; they condemn him as a heretic, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This is their godliness; this is the peaceable order of those Carmelites, whose religion is to wear no sword nor shield, notwithstanding they bear in their hearts malice, rancour, vengeance, poison, craft, and deceit, sharper than any sword. With how great care and policy is it provided by law, that none of these clergymen should fight with sword in the streets? when in judgment and accusations (where it is not lawful for a man to oppress his brother) there is no murderer, who hath more ready vengeance, or that doth more vilely esteem his brother's soul than they. They shed no blood themselves; they strike not, nor kill; but they deliver them over unto others, to be slain. What difference is there, I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the others are but the ministers of the cruel fact? They kill no man as murderers do. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another mean.

Henry VI. A.D. 1431.

The articles which they falsely gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these:—

That the church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That infidels, Jews, Turks, and Moors, shall be converted unto Christ in the latter days.

That abominations are used at Rome.

That the unjust excommunication of the pope is not to be feared; and those who do not observe the same, do not sin or offend.

But[1] yet there lacked a minister for these articles, albeit he could not long be wanting at Rome, where all things are to be sold, even men's souls. For this office and ministry there was no man thought more meet than William of Rouen, cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mount, vice-chancellor of the court of Rome. Eugene at that time was pope, who had a little before succeeded pope Martin above-mentioned; before the which Eugene this godly Frenchman of Rennes was brought, and from thence sent to prison; and again, after his imprisonment, and divers and sundry grievous torments, he was brought before the judges. The wolf sat in judgment; the lamb was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring. But here need not many words. This good man Thomas, not being able to resist the malice of these mighty potentates, had offended enough, and was easily convicted and condemned to be burned: but in such sort, as first of all he should be deprived of all such degrees as he had taken to priesthood; for it is counted an unlawful thing, that a priest should be punished with profane punishment, when, notwithstanding, it is lawful enough for priests to put any layman to death, be he never so guiltless. How religiously and earnestly do they foresee that the majesty of the priestly dignity should not in any case be hurt? But how little care have they that their consciences be not hurt with false judgments, and oppressing the guiltless? Wherefore, before he should come unto punishment, this good man Thomas must be degraded. The

Rennes is persecuted and brought before pope Eugene.

(1) Ex Antonin. 3 part. Hist. fol. 165.

Henry VI.

order and manner of this popish degrading is partly touched upon in the story of William Taylor.

A. D. 1431.

After it had pleased the bishops to degrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by, afterwards, they deprived him of his life also, and burned him, four years after he came to Rome,[1] A.D. 1436.

He is burned at Rome.

Thomas degraded.

* These[2] degrees, because ye shall not be ignorant, are not such as may be counted among the differences whereby we are known from others; neither among the 'propers' which are always agreeable unto us, but among those common accidents, which we both may have, and may be taken away from us at the will and pleasure of the bishops. For thus we are taught by such as write of philosophy, that there is an apt and easy motion from the habit to deprivation, but, contrariwise, from privation unto the habit there is no return. Wherefore, gentle reader, it is not to be marvelled at, why that he, being now become a layman, should die, who lived, being a priest. But this thou mayest more marvel at, what folly and madness was in those men's minds, who, through such acts and doings, would set themselves forth to be a mocking-stock unto all the whole world, and, not only to be derided of men, but to be abominable and accursed before God.* And thus, through the cruelty of these most tyrannous prelates, this blessed martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a loss of this body, for a greater gain of salvation before the just judgment of God. Neither is it to be doubted but that he liveth eternally in heaven, under the altar, with them whose blood the Lord will revenge, peradventure too soon for some of them whom the earth hath here so long holden unpunished.

Divers other martyrs.

As this Thomas above mentioned suffered at Rome, so were divers others, in other places about Germany, executed near about the same time, after the burning of John Huss; as Henry Grundfelder, priest, of Ratisbon, A.D. 1420; also Henry Radtgeber, priest, in the same city, A.D. 1423; John Draendorfe, of noble birth, and a priest, was burned at Worms, A.D. 1424; Peter Thoraw, at Spires, A.D. 1426; Matthew Hager also suffered at Berlin in Germany, not long after.[3]

Pope Eugene IV.

After the death of pope Martin, who reigned fourteen years, succeeded Eugene IV., about A.D. 1431. Of whom Antoninus thus writeth, that he was much given to wars, as his conflicts and fighting with the Romans may declare; also the battles between the Venetians and the Florentines.

This pope began first to celebrate the council of Basil, which council Martin, his predecessor, had before intended, according to the institution of the council of Constance. Notwithstanding the said Eugene, perceiving afterwards this council of Basil not to favour him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, afterwards laboured, by all subtle practice, to dissolve and interrupt the said council, and from Basil to translate it first to Ferrara, then to Florence, more near to his own see of Rome. Concerning which council of Basil, forasmuch as we have begun here to make mention, it shall

See Appendix.

(1) In the appendix will be found, "Carmina quædam in ejus laudem reperta," from the Latin Edition of 1559, p. 75.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 362.—Ed.

(3) Ex Bale Centur. sept. [Interesting particulars, relating to these martyrs, will be found in a Dutch Martyrology published at Dort in 1657.—Ed.]

be no great digression out of the way to discourse something thereof (the Lord so permitting) more at large, so much as, for the principal matters thereof, shall seem sufficient or necessary to be known. *Henry VI.* A.D. 1431.

The Order and Manner of the Council of Basil,

WITH A BRIEF RECAPITULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL MATTERS DECREED AND CONCLUDED THEREIN,[1]

With a full Discourse of the Disputation holden amongst the Bishops, upon Eight Conclusions proponed in the same Council; collected and translated out of the Two Books of Æneas Sylvius, who was there present, and at that time a meetly good man, and afterward was made Cardinal and Pope, called Pius the Second.[2]

In the thirty-ninth session of the council of Constance, as is before mentioned,[3] it was decreed and provided concerning the order and times of such general councils as should hereafter follow. The first that should next ensue, to be kept the fifth year after the said council of Constance; the second to be holden the seventh year again after that; and so orderly all others to follow successively from ten years to ten years. Wherefore, according to this decree, followed a general council five years after the council of Constance, celebrated and holden at Sienna, under Pope Martin, A.D. 1423; but it soon broke up. [August 22d.] After the which council the term of seven years being expired, another council was holden at Basil A.D. 1431; the which council is noted to have been the most troublesome, and to have endured longer than any other council before-time celebrated and holden in the church. [Opened July 23d: first session Dec. 14th.] This council continued almost the space of twelve years; wherein it was concluded, as before in the council of Constance, that the general councils were above the pope, and both of these two councils did attribute the chief authority in decreeing and determining unto a general council; which is the cause that the contrary part doth derogate so much from the authority of both these councils.

When pope Martin V. had appointed Julian, cardinal-deacon of St. Angelo, his legate, to celebrate and hold a general council at Basil for the reformation of the church and rooting out of heresies, within short space after pope Martin died (A.D. 1431); in whose seat Eugene IV. succeeded, who confirmed unto the said cardinal Julian the same authority which his predecessor before had given him. Unto this council of Basil, being begun, came the emperor Sigismund, who, during his lifetime, with his presence and authority did protect and defend the said synod. After the emperor's death, pope Eugene, altering his former mind and purpose, would transfer the council unto Bologna, and thereby hinder the success of the council of Basil. And first he held a contrary council at Ferrara, [Jan. 10th, A.D. 1438.] and afterward at Florence: for, after the death of the emperor Sigismund, there were no princes nor noblemen that had any care or regard [Feb. 29th, A.D. 1439.] of the council. Eugene, the pope, pretended causes as touching the Greeks who should come unto the council, and the uniting of their

Death of pope Martin. [Feb. 21st, A.D. 1431.]

Pope Eugene seeketh to dissolve the council.

(1) Ex Æneâ Sylvio, Ex Cochleo in Hist. Hussit., Et ex parallipom. Abbat. Ursperg.

(2) The history of the council of Basil is considerably abridged in the second and succeeding editions of the Acts and Monuments; the more complete history which will be found in the following pages is supplied from the first edition, namely, that of 1563, from which the passages in asterisks, with numerous other additions, are introduced. See the Appendix.—Ed.

(3) See suprà, p. 420.—Ed.

Henry VI. A.D. 1439.

church unto the West church, the which Greeks would in no wise pass the Alps: also as touching his own incommodity, that he could not come unto Basil, being so long a journey; and that all his men might have easy access unto Bologna; and that amongst the Germans (who in their own country are so intractable) nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited cardinal Julian and the fathers of the council unto Bologna, under great penalty. They again cited the pope, that either he should come himself unto the council or send ambassadors, under the like penalty. For this cause the ambassadors of Albert, king of the Romans, and of the other princes of Germany, with the orators of the council of Basil, and the cardinal Julian, assembled together, first at Nuremberg, to appease the dissension between the council and the pope; and when they could determine nothing there, they agreed to assemble again at Frankfort, on the calends of March; for it was thought that the electors of the empire might best assemble and meet in that place. In the mean time the emperor's ambassadors, and the ambassadors of the electors, went unto Basil, and having conference with the ambassadors of the other princes who were there, and sending for the cardinal of St. Peter (an excellent man, who at that time tarried at Constance, to see the end and issue of things), they did earnestly exhort the fathers of the council, that they would embrace and receive the means of concord which they would offer. The request of the princes was, that the fathers would translate the council, and go unto another place; the which only thing pope Eugene seemed always to seek and desire, that thereby he might either divide the fathers of the council, or take away their liberty.

Dissension between the council and the pope. [July 26th, A.D. 1437.]

The prelates of the council refuse the pope's request.

Notwithstanding, this sacred synod thought good neither to deny the princes' request, nor to grant that which pope Eugene required. During this doubt, the emperor's ambassadors, the bishops of Passau and Augsburg, with John Eich, a famous lawyer, repaired to the emperor, but first (being much required and stirred thereunto) appointed a noble and valiant baron called Conrad de Winsperg, by the royal commandment, to be protector and defender of the council and the fathers. Whereby, as the enemies perceived the emperor's mind to be alienate from the pope, so the fathers of the council understood his good-will towards them; forsomuch as he would not have sent them a protector, if he had not judged it a lawful council, neither again would he have judged it to be a council at Basil, if he had given credit to pope Eugene. But the assembly that should have been holden at Frankfort, by reason of a great pestilence which broke out there, was translated unto Mentz. The ambassadors of the princes also thought good to go thither, if they might find any means of unity, whereby they might unite and knit the pope again unto the council.

The princes assembled at Mentz, to make unity.

The assembly was very famous, for there were present the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, electors of the sacred empire, and the ambassadors of all the other electors. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Cologne was the chief favourer of the council in this assembly, who, with all his labour and diligence, went about to bring the matter unto a good end. Rabanus, the archbishop of Treves, showed himself somewhat more rough. The sacred synod also thought good to send thither their ambassadors, and appointed out the patriarch of Aquileia, the bishop of Vich, and the bishop of Argos;[1] John

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

de Segovia, and Thomas de Corsellis, divines; with divers lawyers. There was no man there present, who would name himself the ambassador of Eugene; albeit there were many of his favourers and friends come thither, both from the council and also from Florence, who, albeit they had sworn to the contrary, yet favoured they more Eugene than the council, whose sect William, a lawyer of Constance, afterwards called the grisled sect.[1] But the chief Hercules of all the Eugenians was Nicholas Cusanus, a man singularly well learned, and of great experience. After divers consultations had, the electors of the empire, and the ambassadors of the other princes of Germany, thought good to give out commandment throughout their whole nation and country, that the decrees of the council of Basil should be received and observed. *Henry VI.* A.D. 1439.

Whilst these things were thus debated at Mentz, there sprang a certain very doubtful question amongst the divines who remained at Basil, whether or not Eugene might be called a heretic, who had so rebelliously contemned the commandments of the church. Hereupon they gathered themselves together, disputing among themselves by the space of six days in the forenoons and afternoons, some affirming the proposition, and others holding the negative part. Upon this their disputation there arose three several opinions, some affirming that he was a heretic; other some not only a heretic, but also a relapse; the third sort would neither grant him to be heretic, nor a relapse. Amongst these divines, the chief and principal both in learning and authority were the bishop of Ebrun,[2] ambassador of the most noble king of Castile, and a certain Scottish abbot; who, as two most valiant champions, subdued all their enemies, so that all the rest did either consent unto their arguments, or give place unto them; so that their determination took place, and Eugene was pronounced both a heretic and a relapse. Eight conclusions were there determined and allowed amongst the divines, which they called 'verities,' the copy whereof they did divulgate throughout all Christendom. Three opinions touching the pope.

When the ambassadors of the council were returned from Mentz, and certain report was made of the allowing of their decrees, the fathers of the council thought good to discuss the conclusions of the divines more at large. Whereupon, by the commandment of the deputations, all the masters and doctors of civil and canon law were called together, with the prelates, into the chapter-house of the great church, there openly to dispute and discuss Eugene's heresy: which thing sore grieved the archbishop of Milan, fearing lest this disputation should work the deprivation of Eugene, the which, as he said, he had always opposed for fear of schism. Wherefore he ceased not, by all manner of ways, to labour to stop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were absent by his letters, and encouraging those that were present by his words, to the defence of Eugene. But, at the last, there was a great assembly in the chapter-house, some coming thither to dispute, and other some to hear. This disputation continued six days, both forenoon and afternoon. Cardinal Louis, archbishop of Arles, as being neutral on the question, was appointed moderator and arbiter of the whole disputation; who, beside many other notable virtues, was both valiant and constant. Nicholas Amici, who was a proctor of the faith, a famous man amongst the divines of Paris, was to demand of every man what his opinion was. John Dienle- The ambassadors return from Mentz. The pope's heresy discussed. The archbishop of Milan taketh Eugene's part, for fear of a schism.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed. (2) Ibid.

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fist, public notary, was to write down every man's sentence and judgment. The conclusions of the divines, which were the ground and foundation of their disputation, were these here following:

The Conclusions of the Disputation.

I. It is a verity of the catholic faith, that a sacred general council hath power over the pope, and any other person.

II. The pope cannot by his own authority, either dissolve, translate, or prorogue a general council lawfully congregate, without the consent of the council itself: and this is of like verity.

III. He who doth obstinately resist these verities, is to be counted a heretic.

IV. Pope Eugene IV. resisted these verities, when at the first he attempted by the plenitude of his apostolic power to dissolve or to translate the council of Basil.

V. Eugene, being admonished by the sacred council, did revoke the errors repugnant to these verities.

VI. The dissolution or translation of the council, attempted the second time by Eugene, is against the aforesaid verities, and containeth an inexcusable error touching the faith.

VII. Eugene, in going about to dissolve and translate the council again, is fallen into his before-revoked errors.

VIII. Eugene, being warned by the synod that he should revoke the dissolution or translation the second time attempted, persevering in his rebellion after that his contumacy was declared, and erecting a council at Ferrara, showeth himself thereby obstinate.

These were the conclusions which were read in the chapter-house before the fathers of the council: upon the which when they were desired to speak their minds, they almost all confirmed and allowed them. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Palermo, commonly called Panormitane,[1] disputed much against them, as did the bishop of Burgos, and the king of Arragon's almoner. Yet did they not gainsay the three first conclusions, but only those wherein pope Eugene was touched. This Panormitane, as he was subtle, so did he subtlely dispute against the last conclusions, endeavouring to show that Eugene was not relapsed; and had great contention with the bishop of Argos, John de Segovia, and Francis de Foix, divines.

The Argument of Panormitane for the Pope.

Articles of faith divided into three sorts.

He divided articles of faith into three sorts; those strictly such, as those in the Creed; general, as the declarations made by the church; most general of all, as in those things which arise of the premises: affirming that Eugene did by no means violate his faith in his first dissolution that he made, because it is not contained in the Creed, neither yet in the determinations of the church, that the pope cannot dissolve any councils; and that it seemed not unto him to rise of determinations before made, but rather of the decrees of the council of Constance. And further, that this, as a case omitted, is reserved for the pope to be discussed, forsomuch as in the chapter beginning 'Frequens' it appeareth that the place where the council should be kept ought to be chosen by the pope, the council allowing the same, and nothing at all is spoken on this matter. And if, peradventure, Eugene had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstanding, he ought to be holden excused, because he did it in conjunction with the council of cardinals, who represented the church of Rome; whose authority he affirmed to be such, that the judgment thereof should be preferred before all the world, a doctrine supported (he said) by a singular gloss. Neither was the sacred council found to have ever proceeded against Eugene as a heretic: and that was an evident sign that the council had not thought him to have swerved from the faith. Neither did it have any weight with him what was said concerning his adhesion, and his errors revoked; for that he himself had read the whole text of the adhesion, and that the pope did not therein revoke the dissolution as contrary unto the faith, but as breeding offence. Also that

Panormitane preferreth the judgment of the cardinals before all the world.

(1) See on Panormitane infra, vol. vi. p. 600, Note (2)

the last dissolution had nothing of the sort in it, forsomuch as that likewise was made with the advice of the cardinals, and for the uniting of the Greeks, and that he might not be compelled in a criminal cause to answer by his proctor, when he, being letted by sickness, could not come personally. And so, forasmuch as by the first dissolution Eugene had fallen into no error of faith, he could not be persuaded that he was to be called a relapse, forsomuch as neither in the first, neither yet in the second, dissolution did he violate the faith.

The pope pretendeth the uniting of the Greeks, but meaneth another thing.

This oration of Panormitane was by all praised rather than allowed. Notwithstanding this effect it wrought, that afterward the word "relapse" was taken out of the conclusions, and instead thereof the word "prolapse" put in. Neither durst Panormitane himself altogether excuse Eugene of heresy, but defended the first dissolution more than the second: yet departed he not without answer; for John de Segovia, an expert divine, rising up, answered him reverently and courteously, as was comely toward so great a prelate.

The pope, no relapse, but prolapse.

The Answer of John de Segovia.

He said, he granted that which Panormitane had spoken touching the division of articles of faith into three sorts, and that it made for his purpose. For if those things are to be holden for articles of faith, said he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the church, it was manifest that the conclusions in question redounded and came of the determinations of the church, that is to say, of the council of Constance; for if therein the pope were made subject unto a general council, who is it that will say that the pope hath power over a council which is above him, and that Eugene ought to remain pope? because he could not dissolve a council which is above him, without the consent thereof: which article undoubtedly he hath violated and broken. And if any man will say that in the first dissolution this article was not violated because there was no declaration as yet made thereof, let him who so thinketh understand, that the bishop of Rome ought not only to know the plain and manifest, but also the secret and hidden, things of the faith; for he, being the vicar of Christ, and the head of all others, hath to instruct and teach all men. But if so be he get out of that dilemma, he shall still be convicted, because he persisted in the dissolution long after the declaration of the council was made, neither did consent unto the determination of the church; and therefore, if peradventure he did not err in the faith in dissolving of the council, yet did he err in persevering in the same, as manifestly appeareth by the saying of Clement, oftentimes alleged by Panormitane, wherein it is said, 'That he who liveth rebelliously, and neglecteth to do good, is rather a member of the devil than of Christ, and rather an infidel than a believer;'[1] so that Eugene, as disobeying the church, may not unreasonably be called an infidel. Neither is it true that the pope hath not offended in a matter of faith; forasmuch as, both in that answer which beginneth 'Cogitanti,' and also in the answer which beginneth Sperant,' made unto the pope's ambassadors, these words are manifest: 'This article concerneth faith, and we had rather die, than cowardly give place.' By the which saying it was evident that the council sufficiently admonished the pope that he went against the faith; and therefore it seemed that afterward, when Eugene by the act of adhesion revoked the dissolution, he also revoked an error of faith contained in the same. The offence also, whereof mention was made, had arisen because of an error in faith: for some said that the pope is under the council, other some denied it, and this diversity of doctrine brought offence. Also in the pope's adhesion it was expressly declared, that the pope did revoke the assertions made in his name against the authority of the council. And albeit in such revocations the style and order of judgments were not observed, notwithstanding, it sufficed what was usually done when a council proceeded against a pope, in which case the only thing requisite was, that truth be observed: neither was a council subject to any positive law, that it must observe the judicial terms or style.

The pope, neglecting to do good, is a member, not of Christ, but of the devil.

Councils bound to no positive law.

Also he said that he utterly contemned that same singular gloss which did prefer the church of Rome before all the world: that it was well called singular, which decreed such foolish and fond things, and was unworthy to be followed

(1) Distinction 38, cap. 16.—Ed.

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of any man; and that he did much marvel at Panormitane, and other doctors of those days, who, whilst they went about to extol the authority of the glosses, do abase the same by adding their singularities thereto; for that gloss is singular, which is alone. But who would not more esteem a gloss which should throughout breathe the same doctrine and speak consistently with itself, than one which only in one place should assert any thing, which may seem without doubt to be an error. But as regarded the point of doctrine in this case, St. Jerome, a most sound doctor, was contrary to this gloss, who 'doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authority, is greater than the City itself,' that is to say, Rome.

[Hieron. ad Evagrium.]

Segovius could not finish this his oration without interruption; for Panormitane oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this assertion, and now that. Whereupon the bishop of Argos rising up, a man not only eloquent, but also of a stout courage, troubled Panormitane in his reasons and arguments, and put him from his purpose. In truth they proceeded so far, that they passed the bounds of disputation, and did not abstain from opprobrious taunts. The bishop of Argos indeed afterward begged pardon, though perhaps the least in error of the two; but inferiors must succumb.

The bishop of Argos having chanced to say, that the bishop of Rome was the servant of the church, Panormitane could not suffer that; insomuch that he so forgot himself that day, and his knowledge (which otherwise was very great) did so fail him, that he was not ashamed to affirm, that the pope was lord of the church. Whom Segovius answered thus:

Panormitane appointeth the pope lord of the church.

Mark, said he, O Panormitane, what thou sayest; for that is the most honourable title of the bishop of Rome, whereby he calleth himself 'the servant of the servants of God.' Which title is gathered from what Christ said unto his disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest: you know he answered them, 'The princes of the nations have lordship over them; but you shall not do so,' &c.; wherein he did utterly prohibit lordship. And Peter, who was the first vicar of Christ, said: 'Feed the flock of God which is committed unto you, providing for them not by compulsion, but willingly:' and immediately after he saith, 'not as lords over the clergy.' But if Christ the Son of God came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, how then can his vicar have any lordship, or be called 'lord,' as you, Panormitane, insist? forsomuch 'as the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.' And the Lord himself saith; 'Be ye not called masters, forsomuch as one is your master, that is Christ; and he who is the greatest among you, shall be your servant.'

The pope and the clergy desire dominion, contrary to the Scriptures.

Panormitane being somewhat disquieted with this answer, the council brake up and departed.

The next day there was a general congregation, and they returned all again unto the chapter-house after dinner, where the archbishop of Lyons, his king's orator, being required to speak his mind, after he had by divers and sundry reasons proved Eugene to be a heretic, he bitterly complained, strongly censuring the negligence and weakness of those that had preferred such a man unto the papacy, and so moved all their hearts who were present, that they all, as well as himself, did bewail the calamities of the universal church.

The French king's ambassador against Eugene.

Then the bishop of Burgos, one of the orators for Spain, divided the conclusions into two parts, calling some general, and other some personal, and disputed very excellently as touching the three first conclusions; affirming, that he did not doubt their truth, save that

The bishop of Burgos.

the addition, which made mention of the faith, seemed to him to be doubtful. But upon this point he dwelt much, namely, that the council was above the pope; which, after he had sufficiently proved both by divine and human law, he taught also by natural reason, alleging Aristotle for witness, who saith that in every well ordered kingdom it should especially be provided, that the whole realm should be of more power than the king; and that if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kingdom, but a tyranny. So likewise did he think of the church, that it ought to be of more power than the prince thereof, that is to say, the pope. Which his oration he uttered so eloquently and pleasantly, so learnedly and truly, that all men hung on his lips, and (what is not very usual) desired rather to have him continue his oration, than to make an end thereof.

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The council above the pope.

But when he entered into the other conclusions and tried to impugn them, he seemed to have lost himself, and to be no more the same man that he was; for neither was there the same eloquence in his words, nor weight in argument, nor cheerfulness of countenance; so that if he could have seen himself, he would peradventure greatly have marvelled at himself. Every man before might well perceive a certain power and force of truth,[1] which ministered copy[2] of matter and words unto him, so long as he spake in her defence: but when he began once to speak against her, she took away even his natural power of speech from him.[3] Notwithstanding, Panormitane and the bishop of Burgos showed this example of modesty, that albeit they would not confess or grant the last conclusions to be verities of faith, yet they would not that any man should follow or lean unto their opinion, seeing they were but mean divines; but rather unto the opinions of the divines. But the king of Arragon's almoner, being a subtle and crafty man, did not directly dispute upon the conclusions, but picking out here and there certain arguments, sought to perplex the council. Against these the Scottish abbot, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much; also Thomas de Corsellis, a famous divine, than whom no one more stoutly defended the decrees of the sacred council, through a certain extreme bashfulness always keeping his eyes on the ground, did largely and luminously dispute in defence of the conclusions.

The Chief Arguments of the Disputation, as summed up by Æneas Sylvius.

But now, to avoid tediousness, I will only proceed to declare the arguments whereby the conclusions were finally confirmed, not referring at all to the five last conclusions, which concern the person of Eugene, but only to the three first. According, then, to probable arguments which I gathered out of the disputation of the fathers—In the first conclusion is the greatest force, and it is the first to be discussed: touching which, two things are to be inquired and examined; the one, whether a general council have authority over the pope, the other, whether the catholic faith command it to be believed. As touching that the pope is subject to a general council, it is excellently well proved by the reason before alleged by the bishop of Burgos. For the pope is in the church, as a king in his kingdom; and for a king to be of more authority than his kingdom, it were too absurd: ergo, neither ought the pope to be above the

First conclusion.

(1) "The force of truth" appeareth also in Æneas, the writer hereof; although afterwards, when he was pope, he denied the same.

(2) "Copy," i.e. "abundance," from the Latin "copia:" an obsolete use of the word. Todd's Johnson.—Ed.

(3) Note what it is for a man to labour against his knowledge.

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church. For like as oftentimes kings, who do wickedly govern the commonwealth, and exercise cruelty, are deprived of their kingdoms; even so it is not to be doubted, but that the bishops of Rome may be deposed by the church, that is to say, by the general councils.

A king not of more authority than his kingdom.

Neither do I herein allow those who attribute such ample and large authority unto kings, that they will not have them bound under any laws; for such as so do say, be but flatterers, who do talk otherwise than they think. For albeit that they do say, that the moderation of the law is alway in the prince's power;[1] that do I thus understand, that when reason shall persuade, he ought to digress from the rigour of the law. For he is called a king, who careth and provideth for the commonwealth, taketh pleasure in the commodity and profit of his subjects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodity of those over whom he ruleth; which if he do not, he is not to be counted a king, but a tyrant, whose property it is, only to seek his own profit; for in this point a king differeth from a tyrant, that the one seeketh the commodity and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other only his own; the which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alleged wherefore kings were ordained.

What a king is.

The institution of kings.

At the beginning (as Cicero in his Offices saith) it is certain, that there was a certain time when the people lived without kings. But afterwards, when lands and possessions began to be divided according to the custom of every nation, then were kings ordained for no other cause, but only to exercise justice. For when, at the beginning, the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ran by-and-by to some good and virtuous man, who should defend the poor from injury, and ordain laws whereby the rich and poor might dwell together. But when as yet, under the rule of kings, the poor were oftentimes oppressed, laws were ordained and instituted, which should judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like ear unto the poor as unto the rich. Whereby we do understand and know, not only the people, but also the king to be subject to the laws. And if we do see a king to contemn and despise the laws, violently rob and spoil his subjects, defile virgins, dishonour matrons, and do all things licentiously and temerariously; do not the nobles of the kingdom assemble together, deposing him from his kingdom, and set up another in his place, who shall swear to rule and govern uprightly, and be obedient unto the laws? Verily, as reason doth persuade, even so doth the use thereof also teach us. It seemeth also agreeable unto reason, that the same should be done in the church, that is to say, in the council, which is done in any kingdom. And so is this sufficiently apparent, which we have before said, that the pope is subject unto the council.

The pope ought to be subject unto the council.

But now, to pass unto the arguments of divinity, the foundation of the matter which we do treat upon, is the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ in divers places, but especially where he speaketh unto Peter: 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam;' that is, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Upon which words it seemeth good to begin this disputation, forsomuch as some were wont to allege these words, to extol the authority of the bishop of Rome. But (as it shall by-and-by appear) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning than divers of them do think; for he saith, 'And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Verily this is a great promise, and these words of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there have been spoken, than that the gates of hell should not prevail against the church? These gates of hell, as St. Jerome saith, do signify sins. Wherefore, if sins cannot prevail against the church, neither can any malign spirits prevail against the same, which have no power at all over mankind, but only through sin. And for that cause, whereas it is said in Job, that there is no power upon the earth that may be compared unto the power of the malign spirit; thereby it followeth, that the power of the church is above all other power.

'Tu es Petrus' expounded.

Sins are the gates of hell.

Against the papists' opinion, that

We may, also, upon the same saying, reason after another sort: forsomuch as the gates of hell, that is to say, sins, cannot prevail against the church, the church thereby is declared to be without sin; the which cannot be spoken of the

(1) These kind of flatterers come now, in our days.

pope, who is a mortal man, forsomuch as it is written, 'Seven times in the day the just man doth offend.' If the church be without spot because it cannot be defiled with sin, who is it that will prefer a sinful man before an undefiled church? Neither let us give ear unto those who will not refer these words of Christ unto the church, where he saith, 'Oravi pro te Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua;' that is to say, 'Peter! I have prayed for thee, that thy faith should not fail thee.' For, as St. Augustine saith in the exposition of the Psalms: 'Certain things are spoken as though they seemed properly to pertain unto the apostle Peter, notwithstanding they have no evident sense, but when they are referred unto the church, the person whereof he is understood figuratively to represent.' Whereupon in another place, in the questions of the New and Old Testament, upon the words, 'Rogavi pro te Petre;' 'I have prayed for thee, Peter!' what is doubted? Did he pray for Peter, and did he not pray for James and John, besides the rest? It is manifest, that under the name of Peter all others are contained. For in another place of St. John, he saith: 'I pray for them whom thou hast given me, and I will that wheresoever I am, they shall be also with me.' Whereupon we do oftentimes by the name of Peter understand the church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place; otherwise the truth could not consist, forsomuch as within a while after, the faith of Peter failed for a time, by the denial of Christ; but the faith of the church, whose person Peter did represent, did always persevere inviolate.

the pope cannot err.

Oravi pro te, Petre,' is meant of the church

As touching the bishops of Rome, if time would suffer us, we could rehearse many examples, how that they either have been heretics, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant, how Marcellinus, at the emperor's commandment, did sacrifice unto idols, and that another (which is more horrible) did attain unto the papacy by a devilish fraud and deceit.[1] Notwithstanding, the testimony of Paul to the Hebrews shall suffice us at this time, who saith that 'every bishop is compassed in with infirmity,' that is to say, with wickedness and sin. Also the testimonies of Christ himself do approve that the church remaineth always without sin; for in Matthew he saith, 'I am with you even unto the end of the world.' Which words were not only spoken to the apostles (for they continued not unto the end of the world), but also unto their successors; neither would Christ then signify that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceived to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace through his assistance, whereby he would preserve the holy church, consisting amongst his apostles and their successors, always immaculate and undefiled.

Bishops of Rome are heretics.

The church without sin, and the pope is a sinner.

And again in another place, 'I,' saith he, 'will pray, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may remain with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but you shall know him, because he shall remain with you.' Which words being spoken unto the disciples of Jesus, are also understood to be spoken unto their successors, and so consequently unto the church. And if the Spirit of truth be continually in the church, no man can deny but that the church ought to continue undefiled. By the same authority also that Christ is called the spouse of the church, who seeth not but that the church is undefiled? 'For the husband and the wife,' as the apostle saith, 'are two in one flesh,' and, as he doth also add, 'no man hateth his own flesh.' Thereby it cometh to pass, that Christ cannot hate the church, forsomuch as she is his spouse, and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himself; ergo, the church doth not sin; for if it did sin, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate. Which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the apostle to confess that the church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle.[2] Also writing unto Timothy, he affirmeth the church to be the pillar and foundation of the truth; whereupon, in this song of the spouse, it is said: 'My friend, thou art altogether fair and beautiful, neither is there any spot in thee.' These words, peradventure, may abash some, that I do go about to prove the church to be without sin. For as the church doth contain all men who are called Christians, who also do agree and come together in one belief of faith, and participation of the sacraments, I do fear lest some men will think, that I do affirm all men to be without sin; which is so far

The church is one flesh with Christ.

(1) He meaneth Silvester II. [See Appendix.]

(2) The church is without spot or sin, is to be understood not by nature, but only by imputation.

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from my meaning, that I do verily think the contrary to be most true. For I suppose, that there is no man in the church, being clothed in this mortal flesh, without sin. Neither do these things vary or dissent among themselves; for the church hath this gift, that albeit every part and member thereof may sin, yet the whole body cannot sin. For there be always good men in the church, who, albeit they be subject unto human fragility, notwithstanding they have so perfect a gift of sincere and pure virtue, that, subduing all carnal desires and affections, they keep themselves a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice unto God. Neither do I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers,[1] who affirm that the Virgin Mary only persevered in faith at the Lord's passion. Whereupon divers have not been ashamed to say, that the faith was so debilitated and weakened, that it seemed to be returned to one only old woman; whose opinion, or rather madness, St. Paul seemeth openly to reject, writing thus unto the Romans: 'Do ye not know,' saith he, 'what the Scripture writeth of Elias, how incessantly he called upon God against the children of Israel, saying, O Lord, they have slain thy prophets, and digged down thine altars, and I alone am left, and they seek after my soul: but what answer received he of God? I have left unto myself yet seven thousand men, which have not bowed their knees unto Baal.' What other thing doth this answer of God declare, than that it is a foolish opinion of those who think the church of God to be brought unto so small a number? We ought to believe the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnant unto those men, who affirm, that the Virgin only did persevere in faith. For Jesus said unto his Father: 'O holy Father! save them in thy name whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy name: I have kept them that thou gavest unto me, and none of them perished, but only the son of perdition:' And, 'I do not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest preserve them from evil.'

The church without sin, how to be understood.

An error that only the Virgin Mary did persevere constant, at the time of Christ's passion.

Behold, Christ prayeth that his disciples should not fall, but should be preserved from evil, although they were still living in the world; and he, so praying, without doubt is heard; for he saith in another place: 'I know that thou hearest me.' But how is he heard, if all those for whom he prayeth, swerved at the time of his passion? As for example, by what means did Christ, hanging upon the cross, commend his dearly beloved mother unto John, if so be he were either then swerved, or should by-and-by after have swerved from the faith? Moreover, did not the centurion by-and-by cry out and say: 'Truly this is the Son of God?' The Jews also, who at that time were far distant from Jerusalem, might both be called faithful, and also be saved by their faith; seeing that (as the apostle saith) men are bound unto the gospel (even when they swerve from it), after it is once known and revealed unto them. But let us leave these men, and speak of that which is more likely, and let us judge that there hath been, and is, a great number of good men in the church; and by them, as by the more worthy part, let us name the church holy and immaculate, which doth comprehend as well the evil as the good. For the church is compared unto a net which is cast into the sea, and gathereth together all kind of fishes [Matt. xx.].

The church comprehendeth both the evil and good.

And again, it is compared unto a king, which made a marriage for his son, and sent forth his servants to call those which were bidden unto the wedding, and they gathered together good and evil, as many as they could find. Wherefore their opinion is erroneous, who affirm, that only good men be comprehended in the church; which, if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we understand or know where the church were. But forsomuch as the Scripture saith: 'No man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred,'[2] their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, who include all the faithful in the church; of whom, although a great part be given to voluptuousness and avarice, yet some, notwithstanding, are clean from deadly sin; which part, as it is the most worthy, it giveth the name unto the church, to be called most holy; which is so often done, that we are commanded to sing in our creed, 'unam sanctam, catholicam, et apostolicam ecclesiam,' that is to say, 'one holy catholic and apostolic church;' which article

(1) See Appendix.

(2) This saying of Ecclesiastes is not so to be translated, and also serveth to another sense than is here meant.

the synod of Constantinople added unto the rest. Wherefore (to return to our former purpose) if the church be holy, it is also without sin. This word 'sanctum,' (as Macrobius, alleging Trebatius, affirmeth), sometimes signifieth 'holy,' and sometimes religious, and sometimes clean and uncorrupt. And after the same manner, we call the church holy, which the apostle Peter calleth immaculate, as we read in the famous epistle of Clement.

To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by St. Paul, that 'Christ is the Head of the church;' for if the whole church should sin, she should not agree with her Head, Christ, who is in no point defiled. This also Christ himself would signify unto us in Matthew, when he commendeth the house which was builded upon the strong rock, against which, neither the winds, neither the storms, could prevail. 'The house of God,' saith the apostle, 'which is the church, is builded upon the strong Rock,' 'which Rock,' as the apostle declareth, 'is Christ.' Who then is so unshamefaced, that he will affirm the church, which is founded upon Christ, to be subject to sin? and will not rather cry out with the prophet and say, 'Domine dilexi decorem domus tuæ;' that is to say, 'O Lord! I have loved the beauty of thy house.' Whereupon wrote John Chrysostome this golden sentence; 'The church never ceaseth to be assaulted, never ceaseth to be laid in wait for; but in the name of Christ it hath always the upper hand, and overcometh. And albeit others do lie in wait for it, or that the floods do beat against it, yet the foundation which is laid upon the Rock is not shaken.' St. Hilary also saith: 'That it is the property of the church to vanquish when it is hurt, to understand when it is reproved, to be in safety when it is forsaken, and to obtain victory when it seemeth almost overcome.' Thus, by many reasons and testimonies it is proved that the church doth not err; which is not spoken or affirmed of the bishops of Rome, so that this reason doth make the pope subject unto the church; for it is convenient, that the less perfect be subject unto the more perfect. There be also many other testimonies and reasons, whereof we will now speak more at large.

Christ the Rock, whereupon the church is builded.

If authority be sought for, St. Jerome saith (for I willingly occupy myself in his sentences, as in a most fertile field), 'the world is greater than a city.' What then, I pray you, Jerome! is the pope mighty because he is the head of the church of Rome? His authority is great; notwithstanding the universal church is greater, which doth not only comprehend one city, but also the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the church be the mother of all the faithful, then she hath the bishop of Rome for her son; otherwise, as St. Augustine saith, 'he can never have God for his Father, who will not acknowledge the church for his mother;' which thing Anacletus understanding, called the universal church his mother, as the writers of the canons do know. And Calixtus saith, 'As a Son he came to do the will of his Father; so we do the will of our mother, which is the church.' Whereby it appeareth, that by how much the son is inferior to the mother, by so much the church is superior, or above, the bishop of Rome.

He proveth by authority the pope to be under the council.

If the church be the mother, the pope must be her son.

Also we have said before, that the church was the spouse of Christ, and the pope we know to be a vicar; but no man doth so ordain a vicar, that he maketh his spouse subject unto him, but that the spouse is always thought to be of more authority than the vicar; forsomuch as she is one body with her husband, but the vicar is not so. Neither will I here pass over the words of St. Paul unto the Romans: 'Let every soul,' saith he, 'be subject unto the higher powers.' Neither doth he herein except the pope. For albeit that he be above all other men, yet it seemeth necessary that he should be subject to the church. Neither let him think himself hereby exempt, because it was said unto Peter by Christ: 'Whatsoever thou bindest,' &c. In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he represented the person of the church, for we find it spoken afterwards unto him: 'Quodcunque ligaveritis super terram, ligatum erit in cœlis;' that is, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind upon earth, shall be also bound in heaven.' And furthermore, if all power be given of Christ, as the apostle writeth unto the Corinthians, it is given for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction thereof; why then may not the church correct the pope, if he abuse the keys, and bring all things to ruin?

The church being the spouse, the pope cannot be head thereof, but he must also be head of Christ.

Exposition of 'Quodcunque ligaveritis.'

Add hereunto also another argument. A man in this life is less than the angels, for we read in Matthew of John Baptist, that he which is least in the

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kingdom of heaven is greater than he. Notwithstanding Christ saith, in another place, that amongst the children of women, there was not a greater than John Baptist. But to proceed. Men are forced, by the example of Zacharias, to give credit unto angels, lest, through their misbelief, they be stricken blind as he was. What more? the bishop of Rome is a man: ergo, he is less than the angels, and is bound to give credit to the angels. But the angels learn of the church, and do reverently accord unto her doctrine, as the apostle writeth unto the Ephesians; ergo, the pope is bound to do the same, who is less than the angels, and less than the church; whose authority is such, that worthily it is compared by St. Augustine unto the sun; that like as the sun, by his light, doth surmount all other lights, so the church is above all other authority and power. Whereupon St. Augustine writeth thus: 'I would not believe the gospel,' saith he, 'if the authority of the church did not move me thereunto:' which is not in any place found to be spoken of the bishop of Rome, who, representing the church, and being minister thereof, is not to be thought greater or equal to his Lord and Master. Notwithstanding, the words of our Saviour Christ do especially prove the bishop of Rome to be subject to the church; as we will hereafter declare. For he, sending Peter to preach unto the church, said, 'Go, and say unto the church.' To the confirmation of whose authority these words do also pertain; 'He that heareth you, heareth me;' which words are not only spoken unto the apostles, but also unto their successors, and unto the whole church.

The church, and not the pope, compared to the sun.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the pope do not hearken and give ear unto the church, he doth not give ear unto Christ, and consequently he is to be counted as an ethnic and publican. For, as St. Augustine affirmeth, when the church doth excommunicate, he who is so excommunicated is bound in heaven, and when the church looseth, he is loosed. Likewise, if he be a heretic who taketh away the supremacy of the church of Rome, as the decrees of the council of Constance do determine, how much more is he to be counted a heretic, who taketh away the authority from the universal church, wherein the church of Rome and all others are contained?[1] Wherefore, it is now evident, that it is the opinion of all men before our days (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by grave authors), that the pope is subject unto the universal church. But this is called into question, whether he ought also to be judged of a general council. For there are some, who (whether it be for desire of vain glory, or that, through their flattery, they look for some great reward) have begun to teach new and strange doctrines, and to exempt the bishop of Rome from the jurisdiction of a general council. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not only this present schism, but also all other schisms, even unto this day, have had their original. For as in times past, the greedy desire and ambition of the papacy brought in that pestiferous beast, which through Arius then first crept out of hell into the church; even so they do especially nourish and maintain this present heresy who are not ashamed to beg.[2] Of which number, some cry out and say, the works of the subjects ought to be judged by the pope, but the pope to be reserved only unto the judgment of God. Others say, that no man ought to judge the high and principal seat, and that it can be judged neither by the emperor, nor by the clergy, nor by any king or people. Others affirm, that the Lord hath reserved to himself the deposition of the chief bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirm, that the bishop of Rome, although he carry souls in never so great number unto hell, yet he is not subject to any correction or rebuke.

The pope, if he do not hearken to the church, is an ethnic and publican.

Is the pope to be judged by the council?

Diversity of judgments touching the pope.

And because these their words are easily resolved, they run straightways unto the gospel, and interpret the words of Christ, not according to the sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, but according to their own will and disposition. They do greatly esteem and regard this which was spoken unto Peter, 'Tu vocaberis Cephas;' that is, 'Thou shalt be called Cephas:' by which word they make him the head of the church. Also, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon the earth,' &c. 'I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith should not fail.' And again, 'Feed my sheep;' 'Cast thy net into the deep;' 'Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men:' Also that Christ commanded Peter, as the

(1) It is to be feared lest the church hath had many such popes.
(2) These are the canons, and the school divines, and the begging friars.

prince of the apostles, to pay toll for them both; and that Peter drew the net unto the land full of great fishes; and that only Peter drew his sword for the defence of Christ. All which places these men do greatly extol, altogether neglecting the expositions of the fathers, which if (as reason were) they would consider, they should manifestly perceive by the authorities aforesaid, that the pope is not above them, when they are gathered together in council, but when they are separated and divided.[1]

But these things being passed over, forsomuch as answer shall appear by that which hereafter shall follow, we will now declare what was reasoned of by the learned men upon this question. But first we would have it known, that all men who are of any name or estimation, do agree that the pope is subject to a council; and, for the proof thereof, they repeat, in a manner, all those things which were before spoken of the church; for they suppose all that which is spoken of the church, to serve for a general council. And first of all they allege this saying of the gospel, 'Dic ecclesiæ,' 'Tell it unto the church,' in which place it is convenient to understand, that Christ spake unto Peter, instructing him what he should do as touching the correction of his brother. He saith, 'If thy brother offend or sin against thee, rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he give ear unto thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if he do not give ear unto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth may stand: if then he will not give ear unto thee, 'Dic ecclesiæ,' 'Tell it unto the church.' What shall we understand by the church in that place? Shall we say that it is the multitude of the faithful, dispersed throughout the whole world? 'My yoke is pleasant,' saith the Lord, 'and my burden is light.' But how is it light, if Christ command us to do that which is impossible to be done? for how could Peter speak unto the church which was dispersed, or seek out every Christian scattered in every town or city? But the meaning of these words is far otherwise, and they must be otherwise interpreted; for which cause, it is necessary that we remember the double person which Peter represented, as the person of the chief pontiff, and a private man. The sense and meaning of his words are so evident and plain of themselves, that they need no supplement or alteration. We must first mark and see what this word 'ecclesia' signifieth, which we do find to be but only twice spoken of by Christ; once in this place, and again when he said unto Peter, 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam;' that is, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church.' Wherefore the church signifieth the convocation or congregation of the multitude. 'Dic ecclesiæ,' 'Tell it unto the church;' that is to say, 'Tell it unto the congregation of the faithful;' which, forsomuch as they are not accustomed to come together but in a general council, this interpretation shall seem very good: 'Dic ecclesiæ,' 'Tell it unto the church,' that is to say, 'Dic generali concilio,' 'Tell it unto a general council.'

Things spoken of the church, serve also for a general council.

Peter representeth a double person. Christ nameth the church but twice

Interpretation of 'Dic ecclesiæ.'

In this case I would gladly hear if there be any man who doth think these words to be more properly expressed of any prelate, than of a council, when they must put one man for the multitude; which if it be admitted in the Scriptures, we shall from henceforth find no firm or stable thing therein? But if any man do marvel at our interpretation, let him search the old writers, and he shall find that this is no new or strange interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy fathers and old doctors, who have first illuminated and given light unto the church; as pope Gregory witnesseth (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holiness of his life, and his singular learning), whose words to the bishop of Constantinople (as found in his Register) are these: 'And we,' saith he, 'against whom so great an offence is committed through temerarious boldness, do observe and keep that which the Truth doth command us, saying, Si peccaverit in te frater; that is, If thy brother do offend against thee, &c.' And afterwards he addeth moreover, 'If my rebukes and corrections be despised, it remaineth that I do seek help of the church.' Which words do manifestly take the term church for a general council. Neither did Gregory say, that he would seek help of the church that is dispersed abroad in every place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to say, a general council; for that which is dispersed abroad cannot be used, except it be gathered together.

The church taken for a general council

(1) How foolishly the church of Rome doth wrest the Scriptures, neglecting the expositions of the fathers.

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Also pope Nicholas, reproving Lotharius the king for advoutry, said, 'If thou dost not amend the same, take heed that we tell it not unto the holy church.' In which saying pope Nicholas did not say, that he would go throughout the world to certify every one, man by man; but that he would call the church together, that is to say, a general council, and there would publish and declare the offence of Lotharius, that he who had contemned the pope's commandments, should fear the reverence of the general council.

The council of Constance decreeth the pope to be under the council.

I could recite an infinite number of witnesses for the same purpose, who all tend unto one end, but this one testimony of the council of Constance shall suffice for them all; *for in that place where sentence is given against Peter de Luna, these words are mentioned: 'Eaque in generali concilio locum habere dicuntur;' that is to say, 'These things are said to have place in the general council': by which words we understand,* that not only the pope, in the correction of his brother, is remitted unto the council, when he cannot correct him of himself; but also when any thing is done as touching the correction of the pope himself, the matter ought to be referred to the council. Whereby our interpretation appeareth to be most true, which doth expound the church to us of a general council. Hereupon, in the Acts of the Apostles, the congregations which were then holden were called the church. Also in the council of Nice, and in other councils, when any man should be excommunicated, always, in a manner, this sentence was adjoined: 'Hunc excommunicat catholica et apostolica ecclesia;' that is, 'The catholic and apostolic church doth excommunicate this man.' And hereupon that title is given unto the councils, whereby we do say, that a general council doth represent the universal church. Wherefore the laws and decrees of the council are called the laws of the church, for that the church doth not set forth any laws in any other place, but in a general council; except we will call the pope's constitutions the laws of the church, which cannot be properly said but of a council: whereas, albeit all those who are of the church do not assemble and come together, yet the most part of them are accustomed to be there present, and in those who come, the whole power of the church doth consist. Whereupon we read in the Acts of the Apostles, 'It pleased the apostles and elders with all the church.' For albeit that all the faithful were not there present (because a great number of them remained at Antioch), yet, notwithstanding, it was called the whole church, because the whole power of the church consisted in the council. Thus, for this present, it is sufficient that we understand by the church, a general council.

Acts of the Apostles. Council of Nice. Title of the council.

The constitutions of the popes, not the laws of the church.

By the church a council is understood.

And now to return unto our purpose, let us hear what our Saviour saith unto Peter; 'If thy brother do offend against thee;' unto this text following, 'Tell it unto the church;' and let us understand a council by the church. Which is greater in this place, he who is sent unto the council, or the council whereunto Peter is sent? The Verity doth remit the bishop of Rome unto a general council. And why so? verily because the bishop of Rome should not disdain to acknowledge some power in earth to be above him, which he should consult withal in matters of importance, and agree unto the determinations thereof. Whereupon Peter is also called by another name, 'Simon;' which, as Rabanus in his homilies writeth, is interpreted in the Hebrew tongue, 'obedient:' that all men might understand obedience to be necessary even in the bishop of Rome.

Simon's obedience necessary in the bishops of Rome.

Favourers of the pope go about to maintain the profit of one before a common commodity.

The authority of the council of Constance might suffice us in this point; but we think it good to stay a little upon this matter, and to leave no place open for our adversaries; who, while they go about to maintain the unsatiable wilfulness of one man, preferring a private wealth before a common commodity, it is incredible how great errors they do stir up. Against which, besides many others, Zacharias bishop of Chalcedon, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly strive; who, in the great and sacred synod of Chalcedon, when the sentence of the bishop of Rome was objected unto him, that the canon of pope Nicholas and other patriarchs was above the council, he replied against it. And Zosimus, the pope, saith thus, as touching the decrees of a general council: 'The authority of this see cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers.' Neither doth he here speak of the decrees of the fathers who are dispersed abroad in cities or wildernesses, for they do not bind the pope; but of those which are made and published by the fathers in a general council:

for the more manifest declaration whereof, the words of pope Leo, the most eloquent of all the bishops of Rome, are here to be annexed, who wrote unto Anatholius, that the decrees of the council of Nice were in no part to be violate and broken: thereby (as it were) excluding himself and the chief patriarch.

The authority also of Damasus upon this sentence is more manifest, writing unto Aurelius the archbishop, as Isidorus declareth in the Book of Councils; whose worthy saying, as touching the authority of the synod, is this: 'They who are not compelled of necessity, but of their own will either frowardly do any thing, or presume to do any thing, or willingly consent unto those who would do any thing, contrary and against the sacred canons, they are worthily thought and judged to blaspheme the Holy Ghost.' Of the which blasphemy whether Gabriel, who calleth himself Eugene, be presently partaker, let them judge, who have heard him say, 'That, it is so far from his office and duty to obey general councils, that he doth then best merit and deserve, when he contemneth the decrees of the council.' Damasus addeth yet moreover, 'For this purpose,' saith he, 'the rule of the sacred canons, which are consecrated by the Spirit of God and the reverence of the whole world, is faithfully to be known and understand of us, and diligently looked upon, that by no means, without a necessity which cannot be eschewed (which God forbid), we do transgress the decrees of the holy fathers.' Notwithstanding, we daily see in all the pope's bulls and letters these words, 'Non obstante,' that is to say, 'notwithstanding;' which no other necessity hath brought in, than only insatiable desire of gathering of money. But let them take heed to these things, who be the authors thereof.

The pope cannot abide general councils.

'Non obstante' in the bulls.

But now, to return again unto Damasus; mention is made in the epistles of Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, of a certain epistle, which is said to be written by Damasus unto the judges deputed by the council of Capua, where he declareth that it is not his office to meddle with any matter wherein a council had been beforehand. By which saying he doth manifestly reprove all those who affirm and say, that the bishop of Rome is above the council: the which if it were true, Damasus might have taken into his hands the cause of Bonosius, the bishop, to determine, which was before begun by the council; but forsomuch as the council is above the pope, Damasus knew himself to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilary also, acknowledging a synod to be above him, would have his decrees confirmed by the council. Also the famous doctor, St. Augustine, in his epistle which he did write unto Glorius, and Eleusius, and Felix the grammarian, declareth the case. Cecilianus, the bishop, was accused by Donatus, with others. Melchiades, the pope, with certain other bishops, absolved Cecilian, and confirmed him in his bishopric. They, being moved with those doings, made a schism in the parts of Africa; St. Augustine reproveth them, who having another remedy against the sentence of the pope, did raise a schism, and doth inveigh against them in this manner: 'Behold, let us think those bishops who gave judgment at Rome, not to have been good judges: there remained yet the judgment of the universal church, where the cause might have been pleaded even with the judges themselves; so that if they were convicted not to have given just judgment, their sentence might have been broken.' Whereby it appeareth, that not only the sentence of the pope alone, but also that of the pope with his bishops joined with him, might be made frustrate by a council; for the full judgment of the universal church is not found elsewhere but in a general council. Nor let it move any man, that St. Augustine seemeth here only to speak of bishops; for if the text of his epistle be read over, he shall find the bishop of Rome to be comprehended amongst the other bishops. It was also prohibited by the councils of Africa, that the bishops of Rome should receive or hear the appeals of any who did appeal from a council; which altogether declareth the superiority of a council. And this appeareth more plainly in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xi., where Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the apostles, because he went in unto Cornelius, a heathen man, as if it had not been lawful for him to attempt any greater matter without the knowledge of the congregation: and yet it was said unto him, as well as others, 'Ite et baptizate,' &c. 'Go and baptize.' But this seemeth to make more unto the purpose, which St. Paul writeth unto the Galatians, where he saith, that he 'resisted Peter even unto his face, because he did not walk according to the verity of the gospel,' Gal. ii. Which words, if they be well understand, signify none other thing by 'the verity of the gospel,' than the canon of the council decreed

The council above the pope.

The full judgment of the church to be found in a council.

No appeal to be made from a council to the pope.

Peter constrained to obey the general council.

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amongst the apostles: for the disciples being gathered together, had so determined it. Whereupon St. Paul doth show, that Peter ought to have obeyed the general council.

But now, to finish this disputation, we will here adjoin the determination of the council of Constance, which council aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguity and doubts, and to provide a certain order of living, declared by a solemn decree, that all men, of what estate or condition soever they were, yea, although that they were popes themselves, be bound under the obedience and ordinances of the sacred general councils. And although there be a certain restraint, where it is said, 'In such things as pertain unto the faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church, as well in the head as in the members;' notwithstanding, this amplificative clause, which is adjoined, is to be noted, 'Et in pertinentibus ad ea;' that is to say, 'With all the appurtenants.' Which addition is so large, that it containeth all things in it which may be imagined or thought. For the Lord said thus unto his apostles, 'Go ye forth and teach all people.' He did not say in three points only, but teach them 'to observe and keep all things, whatsoever I have commanded you.' And in another place he saith, not this or that, but 'whatsoever' ye shall bind, &c., which all together are alleged for the authority of the church and general councils. For the exaltation whereof these places also come in: 'He that heareth you, heareth me.' And again, 'It is given unto you to know the mysteries of God.' Also, 'Where two or three be gathered in my name,' &c. Again, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask,' &c. 'O holy Father! keep them whom thou hast given me,' &c. And, 'I am with you even unto the end of the world.' Also out of St. Paul these places are gathered: 'We are helpers of God,' &c. 'Which hath made us apt ministers of the New Testament,' &c. 'And he appointed some apostles, and some prophets,' &c. In all which places, both Christ and the apostle spake of the authority of many, and all of them are alleged for the authority of the universal church.

Decree of the council of Constance. The pope bound to obey it.

Divers places rehearsed, for authority of the church and councils above the pope.

But forsomuch as that church, being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decree or ordain any thing, therefore, of necessity it is to be said, that the chief and principal authority of the church doth reside in general councils, while they are assembled together. And therefore it was observed in the primitive church, that difficult and weighty matters were not intreated upon, but only in general councils and congregations. The same is also found to be observed afterward, for, when the churches were divided in opinion, general councils were holden. And in the council of Nice we do find the heresy of Arius condemned; in the council of Constantinople, the heresy of Macedonius; in the council of Ephesus, the heresy of Nestorius; in the council of Chalcedon, the heresy of Eutyches was also condemned; forsomuch as they thought the judgment of the bishop of Rome not to suffice to so great and weighty matters; and also they thought the sentence of the council to be of greater force and efficacy than the sentence of the pope, forsomuch as he might err as a man. But the council, wherein so many men were gathered together, being guided by the Holy Ghost, could not err. Also it is a very excellent saying of Martianus, the emperor, which serveth for that purpose, whose words are these: 'Truly he is to be counted a wicked and sacrilegious person, who, after the sentence of so many good and holy men, will stick to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of mere madness, at the noontime and fair daylight to seek for a feigned light; for he who having found the truth, seeketh to discuss any thing further, seeketh but after vanities and lies.'

Weighty matters treated of only in general councils.

The pope not sufficient to judge heretics: he may err.

Now I think it is evident enough unto all men, that the bishop of Rome is under the council. Notwithstanding some do yet still doubt, whether he may also be deposed by the council or not; for, albeit it be proved that he is under the council, yet, for all that, will they not grant that he may be also deposed by the council. Wherefore, it shall be no digressing at all from our purpose, somewhat to say upon that matter; and, first of all, to speak of these railers who are yet so earnest for the defence of the bishop of Rome, who, being vanquished in one battle, still renew another, and contend rather of obstinacy than of ignorance. They would have here recited again that which we have before spoken, as touching the pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome, or the patriarch. And, as there are many of them more full of words than eloquence, they stay much on

Whether the pope may be deposed by the council.

this point, where Christ said unto Peter, 'Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum;' 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven;' as though by those words he should be made head over the others. And again, they do amplify it by this, 'Pasce oves meas,' 'Feed my sheep,' which they do not find to be spoken to any other of the apostles. And, because it is said that Peter was the chief and the mouth of the apostles, therefore they judge it well spoken, that no man shall judge the chief and principal see; being all of this opinion with Boniface, who said, that the pope ought to be judged for no cause, except he be perceived or known to swerve from the faith, although he do carry innumerable people with him headlong into hell, there to be perpetually tormented; as though he could not open the kingdom of heaven to others, if any other could shut it against him; neither that he could feed others, if he himself lacked pasture.

'Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum; 'Pasce oves meas;' make nothing for the pope's supremacy.

But we count these, as things of no force or difficulty. For St. Augustine, in the sermon on the nativity of Peter and Paul, saith in this wise: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, before his passion, chose his disciples, as ye know, whom he called brethren. Amongst those Peter alone, almost in every place, represented the person of the church. And therefore it was said unto him, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum; that is to say, Unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. These keys did he not receive, as one man, but, as one, he received them for the church. And in another place, where he writeth of the christian agony, he saith; 'The keys of the kingdom of heaven were given unto the church, when they were given unto Peter. And when it was spoken unto him, Amas me? Pasce oves meas; that is to say, Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep; it was spoken unto them all.' And St. Ambrose, in the beginning of his Pastoral, saith: 'Which sheep and which flock the blessed apostle St. Peter took no charge of alone, but together with us, and we altogether with him.' By which words the foundation and principal arguments of those flatterers are utterly subverted and overthrown; for, if Peter represented the person of the church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words unto Peter, but unto the church. Neither do I see how that can stand which Boniface doth affirm, for it is far distant from the truth, except it be understand otherwise than it is spoken.

Peter represents the person of the church.

The keys given to the church, and not to one man

Pope Boniface erreth.

But it may, peradventure, seem a great thing unto some, that the bishop of Rome is said to be the head of the militant church; for, as in the body of man, physicians do never give counsel to cut off the head for any manner of sickness and disease, although it be ever so full of ulcers, or infected; so, in this mystical body of the church the head ought always to be kept: and, albeit it be ever so wicked, yet it is to be suffered and borne withal. But now convert this argument. If it were possible, in the body of man, when one head is taken away, to find another to put in its place, as we see it may be done in the church; should not heads then be oftentimes changed for divers diseases? Moreover, if we will thus reason, that the head of the church should be, in respect of his body, as the head of man in respect of the body of man; then doth it necessarily follow, that the head being dead, the body must also die, as is manifest in the body of man. So should it grow into an absurdity to confess, that the pope being dead, the church also should be dead; which how far it dissenteth from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore, whatsoever other men say, I am not of opinion with them who affirm the bishop of Rome to be head of the church, except, peradventure, they do make him the ministerial head: for we do read that Christ is the head of the church, and not the pope; and that he is the true head, immutable, perpetual, and everlasting; and the church is his body, whereof the pope himself is also a member, and the vicar of Christ; not to the destruction, but to the maintenance and edifying of the same body of Christ. Wherefore, if he be found a damnable destroyer of the church, he may be deposed and cast out, because he doth not that he was ordained to do;[1] and we ought, as pope Leo saith, to be mindful of the commandment given us in the gospel; that if our eye, our foot, or our right hand do offend us, it should be cut off from the body. For the Lord saith in another place, 'Every tree which bringeth not forth fruit, shall be cut down and cast into the fire.' And in another place also it is said unto us, 'Take away all evil and wickedness from among you.' It is very just and true which is written in the epistle of Clement unto

The bishop of Rome improperly called the head of the church.

(1) They dote who say that the pope cannot be deposed for any other cause than for heresy.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1459.

James the brother of our Lord, that he who will be saved, ought to be separate from them who will not be saved.

But, for the more manifest declaration hereof, we must have recourse to that which is spoken by the Lord in the gospel of John; 'I am the true vine,' saith the Lord, 'and my Father is the husbandman, and ye are the branches; every branch therefore that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will cut off.' These words were spoken unto the apostles, among whom also Peter was present, whom the Lord would have cut off, if he brought not forth his fruit. Also St. Jerome, upon these words of Matthew, 'Unsavoury salt is profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and trodden of swine,' thereupon in the person of Peter and Paul saith thus: 'It is no easy matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to keep the chair of them who reign with Christ. This unsavoury salt (that is to say, a foolish prelate,[1] unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending) is good for nothing but to be cast forth, that is to say, deposed, and to be trodden of swine, that is, of wicked spirits, which have dominion over the wicked and naughty prelates, as their own flock and herd.' Behold this testimony of Jerome is plain and evident; 'Let him be cast out,' saith he. He expoundeth and speaketh this of the prelate who usurpeth the place of Peter, and so consequently of the bishop of Rome, who, being unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending, ought to be deposed (as Jerome affirmeth) from his degree and dignity.[2] Neither, as some do dream, is he to be deposed for heresy only. Isidore, in the Book of Councils, rehearseth a certain epistle of Clement, the successor of Peter, written unto James the apostle, where the said Clement, repeating the words of Peter unto himself, saith thus: 'If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou shalt both deceive thyself, and those who shall give ear unto thee; for thou canst not fully distribute unto every man those things which pertain unto salvation: whereby it shall come to pass, that thou, for not teaching those things which pertain unto human salvation, shalt be deposed, and thy disciples shall perish through ignorance.' Notwithstanding, in another place, instead of this word 'deposed,' it is found, 'thou shalt be punished;' which two words, if they be well understand, do not much differ, for deposition is oftentimes used in the place of punishment.

Fruitless branches to be cut off.

The words of Peter to Clement.

But peradventure some will here object, that this epistle is not to be judged Clement's, because it is said to be written unto James, who, as the Historia Scholastica[3] affirmeth, was dead before Peter was put to death. But Clement might think that James was alive, when he wrote; who were far distant asunder, and tidings of the Christians came not easily unto Rome. Moreover, there is mention made of this epistle in divers places of the decretals as most true, and therefore it shall be nothing from the purpose to rehearse other sayings out of the same epistle; where he saith, 'That he who liveth rebelliously, and refuseth both to learn and to do good, is rather a member of the devil than of Christ, and doth show himself rather to be an infidel than a faithful Christian.' Upon which words, the gloss which Panormitane calleth singular and doth much approve[4] saith, that if the crime or offence of the bishop of Rome be notorious, whereby the church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused thereof. If then he may be accused, ergo, also, he may be punished, and, according to the exigency of the fault, deposed; otherwise he should be accused in vain.

The epistle of Clement to James, doubted.

The pope to be both accused and punished.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our adversaries, but that the pope may be deposed; which argument being now brought to an end, notwithstanding it is not yet evident whether he may be deposed by the council or no; which we now take in hand to discourse. And, first of all, the adversaries will grant this unto us; that the bishop of Rome may be deposed by the church, forasmuch as the pope being the vicar of the church, no man doubteth but that a lord may put out his vicar at his will and pleasure: neither is it to be doubted but that the pope is more truly called the vicar of the church than of Christ. But, if the church may depose the pope, *ergo*, the council also may do the same. For,[5] as it is before declared, the universal church doth ordain or decree nothing, but when it is congregated or gathered together in general councils. Then, albeit they be not all present, it is sufficient that they be all called, whom reason requireth to have present.

Whether he may be deposed.

He is rather to be called the vicar of the church, than of Christ.

(1) If the pope be unsavoury salt, he is to be cast away.
(2) A note for all naughty prelates.
(3) See Appendix.
(4) See p. 608.—Ed.
(5) See Edition 1563, p. 295.—Ed.

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But here, of one doubt riseth also another; for, whereas the church doth comprehend, as well the laity, as the clergy, a question seemeth to be demanded why only the clergy do hold the councils, or that the laity are not present and have a voice in the councils. Some one also may suppose that which is spoken, 'the church cannot err,' to be referred unto both states, and both kinds of men and women, that, albeit the clergy do err, the laity might remain firm and constant. And again, if the men happen to err, some women might remain in the faith; but it is erroneous so to think. For we ought to consider the church to be understood two manner of ways: the one, which containeth both the laity and the clergy; the other, which containeth the clergy alone. And to this second church it pertaineth to teach, purge, illuminate, direct, correct, feed, and to make perfect, the first part. Wherefore we do affirm the universal church, which comprehendeth all faithful Christians, to have all manner of authority and power granted unto it: and therefore, that the bishop of Rome is subject thereunto, and may be deposed, cast out, and excommunicated, if he do not rule and govern well.

Wherefore, whensoever the faithful Christians are gathered together in the Holy Ghost, to celebrate a council, albeit they be not all there present, yet, because they are lawfully called, the fulness of the power doth consist no more in the pope, but in the council: and immediately as the council is begun, it is straightways above the pope Wherefore thus we conclude, that whatsoever is granted or permitted to the universal church, the same is also granted unto a general council.

Whereupon, if the universal church (as no man can deny) may depose the pope, a general council may also do the same.* Also the gloss, which Panormitane in his writing doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence, 'That a general council is judge over the pope in all cases.' Likewise the most sacred synod of Constantinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the bishops of Rome to be under the judgment of a council; and the council to judge and determine of every doubtful matter or question that doth arise concerning the bishop of Rome. Neither let it move any man that this word 'deposition' is not mentioned; for it is said 'of every doubtful matter or question:' for, if the synod do judge of every doubt, *ergo*, it shall also judge whether the pope shall be deposed or not; for that may also come in doubt. And because we will not seek examples far off, John XXIII., whom all the world did reverence as pope, was deposed of his papacy by the council of Constance: neither yet was he condemned for any heresy; but, because he did offend the church by his manifold crimes, the sacred synod thought good to depose him; and ever since, continually, the church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might cease, who affirm that the pope cannot be deposed, but only for heresy.

Pope John deposed, and yet for no heresy

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certain men do affirm the general councils to be of no effect, except the pope do call and appoint them, and his authority remain with them. Whereupon they say, that Dioscorus did rebuke Paschasius the bishop of Sicily, and legate of pope Leo, because that he did enterprise, without the authority of the apostolic see, to call a council at Ephesus. They also allege another testimony of the synod of Chalcedon; where, when mention was made of the council of Ephesus, all the bishops cried out, saying, 'We ought not to call it a council, because it was neither gathered by the apostolic authority, nor rightly kept.' By which authorities, they who say that the councils cannot be holden without the consent of the pope, do think themselves marvellously armed. Whose sentence and opinion, if it take place and prevail as they desire, it shall bring with it the great ruin and decay of the church. For what remedy shall we find, if a wicked pope do disturb the whole church, destroy souls, seduce the people by his evil example; if, finally, he preach contrary unto the faith, and fill the people full of heresies, shall we provide no stay or stop for him? shall we suffer all things to run to ruin and decay with him?[1] Who would think that the bishop of Rome would congregate a council for his own correction or deposition? for as men are prone unto sin, so would they also sin without punishment. But when I do peruse ancient histories, and the Acts of the Apostles, I do not find this order, that councils should be gathered only at the will of the pope; for the first council of all, after Mat-

Whether councils may be congregated without the authority of the pope.

(1) Mark wherefore the popes will have no general councils.

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thias was substituted in the place of Judas, was not congregated at the commandment of Peter, but at the commandment of Christ, who commanded the apostles that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but look for the promise of the Father.

The first council of the apostles

The second council, as touching the election of the deacons, Peter alone did not congregate, but the twelve apostles; for it is written, 'The twelve apostles, calling together the multitude,' &c.

The second.

The third council, which was holden as touching the taking away of circumcision and other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a general inspiration: for it is written, 'The apostles and elders came together,' &c.

The third.

The fourth.

The fourth council, where certain things contained in the law are permitted, seemeth to have been gathered by James. And so, discoursing throughout all, there can nothing be found in the primitive church, whereby it should appear that the authority of congregating of councils should pertain only unto bishops of Rome. Neither afterwards in the time of Constantine the Great, and other emperors, was the consent of the bishops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of councils; and therefore the synod of Chalcedon speaketh thus of itself: 'The sacred and universal synod gathered together at Chalcedon, the chief city of the province of Bithynia, according to the grace of God, and the sanctions of the most godly and christian emperors, Valentinian and Martian.' The synod doth not make any mention here of the bishop of Rome, although his consent were there. Wherefore, if the pope would resist, and would have no council congregated, yet, if the greater part of the prelates do judge it necessary to have a council, the council may be congregated whether the pope will or no. *For [1] when the prelates be generally inspired, the judgment of one man must needs give place, although he be the successor of Peter.

Councils, in times past, congregated by emperors, not by popes.

When a council may be holden.

Neither do I perceive it to have been always observed, that there should be no council holden without the authority of the pope.* For the council holden at Pisa, was not congregate by the authority and consent of any pope, when Gregory did condemn it, and Benedict cursed it. The same also may be said of the council of Constance, which was assembled by the authority of pope John, who in respect of the Spaniards was no true pope. And, if the council of Pisa were no true council, pope Jonn was no true pope; whereupon his consent to the congregating of the council of Constance was of no effect. Moreover, it is more than folly to affirm, that when the pope hath once given his consent, if it should be called back, the council should then cease, for then it is no more in his power to revoke his consent. And of necessity he must be obedient unto the council whereof he is a member, and give place unto the greater part: and if he separate himself from the consent of the greater part, and depart from the unity of the church, he maketh himself a schismatic.

How the pope is a schismatic.

He cannot dissolve a council against the will of the same.

Now, to come unto the second conclusion: if it be true, as it is indeed, that the pope is under the council, how can the pope then dissolve, alter, and transport the council, against the will of the same? for with what countenance can we say, that the inferior hath power over the superior? How can the synod correct the pope, if the pope may dissolve the synod contrary to the will thereof? Admit the pope be libidinous, covetous, a sower of war and discord, and a most mortal enemy unto the church and the name of Christ, how can the council reprove him, if he have authority to dissolve the council? For as soon as ever the bishop of Rome shall understand, that in the council they do treat or talk of his correction or punishment, straightways he will seek remedy by dissolving the council. For, as Macrobius saith, he that hath liberty to do more than is fit or necessary, will oftentimes do more than is lawful. If so be that the bishop of Rome may exempt himself from correction by dissolving or transporting the council, it followeth that the council is not above him. Therefore we must either deny that which is before said, that the pope is under the council, or else deny that the pope hath power to dissolve the council, contrary to the will and determination of the council.

Saying of Macrobius.

Whether the pope may dissolve a council.

And, as the first conclusion is most true, so are all other conclusions false, which seem to impugn the same. Wherefore the second conclusion of the divines is also manifest, albeit some do admit it in certain cases, and, in others, exclude it again. For, if we do admit, that for certain causes the pope may

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 296.—Ed.

dissolve the council contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to say, to make the pope judge of the council, it were clean contrary unto the first conclusion.

Now it is proved that the council is above the pope, and cannot be dissolved by the pope without consent thereof. Now we must further see, whether it be an article of our faith to believe it; which matter hath respect unto the third conclusion. For there have been many, who, albeit they did confess these two conclusions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a verity of the catholic faith or no. Therefore this second part must be confirmed, and we must see whether it be an article of faith that the pope be under the council; which being proved, it shall also appear to be an article of faith, that the pope cannot dissolve the council without the consent thereof: which consequent none of the contrary part hath refuted. First of all therefore we must inquire what faith itself is, that we may thereby the better understand what pertaineth thereunto.

Definition of faith

Faith, as the divines do define it, is a firm and steadfast cleaving unto things believed on the authority of him that speaketh. If then we believe, as is aforesaid, that the pope of Rome is under the council, some authority doth move us thereunto: so is there faith in him that believeth it. But the question is not whether it be an article of faith only, but whether it be an article of the catholic faith. Wherefore we must again inquire, what the catholic faith is. This word Catholic is a Greek word, and signifieth Universal. The catholic faith, that is to say, the universal faith, is not so called because every man holdeth it, but because every man ought to believe it. For all men do not believe that God is incarnate, but every man ought so to believe. And albeit many be against this faith, yet doth it not cease to be universal. For what writeth the apostle unto the Romans? 'If some of them have not believed, doth their misbelief make the faith of God vain? God forbid. Verily God is true, but every man is a liar.' Rom. iii. Therefore to believe that the pope is under the council, is a point of the catholic faith, although some think the contrary: for we are bound to believe it, forsomuch as it is taken out of the gospel. For we are not bound only to believe those things that are noted to us in the Creed, but also all those things that are contained in the holy Scriptures, whereof we may not deny one iota. And those things which we allege for the superiority of a general council, are gathered out of the sayings of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the epistles of Saint Paul: *ergo*, we are all bound to believe it. And to prove that these things are taken out of the gospel, the council of Constance doth witness, which groundeth its authority upon these words, 'Dic ecclesiæ;' that is to say, 'Tell it unto the church;' and, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name,' &c.; and, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind,' &c., with other such like texts.

Definition of the catholic faith.

What is catholic.

•And[1] Saint Austin saith: 'Quod evangelio non crederet, ni autoritas ecclesiæ se commoveret;' that is to say, that he would not give any credit unto the gospel, except the authority of the church did move him thereunto: in this place, naming the church for the general council. For the church, which was dispersed in every place, did not ordain the receiving of the Gospels and Scriptures; but the church which was congregated and gathered together in the general council. And, thereby, it may come to pass, that, like as the council did bind us to the believing of them, so may it also set forth other things unto us, to be believed.•

Whereupon pope Martin V., being yet at Constance, under the license of the council sent out his bulls, which do reckon up the articles, whereupon they ought to be examined who had fallen into any heresy; amongst which articles he putteth this article:—Whether he doth believe a sacred general council to have power immediately from God, and that the ordinances thereof are to be received of all faithful Christians; which if any man would deny, he should be counted a heretic. Wherefore, when the sacred synod of Constance doth set forth this verity, as touching the superiority of a general council, what should let, but that we also should confess the same to be a verity of the catholic faith? For the catholic church, being congregate at Constance, received that faith; that is to say, believed it by the authority of him who spake it; that is, Christ and his saints.

(1) See Ed. 1563, p. 297.—Ed.

Henry VI. A. D. 1439.

To this purpose also serve very well the words of the synod of Chalcedon, written in this manner:—"It is not lawful to name him 'bishop,' that is condemned by the whole synod. The determination pleaseth all men. This is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary unto this, is a heretic. And again, it is a rule, that it is not lawful to appeal from the elect and chosen synod. He that holdeth any opinion contrary to this, is a heretic."

The words of the council of Chalcedon.

Mark the manifest witness of this most sacred synod, which said, that he is a heretic, who holdeth any opinion contrary unto the council. But he is no heretic, except he refuse the catholic faith: *ergo*, it was the catholic faith to believe that it was not lawful to appeal from the sacred council. But how was the same any point of the catholic faith? Verily, forsomuch as the sacred synod, perusing over the holy Scriptures, hath received this conclusion out of the words of Christ and other holy fathers. And, like as the synod of Chalcedon took their conclusions out of the holy Scriptures, so likewise did the council of Constance this which we now reason upon. And like as the one is an article of the catholic faith, so is the other also. And he who holdeth any opinion contrary to either or both, is a heretic.

Panormitane very well nipped by his own supposition

Furthermore they seem unto me to dream and dote, who, confessing them to be verities, will not confess them to be verities of faith. For if they be verities, I pray you whereof are they verities? Truly not of grammar, much less of logic; and from astronomy and physic they are far distant: neither is there any other man but a divine, that will grant this verity, whom Scripture doth force unto it of necessity, if he do believe Christ, or his apostles. Therefore this is a verity of the catholic faith, which all men ought to embrace; and he who obstinately resisteth against the same, is to be judged a heretic, as the third conclusion doth affirm. Neither let any man think it hard or cruel, that he should be called a heretic, who goeth about to derogate any thing from the power of a general council, which is confirmed by so many testimonies and authorities, *when he also is counted a heretic, who taketh away the supremacy from the church of Rome, which is one of the Greeks' heresies that are condemned.* Also Panormitane allegeth St. Jerome, saying, 'He who understandeth the Scripture otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost doth require, albeit he do not depart from the church, may be called a heretic.'

Tell the church, that is to say, a general council.

Whereupon it followeth, that he, who, upon the words of Christ, saying unto Peter, 'Dic ecclesiæ,' i. e. 'Tell it unto the church,' doth not understand by 'the church' a general council, understandeth it otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may be noted as a heretic. And that the sense of the Holy Ghost is otherwise than he doth judge it, the council of Constance doth declare; the which interpreting those words 'Dic ecclesiæ,' that is, 'Tell it unto the church,' spoken by the Holy Ghost, understandeth them to be spoken of a general council.

For these and many other weighty reasons the three aforesaid conclusions seemed true unto the divines, and through them they also allowed the residue. Now have we sufficiently said, as touching that which was before promised; neither do I think any man now can be in doubt about the three first conclusions.

Now, to return again unto our story; it is our purpose to declare those things which happened after the conclusion of the divines; for many of them are worthy of remembrance, and may haply be profitable unto posterity.

See Appendix.

*When[1] the matter was allowed by the divines, it came to the examination of the deputations, whereof three, without much ado, consented with the divines. The fourth, which was named the Common deputation, admitting the three first conclusions, seemed to hesitate about the residue. George, bishop of Vich, was a great stop to this matter; who, being newly returned from Mentz, and not being present at the disputation holden at the chapter-house, could not be

(1) Edition 1563, p. 298.—Ed.

persuaded, that Eugene could without a new convocation be declared a heretic. Amedeus, archbishop of Lyons, favoured him very much; not for his opinion (for he had openly, in the disputation of the chapter-house, declared Eugene a heretic and relapse), but because he feared that the deposition of the pope would be the next step. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1439.

There were, in this deputation, many who not only now, but always had favoured Eugene's part. This deputation, lest, according to the old custom of the council, the matter should be concluded by three deputations, did suspend all deliberation; for by that suspension they brought a greater stop and let than they should have done by denying, and so protracted the matter a long time. For this cause messengers were sent from the other deputations, through whose exhortation the Common deputation did revoke their suspension upon the three conclusions. And now Friday was come, on which day they were accustomed to have a general congregation, and a final conclusion of their business.*

Meanwhile, the archbishop of Milan and Panormitane, with the residue of their fellow ambassadors of the king of Arragon and the duke of Milan, armed themselves with all their power to let the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with stout and valiant stomachs; *and[1] by their letters and messengers they called back others, who were gone away for fear of the plague. The cardinal of Tarragona, who then sojourned at Soleure, was sent for; likewise was Louis, the prothonotary of Rome, who was gone unto the baths, not so much for his health's sake, as to avoid being compelled to defend Eugene contrary to his real mind. There were many of the bishops of the Arragons sent for beside, who all came back again the day before the congregation should be holden, excepting the cardinal, who returned after the congregation. *See Appendix.*

As soon as the time was come for the congregation to begin, the ambassadors of the princes were present, and, as though they had before conspired together, all unanimously agreed to hinder the conclusion as much as in them lay.*

And first of all, the bishop of Burgos, a man distinguished for wisdom and eloquence, exhorted them to defer the conclusion, and to tarry for the other ambassadors of the princes, who would shortly return from Mentz. *The bishop of Burgos.*

After him Panormitane, a man of singular talent and learning, and chief ambassador of his king, with a grave and rhetorical oration spake, in a manner, as followeth.

The Oration of Panormitane.[2]

I have, said he, had a commandment by the prophet, to cry without ceasing; which prophet said, 'Cry out, cease not, lift up thy voice as a trumpet.' If that in any matter at any time before it were proper to cry, this matter specially, which was now in hand, lacked crying and roaring out, when the state of the universal church was treated upon, either to be preserved, or utterly overthrown; and that he had cried so much in this manner, that he doubted not but the saying of David was fulfilled in him, where he saith,—'Laboravi clamans, raucæ sunt factæ fauces meæ;'—'I have laboured, crying out, that my jaws are become hoarse.'

(1) Edition 1563, pp. 298, 299.—Ed.

(2) Ed. 1583, p. 677.—Ed.

Henry VI. A.D. 1439.

Notwithstanding, that he would, both now and as often as need should require, without ceasing still cry out, and especially now in this most difficult and weighty matter; wherein he required the sacred council gently to hear both him, and the ambassadors of other princes; adding, moreover, four things to be considered, in all requests made of any man; which he also required the fathers now presently to mark and consider: who it is that maketh the request? what is required? why it should be required? and what effect would come by the request either granted or denied? As touching the first point he said; the most noble kings and excellent princes with their prelates, were of great power. And then he reckoned up the king of Castile, the king of Arragon, the duke of Milan, and the bishops of the same princes; rehearsing also the merits and good deeds of the said kings, and also of the duke of Milan. But when he came to make mention of the prelates, he could not refrain himself, but began to wax somewhat hot, saying, that the greatest number of prelates were on his part. For if the bishops and abbots were counted, it were not to be doubted but the greatest part of them would have this present matter deferred; and, forsomuch as the whole power of the council doth consist in the bishops, it is not to be suffered, that they being neglected and contemned, that should be concluded, which pleased the greater part of the inferiors. For the keys, said he, were given to the apostles, and to their successors, who are the bishops: also that there are three kinds of synods, episcopal, provincial, and general, and none of all these without bishops. Wherefore the manner and order of the present council seemed indecent, where things were not weighed according as men excel in dignity, but by most voices: notwithstanding, according to the most famous epistle of Clement, the bishops were the pillars and keys of heaven, and the inferiors had no determining voice, but only a consultative voice with them. Wherefore there would be a great offence in this behalf, if a matter of faith should be determined without the bishops; in which matter not only the bishops, but also the secular princes ought to be admitted. And, forsomuch as they, in the name of their princes, desired to be admitted to the examination of this present matter, and would examine the matter more fully, he complained greatly how unworthy a thing it was, that they should be contemned or despised.

Four things to be considered in every request.

Panormitane would have dignity to be considered, not voices.

After many things spoken to this end and effect, he passed over to the second part of his oration, declaring what it was that he required; not gold, nor silver, neither precious stones, neither provinces nor kingdoms, neither a thing hard to be done; but only that the delay of the sacred council was required, and that the fathers would stay in the process against the pope, and in the conclusion and determination of matters which were then in hand. Neither should the delay be long, but only until the return of the ambassadors from Mentz, who, he knew well, would return very shortly. That this was but a small matter, and needed but small entreaty, because there was no danger in it. And also it should seem injurious, not to tarry for the ambassadors of the princes who were then at Mentz, when they were not absent for their own private commodity, but about the affairs of the commonwealth, and the commodity of peace; neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had desired, that during their absence there should be nothing renewed concerning the matters of Eugene.

He seemeth to delay the process against the pope.

Then, immediately adjoining the third part of his oration, wherefore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the private commodity of any one man, but for the common weal; not to perturb or trouble any thing, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might pass with peace and quietness; and that the matter might be so much the more firm and stable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the consent of many. And so he proceeded to the last part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they would consider, and weigh in their minds, the effect that would follow, if they should grant or deny this request. 'For,' saith he, 'if ye shall deny this small petition of the princes, they all will be aggrieved therewith, and take this repulse in ill part. They will say, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient unto you, or receive your decrees. In vain shall ye make laws, except the princes do execute them, and all your decrees shall be but vain: yet would I think this to be borne withal, if I did not fear greater matters to ensue. What if they should join themselves with Eugene, who desireth to spoil you, not only of your livings, but also of your lives? Alas! what slaughter and murder do the eyes of my mind behold and see! Would to God my

The third part of his oration.

His persuasions.

opinion were but vain! But if you do grant and consent unto their petitions, they will think themselves bound unto you; they will receive and embrace your decrees, and whatsoever you shall require of them shall be obtained. They will forsake your adversary; they will speak evil of him and abhor him; but you they will commend and praise; you they will reverence; unto you they will wholly submit themselves; and then shall follow that most excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillity of the church.' And thus he required the matter to be respited on all parts. At the last he said, That except the ambassadors of the princes were heard, he had a protestation written, which he would command to be read before them all. *Henry VI.* A.D. 1439.

When Panormitane had made an end of his oration, Louis, the prothonotary of Rome, rose up, a man of such singular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior unto any of the famous men of olden time; for he had always in memory whatsoever he had heard or read, and never forgat any thing that he had seen; *and when he was arguing, he did not merely quote laws by their first words, as other lawyers do, but repeated the law itself as fluently as if he had been reading it from a book.* The praise of Louis the prothonotary. *See Appendix.

The Oration of Louis the Prothonotary.

This man, first commending Panormitane, said, That he came but the day before from the baths, and that it seemed unto him a strange thing which was now brought in question; wherein he desired to hear other men's minds, and also to be heard of others; and that those prelates who were at Mentz should be tarried for, to be present at the discussing of this matter, in the name and behalf of their princes, which prelates were men of great estimation, and the orators of most mighty princes.

He allowed, also, the saying of Panormitane, touching the voices of the inferiors, and said that it seemed not to him to be against the truth, that only bishops should have a determining voice in councils. And, albeit some in this disputation did think that which is written in Acts xv. to be their fort or defence; notwithstanding, he was nothing moved therewith, nor took it to be of any force or moment, albeit it was said, 'It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost and to us,' where both the apostles and the elders were gathered together; whereby it appeared, that the others had a deciding voice with the apostles. For he said, that there was no argument to be gathered of the acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be marvelled at than to be imitated; and that it doth not appear there, that the apostles called the elders of duty, but it is only declared that they were there present; whereupon nothing could be inferred; and that it seemed unto him, that the inferiors in the council of Basil would be admitted to determine with the bishops but of grace and favour only, because the bishops may communicate their authority unto others; *notwithstanding, in these matters which are graces, if one say the contrary, nothing can be done.* He alleged for testimony the bishop of Cuença, a man of great authority, who would not suffer any incorporation or fellowship of the meaner sort, and therefore neither any inferior, not even himself (who as yet was not made bishop), to have any deciding voice in the council. Wherefore, forsomuch as the matter was weighty which was now in hand, and that the bishops spake against it, he begged the council that, making a virtue of necessity, they would stay for the ambassadors of the princes coming from Mentz. Bishops only to have a determining voice in councils.

His oration[1] was so much the more grievous, in that many were touched with his words: what gave special offence was, that he said the apostles were not to be imitated; for that, all men did impugn as a blasphemy. But here a man may marvel, that a man of such excellency alleged no more or better matter. But it was not the man's

(1) It is no marvel why he alleged no more or better matter; for of naughty leather no man can make a good shoe. And note here how God withdraweth his gifts, when men dissemble and cloak the truth.

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memory which was in fault: the fact is, he did not speak heartily in this matter, and desired nothing so much, as not to obtain that which he entreated for.

After[1] him the bishops of Catania and Bosa,[2] who were also the king's ambassadors, spoke in a few words in favour of the opinion of Panormitane. At that time the archbishop of Milan, a man of prompt and ready wit and learning, who was there alone ambassador for the duke of Milan (for the bishop of Albenga, and Francis Barbavaria, were not yet returned from Mentz); he, being a follower of St. Jerome, alleging many authorities out of the said doctor, exhorted earnestly to have the matter deferred, abhorring all haste, which, he said, was enemy unto the council, and by his countenance and gesture declaring himself to be greatly against the present proceedings. At the last he said, that except he were fully heard, he would make protestation in the name of himself and all his countrymen. After him followed the bishops of Tortosa and Girona, and a divine of Segorbe, abbot-elect of Mount Arragon, and some other men of that rank, who altogether approved the sentence and determination of Panormitane. The bishop of Parma agreed with the archbishop of Milan; also the king's almoner, who afterward, flying from Basil because of the plague unto Zoffingen, died in a town of the Switzers, between Lucerne and Basil. These, with Martinus de Vera, another ambassador of the king of Arragon, did confirm and stay themselves upon the saying of their fellow Panormitane. Then the other Arragons and Catalonians, wishing to speak every one for himself, said that they did all agree to the desire of their king. The matter seemed to be craftily contrived, that they should spend the time and defer the conclusion. When a great number had spoken their minds, and a long succession of Catalonians had made an end, Louis, the cardinal Arelatensis, a man of marvellous constancy and born for the governance of general councils, gathered together the words of all the orators; and turning himself first to the Castilians, he spake much of their devotion to the sacred council; in like wise he spake of the Catalonians and Lombards: afterward, he, entering upon the matter, spake in this wise:

See Appendix.

The Oration of the Cardinal Arelatensis.

Most reverend fathers! this is now no new or strange business, nor begun today or yesterday. For it is now many weeks ago since the conclusions were disputed upon amongst the divines, and sent unto Mentz, and into all other parts of the world. After this they were disputed upon six successive days in the chapter-house of this church, and fully discussed, and after that, not without great delay, approved by the deputations; and as the truth seeketh no corners, so all things were done publicly and openly, neither can any man pretend ignorance; neither were the prelates or princes passed over, for we invited all that were then at Basil, and exhorted them all to be present. And forsomuch as mention is made of the most noble king of Castile, who is ignorant that the king's own orators were there present, the bishops of Burgos and Ebrun, men of singular learning and eloquence? And you also Panormitane yourself, who here represent the person of the most famous king of Arragon, were twice present yourself in the chapter-house, and disputed twice most subtilely, and twice declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. Why do you desire more delay? Also out of the territory of the duke of Milan there was present the archbishop of Milan, who albeit he be no ambassador, yet how famous a prelate he is, you are not ignorant.

Truth seeketh no corners.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 310.—Ed.

(2) Bosa, a city and seaport in Sardinia.—Ed.

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When he had spoken these words, the archbishop of Milan, being somewhat moved, said unto him, "My lord cardinal, you supply the room of a president no more than I do the place of the duke's orator;" and began to taunt him with many words. But the cardinal (as he was a most patient man, and would not be provoked to anger by any means), said as followeth:

The Oration of the Cardinal Archbishop of Arles continued.

That is just what I wanted. For if the archbishop be an ambassador, then hath the duke no cause to complain, who had his orator present at the discussing of those matters. I pass over other princes, because they do not complain. Notwithstanding, the most christian king of France had there the archbishop of Lyons, a grave and sober man, as his ambassador at the disputation. As for other princes, I see no cause why they should be tarried for, who, knowing the council to be congregated for such matters as pertain unto faith, do not think it absurd that the doubtful matters of faith should be determined in the council; whereat, if they had wished to be present, they would have come or this.

• Besides[1] that, it is not true what Panormitane saith, that secular princes ought to be admitted to any matter of faith, if he understand their coming to be in order to determine. And, albeit that Martianus the emperor doth say, 'Nos ad fidem confirmandam volumus interesse synodo;' that is, 'We will be present at the council for the confirmation of the faith;' which words Panormitane doth so often allege, yet that must be added, which he himself doth add, that we may have the perfect understanding of his words, for he saith; 'Nos ad fidem confirmandam, non potentiam exercendam, volumus interesse synodo;' that is, 'we will be present at the council, not to exercise our power and authority, but for the confirmation of the faith;' speaking it to this intent, that, thereby he might specially take away all fear from those, who thought that his presence would frustrate the council: which thing if our princes now-a-days would do, the matter were at an end. But our princes in these days, when by reason of their absence they cannot themselves threaten, yet will they put men in fear by their ambassadors. But God will look upon such doings.•

Why this matter should need so much discussing as some will have, I do not understand; for if I rightly remember, Panormitane and also Louis have oftentimes affirmed in this place even the very same thing which the conclusions signify. And if any of them now will go about to gainsay it, it will happen unto them as it did unto Didimus, • than whom, as Quintilian saith, 'No man at any time wrote more,'• to whom, when on a time he repugned against a certain history as vain and frivolous, his own book was delivered unto him, wherein the same was written: so likewise these two men,[2] although they be excellently learned, and eloquent, yet may they be confuted by their own writings. Besides this, there are synodal epistles and decrees of this council, which are full of such conclusions. What is it then whereupon any difficulty can be raised? what is it that may be impugned? Shall we now bring that again in doubt, which hath so often been declared, affirmed, and decreed? 'But,' say they, 'the princes and ambassadors are absent, who are bishops, by whose presence the decrees should be of more authority.' Well, not only are they absent who are gone to Mentz, but almost an infinite number of others, dispersed throughout the whole world, whom if we should tarry to look for, nothing at any time should be decreed. They are all called unto the council; they might have come if they would. To those that are present power is given, and they ought to debate these matters. If any man will say, that they who are absent are about the affairs of the commonwealth, truly we sent them not thither, but they went rather against the will of the council, than with the consent thereof.

Didimus reprehended what was in his own book.

And admit that they had been sent by the council, yet were not our power so much restrained but that we might reform the church, for, otherwise, there

(1) Ed. 1563, pp. 301, 302.—Ed.
(2) He meaneth Panormitane and Ludovicus the prothonotary.

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should never any thing be done in the council; forsomuch as always some are sent out by the council, and some are always to be looked and tarried for; and therefore we must either do nothing at all, or send out no prelates from the council. Whereas he said that prelates, and especially bishops, are contemned, that is most far from the truth, for they have the chief and first places. They speak first, and give their voices first of all, unto all things; and, if so be they do speak learnedly and truly, all the inferiors, without any gainsaying, do soon follow their mind.

Neither, peradventure, shall it seem dissonant from the truth, to say, that there was never any synod which did more amplify the power and authority of bishops, than this. For what have the bishops been in our days, but only shadows? Might they not well have been called shepherds without the sheep? What had they more than their mitre and their staff, when they could determine nothing over their subjects? Verily, in the primitive church, the bishops had the greatest power and authority;[1] but now is it come to that point that they do only exceed the common sort of priests in their habit and revenues. But we have restored them again to their old estate; we have reduced the collation of benefices again unto them; we have restored unto them the confirmation of elections; we have brought again into their hands the causes of the subjects to be heard, and have made them bishops who were none before. What cause is there then, that the bishops should say they are contemned of the council, or what injurious thing have we at any time done unto them?

But Panormitane saith, that forsomuch as most bishops are on his part, and few against him, the conclusion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiors. But let Panormitane remember himself, that this is no new kind of proceeding. This order of proceeding the council ordained from the beginning, neither hath it been changed at any time since. And this order, Panormitane! in times past hath pleased you well enough, when the multitude did follow your mind.[2] But now, because they do not follow your mind, they do displease you. But the decrees of the council are not so mutable as the wills of men. Know ye, moreover, that the very same bishops who do consent with you in word, do not consent with you in mind, neither speak the same secretly, which they now do openly. They do fear that which you told them at home in their country, that except they would follow your mind they should displease the king. They fear the power of the prince, and to be spoiled of their temporalties; neither have they free liberty to speak as is requisite in councils. Albeit, if they were true bishops, and true pastors of souls, they would not doubt to put their lives in venture for their sheep, neither be afraid to shed their blood for their mother the church.

Mark what worldly pomp, dignity, and wealth, had brought the prelates to in those days.

But at this present (the more is the pity) it is rare to find a prelate in this world, who doth not prefer his temporalities before his spiritualties; with the love whereof they are so withdrawn, that they study rather to please princes than God; and confess God in corners, but princes they will openly confess. Of whom the Lord speaketh in his Gospel; 'Every one,' saith he, 'that confesseth me before men, I will confess him before my Father which is in heaven.'[3] And, contrariwise, the Lord will not confess him before his Father who is afeard to confess the Lord before men. Neither is that true which Panormitane saith, that most bishops are on his part; for here are many bishops' proctors whom he doth not reckon, because they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignity of the fathers to be respected in the council, as he saith, but only reason; nor any thing more to be looked for than the truth; neither will I, for my part, prefer a lie of any bishop, be he never so rich, before a verity or truth of a poor priest. Neither ought a bishop to disdain, if he be rude or unlearned, that the multitude doth not follow him, or that the voice of a poor learned and eloquent priest should be preferred before his. For wisdom dwelleth oftener under a bare and ragged cloak than in rich ornaments and apparel.

Truth many times dwelleth under the ragged cloaks.

Wherefore, I pray you, my lord bishops! do not so much contemn your

(1) Mark, O ye bishops, the council of Basil contendeth for you, and ye will not understand it.

(2) This was a true cardinal, out of whose mouth the verity did speak, who feared not the threatenings of princes, neither sought any worldly glory or dignity.

(3) Note here the great godliness and most christian saying of this good bishop.

inferiors; for the first who died for Christ, who also opened unto all others the way of martyrdom, was no bishop but only a Levite. As for that which Ludovicus and Panormitane do allege, touching the voices of bishops, I know not where they have it; wherefore I desire them that they would tell me where they have found it. But if we repeat the examples of old councils, we shall find that the inferiors were always present with the bishops. And, albeit Ludovicus do forbid us the examples of the apostles, I stay myself most upon their doings: for what is more comely for us to follow, than the doctrine and customs of the primitive church?[1] It is said, therefore, in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, 'It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us;' which words, 'to us,' are referred unto them who are before named, the apostles and elders. Neither this word, 'it seemed good,' signifieth in this place consultation, but decision and determination; whereby it appeareth that others beside the bishops had determining voices. In another place also of the Acts, when the apostles should treat upon a weighty matter, they durst not determine by themselves, but the twelve called together the multitude.

Here Ludovicus saith, that it doth not appear the apostles called others of necessity.—But I say unto him, how knowest thou, that they did not call them of necessity? But, forsomuch as both parts are uncertain, nothing doth prohibit us to follow the apostles. For, seeing that all things are written for our learning, it appeareth that the apostles would give us example, that in weighty matters we should admit our inferiors. And, therefore, in all councils which were celebrated and holden afterwards, we find that priests were also present; as in the council of Nice, which of all other was most famous, Athanasius, being then but only a priest, withstood the Arians and infringed their arguments, albeit there were also other priests. And, albeit mention be made of three hundred and twenty-two bishops, yet it is not denied but that the inferiors were there, whom I think to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable; for, as you know well enough, the denomination for the most part is taken of the most worthy.

Athanasius, being but a priest, vanquished an archbishop.

In the synod of Chalcedon, which was counted one of the four principal synods, it is said that there were there present six hundred priests; which name is common both unto bishops and presbyters. In other councils the names both of bishops and priests are omitted, and mention is made of fathers only, which hath the same signification that this word 'elders' hath in the Acts of the Apostles. We have also a testimony of ecclesiastical history, how that there was a council gathered at Rome of sixty bishops, and as many priests and deacons, against the Novatians, who called themselves Cathari. Also, when Paul,[2] the bishop of Antioch, in the time of Galienus the emperor, preached that Christ was a man of common nature, the council assembled against him in Antioch; whereunto there came bishops out of Cesarea, Cappadocia, out of Pontus, Asia, and from Jerusalem, and many other bishops, priests, and deacons; and it is said, that for that matter the council was often holden. And at the last, in the same place, under Aurelius the emperor, Paul was condemned by all christian churches which were under heaven; neither was there any man who did more confound the said Paul, than Malchion, a priest of Antioch, who taught rhetoric in Antioch. *But[3] to what purpose do I stand so long in this matter? these are the words of the fifth council holden at Toledo:[4] 'After all the bishops be entered in and set, let the priests be called, who are allowed by the cause to enter in. Let no deacon put in himself amongst them, but let such as are allowed enter in afterwards, whom the order of council requireth to be present. And then the bishops being set round in a ring together, let the priests sit behind them, except such as the metropolitan shall choose to sit with him, who, also, may judge and determine any thing together with him.' There is no man who will affirm this to have been but only a provincial council. For the council speaking of itself, saith: 'quoniam generale concilium agimus,' 'forsomuch as we do hold a general council.' And there were also present sixty bishops out of Spain, and France. But, peradventure, the words of the council of Chalcedon do move Panormitane and Ludovicus;

The name of priests or elders common both to bishops and priests.

Paul, bishop of Antioch.

Paul the heretic condemned.

(1) Note the sincerity of this good bishop, who stayed himself upon the examples of the primitive church, and not upon customs and popes.

(2) A. D. 260.—Ed.

(3) Edition 1563, p. 304.—Ed.

(4) See the Appendix.—Ed.

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where the bishops, speaking of a certain congregation, which deposed Flavianus and certain others, said: 'The soldiers did depose them rather than we; for whatsoever we did, we were compelled by fear to do it, and the clergy themselves subscribed first;' wherefore they cried out that 'it was a synod of bishops and not of clerks;' the which words, if they be well understand, do not exclude the inferiors.

For two things the bishops complained of: the one, that they had no liberty in Constantinople; and the other, that the clergy subscribed first: both which were evil examples. Wherefore, if it be said that it was not a council, only called a synod of bishops, and not of clerks, yet this did not exclude all the inferiors, but only such as had taken Benet and Collet;[1] whom we also do exclude, observing the order, which the council of Toledo commanded to be appointed; twelve men for the examination of such as should be incorporated in the council. Moreover, it is not said in that place, these are the words of the council, but of some of the bishops who spake there, as Panormitane and Ludovicus do here.* But, to make no long digression from the matter, we have most evident testimonies for the defence of inferiors; for the chief and principal Aristotle amongst all the divines, St. Augustine, upon the words of Matthew, where Christ saith to Peter, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' saith, That by those words the judicial power was given not only unto Peter, but also to the other apostles, and to the whole church, the bishops and priests. If, then, priests have a judicial power in the church, what should let that they have not also a determining voice in the councils? The famous doctor, St. Jerome, doth also agree with St. Augustine, whose words are these upon the Epistle of Paul unto Titus: 'Before difference was made in religion by the instigation of the devil, or that it was spoken amongst the people, 'I hold of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas,' the churches were governed by the common consent and council of the priests; for a priest is the very same that a bishop is.' Wherefore all bishops ought to understand, that they are of greater power than priests rather by custom, than by the dispensation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the church together. Also the said Jerome, in his epistle unto Damasus upon the ecclesiastical degrees, saith: 'The Lord is represented in the bishops, and the apostles in the priests.' And this we do also gather out of Paul unto Titus, who maketh so much concordance between bishops and priests, that oftentimes he calleth priests bishops; whereby it doth evidently appear, that priests are not to be excluded from the conventions of bishops, and determinations of matters. Albeit, as St. Jerome writeth that bishops are only by custom preferred before priests, it may be that a contrary custom may take away that custom. For if priests ought to rule the church together with the bishops, it is evident that it also pertaineth unto them to decide and determine the doubtful matters of the church.

St. Augustine upon this sentence, 'Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum.'

How bishops are of greater power than priests.

Bishops and priests ought to rule together.

Wherefore the testimony of St. Paul is evident; for as he, writing unto the Ephesians, saith, 'If Christ instituted his apostles, prophets, pastors, and teachers to the work of the ministry, for the edifying of his church, until such time as we should meet him, for this purpose, that there should be no doubt in the diversity of doctrine: who doubteth then, but that the governance of the church is committed unto others together with the apostles? Let these our champions now hold their peace, and seem to be no wiser than they ought to be. The memorial of the council of Constance is yet fresh in memory, where divers of us were present, and I myself also, who was neither cardinal nor bishop, but only a doctor; where I did see, without any manner of doubt or difficulty, the inferiors to be admitted with the bishops, to the deciding of hard and doubtful matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of that most sacred and great council, which also followed the examples of the council of Pisa, and the great council at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the priests did jointly judge together with the bishops.

Abbots not instituted by Christ.

Moreover, if abbots, as we do see it observed in all councils, have a determining voice, who, notwithstanding, were not instituted by Christ, why should not priests have the same, whose order Christ ordained by his apostles? Hereupon also, if only bishops should have a determining voice, nothing else should be done but what pleased the Italian nation, the which alone doth exceed all

(1) "Qui solius primæ tonsuræ sunt clerici." Æn. Sylv. See Appendix.—Ed.

other nations, or at the least is equal with them, in number of bishops. And howsoever it be, I judge it in this behalf to be a work of God, that the inferiors should be admitted to the determinations; for God hath now revealed that unto little ones, which he hath hidden from the wise.

Behold you do see the zeal, constancy, uprightness, and magnanimity of these inferiors. Where should the council now be, if only bishops and cardinals should have their voice? Where should the authority of the councils be? Where should the catholic faith be? Where should the decrees and reformation be? For all things have now a long time been under the will of Eugene, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughty purpose, except these inferiors, whom ye now contemn, had withstand him. These are they who have contemned the privation made by Eugene. These, I say, are they who have not regarded his threatenings, spoil and persecution. These are they who, being taken, imprisoned, and tormented, have not feared to defend the truth of the council; yea, even these are they, who, albeit they were by Eugene delivered over a prey, yet would they still continue in the sacred council, and feared not to suffer war, famine, and most cruel pestilence.[1] And, finally, what thing is it, that these men have not willingly suffered for the right and equity of the council? You might have heard this inferior sort, even in the midst of their tribulations, with a loud voice cry out and say, 'Albeit that all men become obedient unto that subverter of the church, Eugene, and that every man do depart from the verity of the faith and constitutions of the fathers, consenting unto the commandments of Eugene, yet we and our brethren will be constant, and doubt not to die for the truth and traditions of the holy fathers;' the which indeed they have done. Neither could they be feared with threatenings, or altered with any spoils, neither could any fear or hope turn them from their most blessed purpose. And to speak somewhat of mine own order, whether any cardinals have done the like or no, that judge you.

Italy surmounteth all nations in number of bishops.

O zeal of faith, worthy the crown of martyrdom.

As for the bishops, whom Panormitane alone would have to determine, you see how few of them are on our part; and even those who are here present, are not able by virtue to overcome iniquity: they fear the terrene power, and commit offence with their haste. *Have ye not heard this day the voices of the prelates?* &c. Have ye not heard how they all said, they would consent unto the king's will and pleasure? But these inferiors are they who have had truth, righteousness, and God himself, before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for showing themselves such men unto the church of God. But why do I defend the cause of these inferiors, when some will also exclude those bishops, who are but bishops by name and title and have no possession of the church, from our company, not understanding that while they go about to put back those men, they do condemn Peter and the other apostles, who, as it is evident, were long without any great flock; neither was Rome unto Peter, nor Jerusalem unto James, at any time wholly obedient; for at that time no great number of people, but a small flock believed in Christ.

Eccles. vii.

The bishops fear the earthly power, but no God.

For, I pray you, what is that we should require of these bishops? They have no flock; but that is not their fault. They have no revenues; but money maketh not a bishop; and, as the Lord saith, 'Beati pauperes spiritu,' that is, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' Neither were there any rich bishops in the primitive church; neither did the ancient council reject Dionysius, bishop of Milan, Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, or Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, although they were never so poor, and banished without a flock. But, if we will grant the truth, the poor are more apt to give judgment, than the rich; because riches bring fear, and their poverty causeth liberty. For the poor men do not fear tyranny as our rich men do, who, being given over unto all kind of vanities, idleness, and sloth, will rather deny Christ, than lack their accustomed pleasures; whom not their flock, but their revenues make bishops, delighting so much in riches, that they judge all poor men unhappy. But, as Cicero saith, 'Nothing can happen better unto a wise man, than mediocrity of substance.' Whereupon it is written in the gospel, 'It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

The bishops of the primitive church were poor men.

The bishops in this age of the Church, what they are.

But now, to return to a more full declaration of Panormitane's words, I deter-

(1) Note the terrible persecution of those days, and the great constancy of the godly, for the truth's sake.

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mine to pass over two points which he propounded in the beginning of his oration, that is, 'Qui petant,' and 'cur petant;' that is, 'Who make the petition, and for what cause they make their petition.' We grant that they are great men, and men of power, and, as he doth affirm, that they have deserved good of the church; neither do I doubt but that they are moved thereunto with a sincere affection. But whether it be a small matter that is required, or that the same effects would rise thereupon which he spake of, it is now to be inquired. 'A delay,' saith he, 'is required; a delay for a few days; a small matter; a matter of no importance; a matter easy to be granted.' Notwithstanding, let Panormitane here mark well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of faith. The verities are already declared: they be already discussed and determined. If now there should be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay; for oftentimes the delay of one moment, is the loss of a whole year: hereof we have many examples. Hannibal, when he had obtained his victory at Cannæ, if he had gone straight unto Rome, by all men's judgments he had taken the city. But forsomuch as he did defer it until the next day, the Romans having recovered their force again, he was shut out, and deserved to hear this opprobry:

In matters of faith and religion, there ought to be no delays.

'Vincere scis Hanibal, uti victoria nescis.'

'Hannibal! thou knowest victory to get,
But how to use it, thou know'st not yet.'

See Appendix.

Likewise the Gauls, after they had taken Rome and besieged the Capitol, while they greedily sought to have great sums of money, and delayed the time in making of their truce, Camillus, coming upon them, did most shamefully drive them out again. But what need I to rehearse old stories, when our own examples are sufficient for us? Ye know yourselves, how often these delays have been hurtful unto you, and how often the delay of a few days hath grown to a long tract of time. For now this is the eighth year that you have spent in delays; and you have seen, that always, of one delay, another hath sprung and risen. Wherefore, I do require that Panormitane should consider, that the conclusion being this day disturbed, we know not whether it will be brought to pass hereafter again or no; many impediments or lets may arise and spring. Neither doth Panormitane say, that this delay being obtained, he would afterwards consent with his fellows unto the conclusions,—for he denieth that he hath any commandment thereunto; and (which is more to be considered) he saith that the ambassadors, at their return from Mentz, may bring such news, whereby these conclusions may be omitted: as though any thing were more excellent than the truth. This thing doth manifestly declare, that they do not seek delays for the better examination of the matter, but to impugn the conclusions the more strongly.

The eighth year of the council of Basil.

How subtilely they sought delays.

Nor do I agree with Panormitane, as touching the effects which, he said, should arise either of the denial, or granting of the requests; for I see no cause why the princes should greatly require any delay. There are no letters of any prince come unto us touching such request, neither is there any man lately come from them, neither is it greatly material unto them, but that the matters of faith should be determined. But this is a most pernicious conclusion which Panormitane hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of those most godly princes; where he saith, if we do please them, they will take our part. If, contrariwise, they will decline unto Eugene, and wholly resist and rebel against us. This is a marvellous word, and a wonderful conclusion, altogether unworthy to be spoken of such a man. The decrees of the council of Constance are, that all manner of men, of what state or condition soever they be, are bound to the ordinances and decrees of general councils. But Panormitane's words do not tend to that effect, for he would not have the princes obedient unto the council, but the council to be obedient unto the princes.

Decrees of the council of Constance.

Alas! most reverend fathers, alas! what times and days, what manners and conditions are these![1] Into what misery are we now brought! How shall we at any time bring to pass, that the pope, being Christ's vicar, and (as they say) another Christ on earth, should be subject unto the council of the Christians, if the council itself ought to obey worldly princes? But I pray you look for no

(1) If these things seem so untolerable, what shall we say, when they make the pope a God.

such things at the princes' hands. Do not believe that they will forsake their mother the church. Do not think them so far alienate from the truth, that they would have justice suppressed.

The conclusions whereupon the controversy is, are most true, most holy, most allowable. If the princes do refuse them, they will not resist against us, but against the holy Scriptures, yea, and against Christ himself: the which you ought neither to believe, neither was it comely for Panormitane so to say. Panormitane! (by your license be it spoken) you have uttered most cruel words, neither do you seem to go about any other matter than to inculcate terror and fear into the minds of the fathers; for you have rehearsed great perils and dangers, except we submit ourselves unto the princes.

But you, most reverend fathers! shall not be afeard of them that kill the body but the soul cannot kill, neither shall ye forsake the truth, although you should shed your blood for the same.[1] Neither ought we to be any whit more slack in the quarrel of our mother church, and the catholic faith, than those most holy martyrs, who have established the church with their blood. For why should it be any grievous matter unto us to suffer for Christ, who, for our sakes, hath suffered such cruel and grievous death? who, when he was the immortal God, void of all passions, took upon him the shape of a mortal man, and feared not, for our redemption, to suffer torments upon the cross. Set before your eyes, Peter the prince of the apostles, also Paul, Andrew, James, and Bartholomew, and (not to speak only of bishops) mark what Stephen, Laurence, Sebastian, and Fabian did. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some stoned to death, others burned, and others, tormented with most cruel and grievous torments, suffered for Christ's sake.[2] I pray you, for God's sake, let us follow the example of these men. If we will be bishops and succeed in honour, let us not fear martyrdom. Alas! what effeminate hearts have we; alas! what a faint hearted people are we. They, in times past, by the contempt of death, converted the whole world, which was full of Gentility and idolatry; and we, through our sluggishness and desire of life, do bring the christian religion out of the whole world into one corner; and I fear greatly, lest the little also which is left we shall lose through our cowardliness, if, by following Panormitane's mind, we do commit the whole governance and defence of the church unto the princes. But now play the stout and valiant men in this time of tribulation, and fear not to suffer death for the church, which Curtius feared not to do for the city of Rome; which Menœceus for Thebes, and Codrus for Athens, willingly took upon them.

A christian exhortation to constancy and martyrdom.

Not only the martyrs, but also the Gentiles might move and stir us to cast off all the fear of the death. What is to be said of Theramenes the Athenian? with how joyful heart and mind, and pleasant countenance, did he drink the poison? What say you unto Socrates, that most excellent philosopher? Did he either weep or sigh, when he supped up the poison? They hoped for that which we are most certain of: not by dying to die, but to change this present life for a better. Truly we ought to be ashamed, being admonished by so many exampies, instructed with so great learning, yea and redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, so greatly to fear death.

Examples of good men dying for their country.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, which have cheerfully and courageously gone unto those places from whence they knew they should not return. With like courage did the Lacedemonians give themselves to death at Thermopylæ, of whom Simonides writeth thus:

'Dic hospes, Spartanos te hic vidisse jacentes,
Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.'

'Report thou, stranger! the Spartans here to lie,
Whiles that their country's laws they obeyed willingly.'

The noble Lacedemonians.

Neither judge the contrary, but that the Lacedemonians went even of purpose unto death; unto whom their captain Leonidas said, 'O ye Lacedemonians! go forward courageously, for this day we shall sup together with the infernal gods.' But I, most reverend fathers! do not invite you unto the infernals, as

(1) They who teach this doctrine, are heretics and schismatics: but blessed are those heretics, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

(2) This came so to pass twenty-three years after, when Christendom lost Constantinople and all the East parts, unto the Turks.

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he did his Lacedemonians, but unto the celestial and everlasting joys of paradise, if that you can suffer death for the truth's sake, and patiently abide the threatenings of these princes, if there be any threatenings at all. I call you unto that eternal glory, where there is no alteration of state, nothing decayeth or fadeth; where all good things do perpetually abound; where no man wanteth, no man envieth another, no man stealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man banisheth, no man murdereth; and, finally, no man dieth. Where all men are blessed and happy, all are of one mind and one accord, all are immortal, all are of like estate; and what all men have, every man hath, and what every man hath, all men have. Which things if we well consider, we shall truly answer Panormitane, as Theodore of Cyrene is said to have answered Lysimachus the king, when he threatened to hang him, who said: 'I pray you threaten these horrible things unto your courtiers; as for Theodore, it maketh no matter whether he rot above the ground, or under the ground.' So likewise let us answer unto the princes, if there be any that do threaten us, and let us not fear their torments.

The blessed state of the life to come.

The worthy answer of Theodorus.

No death to be feared for Christ's church.

What doth a longer life prevail to help us? No man hath lived too short a time, who hath obtained the perfect gift of virtue. And, if the death which a man suffereth in the quarrel of his country, seemeth not only to be glorious amongst the rhetoricians, but also happy and blessed; what shall we say for these deaths which are sustained for the country of all countries, the church? Truly, most reverend fathers! it is too much that our adversaries do persuade themselves of you, for they judge you fearful, sluggish, and faint-hearted; and, therefore, they do object princes unto you, because they think that you will not suffer hunger, thirst, exile, in the quarrel and defence of the church. But I think you will esteem it no hard matter, for the obtaining of everlasting life, to do the same which ship-men do for the obtaining of transitory riches: to put themselves in danger of the sea and wind, and suffer most cruel storms. The hunters lie abroad in the nights in the snow, in the hills and woods, and are tormented with cold; yet have they none other reward, but some wild beast of no value or price. I pray you what ought you then to do, whose reward shall be paradise? I am ashamed of your ignavy, when I read that women, yea even young maidens, have violently obtained heaven through their martyrdom, and we are made afraid only with the name of death. This river Rhine, which runneth alongst the city, in times past hath carried eleven thousand virgins unto martyrdom.[1] In India, as Cicero writeth, when any man is dead, his wives (for there they have many wives) come into contention who should be burned with him; and she whom he loved best, having vanquished the others (all the rest joyfully following her), is cast into the fire with the dead carcase of her husband, and burned. The other, who are overcome, depart full of heaviness and sorrow, wishing rather to have died than live.

Example of mariners and hunters.

Example of the eleven thousand virgins.

The which courage we now taking upon us for Christ's sake, will answer Panormitane even as the Lacedemonians answered Philip, who, when by his letters he threatened them that he would stop all that which they went about, they asked him whether he would also stop them from dying! Therefore, as you are excellent men, so use your virtue, which is always free, and remaineth always invincible. For you do know that power is given of the Lord, and strength from the Most High; who will take account of your works, and examine your thoughts; unto whom ye should be careful to render a good account, judging rightly, and keeping the law of righteousness, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

And whereas the ambassadors of Eugene do openly preach and declare a new doctrine, extolling the bishop of Rome above the universal church: to the end that ignorant souls be not snared, ye shall not cease or leave to publish the three first conclusions; following the example of the apostle Paul, who would in no point give place unto Peter, when he walked not according to the gospel. As for the other matters which do only respect the person of Eugene (because Panormitane and the other ambassadors of the princes shall not say that we do pass our bounds), ye shall defer them for this present.

See Appendix. When cardinal Arelatensis had made an end of his oration, *[2]there was at first a dead silence, all fixing their eyes on him for admiration:

(1) See note suprà, p. 209, and vo'. i. p. 312.—Ed.

(2) Edition 1563, p. 308.—Ed.

gradually they began to praise, some his memory, some his doctrine; other some saying, that he was without exception the best of presidents, seeing he both knew how to confute objections, and, as it became a president, kept his temper under taunts and reproaches. But the Catalonians, when they saw that all delay was denied them, sought by great noise and brawling to hinder the conclusion of the twelve men from being read, and used all their endeavour that the protest which Panormitane had drawn up, should be read before the conclusion. *Henry VI.* A.D. 1439.

This matter was not done without violence, for the president's commandments were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order observed; for * on every part there was noise, crying out, and brawling; sometimes they spake unto Panormitane, sometimes unto Louis; no man was suffered to speak, but in haste; the bishops brawled with bishops, and the inferiors with their fellows; and all was contention and debate. Which when Louis, the patriarch of Aquileia, perceived (a man of no less courage and stomach, than of nobility and birth, for he was a duke), for the zeal that he bare unto the universal church, turning himself unto Panormitane and Louis, the prothonotary, he said, "Do not think the matter shall so pass; you know not yet the manners of the Germans; for if you go forward on this fashion, it will not be allowed you to depart this country without broken heads." With which words Panormitane, Louis, and the archbishop of Milan, being struck, as it were, with lightning from heaven, rose up, and said, "Is our liberty taken from us? What meaneth it that the patriarch doth threaten us, that our heads should be broken?" And, turning themselves unto John, earl of Diernstein, who then supplied the protector's place, they demanded of him, whether he would defend the council, and maintain them all in their liberty, or no? Lewis, patriarch of Aquileia, duke of Deck in Swabia. The earl of Diernstein.

The members, also, of the town senate were present, to provide that no offence should rise; for the citizens always observed the custom of being present in all affairs which they supposed would breed dissension; and took every precaution, that no tumults should rise, otherwise than with words: and they are a people of such wisdom and strict principle, that no man unto this day could have any cause to complain against them for having violated their promise. Wherefore, if at any time any citizens have deserved well at the hands of the church, surely this praise is to be given unto the Basilians. These men, together with John, earl of Diernstein, being present in the assembly of the fathers, intimated that their liberty should be maintained. The earl (albeit he was moved at the strangeness of the matter, for he would not have thought so great contentions could have risen amongst wise men) answered by his interpreter, That they should all be of good cheer, for the emperor's safe-conduct should be observed and kept even to the uttermost; neither should the patriarch, nor any other, be so hardy once to violate the liberty, or take away the assurance, granted by the emperor. Notwithstanding, he desired the patriarch that he would call back his words again, and not speak any more in such sort. But that famous father, in all his affairs and business declaring the nobility of his stock, being nothing at all moved or troubled, committed the explanation of his The praise of the citizens of Basil. *See Appendix.*

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real meaning to John Bachenstein, auditor of the chamber, a man both grave and eloquent, whose assistance the council had used in divers ambassades; who affirmed that it was not the patriarch's intention to threaten any man, or disturb the liberty of the council, but to move the fathers unto constancy, that they should be mindful of the reformation which they had promised unto the whole world, and not say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow; for, if they would so do, it were to be feared, lest the laity, seeing themselves deluded, and despairing of reformation, should rise against the clergy. Therefore he did admonish the fathers to foresee and provide for the peril, that they should not depart from the council without anything being determined or done; and, finally, he desired pardon, if in his words he had offended either against the council, Panormitane, or any other man. Whereby he proved the truth of that which is commonly said, "That Humility is the sister of Nobility:" both which did very excellently appear in this man. Yet, for all this, could not the humility of the patriarch stop or stay their noise or cries; for, as often as mention was made of reading the 'Concordatum,' great noise and rumours were still made to stop the same.

Humility sister to nobility.

Then Amedeus, archbishop of Lyons, and primate of all France, a man of great reverence and authority, being touched with zeal for the faith, which he saw there to be stopped and suppressed, said:

The Oration of Amedeus, Archbishop of Lyons.

Most reverend fathers! I have now a great occasion to speak, for it is now seven years or more that I have been amongst you, yet have I never seen any thing like unto a miracle, as now; but now I do behold stupendous signs of miracles: for is it no small matter that the lame do walk, the dumb do speak, and that poor men preach the gospel? Whereupon, I pray you, cometh this sudden change? how happeneth it that those who lay lurking at home, are now suddenly start up? who hath given hearing to the deaf, and speech to the dumb? who hath taught the poor to preach the gospel? I do see here a new sort of prelates come in, who, unto this present, have kept silence, but now begin to speak. Is not this like a miracle? I would to God, however, they came to defend the truth, and not to impugn justice.

Bishops that lie at home, have tongues to speak for the pope.

But this is more to be marvelled at than any miracle, that I do see the best learned men of all impugn our conclusions, which are certain and most true, and were in times past allowed by the very persons who now reprove them. We have not yet forgotten, how that Louis, the prothonotary, preached these verities at Louvaine and at Cologne, and brought them from thence, confirmed with the authorities of those universities.[1] But, albeit he be now changed, yet is the truth in no point altered. And, therefore, I desire and beseech you all, that ye will not give ear unto these men, who, albeit they are most excellently learned, yet have not that constancy in them, which doth adorn all other virtues.

Constancy lacked in divers of this council.

When he had ended his oration, Louis, the prothonotary, rising up, said, "It is most true that I brought those verities; but you do call them verities of faith, the which addition seemeth to me rather doubtful." When he had spoken these words, cardinal Arelatensis required that the 'Concordatum' of the twelve men should be read, and many whispered him in the ear, that he should go forward, and not alter his purpose.

Then Panormitane, as soon as the 'Concordatum' began to be read, rising up with his colleagues and the Arragons, cried out with

(1) Mark how they are turned back who sometime favoured the truth, and are now become liars and flatterers.

a loud voice, saying, "You fathers do contemn our requests, you contemn kings and princes, and despise prelates; but take heed lest, whiles that ye despise all men, you be not despised of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part to conclude. We are the greater part of the prelates; we make the council; and it is our part to conclude; and I, in the name of the prelates do conclude, that the matter is to be deferred." At this word there sprang as great a noise in the council, as is accustomed to be heard in battle with the sound of trumpets and noise of horsemen, when two armies join; some execrating that which Panormitane had done, other some allowing the same; so that diversity of minds made divers contentions.

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Panormitane spake like himself.

Then Nicholas Amici, the divine of Paris, in virtue of his office, said, "Panormitane! I appeal from this your conclusion, to the judgment of the council here present; neither do I affirm any thing to be ratified which you have done; as I am ready to prove, if it shall seem good."

Nicholas Amici, a divine of Paris.

The adverse part seemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it seen how they could conclude amongst so great cries and uproars. Notwithstanding, amongst all this troublous noise, John de Segovia, the eminent divine of the university of Salamanca, gained an audience, for the whole council was desirous to hear him; wherefore all men, as soon as he rose up, kept silence, and he, perceiving that they were desirous to hear him speak, began in this sort:

The Oration of Segovius.

Most reverend fathers! the zeal and love of the house of God forceth me now to speak: and I would to God that I had been either blind this day, not to have seen those things which have happened, or that I had been deaf, that I should not have heard those words which have been spoken. Who is there so stony or hardhearted, that he can abstain from tears, when the authority of the church is so impaired, liberty taken away both from us and the council, and that there is no place given unto truth? O sweet Jesu! why hast thou so forsaken thy spouse! Behold and look upon thy people, and help us, if our requests are just! We come hither to provide for the necessity of the church; we ask nothing for ourselves, and our desire is only that truth might appear.

We trusted now to have concluded upon the verities, which have been already allowed in the sacred deputations. The orators of the princes are present, and require the conclusions to be deferred. But we be not unmindful of those things which Ambrose wrote unto the emperor Valentinian, in this manner: 'If we peruse the declarations of the holy Scripture and the sentiments of past ages, who is it that will deny but that in a matter of faith (I say, in a matter of faith), the bishops ought to judge upon christian emperors, and not emperors upon bishops?' We cannot admit their petition, and that for the most urgent reasons. Notwithstanding, we heard them patiently and willingly, whiles that they did speak, even so long as they would. But now, if any on our part would speak, by-and-by he is interrupted, troubled, and letted. What honesty is this? what modesty or gravity? Is it lawful so to do in a council? What hath now become of the decree of the council of Toledo? Where are our decrees, which do not only prohibit tumults, but also the least talking together? They say, it is because we contemn them; but it is they, who not only contemn the council, but also resist the same. The patriarch spake but one small word against them, and that of no evil intent or purpose, and by-and-by they complained that their liberty was broken: but they, when they do enforce the council, when they forbid the president to speak, and will not suffer the ordinances to be read, do not judge that they at all go contrary to the liberty of the council. They say, they are the council themselves, and yet they entreat the council. These things do not I understand; for if they be the council, why do

Ambros. ad Valentinianum.

How far bishops ought to judge emperors.

See Appendix.

He excuseth the patriarch.

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they entreat themselves? If they be not the council, why do they not suffer the council to speak? Why do they not look for an answer of him to whom they make their petitions? Truly this is too much violence, and, certes, our patience is also too much, to suffer such excess even in the face of the church. •We[1] are they, from whom the liberty is taken.

He showeth the arguments of the adversaries by their own confession.

But they say, that the inferiors ought not to judge any thing, and that we ought not to transact any matter with a minority of bishops on our side, albeit we be the majority of the council. The which if it were true, many of your own decrees should be of no force, and specially that which ye have promulgated as touching provincial and episcopal synods; which since it did not please the prelates, the cardinal of St. Angelo, then president (with scarcely five bishops and the majority of the inferiors on his side), did conclude, albeit that many bishops were against him; which decree, notwithstanding, you do account of great force and strength: the like also hath happened almost in all decrees, which do bridle the pomp or ambition of the bishops. Moreover, ye have for example, that on the arrival of Alexander, abbot of Vezelai, who was the first that came to this place, the council commenced, when there was no bishop as yet come, as Eugene doth confess in his act of adhesion: wherefore that which these men say, is to no other purpose, but only utterly to subvert the council. But that point is sufficiently answered by the cardinal Arelatensis. Notwithstanding this one thing I would desire to obtain at the bishops' hands; that if they would have us grant that they succeed the apostles and have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that they would themselves grant that which is spoken by the apostle: That Christ, when he ascended into heaven, did institute some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to the work of the ministry and the edification of his church. And, as the bishops do succeed the apostles, so we divines do succeed the doctors, and the presbyters the pastors; and all other in their degrees: and our Saviour would have his church governed jointly by them all. Wherefore, it seemeth vain, that which these men speak, as touching the excluding of the inferiors.•

See Appendix.

Moveth the bishops by the example of Paul.

But this doth most of all grieve me, and this do I most marvel at, that Panormitane, a man of singular wit and learning, did conclude without any discussing of the deputations, and without the examination of the twelve men, and any scrutiny or order; which, except mine eyes had beheld and seen, I would scarcely believe, if any other man had reported it unto me of him. Neither do I yet know whether I can credit my own testimony, the matter seemeth so horrible; for I do not see by what authority his conclusion doth stand, except it be by the authority of his king, who, he saith, 'will have it so.' But you, most reverend fathers! take heed that ye bring in no such custom; for so it shall come to pass, that in all matters, a few froward prelates shall have one to conclude for them.[2] •For[3] it is more dangerous than the pernicious decree which ye are wont to call 'Parvum,' which the legates of the apostolic see, and others their accomplices, did propound in the deputations, having a certain number of votes, knowing who were with them, and who would be against them. But this is done in confusion, which, if it pass unpunished, it will cause greater offence than that did; and it shall come to pass that, in all matters, a few froward prelates shall have one to conclude for them. Ye know, moreover, that it is only the president's part to conclude; and that, but in one case only, the conclusion devolveth unto another, that is, when those who are presidents will not conclude according to the will of three or four deputations, or the concordance of twelve men; which, whether it have now happened, you yourselves do see, and Panormitane himself, who hath made the conclusion, very well knoweth.•

Paul would give Peter no respite when he swerved awry.

And, albeit Panormitane hath proved (as he thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verities ought to be deferred, yet, notwithstanding, I do require you, most reverend fathers! to follow the example of the apostle, who, as Arelatensis hath very well declared, would not give place for one hour unto Peter, when he swerved from the truth of the gospel. The faith is speedily to be relieved and holpen; neither doth any thing sustain more danger by delays, than faith doth. For all heresies, except they be rooted out at the first, when they are full grown, are hard to take away. Wherefore, I desire you speedily to help:—

"Ferte citò auxilium, date vela, impellite remos."

(1) Edition 1563, p. 310, col. 2.—Ed.
(2) He meaneth Panormitane; who did conclude without the examination of twelve men.
(3) Edition 1563, p. 311, col. 1.—Ed.

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that they made the council: whereupon there was so great a noise and cry, that nothing could be heard that was read. On that day there was great terror and fear of all good men, lest that the adversaries should prevail, more than the council. The matter seemed to be in great danger, lest the adversaries, persevering in their obstinacy, should prolong their talk until night; which thing alone they seemed to go about, that thereby they might have the victory that day: but God did help his church, and would not suffer that Eugene should more prevail in the council than the council itself.* All things were disturbed, neither did the prelates sit in their seats, as they were accustomed, but as every man's affection led him. Some went to the cardinal Arelatensis, some unto Panormitane, and exhorted them as if they had been princes or rulers of armies. *Now[1] it drew toward night, and the bishop of Lausanne, a wise and circumspect man, and Nicholas bishop of Grossetto, a man who had the welfare of the council at heart more than his own, went unto the cardinal Arelatensis, threatening him, in case he should rise without a final conclusion. Also Francis de Foix, and Andrew Escobar, commonly called 'the Spaniard,' divines of the Franciscan order, were ever and anon whispering in the ears of the cardinal, and would suffer him to take no pause; also Laurence de Rocella was importunate upon him, saying, "Why stoppest thou, now, president? where is thy mind? where are thy wits? what fearest thou? what dreamest thou?" * But he, knowing the matter to be in danger, and that there was no ready way to make a conclusion, thought to use some policy to appease the tumult. "Most reverend fathers!" said he, "we have received new letters out of France, which declare unto me marvellous things; there are incredible mischiefs sprung up there, which, if you will kindly give me audience, I will declare unto you." By this means there was a sudden silence throughout the whole council, and by this marvellous policy he made all men attentive to hear. When he saw he had free liberty to speak, he revealed the contents of the said letters, whether real or pretended, and, with all the address of an orator, came by little and little to the principal point, saying, That Eugene's messengers filled all France, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling the authority of the bishop of Rome above general councils; against whom except speedy remedy were found, it would come to pass that many would give credit unto them: and, therefore, the sacred council ought of necessity to provide remedy, and of necessity to conclude upon the verities which were examined, that thereby the temerity of the Eugenians might be repressed; which verities, albeit they were eight in number, yet was it not the fathers' intent to conclude upon them all, but only upon the three first: "even as I also," saith he, "here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Good men feared that the world would prevail before Christ.

See Appendix.

How men be ready to hear news.

The godly policy of the cardinal.

When he had finished his oration, with a cheerful and merry countenance rising up, he departed, greatly commended and praised of all his partakers: some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirts of his garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisdom, that, being a Frenchman born, he had that day vanquished the Italians, who were men of consummate tact. Howbeit

The Holy Ghost working against the pope.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 312. – Ed

this was all men's opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the Holy Ghost, than by the cardinal's own power. The other of the contrary faction, as men bereft of their minds, hanging down their heads, departed every man to his lodging. They went not together, neither saluted one another, so that their countenances declared unto every man that they were defeated. Something more also is reported of Panormitane, that when he came to his lodging, and was gone unto his chamber, he complained with himself upon his king, who had compelled him to strive against the truth, and put him in danger of losing both his soul and good name; and that in the midst of his tears and complaints he fell asleep, and did eat no meat until late in the evening, for very sorrow for that he had neither ignorantly, neither willingly, impugned the truth.

The sorrow of Panormitane, for impugning the truth.

See Appendix.

After this there was great consultation amongst the Eugenians, what were best to be done in this matter. *The [1] same day the cardinal of Tarragona returned to Basil, a man of excellent wisdom and learning, who, at the time the bands of Armagnac came, had gone away a distance of two days' journey, and, forsomuch as he could not be present at the general congregation, the Catalonians and Lombards went straightway to him, devising and counselling many things with him.* Some thought good to depart and leave the council, other some thought it meeter to tarry, and withal endeavour to prevent any thing further being done against Eugene: and this opinion they adopted.

The cardinal of Tarragona.

The next day, being Saturday, the twenty-fifth day of April, the archbishop of Lyons and the bishop of Burgos, calling together the prelates in the chapter-house of the great church, began many things as touching peace. The bishop of Burgos advised, that there should be deputations appointed that day, unto whom the archbishop of Lyons should give power to make an agreement. Unto whom answer was made, as they thought—very roughly, but as others judged—gently, but notwithstanding justly and truly; for the fathers of the council said, There could be no concord before the adversaries confessed their fault, and asked pardon there-for.

The bishops of Lyons and Burgos.

Just answer of the council.

On the day following, being Sunday, the said bishop of Burgos, with the Lombards and Catalonians, went unto the Germans, and from thence unto the senate of the city, urging them much, if possible, to prevent a schism. The Germans, as I did afterward understand, declared they should abide by what the deputations should determine. The senate of the city (as they were men of great wisdom, who would do nothing without diligent counsel and deliberation) answered: That the matter belonged not unto them, but unto the council, the fathers whereof were most wise men, and were not ignorant what pertained unto the christian faith; and if there were any danger to ward against, it should be declared unto the council, and not to the senate. For they believed that the elders of the council, if they were premonished, would foresee that there should no hurt happen: as for the senate of the city, it was their duty only to defend the fathers, and to preserve the public faith of the city.—With this answer the bishop of Burgos departed.

Answer of the senate.

In the mean time the fathers of the council had drawn out a form

(1) Edition 1563, p. 312.—En.

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of a decree upon the former conclusions, and had had the same approved in the sacred deputations; only the Common deputation thought the decree might be improved. By this time the princes' orators had all returned from the assembly at Mentz, and, taking counsel amongst themselves, had determined to hinder the decree. On Saturday, the ninth day of May, there was a general convocation holden, whereunto all men resorted, either part addressing itself to the conflict.

Form of the decree approved.

The princes' ambassadors were called by the bishop of Lubeck and Conrad de Winsperg, the protector, into the quire, and there kept; where they intreated of a unity, and by what means it might be had. And there they tarried longer than one would have thought; which circumstance, unexpectedly, gave a happy issue to the whole business. For, the form of the decree must needs be concluded that day: wherefore, as soon as cardinal Arelatensis perceived the congregation to be full, and that the twelve men had agreed, and that all were waiting in silent expectation, he thought good not to delay, for fear of tumult; but commanded by-and-by the public concordances to be read, wherein this was also contained, that the cardinal Arelatensis might appoint a session whensoever he would. Which being read, he, being desired by the promoters, concluded in the usual manner, the ambassadors of the princes being yet in the quire; who as soon as they understood how the matter was disposed of, being very much vexed, they brake off their talk, imputing all the blame to the bishop of Lubeck, as though he of purpose had kept them in the quire and had spun out the talk. Whereupon, they, entering into the congregation, filled the church full of complaints.

Policy of the cardinal Arelatensis.

First of all, however, the bishop of Lubeck complained both in his own name and in the name of the protector and of all, as touching the conclusion, and required that the council should revoke the same. If that might be granted, he promised to intreat a peace, and to be a protector between the council and the ambassadors of the princes. But the archbishop of Tours said, That it seemed unto him, that every man should have free liberty to speak against that law which was to be promulgated, until the session; since then the canons would be consecrated and receive their force, when the bishops in their copes, after the reading of the decree in the session, had answered thereto 'Placet:' otherwise, the demand which was made by the promoters in the session was but vain. And for that the conclusions were not yet allowed in the session, therefore, he said that he might, without rebuke, speak somewhat as touching the same; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit up in such a short time, and that he had but just then obtained any knowledge of them; whereas he, being an archbishop, ought to have a perfect knowledge of the matter, that at his return home, he might inform the king, and also instruct those who were under him; and that he and his fellows wished, before any session should be, both to hear and be heard of others. Neither did it seem proper to him, that the session should be holden, before report were made of those things which the ambassadors of the princes had done at Mentz, which would peradventure be such as might alter the minds of the fathers.

The archbishop of Tours.

Then the bishop of Cuença, ambassador of the king of Castile, who

The bishop of Cuença.

was also lately returned from Mentz, a man of great understanding, but lacking utterance, grievously complained that the prelates were contemned. "Neither had it been," said he, "any great matter if they had been tarried for; who had been to Mentz, not without great danger and expense, not for their own pleasure, but of necessity." And afterward, smiling, he said: "How mad am I, that would have the prelates to be tarried for until they returned from Mentz, when they are not tarried for, whiles they can come out of the quire of the church! Do therefore as ye list. If there rise any offence or mischief hereupon, neither are we, the ambassadors of Castile, to be blamed, neither can any man, of right, impute any thing to our most noble king."

Mark what the truth must suffer. See Appendix

Here were it long to repeat, with what rebukes and taunts they inveighed against the cardinal Arelatensis; but especially the archbishop of Milan railed most cruelly upon him, saying, That he fostered and maintained a rabble of copists and pædagogues,[1] and that he had concluded in matters of faith with them; calling him also another Catiline, with whom all desperate and naughty persons took refuge: that he was their prince, and ruled the church with them; and that he would not give ear unto the ambassadors of the most noble princes, or to the most famous prelates, in this most weighty matter. The bishop of Albenga, likewise, a man of great nobility, descended of the emperor's blood, albeit he never had his mind alienate before from the council, yet, lest he should seem to dissent from the other ambassadors of the princes, made the like complaint touching the contempt of the prelates. After this it came unto Panormitane to speak, who, as he had a greater vehemency in speaking, so also he did declare a more angry stomach and mind; for, in the beginning of his oration, he seemed not to go about, according to the precept of orators, to get the good-will of the hearers, but rather their hatred. For he said, "Our Saviour showed four signs in the gospel, whereby we should know the good from the reprobate; for, 'He which is of God,' saith he, 'heareth the words of God; but ye hear not the words of God, because ye are not of God;' and again, 'He that doth evil hateth the light;' and, in another place also, 'By their fruits ye shall know them;' and 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.' All which sayings he wrested against the fathers of the council, that they would not hear the words of God, that is to say, the words of peace which the ambassadors had spoken; that they fled from the light, concluding privily and in the absence of the ambassadors; and that, in their deputation, they had not kept the holy day,[2] but had concluded thereupon; also that they had the upper hand in the aforesaid conclusion, not by reason, but by deceit. As touching fruits, he said, That the fathers themselves should meditate and consider how that, if their fruits were not good, they also themselves were not good; and that he did see another council at hand, where he feared lest these conclusions should be revoked, as the fruit of an evil tree; and, therefore, that they ought not so suddenly to proceed in so weighty matters; and that he would be yet more fully heard before the session, as well in his own name, because he was an

The fathers of the council slandered by Panormitane.

Four signs to know the good from the bad.

What is it that ambition will not do?

(1) O marvellous despite and contumely in a bishop! for if Arelatensis had kept whores or concubines, he would have praised him: but to maintain learned men was a great offence.

(2) Look if it be not spoken of them in the gospel, where mention is made of the beast which is fallen into the ditch.

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archbishop, as in the name of his prince, who reigned not over one kingdom alone, but over many. Also he said, That he, heretofore, by his words, deeds, and writings, had extolled the authority of the council; and that he feared, lest, by these means, the authority thereof should be subverted. Finally, he begged pardon if he offended the fathers of the council, forsomuch as very sorrow and grief forced him to speak so.

Abbot of Vezelai.

Then the abbot of Vezelai would have made answer to those things which Panormitane had touched, concerning his deputation; but Arelatensis thought good that all the contrary part should speak first,

Louis the prothonotary, labouring to seem learned, forgot to be good.

amongst whom, last of all, Louis, the prothonotary, the Homer of lawyers, rose up. And albeit that he spake unwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not restrain his words. And whiles he went about to seem learned and eloquent, he utterly forgat to be good. He said, That the council ought to take heed, not to intreat any matter of faith against the will of the prelates, lest any offence should follow; for that some would say, it were a matter of no force or effect. For, albeit that Christ chose twelve apostles and seventy disciples, notwithstanding, in the setting forth of the Creed only the apostles were present; thereby, as it were, giving example that matters of faith did pertain only unto the apostles, and so consequently unto bishops: neither that they ought hastily to proceed in a matter of faith, which ought to be clearly distinct, forsomuch as Peter affirmeth the trial of faith to be much more precious than gold, which is tried by the fire: and, if the bishops be contemned, who are called the pillars and keys of heaven, the faith cannot seem to be well proved or examined. But at length he confessed that the inferiors might determine with the bishops, but denied that the least part of the bishops with the most part of the inferiors might determine any thing. From thence passing to the matter of faith, he said, That the verities in question would be articles of faith, if they were verities of faith. And, forsomuch as every man was bound to believe articles of faith, therefore all would be bound to believe those verities, and therefore he wished to be better instructed and taught in that matter which he was to believe as an article of faith; neither would it be comely for the council to deny him his request, which, according to the rule of the apostle, ought to be ready to give account unto every man who shall ask a reason of the faith which it holdeth.

The apostles, principally, gathered the Creed.

Oration of the cardinal Arelatensis to the imperial ambassadors.

After every man had made an end of speaking, the cardinal Arelatensis, collecting himself, made an oration, wherein he answered now the one, and now the other. And, first of all, he commended the desires of the imperial ambassadors, who offered to intreat a peace and unity; but neither necessity required, nor honesty, he said, would suffer, that what had been concluded should be revoked. He

To the ambassadors of France.

answered also, That the petition of the ambassadors of France was most just, in that they required to be instructed touching the faith; and that the council would grant their request, and send unto them certain divines, who should instruct them at home at their lodgings. But the matter was already concluded, and could no more be brought into question; that the session was only holden, rather to beautify the matter, than to confirm the same. And, as touching that which

the bishop of Cuença so greatly complained of, he did not much marvel; for he could not know the process of the matter, when he was absent; who, being better instructed, he supposed would speak no more any such words, forsomuch as a just man would require no unjust thing. Also, that there was no harm in his protestation; and that he would not have it imputed either unto him, or unto his king, if any offence should rise upon the conclusions. Notwithstanding, it was not to be feared, that any evil would spring of good works. But, unto the archbishop of Milan he would answer nothing, because he saw him so moved and troubled, for fear of multiplying more grievous and heinous words. As for Panormitane, he reserved him unto the last; but unto Louis the prothonotary, who desired to be instructed, he said, He willed him to be satisfied with the words which were spoken unto the archbishop of Tours.

To the bishop of Cuença.

To Louis.

Notwithstanding, he left not that untouched which Louis had spoken concerning the Apostles' Creed: "For, albeit that in the setting forth of the Creed the apostles be only named, yet it doth not follow," saith he, "that they only were present at the setting forth thereof: for it happeneth oftentimes, that princes are commended and praised as chief authors and doers of things, when, notwithstanding, they had other helpers; as it appeareth in battles, which although they are fought with the force of all the soldiers, yet the victory thereof is imputed but unto a few. As in these our days they do ascribe all things which the army doth either fortunately or wisely, unto Nicolas of Picenum, that most excellent captain, who hath obtained so many famous victories; albeit that, oftentimes, others have been the inventors of the policy, and workers of the feat. And, therefore, Louis ought to know and understand, that not only are they articles of faith which are contained in the Creed, but also all other determinations made by general councils touching faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be some articles of that Creed which we now use in the church, that were not put in by the apostles, but afterward by general councils; as that part, wherein mention is made of the procession of the Holy Ghost, which the council of Lyons did add; in which council, also, it is not to be doubted, but that the inferiors did decide together with the bishops." But, forsomuch as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before passed, he would dwell no longer thereupon: but coming unto Panormitane, he rehearsed his words, "Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit;" "He that is of God, heareth God's words;" which was well cited out of the gospel, he said, but not well applied unto the council; for he firmly believed what the ancient fathers supposed, viz. that the Holy Ghost was present in councils; and that, therefore, the words of the councils were the words of the Holy Ghost, which if any man did reject, he denied himself to be of God. Neither did the council "hate the light," seeing it did all things publicly and openly, and that its congregations were open unto all men; neither did it, as some conventicles of the adversaries, admit some, and exclude others. Moreover, the thing which was now in hand began to be intreated of two months ago; and, first, the conclusions were largely disputed upon in the divinity schools, and afterward sent unto Mentz and other parts of the world. After all this (the cardinal proceeded) the fathers were called into

Nicolas of Picenum, an Italian general.

Articles of the Creed not all put in by the apostles.

Article of the Holy Ghost, put in by the council of Lyons.

Panormitane wounded with his own darts.

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the chapter-house of the great church, to the number of a hundred-and-twenty; amongst whom Panormitane, who now complaineth, was also present, and, according to his custom, did learnedly and subtilely dispute, and had liberty to speak what he would. Likewise again in the deputations every man spake his mind freely; and in that deputation where Panormitane was, the matter was three days discussed. After this the twelve men did agree upon it, and the general congregation did conclude it: neither had there been, at any time, any thing more ripely or diligently handled; every thing, too, had been done openly, without any fraud or deceit. And as for the deputation having sat upon a holy day, there was no harm in that; neither was it any new or strange thing, forsomuch as they had often holden their sessions on Sundays and other holy days, when the matter required haste, and especially forsomuch as a matter of faith hath no holy days. And further he said, That he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully in the congregation aforesaid, as Panormitane had asserted, but publicly and openly, at the request of the promoters: neither had any man any just cause to complain of him, forsomuch as when he was made president, he was sworn, that always, when the four or only three deputations did agree, he would conclude thereupon.[1] And, forsomuch as he had already concluded in divers causes touching the pope, he saw no cause why he should not conclude in a matter of faith; for that he was a cardinal, and did wear his red hat as a token, that he should even shed his blood in the defence of the faith.[2] Neither had he done any thing now against the pope, for that, omitting the five conclusions touching Eugene, he had concluded only on the three general ones; which except he had done, the fathers who had chosen him their president in confidence of his honour and integrity would have just cause of complaint against him, if they should now be forsaken by him in this most important cause of faith. And, turning himself unto the multitude, he desired the fathers to be of good comfort, forsomuch as he would never forsake them, yea, although he should suffer death; for he had given his faith and fidelity unto the council, which he would observe and keep; neither should any man's threats or entreaties put him from his purpose: that he would be always ready to do whatsoever the council should command him, and never by any means leave the commandments of the deputations unperformed. As touching that Panormitane had extolled the authority of the council, he said, that he was greatly to be thanked. But yet, he ought to understand and know the authority of the council to be such as could not be increased by any man's praises, or be diminished by any man's opprobry or slander. These things thus premised, he commanded the form of the decree to be read.

Arelatensis concluded not, but at the request of the promoters.

He speaketh to the whole council.

See Appendix.

Then Panormitane, and those who took his part, would needs have a certain protestation to be first read, and for some time there was nothing but uproar on all sides. Notwithstanding, at last Arelatensis prevailed, and the form of the decree was read unto this word 'Decernimus;' that is to say, 'We decree.' Then Panormitane, rising

(1) These four deputations were four sorts of chosen men, who did discuss and determine those things which the fathers did conclude upon.

(2) Verily this is no Babylonical cardinal, but of the immaculate spouse, Jesus Christ.

up, would not suffer it to be heard any further: and the bishop of Catania cried out, saying, That it was uncomely that Arelatensis, with a few other bishops (and those mostly titulars) should conclude the matter. The like did also all those who favoured Panormitane. The cardinal of Tarragona, also (who until that time had holden his peace), did grievously rebuke his party, for that, as if they had been asleep or dreaming, they did not read the protestation; and commanded by-and-by one of his familiars to read it. But, like as the adversaries before did disturb the reading of the concordances, so would not the fathers of the council now give place to the reading of the protestation. Which when the bishop of Albenga did consider, he commanded the writing to be brought unto him for to read, and as he began to speak, suddenly Arelatensis rose up, with a great number of the fathers, to depart; which thing pleased the cardinal of Tarragona and Panormitane very well, for they hoped that they alone, with their adherents, should remain in the church. They exhorted Arelatensis to revoke the conclusion, and to make another.

Every man may determine of faith, having the Scripture on his part. Contention in the coun cil.

There was in the congregation, in his place, one George, the prothonotary of Bardaxina, sitting somewhat beneath his uncle, the cardinal of Tarragona; a man but young of age, but grave in wisdom, and noble in humanity, who, as soon as he saw the cardinal Arelatensis rise, determined also to depart, and when his uncle called him, commanding him to tarry, he said, "God forbid, father, that I should tarry in your conventicle, or do any thing contrary to the oath which I have taken." By which words he declared his excellent virtue and nobility, and admonished our men who remained, what course they ought to follow. His voice was the voice of the Holy Ghost, and no words can be conceived more in season. For if he had not spoken that word, the fathers of the council had, peradventure, departed, and gone their way; and the others remaining in the church had made another conclusion, which they would have affirmed to have been of force, because they would say the last conclusion was to be received. But many, being warned by the words of the prothonotary, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other councils before, called back again the multitude who were departing, and cried out upon the cardinal and the patriarch to sit down again, and that they should not leave the church free and quiet for their adversaries. Whereupon, suddenly, all the whole multitude sat down, and the gates were shut again.

How God worketh by occasion.

In the mean time Matthew, the bishop of Albenga, read the protestation to none else but to himself, for it could not be heard for noise; which being ended, the Lombards and the Catalonians confirmed the protestation. When the cardinal of Tarragona said, That he did agree to their dissension, they marvelled at that saying; and when some smiled and laughed at him, "What," said he, "ye fools! do ye mock me? do not the ambassadors of my king dissent from you? why do you marvel then, if I do say I consent unto their dissension?" And with these words he, and almost all the Arragons, Lombards, and Castilians, departed; all the others tarried still. And albeit it was somewhat late (for it was past two in the afternoon), Arelatensis, seeing the congregation quiet, commanded the affairs of private persons to be read, as the manner is; which being ended, he commanded also the public affairs to be read, and willed the conclusions and the form of the decree to be read again. There remained in the congregation the ambas-

The bishop of Albenga readeth the protestation, but none could hear him.

See Appendix.

The affairs of the council are read.

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sadors of the empire and of France, talking together of their affairs. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Tours heard mention made of the conclusions, and turning himself to the bishop of Lubeck, said, "Lo! the matters of faith are now in hand again; let us go hence, I pray you, that we be not an offence unto others, or that we be not said to dissent from the other ambassadors." To whom the bishop of Lubeck answered, "Tarry, father! tarry here; are not the conclusions most true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth?" These words were not heard by many, for they spake them softly between themselves. Notwithstanding I[1] heard them, for I, sitting at their feet, did diligently observe what they said. Arelatensis, after all things were read which he thought necessary, at the request of the promoters concluded; and so, making an end, dismissed the congregation. Thus the cardinal twice (as we have seen) concluded, with great difficulty, forsomuch as neither the matter, nor the form, could be concluded without dissension; and either conclusion was miraculous,[2] and past all men's hope; but was obtained by the industry of Arelatensis, or rather by the special gift of the Holy Ghost. *And[3] therefore it is reported that Panormitane afterwards, going out of the church, turning himself unto his friends said both in Latin and in Italian, "And twice!" meaning, thereby, that his part had either been twice overthrown or twice deceived; for he spake it not without great anger.*

Arelatensis concluded here, as he did also before, not without the request of the promoters. *See Appendix*

After this, it was determined between the Lombards and the Arragons to abstain from the deputations for a certain time, which they did not long observe; notwithstanding, the deputations were holden very quietly for a certain space, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembrance until the fifteenth day of May; during which time, all means possible were sought to set a concord between the fathers; but it would not be. When Friday was come, being the Ides of May, Nicholas Amici, proctor of the faith, was called into the congregation, and briefly rehearsed those things which were done the previous days, and explained that Arelatensis could appoint a session. Wherefore he required that, forsomuch as delay in matters of faith was dangerous, a session should be appointed for the morrow after, requiring the cardinal, in regard to his title, which signifieth a Hinge of the Church, and the other bishops, in regard to the promises made at their consecration, that they would not now desert the church in these weighty affairs, and suffer the faith to be oppressed; but the inferiors he required, upon their oath which they had taken, to show themselves faithful and constant herein. Then, again, there fell a great contention upon these words; for Arelatensis, as he was required, did appoint a session, and exhorted all to be there present in their robes. The bishop of Lubeck, rising up, made a protestation in his own name, and also in the name of the protector: That he would not consent that there should be any session, if it should in any part derogate from the agreement had at Mentz. Georgius Miles also, his fellow ambassador, concurred in this protestation. When the protector of the council, appointed by the emperor, understood himself to be named by the bishop of Lubeck, he marvelled awhile what the matter should be. But, being

The bishop of Lubeck.

Conrad de Winsperge, baron.

(1) Æneas Sylvius being present, collected this.
(2) Æneas, you did not so praise this council after you were bishop yourself.
(3) Ed. 1563, p. 317.—Ed.

certified by an interpreter, he answered: That he would in no case concur in the protestation of the bishop of Lubeck, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Mentz; also that he was sent by the emperor to the sacred council, and had his charge which he did well remember, and would be obedient thereunto. After whom the bishop of Cuença, according to his accustomed manner, made his protestation: after whom also followed Panormitane; whose words I will repeat, first desiring that no man would marvel that I make mention so often of Panormitane; for it is necessary to declare the matter, in order, as it was done. And it happeneth in these matters, just as in warlike affairs; for as there, such as are most valiant and strong, and do most worthy feats, obtain most fame, as in the Trojan war did Achilles and Hector; so, in these spiritual wars and contentions, those who most excel in learning and eloquence, or do more than others, must needs be oftenest named. For, on the one part, Panormitane was prince and captain; and on the other, Arelatensis: but his own will made not the former captain, but only necessity, for it behoved him to obey his prince. Notwithstanding, he was not ignorant on which side the truth lay, neither did he willingly fight against it; for I have seen him oftentimes in his library complain of his prince, that he followed other men's counsel. When his turn came to speak, he said, That he did not a little marvel, why a proctor of the faith should require the prelates to have a session, which was nothing pertaining to his office; and that he ought not to usurp the president's place. And again, he complained touching the contempt of the prelates, for the present matter did touch the state of the apostolic see, and for that cause the holy see ought to be heard before any session were holden. "Neither is that to be regarded," said he, "which the council of Constance seemeth to have decreed, that it should now be acted upon, forsomuch as pope John was not heard at Constance, neither did any man else speak for the see." By which words he seemed both to bring in doubt and to contemn all the decrees of that great and sacred synod of Constance. Therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, saying, that the synod of Constance was holy, and the authority thereof ought to be inviolate.[1] But he, being still instant, with a stout and haut courage affirmed, that the matter could not be accomplished without the ambassadors of the princes, and that the princes ought to be heard in a matter of faith. And again, that the ambassadors themselves could not consent, forsomuch as in the diet holden at Mentz they had promised, that they would receive and allow nothing that either the pope had done against the council, or the council against the pope, during the negotiation of peace there handled; and that he doubted not but that the three first conclusions declared Eugene a heretic, insomuch as it was notorious that Eugene did obstinately contravene the two first. And therefore, forsomuch as the session was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for every man before the session to speak that would, he intreated most urgently, that there might be no session as yet holden.

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The Achilles of the Eugenians, and the Hector of the council

Unto whom Arelatensis answered, That it was not to be doubted

(1) The papists extol that which maketh for their purpose, but the contrary they contemn, whether it be Scripture or profane.

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but that a proctor of the faith, by his office, might call the prelates to determine a matter of faith, and especially forsomuch as the deputation of the faith[1] and the whole council had so given him in commandment. As touching the prelates, he said, that albeit, without all doubt, bishops had chief authority, yet, notwithstanding, it was accustomed in councils not to make any conclusion in the name of the bishops, but in the name of the whole council; and the universal church had laid down certain laws for itself in this council which still remained inviolate. Neither should the bishops think the presence of the inferiors grievous unto them, when oftentimes under a bare and torn coat wisdom lay hid, and under rich vestures and ornaments folly lurked. Bishops ought also to be mindful of the saying of Domitius, who (as St. Jerome reporteth)[2] said, "Why should I esteem thee as a prince, if thou dost not regard me as a senator?" For the bishops ought to esteem priests as priests, if they would have reverence done unto themselves as bishops. Neither ought the princes to be waited for in order to the deciding of this matter, forsomuch as the church was not congregated in the name of the princes, but in the name of Christ; and had not received its power from princes, but immediately from God: in the defence whereof he perceived the inferiors to be no less zealous than the bishops, for that he did well know, that they would not only spend their temporal goods, but also their lives, for the defence thereof. As for some bishops, rather than they will lose any part of their temporalties, they would sell the liberty of the church unto the princes, and make them judges and lords over the council. As touching the acts at Mentz, he did not regard them, because (as the saying is) they had counted without their host. Moreover he said, he did not understand how this could be, that they had decreed neither to obey the pope, nor the council; the one or the other they must needs obey, for there was no third tribunal whereunto any obedience was due, in those matters which concern faith and the salvation of souls. And, finally, that the church would not suffer that their affairs and matters of faith should be determined by the judgment of princes; for the Holy Ghost was not subject unto princes, but princes unto Him: and for this conclusion he would not shrink from the penalty of the loss of his goods, or martyrdom. And whereas Panormitane did now show himself so great a defender of Eugene, he said, that he did not a little marvel at it, for that in times past no man had more published Eugene's errors, than he; by whose special labour and counsel, both a decree monitory, and also the suspension, were admitted and set out against Eugene. And now, whereupon this sudden change should come, he said that he was utterly ignorant, forsomuch as neither Eugene had altered his life, neither could the church stand in so great a schism. Wherefore he desired Panormitane diligently to consider, whether he spake according to his conscience or not: "For," said he, "the conclusions which now shall be decreed, are most general; neither is there any mention in them of the pope; and moreover the verity of faith is contained in them: against the which if Eugene do contend, it were more meet that the pope should be corrected than the verity

Arelatensis answers Panormitane.

Mark how politicly and sincerely he doth confute his adversaries.

No man more than Panormitane published the errors of Eugene, whom he now defendeth.

(1) This deputation of faith, was the company of chosen men which did determine matters of faith.

(2) St. Jerome unto Nepotianus, de Vita Clericali.

omitted." And thus he making an end, all were warned to come the next day unto the session. The protector, also, desired the sacred council, that none should be suffered to bring any weapon to the session; forsomuch as he was ready to preserve the safe-conduct of the emperor, and, together with the senate of the city, to prohibit all quarrellers from doing of injury. *Henry VI.* A.D. 1439.

As soon as Saturday was come, being the 16th day of May, all they, to whom the session was agreeable, assembled at the hour. The ambassadors, also, of the princes came together into the quire of the church, to attempt further what they could do; and, sending the bishops of Lubeck and Cuença, and the dean of Tours (an excellent learned man), they offered themselves to be present at the session, if that the deposition of Eugene might yet be deferred four months. Who, when they had received a gentle answer of Arelatensis and the other principals, returning again unto the ambassadors, they found their purpose altered, for now they would only have the first conclusion decreed, and thereupon sent again unto the cardinal: when they received for answer, That the chief force did lie in the two other conclusions, and that the council wished specially to determine upon them. If the ambassadors would not be present, they must understand, that the concord was broken by themselves, seeing they would not observe that which they had offered. With which answer they departed, and the business of the session began. There was no prelate of the Arragons, or from any part of Spain, present; and out of Italy, only the bishop of Grossetto, and the abbot of Dona, who, for their constancy and steadfast good-will toward the universal church, could not be changed from their purpose: but of doctors and other inferiors, there were a great number of Arragons, and almost all the inferiors of Spain and Italy (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the bishops did), and then the sterling character of the Arragons and Catalonians appeared in the inferior sort, who would not fail and forsake the church in her necessity. Of the two other nations, there were only present twenty bishops. The residue lurked in their lodgings, holding the faith in their hearts, but not professing it with their mouths. Arelatensis,[1] guessing what was likely to happen, caused search to be made through the city for the relics of saints, which he appointed to be borne at the session in the hands of priests, and to supply the place (as it were) of the absent bishops: which spectacle greatly increased the fervour of those present, insomuch that at the customary invocation of the Holy Spirit no man could forbear weeping; but after their prayers made unto Almighty God with tears and lamentations, that he would send them his Holy Spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This session was very full; and, albeit that there were not many bishops present, yet all the seats were filled with the bishops' proctors, archdeacons, presidents, priors, priests, and doctors of both laws, whom I judged to be in number about four hundred, or more; amongst whom there was no noise, no chiding, no opprobrious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profession of the faith, and there appeared a full and entire consent of them all, to defend the church. The bishop of Marseilles, a noble

The session proclaimed.

In all Italy there were scarcely two prelates found, who sought the commodity of the universal church; in Spain there was none.

Prayers made with tears.

Among four hundred doctors that were present, there was not one ill word.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

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man, read the decree, *who[1] had so great familiarity with the bishop of Albenga, that they were called 'the twins;' for both at home and also abroad they were always seen together. Which matter was so much the more to be marvelled at, in that they appeared so discordant in the matters of the church, forsomuch as the bishop of Albenga read the protestation against the decree, and the bishop of Marseilles read the decree itself; both these readers coming together out of one house: but, as some suppose, there was sincerity in the one, and dissimulation in the other. The reading of the decree was brief, for the decree itself was but brief; but it* was attentively listened unto, and not one word lost. When it was ended, 'Te Deum laudamus' was sung on the one part, and on the other side 'Te Dominum confitemur;' and so, by course, the hymn was ended with great joy and gladness; and so the session was dissolved, being in number the thirty-third session, and the most quiet and peaceable of all.

The thirty-third session. The ambassadors consent to the former session.

The Friday next following, being the 22d day of May, the princes' ambassadors, beyond all men's expectation, came unto the general congregation, by that their doing at the least giving their assent unto the session before passed; in the proceedings whereof if the fathers had erred, it had not been lawful for the princes' ambassadors to have holden the council with those fathers. But it was thought, that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and already detested and abhorred that which they had done; as was quite plain with regard to the ambassadors of the empire and France. For the bishop of Lubeck said, That the cause of his absence was, that he had been charged by the emperor to intreat a peace: wherefore it would not have been comely for him to be a party to any business, whereby he would be vexed or troubled with whom the peace was to be intreated. Notwithstanding, he did much commend the session before holden, and believed the decree therein promulgated to be most good and holy, and the verities therein contained to be undoubted; and said, That he would stick thereunto both now and ever, even to the death. But the archbishop of Tours, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for himself and his fellows, said, That he heard how that they were evil spoken of amongst some, for that in that most sacred session they had not honoured their king, whom it became specially to exalt and to defend the faith; who also, for that cause, above all other kings was named 'Most Christian.' Notwithstanding, he said, that he had a lawful excuse, in that it was convenient that those who were sent to entreat peace, should do nothing whereby they might frustrate their object. Also there are two kinds of unrighteousness, said he, whereby either things that should be done are not done, or things that should not be done are done. The first do not always bind, because it is proper to have respect of time, place, and person. But the last do always bind; wherein, he said, they were not culpable. But, as touching the first class, they might seem unto some to have erred, because they were not present at the session; but yet, in this point they had sufficient to answer, forsomuch as, if they had been present at that session, they should have been unmeet to have entreated a peace with Eugene. And, there-

Two kinds of injustice. *See Appendix.*

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 319.—Ed.

fore, albeit they were wanting at so holy a business, in that point they followed the example of Paul, who, albeit he desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, yet, for the further profit and advancement of the church, was for deferring it for the present. So likewise, he said, had they now done; for that they were not absent because they doubted of the conclusions (which they judged to be most true and holy, and whereunto they would stick, even unto the death), but because they would not be unmeet for the treaty of peace for which they had come: and yet that which they had not done in their own persons, they had fulfilled, said he, by their servants and household, whom altogether they commanded to reverence that session. *Henry VI.* A.D. 1439.

I would that I had been then in the place of some great prelate; surely they should not have gone unpunished,[1] who so thought to play bo-peep. For how could a declaration of the truth hinder the intreaty of peace? or, if it did, why is not he accounted as great an offender, who consenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he who doth declare it? What further need have we of witnesses? for now the ambassadors of the princes have declared Eugene to be an enemy unto the truth. But, to pass over these things, it is sufficient that Eugene wrote afterward unto the king of France, that he did understand the archbishop of Tours to have become his enemy. Behold, the princes' ambassadors declare Eugene an enemy to the truth.

After the archbishop of Tours had made an end, cardinal Arelatensis gave thanks unto God, who had so defended his church, and after great storms and clouds had sent fair and clear weather; and, commending the good-will of the emperor and the king of France toward the church, he also praised the bishop of Lubeck and the archbishop of Tours, for that oftentimes in the council, and also of late at Mentz, they had defended the authority of the council. But specially he commended these their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestered themselves from the faith of the church. Arelatensis commendeth the ambassadors

Afterward, entering into a narrative of the matter, he said, that he was at Pisa and at Constance, and never saw a more quiet or devout session than this; affirming that this decree was most necessary to repress the ambition of the bishops of Rome, who, exalting themselves above the universal church, thought it lawful for them to do all things after their own pleasure; and that no one man, from thenceforth, would translate a council from one place to another, as Eugene attempted to do, now to Bologna, now to Florence, then again to Bologna, afterward to Ferrara, and after that again to Florence; and that, hereafter, the pontiffs would withdraw their minds from carefulness of temporal things, whereas now (as he himself did see) they had no thought at all on spiritual matters. And, therefore, by how much this session was most holy and necessary, by so much more the assent of the ambassadors was most laudable and acceptable to all the fathers.—These words thus spoken, he rose up, and the congregation was dissolved. *Now,[2] how the deposition of Eugene did pass, the Book following shall declare at large. Why this council was gathered.

Thus endeth the First Book of the Commentaries of Æneas Sylvius, touching the acts of the council of Basil against Eugene and his adherents.

(1) O Æneas, you should have used such severity when you were pope.
(2) See Edition 1563, p. 320.—Ed.

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THE SECOND BOOK OF THE COMMENTARIES OF ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, UPON THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF BASIL.[1]

The Lord took up his armour and shield, and rose up to help the church; and she, receiving help, being glad, rejoiced in her God, who clothed her with the garments of salvation, and arrayed her in the vestures of righteousness as a spouse adorned with a crown and goodly jewels.

It is shown in the first part of these commentaries, to what state the church was brought in these days, which Eugene, the late pope, did vex and trouble like a reed shaken with the wind. Notwithstanding, it is always true, which John Chrysostome hath declared, that the church doth never cease to be impugned, and to be lien in wait for; but in the name of Christ, it hath always the victory and upper hand. And, albeit new foes lie in wait for it, and the floods again and again strike against it, notwithstanding, the foundation which is laid upon a rock is never shaken. Wherefore iniquity deceived Gabriel, and the Lord destroyed him in his wickedness; for he, being thrown down headlong out of the apostolic see by the sentence of the council, the Lord became the refuge of the church, and gave a pastor unto his flock, who should visit the desolate places, seek those things which are scattered abroad, and should not eat the flesh of such as are fat, but should wisely and discreetly nourish that which doth stand and remain: which thing that all Christians may the more plainly understand, I will declare, in this Book which followeth, the order of the election, how that Amedeus, the most wise and discreet duke of Savoy, was chosen bishop of Rome.*

The council doth deliberate upon the pope's election.

Gabriel Condulmarius being deposed from the bishopric of Rome, as we have already declared, the principal fathers of the council, being called together in the chapter-house of the great church, consulted together whether it were expedient that a new bishop should be created out-of-hand, or that it be deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the election should be done with speed, showed how dangerous a thing it was for such a congregation to be without a head; also, what a pestiferous sickness was in all the city, which not only consumed young men and children, but also men of middle age and old men in like manner; and that this plague came first by strangers unto the poor of the city, and so had infected the rich, and now was come unto the fathers of the council: amplifying, moreover, and increasing the terror thereof, and making the thing worse than it was, as the manner is. *All things did breed fear.* "Neither doth the decree," said they, "any thing let or hinder, wherein it is provided, that there should be delay of sixty days after the see is void; for that is to be understand to apply, when the see is void at such time as there is no council holden: neither ought we to tarry or make any delay, lest the princes, being persuaded by Gabriel, should resist; unto whom the deposition of Gabriel, and the election of some other, must be certified all under one message."[2]

See Appendix.

Sixty days must be delayed after the see is void.

(1) Faithfully translated into English by F. W.
(2) Note the christian zeal of these men, who would refuse no danger for God's cause.

The other, who thought good that there should be a delay, said, that the council did lack no head, forsomuch as Christ was the head thereof; neither did lack a ruler, forsomuch as it was governed by the presidents and other officers: and that no mention should be made of any pestilence in such case, seeing that by stout and valiant men death is not to be feared, neither should any thing fear those who contend for the christian faith. As for that pestilence, which did now increase and grow in the city, forsomuch as judgment was now given, it was to be hoped that it would assuage, which was thought to have come for the neglecting of justice. Also, that in so arduous a matter they ought rather to use the princes against their will, than to neglect them; and that it was not to be feared, but that, in this case, 'fortune would help those that were stout and valiant.' The matter being thus discussed amongst them, albeit that there were as many minds as there were men, yet all seemed to agree, that it was most profitable to choose the pontiff at once, but more decent to defer it. *Henry VI.* A.D. 1439.

Hereupon John de Segovia, a man of excellent learning, said: "Most reverend fathers! I am diversely drawn, by sundry reasons, to this side and that. But, as I weigh the matter more deeply in my mind, this is my opinion; that it seemeth good to come to a speedy election, to speak after man's judgment; but it seemeth much better to delay it for two months, as more consonant to God's will; for I do not see how that which is so settled by the laws can be rescinded. I do judge, that not only the words, but also the meaning of our decree, ought to be observed. Wherefore, if ye will give any credit unto me, follow rather honesty with its dangers, than utility with its present safety; albeit, in reality, utility cannot be separated from honesty." This counsel of delay prevailed among the fathers, and they decreed to stay for the space of two months. In the mean time, messengers were sent unto the princes, to declare the deposition of Eugene by the synod, and publish it abroad. Segovius. Dangerous honesty preferred before secure utility.

During this time, the corrupt air was nothing at all purged, but the plague daily increasing, many died and more were sick. Whereupon a sudden fear came upon the fathers; neither were they sufficiently made up what they should do: for they thought it not to be without danger either to depart or to tarry. Notwithstanding, they thought it good to tarry, and also they caused others to tarry; that since they had overcome famine, and the assaults of their enemies on earth, they might not seem to shrink, for the persecution of any plague or sickness. But, forsomuch as they could not all be kept there, it was politicly provided, that the council should not seem to be dissolved for any man's departure. And, for the greater security of the matter, there were certain of the fathers chosen, whom they called 'Patres de stabilimento,' whose authority continued long time after. When the dog-days were now come, and all herbs withered with heat, the pestilence daily increased more and more, so that it is incredible how many died. It was to horrible to see the corses hourly carried through the streets, when on every side there was weeping, wailing, and sighing. There was no house void of mourning; no mirth or laughter in any place; but matrons bewailing their husbands, and husbands their wives. Men and women went through the streets, and durst not speak one to another. Some tarried at home, and *See Appendix.* A great pestilence in Basil.

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other some that went abroad had perfumes to smell unto, to preserve them against the plague.

The common people died without number; and, like as in the cold autumn the leaves of the trees do fall, even so did the youth of the city consume and fall away. The violence of the disease was such, that ye should have met a man hale and hearty in the street now, and within ten hours have heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead corses was such also, that they lacked place to bury them in; insomuch that all the burial grounds having been dug up and filled with dead corses, great holes were made in the church-yards, where a great number of corses being thrust in together, they covered them over with earth. For this cause the fathers were so afraid, that there appeared no blood in their faces; and specially the sudden death of Louis, the prothonotary, did make all men afraid; who was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both laws, yet the envious and raging sickness took him away in a few hours. A little while after, died Louis, the patriarch of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought up always in troubles and adversity, neither could he see the day of the pope's election, which he had long wished for. Notwithstanding, he took partly a consolation, in that he had seen Gabriel deposed before his death. This man's death was grievous unto all the fathers; for now they said, that two pillars of the council were decayed and overthrown, meaning the prothonotary and the patriarch, whereof the one by the law, and the other with his deeds, defended the verity of the council.

See Appendix.

Louis the prothonotary died of the plague.

About the same time, also, died the king of Arragon's almoner in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning; and soon after, the bishop of Evreux at Strasburg. The abbot of Vezelai died at Spires, and John, the bishop of Lubeck, between Vienna and Buda.

The exhortation of those who died.

These two last rehearsed, even at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembrance. When they perceived the hour of their death to approach, calling unto them certain grave and wise men, they said, "All you that be here present, pray to God that he will convert such as acknowledge Gabriel for chief pontiff, for in that state they cannot be saved;" and professing themselves that they would die in the faith of the council of Basil, they departed to the Lord. In Bohemia, also, departed the bishop of Constance, who was ambassador for the council. There was great fear and trembling both in and out of the council. There had been also in the council, by a long time, the abbot of Dona, of the diocese of Cuma, a man poor in this world, but rich toward God, whom neither flatterings nor threatenings could turn away from his good purpose and intent; choosing rather to beg, siding with the truth of the fathers, than to abound in riches, with the false flattering adversaries. Whereupon, after the lords were departed who had given him his living, he remaining still, was stricken with the plague and died, bequeathing to his monastery all his property, a solitary cow. Likewise Henry, chaplain of the cardinal of Arles, died within three days. Likewise a great number of the registrars and doctors died; and of such as fell into that disease, very few escaped. One amongst all the rest, Æneas Sylvius, being stricken with this disease, by God's help escaped. This man, the next night after that his friend, Julian Romaine, whom he tenderly loved, was buried, felt the sore, and

The bishop of Constance dieth.

The abbot Dona, a true abbot.

Æneas the author hereof escaped death hardly.

lay three days even at the point of death, all men being in despair of him: notwithstanding it pleased God to grant him longer life. *But,[1] alas! how unstable is the order of human things! or, how deceitful is the world! for Æneas who could not die in his own body, died in another man. For within a little while after, he, returning from Trent, found John Pynanus, a man born at Rouen, to be dead of a malignant fever and negligence of the physicians; with which news he was so troubled and ravished in his mind, that he seemed to have half lost his wits, neither was there in him, afterward, the like courage, either unto his study, or the matters of the council, insomuch that a man would scarcely have said that there had been any spirit in him to breathe withal. Notwithstanding, every man must be contented to suffer such fortune; for no man went untouched, but either he had occasion to bewail his own chance, or some friend of his.* *Henry VI.* A.D. 1439.

At that time when the pestilence was at its height, and that daily there died about one hundred, there was great entreaty made unto cardinal Arelatensis, that he would go to some other town or village near at hand; and these were the words of all his friends and household: "What do you, most reverend father? At the least void this wane of the moon and save yourself; who being safe, all we shall be also safe: if you die, we all perish. If the plague overcome you, unto whom shall we fly? Who shall rule us? or who shall be the guide of this most faithful flock? The infection hath already invaded your chamber; your secretary and chamberlain are already dead. Consider the great danger, and save both yourself and us." But neither the entreaty of his household, nor the corses of those who were dead, could move him, willing rather to preserve the council with peril of his life, than to save his life with peril of the council; for he did know, that if he should depart, few would tarry behind, and that deceit would be wrought in his absence. Invincible constancy and fortitude of the cardinal Arelatensis.

Wherefore, like as in wars the soldiers fear no danger when they see their captain in the midst of their enemies, so the fathers of the council were ashamed to fly from this pestilence, seeing their president to remain with them in the midst of all dangers. Which their doings did utterly subvert the opinion of those who babbled abroad, that the fathers tarried in Basil to seek their own profit and commodity, and not the verity of the faith; for there is no commodity upon earth, which men would change for their lives; for all such as do serve the world, do prefer life before all other things. But these our fathers, showing themselves an invincible strong wall for the house of God, vanquishing all the crafty deceits which Gabriel used, and overcoming all difficulties, which this most cruel and letiferous year brought upon them, at length, all desire of life also being set apart, overcame all dangers, and hesitated not, with most constant minds to defend the verity of the council even unto this present.

*The[2] time named in the decree after the deposition of Gabriel being passed, it seemed good unto the fathers to proceed to the election

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 322.

(2) The history being more fully given in the first edition, the following pages, distinguished with asterisks, are substituted for three short paragraphs in later editions. See Edition 1563, pp. 323—327.—Ed.

Henry VI. A.D. 1439. of another pontiff, whereupon they, counselling amongst themselves, touching the order of proceeding, it was afterward concluded in the deputations and in the whole congregation, that thirty-two fathers should be chosen out of the body of the council, who, taking an oath ordained by the council, should enter the conclave together with the cardinal Arelatensis, to elect and choose the pope. Notwithstanding, the Common deputation thought good, that there should be but only twenty-four chosen for that election besides the cardinal, and those also should be priests. But the determination of the three other deputations prevailed: wherefore the decree was made, and the conclave prepared with all speed. Which being done, they proceeded to the nominating of the thirty-two, who, together with the cardinal, should elect and choose the pope. This was about the first of October.

See Appendix.

The matter at the first was very difficult and hard, some of them preferring one mode of nominating electors, some another. At the last, William, archdeacon of Metz, a clever and learned man, opened unto them a certain way and mean: "There are," said he, "in the council, three fathers, whose fidelity the whole council, I think, will follow." These three men he named to be Thomas, abbot of Dundrain in Galloway, of the diocese of Whitern, commonly called the Scottish abbot; John de Segovia, archdeacon of Villaviciosa, in the diocese of Oviedo; and Thomas de Corcellis, canon of Amiens; all divines: whose sobriety and virtue being commended, he determined that they three should be the principal electors, and that unto them should be committed the election of the other twenty-nine, whom they should privily name among themselves, and not publish till the day before they should enter the conclave. Which thing being allowed in the deputation of faith, Francis de Foix, a divine, and Æneas of Sienna, were sent unto the other deputations to persuade them also. But they, suspecting some fraud, would not give ear to any persuasion. But forsomuch as there was no better or readier way found by the other, the deputation of faith prevailed. Certain days after, they appointed the said Francis and Æneas to go again unto the deputations, with this addition, that if it pleased the other deputations, the three fathers would take unto them another. That was done for this purpose, lest the German nation should complain, that there was none of their nation with the three fathers: for divers murmured and said, that the Scottish abbot seemed to be more of a Frenchman than a German. After much discussing of the matter, they agreed upon this point: the Three Men aforesaid were appointed and chosen for three of the electors of the bishop of Rome, and full authority was given unto them, to choose and take unto them one, two, or three others, as they should think good; who, being so elect and chosen, should have like power and authority with them (through the power, authority, and commandment of the sacred council), to nominate and choose the residue of the electors of the bishop of Rome, and other officers necessary for the conclave; provided that none so named and elected by them should be received, except he were named and elected by the majority of the electors. It was also enjoined them, that they should nominate and choose the residue of the electors out of the whole body of the council, having respect, as

much as might be, to the nations and deputations which were in the council. Whereupon, the Three Men were bound on their oath to nominate and choose apt men, having the fear of God, and not to reveal or disclose those which they had chosen until they should be published in a general congregation, or that they were commanded by the council so to do, but to keep their election under their seals, in some safe and sure place, until the day of their publication. All this was done the thirteenth day of October, in a general congregation. It seemed strange unto all men, that a matter of so great importance should be committed to only three men. Notwithstanding, virtue overcame all, and the tried probity of the men excluded every suspicion of fraud and deceit.

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The matter being thus arranged, Arelatensis, contrary to all men's expectation, seemed to defer the election. Whereupon some (as the multitude is prone to backbite and slander) did backbite and slander him. Other some, contrary to his mind, sought to hasten the election. Which thing when he understood, contrary to his old accustomed manner, which never used to regard any evil words, he made a complaint of these matters unto the deputations, whereby he brought to pass that, purging himself, they were brought into contempt and hatred, who had spoken evil of him, and thereby did so much the more approve and confirm his fidelity towards the council. While these things were thus doing, there went a bruit throughout all the world, that the pestilence was ceased at Basil, and that the pope's election went forward speedily: whereupon many came out of divers countries to behold and see the matter, amongst whom there were many notable prelates. When the council was now fuller than it was accustomed to be, and that all men almost were returned, who were fled for fear of the pestilence, the Three Men, minding to perform the commission given them by the council, associated unto them Christian de König-Gratz, prior of the canons of St. Peter's at Brunn, in the diocese of Olmutz, born in the heart of Germany, master in divinity, and a man of constant mind and sound judgment.

See Appendix.

The twenty-eighth day of October, assembling together in the house of the friars Minors, they made the nomination committed to them, and, according unto the commandment of the council, kept it sealed. But before that was done, they talked with divers expert and wise men of every nation, by whose report they learned what were the manners of every man; and, by a subtle examination, ascertained how every man was esteemed in his own country. Many also came unto them of their own accord, who were desirous either to praise their friend, or to run down their enemy; whom they, being desirous of the truth, and anxious that they might not be deceived in so weighty a matter, willingly heard: so that there was no wickedness committed in the council, but they heard and understood it, beside much that was done abroad. These men, the twenty-ninth day of October, being called upon by the council to report what they had done, came unto the congregation, where the whole body corporate were assembled; neither was any man absent that could possibly be there. And forsomuch as the Three Men had not declared the matter unto any, by how much the matter was kept secret, by so much the more it was desired of all men.

The electors are named by the Three Men.

Then they talked together amongst themselves, and spake much of

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who was called to that place and dignity against his will; Francis, bishop of Geneva; and Bernard bishop of Acqs, a subtle lawyer, who, for the manifest infirmities of his body and grievous gout excused himself; in whose place was chosen Louis, bishop of Marseilles: also Raymond, abbot of Conquet, in the diocese of Rodez. Of divines, Nicholas Thibout, penitentiary of the church of Coutances, in the province of Rouen, in Normandy; John de Vellée, rector of the parish of Plouneour, in the diocese of Leon, in Bretagne; and Thomas de Corcellis, who was one of the Triumvirs: of lawyers, William Hughes, archdeacon of Metz. All these were chosen, with the cardinal Arelatensis, to represent France in the election of the pope.

See Appendix.

Out of the German nation, which is the greatest of all the rest, were chosen Frederic, bishop of Basil; Conrad, abbot of Lucella, in the diocese of Basil; and Thomas de Scotia, who was one of the Triumvirs. Of doctors, Detzelaus, archdeacon of Cracow; John Wylor, dean of Basil; Henricus de Judeis, of Cologne; James de Saltzburg, a canon of Ratisbon; and Christian de Kœnig-Gratz, who, as is before said, was added to the Triumvirs.

Out of the Spanish nation were chosen for the election of the pope, three bishops; as Otto, bishop of Tortosa; George, bishop of Vich; Louis, bishop of Viseo, who was ambassador for the king of Portugal. Also of abbots, Peter, abbot of St. Cucuphas in the diocese of Barcelona; and Antonio, abbot of Arulæ in the diocese of Elne, in Catalonia. Of doctors; Bernard de Busco, a canon of Lerida; Raymond Albioli, a canon of Tarazona; and John de Segovia, who was one of the Triumvirs. These were they who were elected to the nominating of the pope, out of the four nations. As for the Englishmen, they were not included, because they were not present, and none could be chosen, but such as were present. The officers to attend on the conclave were as follow: for vice-chamberlain, Louis, bishop of Lausanne: for keepers of the conclave, were elected Percevallus, bishop of Belley; Nicholas, bishop of Grossetto; John, abbot of St. Michael de Clusa, in the diocese of Turin; Francis, abbot of Notre Dame d'Abondance, in the diocese of Geneva; Francis de Foix, a divine; William of Constance, a canon of Spire; John de Toricella, dean of Segorbe; and Theodoric Nagel, a canon of Riga: for clerks of the ceremonies were appointed, Æneas Piccolomini, of Sienna, a canon of Trent, and Michael Brunout, a canon of Beauvais: for promoters, they were elected who had before, in the council, a long time promoted causes, viz. Hugh Gerardi and John Slitzenrode: for proctor-fiscal was appointed Robert Magnani; and Peter de Atrio for the soldan, who had filled the same office with approbation ever since the council opened.

These men being thus nominated, and the list read by John de Segovia, as is before said, the cardinal, who until that present was amazed and afraid, because he could not be persuaded that such an election could be accomplished, was relieved and took courage. For when he saw that bishops and abbots in great number were elected and chosen, and that the nations were equally honoured in the council, he began to take courage, and his face to recover its accustomed colour; and making an oration with a cheerful countenance, he did

exhilarate the whole congregation, which, he being sad, could not otherwise choose but to be also heavy and sad. After he had spoken some things as touching the election, and greatly commended the industry and diligence of the Triumvirs, which they had at all times showed in that council, but now especially, he dismissed the congregation. At night, all the electors were sent for unto the cardinal's chamber; where they conferred amongst themselves touching the distribution of the chambers; and, forsomuch as there was great difference in the chambers, the prelates thought that they should be distributed according to their respective dignities; that as every man was of most age and dignity, so he should enjoy the best and principal place. For they said, it was not to be suffered, that a cardinal or an archbishop should come to a lot with the doctors and inferiors, for that it would be ridiculous, if the cardinal should happen to be placed beneath, and the doctors above. And, forsomuch as the prelates were the greater number and all agreed in this view, it seemed but vain to speak of lots. The doctors, however, thought good to speak for themselves, and said, that the ancient customs ought not to be broken. For it had been always used, in every conclave, that the chambers should be distributed by lot, and that, not only between cardinal and cardinal, but also between cardinals and others: for at Constance, albeit there were many cardinals, yet did they not refuse to cast lots with the bishops and doctors. They said they could not but think the prelates selfish, in that they, being the greater number, sought to have the victory rather by votes, than by reason: and that unless the chambers were distributed by lot, some collusion was to be feared, and schism among the electors, while they who stood beneath, and shivered for cold, fell to envying those who were placed above.

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By these reasons the cardinal being persuaded, consented to the mind of the doctors, and after him the good bishop of Tortosa prophesied: "If there be any man," said he, "unto whom the lot would be hurtful, it is I, whom the lot will place in the lowest room. Notwithstanding, rather than we should subvert the ancient customs, or incur the ill-will of the doctors, I think it good that the matter be settled by lot." And to this opinion they finally agreed.

Immediately there were certain of every sort of the electors sent to the conclave with the cardinal Arelatensis, with the help of the vice-chamberlain to cast lots for the chambers. The electors' names were written, every one on a separate billet, and put into a close basket; and when they came unto the first chamber-door, the cardinal, putting his hand into the basket, took out the billet that came next to hand, and reading the same, delivered it unto the vice-chamberlain, and the vice-chamberlain set it upon the chamber door; and so throughout the chambers in order; so that when the electors should enter into the conclave the next day, they should know that cell and chamber to be appointed for them, where they should find their names set up. The dean of Basil had the first place, and the bishop of Tortosa the last, according as he himself had prophesied. The distribution of the lot in this case was very strange, or rather a divine dispensation setting at nought the counsels of man, in that a doctor was placed first, and a bishop last, when the prelates had previously resolved to assign the best chambers to themselves.

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The next day following, being Friday, the thirtieth of October, there was a general congregation holden, and the deliberations of the last deputations were concluded upon. Immediately after followed a session: at which the cardinal Arelatensis performed divine service; and after the gospel was sung, Mark, a famous divine, made an oration unto the electors, and reckoning up the manifold crimes of Gabriel who was deposed, he endeavoured himself to persuade the electors to choose such a man as should in all points be contrary unto Gabriel, and eschew all his vices: that as he through his manifold reproaches was hateful unto all men, so he who should be chosen should show himself acceptable unto all men through his righteousness; and as Gabriel was covetous and full of rapine, so this man should show himself moderate.

The time of the mass was not yet abrogated.

The vices of Gabriel.

The church was full of people in every part. The noble matrons of the city stood between the uppermost pillars, beholding the congregation, and surveying the process of things not without great devotion. There was present John earl of Tierstein, who supplied the place of the emperor's protector. The consuls of the city were also present, and many other noblemen, to behold and see the same strange matter. Silence was kept on all parts, and the citizens were without the church in armour, to prevent there being any uproar made.

There was so great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the church, nor in the streets, was there room for them, and there was a great press within the church. When the cardinal Arelatensis had communicated, the other electors, according to their order, were called unto the altar to communicate. First, the archbishop of Tarantaise and the ten other bishops did communicate; after them, the seven abbots; then, the five divines; and last of all, the nine lawyers; who, coming unto the altar and kneeling down, received the sacrament. It was a worthy sight to behold so many reverend bishops, so many famous fathers, showing their hoary heads before the sacrament, some of them praying, and other some pouring out abundant tears. After all this was done, and the general congregation finished, all the prelates put on their robes and vestments, fit for the session.

The electors communicate together.

See Appendix.

Then Louis, the bishop of Lausanne, going up into the pulpit, read three things there by order. First of all the answer of the synod, to the calumnious libel of Gabriel, which beginneth, 'Moses:' Secondly, a certain limitation touching a decree lately set forth by the council about elections: and, thirdly, the nomination of the Triumvirs, which the sacred council allowed. Which being read, the fathers were demanded whether it pleased them or no: whereunto they answered 'Placet.'

The oath of the electors.

Then the bishop of Lausanne required that the form of the oath should be read, which the electors should take, and that the electors should take their oath, according to the order of the council. Then the cardinal Arelatensis, opening the book of Decrees, read the form of the oath in the audience of all men, and by-and-by being required so to swear, said,*

The godly oath of Arelatensis.

"Most reverend fathers! I promise, swear, and vow, before my Lord Jesus Christ (whose most blessed body I, unworthy sinner,

have received, unto whom in the last judgment I shall give an account of all my deeds), that in this business of election, whereunto now, by the will of the council, we are sent, I will seek nothing else, but only the salvation of the christian people and the profit of the universal church. And it shall be my whole care and study that the authority of general councils be not contemned, that the catholic faith be not impugned, and that the fathers who remain in the council be not oppressed. This will I seek for; this shall be my care; unto this with all my whole force and power will I bend myself; neither will I do any thing in this matter, either for mine own cause, or for any friend, but will regard only God and the profit of the church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart, I take the oath enjoined by the council."

His words were lively and fearful, *moving[1] the minds of all those that stood by. After him the other electors took their oaths. Who is it, then, that would not think him meet for the popedom, who was allowed by the judgment of so many bishops and priests? especially when they had taken their oath, just after receiving the sacrament, that they would choose none, but only such as they should think fit for the dignity. In the same session also the vice-chamberlain, the keepers of the conclave, the clerks of the ceremonies, and the promoters, engaged by oath to execute their office without guile. Which done, about three of the clock at afternoon, the people being yet fasting, 'Te Deum' was sung by all parties. That ended, they went, with all solemnity, to the conclave. When they came thither the electors were received in, and all the rest dismissed and sent away. Their servants also that were appointed unto them were let in, yet was not the door of the conclave immediately shut, but stood open until nine of the clock at night, that their friends might bring them such things as were necessary, and one friend to talk with another till that time. When it was dark, the protector with certain citizens went in to see how every man was placed; taking great pleasure to behold the order and manner thereof. After him went in the bishop of Lausanne, the vice-chamberlain, and the keepers of the conclave, searching every chamber, if they had any person or any thing with them, contrary to the orders; but, finding nothing, they went their ways. About nine of the clock, as is before said, the gates were shut, both within and without, and strongly barred and chained.

The other electors take their oaths. See Appendix.

But now to declare the order of the election. In the place where the cardinal and the bishop of Vich were, seats were prepared for the cardinal and the others; the archbishop of Tarantaise was set on the right hand of the cardinal, and the bishop of Tortosa on the left hand, and so all the other electors were placed according to their degree and order.* Before the cardinal's seat was set a stool, whereupon there stood a bason of silver, into which bason all the electors did cast their billets, which the cardinal, receiving, read one by one; and four others of the electors wrote as he read them.

The tenor of the billets was as followeth: "I, George, bishop of Vich, do choose such a man, or such a man, for bishop of Rome;" and peradventure named one or two. Every one of the electors

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 327.—Ed.

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subscribed his name unto his billet, that he might thereby know his own, and say 'nay,' if it were written contrary to that which he ordered; whereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The first scrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the papacy; yet none had sufficient voices, for, that day, there were seventeen of divers nations nominated. Notwithstanding, Amedeus, duke of Savoy, a man of singular virtue, surmounted them all; for in the first scrutiny he had the voice of sixteen electors, who judged him worthy to govern the church.

Amedeus duke of Savoy.

After this, at three of the clock in the afternoon, there was diligent inquisition had in the council touching those who were named of the electors, and as every man's opinion served him, he did either praise or discommend those who were nominated. Notwithstanding, there was such report made of Amedeus, that in the next scrutiny, which was holden on the second day of November, the said Amedeus had nineteen voices, and afterward in the third and fourth scrutinies twenty-one voices. But, forsomuch as there was none found in all the scrutinies to have two-thirds, all the billets were burnt. And forsomuch as there lacked but only one voice to the election of the chief pontiff, they fell unto prayer, desiring God that he would vouchsafe to direct their minds unanimously to elect one who would worthily take the pastoral charge over the flock of God. Forsomuch as Amedeus seemed to be nearer unto the papacy than all others, there was great communication had amongst them touching his life and manners. Some said, that hands ought not so suddenly to be laid on a layman; and that it would seem to all a monstrous thing, for a secular prince to be called unto the bishopric of Rome; a step which would derogate from the ecclesiastical state, as though there were none therein meet or worthy for that dignity. Other some said, that a man who was married and had children was unmeet for such a charge. Other some again affirmed, that the bishop of Rome ought to be a doctor of law, and an excellent learned man.

See Appendix.

Prayer for unity and concord.

When these words were spoken, other some rising up, spake far otherwise; that albeit Amedeus was no doctor, yet was he learned and wise, forsomuch as all his whole youth he had bestowed in learning and study, and had sought, not titles but knowledge.

An Oration in favour of the Claims of Amedeus to the Popedom.

Then said another[1] these words: 'If ye be desirous to be instructed further of this prince's life, I pray you give ear unto me, who do know him thoroughly. Truly this man, from his youth upward, and even from his young and tender years, hath lived more religiously than secularly, being always obedient to his parents and masters, and being always indued with the fear of God, never given to any vanity or wantonness; neither hath there at any time been any child of the house of Savoy, in whom hath appeared greater wit or towardness; whereby all those who did behold and know this man, judged and foresaw some great matter in him, neither were they deceived. For, if ye desire to know his rule and governance, what and how noble it hath been, first, know ye this, that this man hath reigned, since his father's decease, about forty years; during whose time, justice, the lady and queen of all other virtues, hath always flourished.

Let lying Eugene be ashamed of his false invectives against Amedeus.

(1) Probably Æneas Sylvius himself.—Ed.

For he, hearing his subjects himself, would never suffer the poor to be oppressed, or the weak to be deceived. He was the defender of the fatherless, the advocate of the widows, and the protector of the poor. There was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poor and rich lived all under one law, neither was he burthenous unto his subjects, or importune against strangers, throughout all his country: there were no grievous exactions of money throughout all his dominion. He thought himself rich enough, if the inhabitants of his dominion did abound and were rich; knowing that it is the point of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, and not to devour them. In this also was his chief study and care, that his subjects might live in peace; and such as bordered upon him might have no occasion of grudge. By which policies he did not only quietly govern his father's dominion, but also augmented the same by others, who willingly submitted themselves unto him. He never made war upon any, and even in resisting such as made war upon him, he studied rather to make peace, than to seek any revenge; desiring rather to overcome his enemies with beneficence, than with the sword.

'He married only one wife, who was a noble virgin, and of singular beauty and chastity. He would have all his family to keep their hands and eyes chaste and continent, and throughout all his house honesty and integrity of manners were observed; insomuch that even in a secular palace, the religion used in cloisters was observed and kept. When the partner of his bed had exchanged this life for another, and that he perceived his duchy to be established, and that it should come without any controversy unto his posterity, he declared his mind, which was always religious and dedicate unto God, and showed what will and affection he had long borne in his heart; for he, contemning the pomp and state of this world, calling unto him his dear friends, departed and went into a wilderness; where, building a goodly abbey, he addicted himself wholly to the service of God, and, taking his cross upon him, followed Christ. In which place he being conversant by the space of many years, showed forth great example of holiness, wearing no other garments but such as could withstand the cold, neither using any kind of dainty fare, but only to resist hunger; watching and praying the most part of the night. Wherefore this prince is not newly come unto the church, as some do suppose, but, being a Christian, born of progenitors who were Christians during a thousand years and more, doth now serve God in a monastery.

Commendation of Amedeus, pope-elect.

'But, as touching that, also, which is spoken concerning a wife, I do not regard it; when not he only who hath had a wife, but he also who hath a wife, may be elected and chosen pope. For why do the doctors dispute, whether a married man, being chosen pope, ought to perform his duty towards his wife, but only because a married man might be received and chosen? For, as you know well enough, there have been popes that had wives; and Peter, also, was not without a wife. But why do we stand about this? for peradventure, it had been better that more priests had been married; for many should be saved through marriage, who are now damned through their single life.[1] But hereof we will,' saith he, 'speak in another place. But this seemeth unto me rather to be laughed at, than worthy any answer, which is objected touching his children; for in what can children (especially being of ripe age) be impediment or let unto the pope, being their father? Doth not the Scripture say, Wo be unto him that is alone; for if he fall, he hath none to help him up again? This cannot be imputed unto the prince, for he hath two sons, both comely and wise, whereof the one is prince of Piedmont, the other earl of Geneva. These men will rule the country of Savoy in the absence of their father, and will help him, if he have need; for they have already learned to rule over that people. I pray you, what hurt is it for a bishop of Rome to have valiant children, who may help their father against tyrants?

Having wife, is no let for a good man to be pope. Popes have been married.

Eccles. iv.

'O most reverend fathers! the more I do behold the storm of this most perverse and froward time, the more I do consider the vexations and troubles which the church is now tormented withal, I do so much the more think it profitable, yea and necessary, that this man should be chosen prince and head; and I shall think that God hath showed his mercy upon us, if I may see him have the governance over this ship. I pray you consider into what straits we are now driven, with what perils we are now vexed and tossed. What prince is it that is obedient unto this council? for some will not confess that the council is here, neither receive our decrees; other some confess it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at Florence. For, albeit that by their words and

(1) Read the fifth epistle of Ignatius, and you shall see that the apostles had wives; and Baptista Mantuanus maketh mention, how that Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, had a wife. [See Appendix. Ed.

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letters they do not deny that the church is here, yet do they procure promotions at the hands of Gabriel, who is deposed.

'This is the state of the church; with these storms and tempests the ship is shaken and bruised. Wicked children have risen up against their mother, who, being unmindful of their mother's labours and kindness towards them, despise her, contemn her, and beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we choose a bare man, who shall rather be derided of our princes, than had in reverence? The days are not now, that men have respect only unto virtue, for, as the satirical poet writeth, "Probitas laudatur et alget," Goodness is praised, but neglected. A poor man speaketh, and they ask, What is he? Truly virtue is good, but for our purpose it must be marked and looked upon, whether it be in a rich man, or a poor man: you must choose a governor, who may rule the ship not only by counsel, but by power also. The wind is great; wherefore, except the counsel be good, and the power strong, the ship shall be wrecked, and all put in danger. The memorial, however, is yet fresh before our eyes, that the princes do neglect authority which is devoid of power. Is there not great valiantness showed in this point, in that you, fearing no peril nor danger, neither of life nor goods, have so long contended for the truth of Christ? The princes ought therefore to kiss the ground on which you had trodden. Yet because the powerful prelates and the famous Cardinals have left you, you see what the princes likewise have done. But the most mighty and high God looketh down from on high, and will resist this their pride.

Schism in the Church.

Good it were, that temporal dominions were divided from the church.

'I have often consented unto their opinion who said, it was expedient that temporal dominion should be divided from the ecclesiastical state; for I did think that the priests should thereby be made more apt to the divine ministry, and secular princes more obedient to the clergy. But now I have learnt that virtue without power is laughed at, and that the Roman pontiff without the church's patrimony would only be the slave of kings and princes; which Constantine foreseeing, did piously endow the church. But, forsomuch as, at this present, the lands of the church are possessed, partly by Eugene, and partly by other tyrants, we must provide that we choose such a one, who may recover again the patrimony of the church, and in whom the office of Christ's vicar may not be contemned; through the shield of whose power their contumacy may be suppressed, who contemn both verity and reason. Whereunto no man seemeth unto me more apt or meet than Amedeus, duke of Savoy, who holdeth the one part of his possessions in Italy, and the other in France; unto whom all christian princes are allied either by consanguinity, or joined by amity and friendship, and whose virtue, how famous it is, I have already declared.

'Why do we then stay or doubt to choose him, than whom Gabriel feareth no man more? Let him, therefore, perish with the sword, wherewithal he hath stricken. There is no man who can more pacify the church than he. Do ye require devotion in a bishop? there is no man more devout than he. Do you require prudence? now ye understand by his former life, what manner of man he is. If ye seek for justice, his people are a witness thereof; so that whether you seek for virtue or power, all are here present before you. Whereupon do ye stay? Go to, I pray you, choose this man. He will augment the faith, he will reform manners, and preserve the authority of the church. Have ye not heard these troubles of the church to have been before spoken of, and that the fortieth year, being the year now present, should be an end of all troubles? Have ye not heard that about this time there should a pope be chosen, who should comfort Sion, and set all things in peace? and who, I pray you, should he be that could fulfil these things, except we choose this man? Believe me, the Scriptures must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will move your minds, however unwilling. Notwithstanding, do ye rather willingly whatsoever is right and holy.'

See Appendix.

Amedeus, duke of Savoy, chosen pope.

When he had spoken these words, the greatest number of the electors seemed to consent unto him, and his words took such effect, that in the next scrutiny the matter was finished. *For on the nones of November, about ten of the clock in the forenoon,* the scrutiny being opened and the numbers compared, it was found that Amedeus, the most devout duke of Savoy, according to the decree of the council was chosen pope, *twenty-six voices consenting and agreeing upon him.* Wherefore suddenly, there was great joy and gladness

amongst them, and all men highly commended their doings. *Wherefore,[1] the notaries and witnesses being called in, a great indenture was made concerning the election. Which thing finished, and the witnesses being sent away, about one of the clock in the afternoon there was a rush made to the windows which were toward the street, and the casements thereof broken with axes. And when the people gathered together in great number, marvelling at the strange noise, there was a cross of silver showed unto them. *Henry VI.* A.D. 1439.

The whole city was now in the street, and looking up to the window desired to know the name of him that was chosen.* Then the cardinal Arelatensis published unto them the name of the bishop elect. After this, about three of the clock, all the prelates in their copes and mitres, and all the clergy of the city, coming unto the conclave, brought back the electors, being likewise adorned, unto the great church; where, after great thanks given unto God, and the election again declared unto the people, a hymn being sung for joy, the congregation was dissolved.

This Amedeus aforesaid was a man of reverent age, of comely stature, of grave and discreet behaviour; also before married. Who thus being elected for pope the seventeenth day of November, was called Felix V., and was crowned in the city of Basil, in the twenty-fourth day of July following. There were present at his coronation Louis, duke of Savoy; Philip, earl of Geneva; Louis, marquis of Saluzzo; the marquis of Rotelen; Conrad of Winsperg, chamberlain of the empire; the earl of Tierstein; the ambassadors of the cities of Strasburgh, Berne, Friburg, Soleure, with a great multitude of other beside, to the view of fifty thousand persons. At this coronation, the pope's two sons did serve and minister to their father. The cardinal Arelatensis (being appointed thereto by the council instead of the bishop of Ostia, to whom it properly pertained) did set on his head the pontifical diadem, which was esteemed at thirty thousand crowns. It were long here to recite the whole order and solemnity of the procession, or the pope's riding about the city. First proceeded the pope, under his canopy of cloth of gold, having on his head a triple crown, and blessing the people as he went. By him went the marquis of Rotelen, and Conrad of Winsperg, leading his horse by the bridle. The following day, the whole city went to an entertainment, which lasted four full hours, being excessively sumptuous; where the pope's two sons were butlers to his cup, the marquis of Saluzzo was the steward, &c. Pope Felix V. The number of people at the coronation of pope Felix.

Of this Felix thus writeth Volateran in the third book of his Geography, That he, being desired of certain of the ambassadors, if he had any dogs or hounds, to show them, willed them the next day to repair unto him, and he would show unto them such as he had. When the ambassadors, according to the appointment, were come, he showeth unto them a great number of poor people and beggars, sitting at his tables at meat, declaring that those were his hounds, which he every day used to feed, hunting with them (he trusted) for the glory of heaven to come.[2]

And thus you have heard the state of this council hitherto, which council endured a long season, the space of twelve years. *See Appendix*

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 330.—Ed.
(2) A note for our gentlemen and lords, to learn how to hunt, and what dogs to keep.

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About the sixth year of the council, Sigismund the emperor died, leaving but one daughter to succeed him in his kingdoms, whom he had married to Albert the Second, duke of Austria, who first succeeded in the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia, being a sore adversary to the Bohemians, and afterward was made emperor, A.D. 1438, and reigned emperor but two years, leaving his wife, who was Sigismund's daughter, great with child. After which Albert succeeded his brother Frederic the Third, duke of Austria, in the empire, &c., whereof more, Christ willing, hereafter.

Death of Sigismund.

Albert II. emperor. A.D.1438.

Death of Albert.

In the mean time, Eugene, hearing of the death of Sigismund above recited, began to work the dissolution of the council of Basil, and to transfer it to Ferrara, pretending the coming of the Grecians. Notwithstanding, the council of Basil, through the disposition of God and the worthiness of cardinal Arelatensis, constantly endured. Albeit, in the said council were many stops and practices to impeach the same, beside the sore plague of pestilence which fell in the city during the said council; in the time of which plague, besides the death of many worthy men, Æneas Sylvius also himself, the writer and compiler of the whole history of that council, sitting at the feet of the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Lubeck, lay sick three days of the same sore, as is above touched, and never thought to escape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, desiring men to pray to God, that he would convert the hearts of them that stuck to Eugene as pope, against that council, as partly is before noted, and now repeated again, for the better marking. Arelatensis, being most instantly exhorted by his friends to fly that danger, could by no means be entreated to avoid, fearing more the danger of the church, than of his own life.

The plague at Basil in the time of the council.

Æneas Sylvius sick of the plague in Basil.

The constant zeal of Arelatensis to the truth.

Beside these so great difficulties and obstacles to stay and hinder this council, strange it was to behold the mutation of men's minds, of whom such as first seemed to favour the council, afterwards did impugn it; and such as before were against it, in the end showed themselves most friends unto the same. The chief cardinals and prelates, the more they had to lose, the sooner they slipped away, or else lurked in houses or towns near, and absented themselves for fear; so that the stay of the council most rested upon their proctors, doctors, archdeacons, deans, provosts, priors, and such other of the inferior sort. Whereof Æneas Sylvius, in his one hundred and eighty-third epistle, maketh this relation, where one Gaspar Schlick, the emperor's chancellor, writeth to the cardinal Julian in these words: "Those cardinals," saith he, "who so long a time magnified so highly the authority of the church, and of general councils, seeming as though they were ready to spend their lives for the same, now, at the sight of one letter from their king (wherein yet no death was threatened, but only loss of their promotions), slipt away from Basil." And in the same epistle, he deridingly commendeth them as wise men, that had rather lose their faith than their flock. "Albeit," saith he, "they departed not far away, but remained about Soleure, waiting for other commandments from their prince, whereby it may appear how they did not shrink away willingly: but the burse," quoth he, "bindeth faster than true honour; "Quid enim salvis infamia nummis?" that is to say, "What matter maketh the name of man, so his money be safe?"

The wealthy prelates, afraid of truth, slide away from the council. 'Fide quam plebe, carere malunt.' Promotions choke the clergy.

(1) Æneas Sylvius, epist. 183.

Moreover, in one of the sessions of the said council, the worthy cardinal Arelatensis[1] is said thus to have reported, That Christ was sold for thirty pieces of silver: "But I," said he, "was sold much more dear; for Gabriel, otherwise called pope Eugene, offered threescore thousand crowns of gold, whoso would take me, and present me unto him." And they that took the said cardinal, afterwards excused their fact by another colour, pretending as the cause, that the cardinal's brother, what time the Armagnacs wasted Alsace, had brought great damage to the inhabitants there; and therefore they thought (said they) that they might lawfully lay hands upon a Frenchman, wheresoever they might take him. At length, by the bishop of Strasburg, Rupert, and the said city, the matter was taken up, and he rescued; wherein, no doubt, appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the pestilent danger of the pope, his adversary.[2]

Henry VI. A.D. 1431.

Sixty thousand crowns offered by pope Eugene, for the betraying of Arelatensis, who is taken and rescued. God's defence toward his servants.

And thus far having proceeded in the matters of this aforesaid council until the election of Amedeus, called pope Felix V., before we prosecute the rest that remaineth thereof to be spoken, the order and course of times requireth to intermix withal the residue pertaining to the matters concluded between this council and the Bohemians, declaring the whole circumstances of the ambassade, their articles, disputations, and answers, which they had first in the said council, then in their own country with the council's ambassadors; also with their petitions and answers unto the same.

Touching the story of the Bohemians, how they, being sent for, came up to the council of Basil, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before hath been expressed. Now, as leisure serveth, from other matters to return again unto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the rest that lacketh, so far as both brevity may be observed, and yet the reader not defrauded of such things principally worthy in the same to be noted and known.

The story of the Bohemians prosecuted.

A FURTHER CONTINUATION OF

The Memorable History of the Bohemians,

BEING A BRIEF EPITOME, SHOWING HOW THEY WERE CALLED AND BROUGHT UNTO THE COUNCIL OF BASIL;

Briefly collected and gathered out of the Commentaries of Æneas Sylvius.

Forsomuch[3] as the Bohemians, as is before said, being incensed for the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, persevered still in the maintaining of their opinions, Julian, cardinal of St. Angelo, was sent ambassador into Germany to make preparation against them; for the bishop of Rome thought that nation would have easily been vanquished by the Germans. But the matter came far otherwise to pass; for the Germans, being often put to flight, as is aforesaid, they put such a terror into the hearts of all the borderers, that Germany desired nothing more than peace.

The Bohemians then, as is before declared, having always the upper hand, albeit they were accursed by the new pope Eugene, yet

(1) See Appendix. (2) Ex Paralip. Abbat. Ursperg. (3) See Edition 1563, p. 335.—Ed.

Henry VI. A. D. 1431. it was thought good that they should be called unto Basil, where the council was appointed. Whereupon cardinal Julian sent thither before John Polemar, doctor of the law, and John de Ragusa, a divine; who coming unto Basil in the month of August, A.D. 1431, called by their letters unto the council John, abbot of Mulbrun, and John Gethusius, monk of the same cloister; which men, for dexterity of their wit, and experience, and knowledge of countries, were very meet and necessary for ambassades.

The Bohemians invited to come to the council. Within a few days after, Julian also came thither, as he had promised, and immediately sent out John Gethusius, and Haman Offenbourgh, a senator of Basil, first, unto the emperor Sigismund, being at Feldkirch, and afterward unto Frederic, duke of Austria, for the appeasing of the wars between him and Philip, duke of Burgundy. This was done, to the intent that peace being had, not only the ecclesiastical prelates, but also the merchants, might have safe access unto Basil, and so bring in all things necessary for sustentation.

They, going on this ambassade, received letters from the synod to be delivered unto the emperor Sigismund, whereby the Bohemians and Moravians were called unto the council. These letters he by-and-by caused to be carried unto Bohemia. But, forsomuch as he himself went into Italy, to receive the imperial crown of the pontiff, he left William, duke of Bavaria, as his deputy, to be protector unto the council. Furthermore, when the synod understood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians after their most shameful flight, they sent John Nider, a divine, and John Gethusius, to comfort the people who joined upon Bohemia, and earnestly to move the Moravians and Bohemians, who were before called, to come unto the council.

See Appendix.

They, departing from Basil the thirtieth of October, took their journey toward Munich, a town of Bavaria; where, after they had saluted William, duke of Bavaria, and his brother Ernest, and Albert, the son of Ernest, and had declared the commission of their ambassade, and had showed unto duke William, how that, as soon as he should come unto Basil, the protection of the council should be committed unto him by the emperor; they exhorted Frederic, marquis of Brandenburgh, and John, duke of Bavaria, the senate of Nuremberg, and other princes and lords, partly by the letters of the council, and partly by word of mouth, that they should by no means take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtful unto the church; and said, they should have aid out of hand. They desired them also, in the name of the council, That if the Bohemians would send their ambassadors unto Basil, they would guide them, every man through his country, in safety; which they promised to do. It is incredible how all men rejoiced that the Bohemians were sent for.

After this, when they counselled with the senate of Nuremberg, touching the sending of the council's letters into Bohemia, it seemed best first of all to inquire of the rulers of Egra, whether the Bohemians had made any answer to the former letters of the council which they had sent. The rulers of Egra, being advertised by these letters, sent him who carried the council's letters into Bohemia unto Nurem-

berg. He reported how reverently the council of the greater city of Prague received the letters, and how he was rewarded; whereupon they conceived great hope of the good success of the ambassade. Therefore the ambassadors, using the counsel of the senate of Nuremberg and divers others, sent the messenger back again unto Egra, with their own private letters, and with letters of the council: for there was no better mean to send the letters to Bohemia. Much travail was taken by them of Egra, Frederic, marquis of Brandenburgh, and John, duke of Bavaria, in this matter; for that they were very desirous that peace might be had amongst Christians. The copy of those letters, whereby the synod did call the Bohemians unto the council, and other letters exhortatory of the ambassadors, and the Bohemians' answer unto the same, for brevity's cause we have here pretermitted. The Bohemians, not in all points trusting unto the ambassadors, required by their letters that the council's ambassadors, with the other princes, would come unto Egra, where their ambassadors should be also present, to intreat upon the safe-conduct and other matters.

The Bohemians are laboured to come to the council.

The day appointed for the meeting was the Sunday after Easter, which was the 27th day of April. Then came the ambassadors of the council unto Egra, with the noble princes, Frederic, marquis of Brandenburgh, and John, duke of Bavaria, with other nobles, and almost to the number of two hundred and fifty horse.[1] But none of the Bohemians were present, because the inhabitants of Pilsen, and the lord of Swanberg, had not sent their safe-conduct. When they understood this by their letters, they brought it to pass, that the ambassadors of the Bohemians, Nicholas Humpolz, secretary of the greater city of Prague, and Matthias Clompezan, president of Piesta, should be brought forth by them of Egra and of Elnbogen; and so they came unto Egra with nineteen horse, the eighth day of May. The next day after, Henry Token received the Bohemian ambassadors before the marquis with an eloquent oration, taking this part of the gospel for his theme, "Pax vobis," that is, "Peace be with you." Then they propounded what great injuries they had hitherto received at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either party, and that they were glad that yet now, at the length, there was some hope that they should be heard.

The ambassadors at Egra.

See Appendix.

After this they conferred as touching the safe-conduct. The Bohemians required pledges, and that, not of the common sort, but princes and nobles. Which thing forsomuch as it did not content the ambassadors, and so the matter should be put off, the common people of Egra began to cry out, That it was long of the ecclesiastics and princes that a concord was not made with the Bohemians. Then Frederic, marquis of Brandenburgh, and John, duke of Bavaria, bound themselves of their own good-will; the like also did William, duke of Bavaria, at the request of the council; likewise also did the council and the emperor Sigismund. Furthermore, promise was made, That all the princes and cities should do the like, through whose dominion they should come, and the city of Basil also; the copy of which safe-conduct was afterward sent unto Prague. This also

The Bohemians require pledges

Princes bound to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians require the emperor to be present.

(1) Fifty-two horse, Edition 1563, p. 356.—En

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was required by the Bohemians, That if it were possible the emperor should be present at the council.

This convention at Egra continued twenty-one days. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the council's ambassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully give credit unto them. Whereupon they chose out two ambassadors, Nicholas Humpolz, and John of Saatz, who should go to Basil and diligently inquire out all things. These men Conrad, bishop of Ratisbon, and Conrad Seglawer, dean of Eichstadt, brought unto Cadolzburg, where the marquis of Brandenburgh dwelt, being sent out by the synod a little before, to inquire whether the Bohemian ambassadors would come or not. When they were come to Biberack, one being over curious, inquired of one of the Bohemian ambassadors, of what country he was. He answered that he was of Saatz. "There," said he, "are most execrable heretics and naughty men," &c.; who, for that slanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was straightway carried to prison, and there should have suffered more punishment, if the Bohemian ambassadors, and the abbot of Eberbach, had not entreated for him. When they came to Basil, they were honourably received with wine and fish: they tarried there five days and a half. The tenth day of October they came unto the synod, which was assembled at the friars Augustine.

The Bohemians send two ambassadors.

See Appendix.

Good justice upon a slanderous railer. Gentleness of the Bohemian ambassadors.

These ambassadors, when they were returned home with the charter of the synod, and declared those things which they had seen, and that the matter was earnestly handled without fraud or deceit; there were ambassadors chosen to be sent unto the council, both for the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquisdom of Moravia; who coming unto Tauss, were brought from thence with thirty-two horse, and divers noble men, unto Cham. From thence they came to Schwandorf, and so unto Nuremberg, where, beside their entertainment of wine and fish, twenty-two horsemen accompanied them unto Ulm; from thence they of Ulm brought them unto Biberack and Saulgau, where James Truchses de Walpurg, a knight, receiving them, brought them to Stockach, and from thence the bands of William, duke of Bavaria, brought them unto Schaffhausen. There they taking ship, on the 4th day of January came to Basil. What were the names of these ambassadors of the Bohemians, who were brought up with three hundred horse, and how they were received at Basil, mention is made before.[1] When they came before the synod the 9th day of the same month, cardinal Julian made an oration, That whatsoever was in any place in doubt, the same ought to be determined by the authority of the council, forsomuch as all men were bound to submit themselves to the judgment of the holy church, which the general council did represent.—Which oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

The ambassadors of the Bohemians return home.

The Bohemians send up other solemn ambassadors.

Oration of the cardinal Julian

Then Rochezanus made an oration, requiring to have a day appointed when they should be heard, which was appointed the 16th day of the same month; upon which day John Rochezanus, having made his preface, began to propound the first article, touching the communion to be ministered under both kinds, and disputed upon the same by the space of three days, always before noon. Then one Nicolas, a Taborite, disputed upon the second article, touching the correction and punishing of sin, by the space of two days.

Three articles of the Bohemians.

(1) See above, p. 577.—Ed.

After whom Ulderic, priest of the Orphans, propounded and disputed upon the third article by the space of two days, touching the free preaching of the word of God.

Last of all Peter Paine, an Englishman, disputed three days upon the fourth article, touching the civil dominion of the clergy: and afterward they gave copies of their disputations in writing unto the council, with hearty thanks that they were heard. The three last did somewhat inveigh against the council, commending John Huss and John Wickliff for evangelical doctors. Whereupon John de Ragusa, the divine, rising up, desired that he might have leave to answer in his own name, to the first article of the Bohemians. The council consented thereunto; so that by the space of eight days in the forenoon he disputed thereupon. But, before he began to answer, John, the abbot of Citeaux, made an oration unto the Bohemians, that they should submit themselves to the determination of holy church, which this council (said he) doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the Bohemians. John Ragusinus, the divine, after scholars' fashion, in his answer spake often of heresies and heretics. Procopius could not suffer it, but, rising up with an angry stomach, complained openly to the council of this injury. "This our countryman," saith he, "doth us great injury, calling us oftentimes heretics." Whereunto Ragusinus answered, "forasmuch as I am your countryman both by tongue and nation, I do the more desire to reduce you again unto the church." He was a Dalmatian born, and it appeareth that the Dalmatians, going into Bohemia, took their name from the country which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that through this offence the Bohemians would depart from Basil, and could scarcely be appeased. Certain of the Bohemians would not hear Ragusinus finish his disputation.

The fourth article.

See *Appendix.*

Oration of the abbot of Citeaux.

John Ragusinus replieth against the first article.

After him a famous divine, one Giles Charlier, dean of the church of Cambray, answered unto the second article, by the space of four days. To the third article answered one Henry, surnamed Kalteisen, three days together. Last of all John Polemar, before-mentioned, master of the requests of the palace, answered unto the fourth article likewise, by the space of three days, so that the long time which they used in disputations seemed tedious unto the Bohemians. Notwithstanding this answer, the Bohemians still defended their articles, and especially the first, insomuch that John Rochezanus did strongly impugn Ragusinus' answer by the space of six days. But, forsomuch as one disputation bred another, and it was not perceived how that by this means any concord could be made, the prince William, duke of Bavaria, protector of the council, attempted another remedy, that all disputations being set apart, the matter should be friendly debated.

Giles Charlier to the second.

Henry Kalteisen to the third.

J. Polemar to the fourth.

There were certain appointed on either part to treat upon the concord; who coming together the 11th day of March, those who were appointed for the council, were demanded to say their minds. "It seemeth good," said they, "if these men would be united unto us, and be made one body with us, that this body might then accord, declare, and determine, all manner of diversities of opinions and sects, what is to be believed or done in them."

Certain chosen on both sides to determine the matter.

The Bohemians, when they had awhile paused, said, "This way

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seemed not apt enough, except, first of all, the four articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with us; for, otherwise, it would be but a frivolous matter, if they being now united, again disagree in the deciding of the articles." Here answer was made to the Bohemians, That if they were rightly united, and the aid of the Holy Ghost called for, they should not err in the deciding of the matter, forsomuch as every Christian ought to believe that determination; which if they would do, it would breed a most firm and strong concord and amity on either part.—But this answer satisfied them not, insomuch that the other three rose up, and disputed against the answers which were given. At that time cardinal Julian, president of the council, made this oration unto the Bohemian ambassadors.

Oration of cardinal Julian.

"This sacred synod," saith he, "hath now, by the space of ten days, patiently heard the propositions of your four articles;" and afterwards he annexed, "You have propounded," saith he, "four articles; but we understand that, beside these four, you have many other strange doctrines, wherein ye dissent from us. Wherefore it is necessary, if a perfect unity and fraternity shall follow between us, that all these things be declared in the council, to the end that by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who is the author of peace and truth, due provision may be made therein. For we have not gathered these things of light conjectures, but have heard them of credible persons, and partly here are some present who have seen them with their own eyes in Bohemia, and partly we do gather it by your own report: for Master Nicholas, who was the second that did propound, amongst other things alleged, that John Wickliff was an evangelical doctor. If ye believe him to be a true doctor, it followeth that you must repute his works as authentic; if ye do not so think, it is reason that it should be opened unto us. Wherefore we desire you, that you will certify us upon these and certain other points, what you do believe, or what credit you do give unto them. But we do not require, that you should now declare your reasons; but it shall satisfy us, if you will answer unto every article by this word, 'credimus' or, 'non credimus;' that is, 'we believe,' or, 'we believe not.' Which if you will do (as we trust you will), then we shall manifestly perceive that you desire, that we should conceive a good estimation of you. If there be any thing whereof you would be certified by us, ask it boldly, and we will give you an answer out of hand; for we are ready, according to the doctrine of St. Peter, to render account unto every man who shall require it, touching the faith which we hold."

Master Nicholas charged by the cardinal, for commending of John Wickliff.

Prudent answer to cardinal Julian.

Hereunto the Bohemian ambassadors answered in few words, that they came only to propound those four articles, not in their own name, but in the name of the whole kingdom of Bohemia;—and spake no more. Whereupon William, the noble protector of the council, calling unto him four men on either part, treated touching the pacifying the matter; by whose advice the council decreed to send a famous ambassade with the Bohemian ambassadors unto Prague, where the people should assemble upon Trinity Sunday. But they would not receive these conditions of peace which were offered, but made haste to depart. Whereupon, on the 14th day of April, there

See Appendix.

The ambassadors return without agreement.

were ten chosen out of the council, to go with the Bohemian ambassadors unto Prague.

It were too long here to declare what honour was done unto these ambassadors all the way in their journey, and especially when they came into Bohemia, by the citizens of Prague, when a great number of Bohemians were assembled at Prague at the day appointed, both of the clergy, nobility, and common people.

The coming of the legates to Prague.

After the coming of those ambassadors, much contention began to rise between the parties. First began John Rochezanus, who speaking in the public person of the commonalty, laboured to commend and prefer the four verities of the Bohemians before propounded; charging also the prelates and priests, for their slanderous obtrectations and undeserved contumelies, wherewith they did infame the noble kingdom of Bohemia; complaining also that they would not receive those christian verities, left and allowed by their king Wenceslaus now departed. Wherefore he required them in the behalf of the whole nation, that they would leave off hereafter to oppress them in such sort, that they would restore to them again their Joseph's vesture; that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, whereof their brethren, their enemies, had spoiled them, &c.

To this Polemar maketh answer again, with a long and curious oration, exhorting them to peace and unity of the church, which if they would embrace, all other obstacles and impediments (said he) should be soon removed: promising also, that this their vesture of honour and fame should be amply restored again; and that afterwards, if there were any doubtful matters, they might and should be the better discussed.

But all this pleased not the Bohemians, unless they might first have a declaration of their four articles, which if they might obtain, they promised then to embrace peace and concord; which peace (said they) began first to be broken by themselves, in that the council of Constance, by their unjust condemnation, burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and also, by their cruel bulls and censures, raised up first excommunication, then war, against the whole kingdom of Bohemia.

Hereunto Polemar, reclaiming again, began to advance and magnify the honour and dignity of general councils. To conclude, as much as the said Polemar did extol the authority of the councils, so much did the answer of the Bohemians extenuate the same; saying, That the later councils, which are not expressed in the law of God, have erred, and might err, not only in faith, but also in manners. For that which hath chanced to the green wood, may also chance unto the dry. But of others, the most strong pillars of the militant church, the apostles I mean, seem all to have erred, and the catholic faith to have remained three days sound and uncorrupt only in the Virgin Mary. No christian man, therefore, ought to be compelled to stand to the determination of the pope or the council, except it be in that which is plainly expressed in the law of God. For it is evident, that all the general councils which have been of long time, have reformed very few things as touching the faith, peace and manners of the church, but have always, both in their life and decrees, notoriously swerved, and have not established themselves upon the

General councils may err, and have erred.

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foundation, which is Christ. Wherefore the said Bohemians protested, that they would not simply and plainly (God being their good Lord) yield themselves to their doctrine, nor to such rash and hasty decrees; lest, through that their hasty and uncircumspect submission, they should bind their faith and life contrary to the wholesome and sound doctrine of our Lord Christ Jesus. In short, in no case would they enter into any agreement of peace, except their four articles, which they counted for evangelical verities, were first accepted and approved. Which being obtained (said they), if they would condescend with them in the verity of the gospel, so would they join together, and be made one with them in the Lord, &c.[1]

The ambassadors and Bohemians cannot agree.

When the ambassadors saw the matter would not otherwise be brought to pass, they required to have those articles delivered unto them in a certain form, which they sent unto the council by three Bohemian ambassadors.

Afterwards the council sent a declaration into Bohemia, to be published unto the people in the common assemblies of the kingdom by the ambassadors, who were commanded to report unto the Bohemians, in the name of the council, that if they would receive the declaration of those three articles, and the unity of the church, there should be a mean found whereby the matter touching the first article, of the communion under both kinds, should be passed with peace and quietness.

They propounded in Prague, in an open assembly of the nobles and commons, the declaration of the three articles in form following:

A Declaration of the Council of Basil touching the three last Articles of the Bohemians, already alleged.

Forsomuch as touching the doctrine of the verity, we ought to proceed soberly and warily, that the truth may be declared with words so orderly conceived and uttered, that there be no offence given to any man, whereby he should fall to take occasion of error, and (to use the words of Isidore) that nothing by obscurity be left doubtful: whereas you have propounded touching the inhibition and correction of sins in these words, 'All mortal sins, and especially open offences, ought to be rooted out, punished, and inhibited, by them whose duty it is so to do, reasonably and according to the law of God;' here it is to be marked and understand, that these words, 'whose duty it is,' are too general, and may be an offence; and according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any stumbling stock before the blind, and the ditches are to be closed up, that our neighbour's ox do not fall therein: all occasion of offence is to be taken away. Therefore we say, that according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy doctors, it is thus universally to be holden, that all mortal sins, especially public offences, are to be rooted out, corrected, and inhibited, as reasonably as may be, according to the law of God, and the institutions of the fathers. The power to punish these offenders doth not pertain unto any private person, but only unto those who have jurisdiction of the law over them, the distinction of law and justice being orderly observed.[2]

The second article of the Bohemians, with the declaration of the council.

Punishing of public offences, how and by whom.

As touching the preaching of the word of God, which article you have alleged in this form, 'That the word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt ministers of the Lord:' lest by this word 'freely' occasion might be taken of disordered liberty (which, as you have often said, you do not mean), the circumstance thereof is to be understand; and we say, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy fathers) it is thus universally to be believed: That the word of God ought freely, but not everywhere, but faithfully and orderly, to be preached by the priests and Levites of the

The third article of the Bohemians, with the declaration of the council on liberty of preaching.

(1) Ex Cochleo, hist. lib. vii. (2) Note here the pope's addition.

Lord, being allowed and sent by their superiors unto whom that office appertaineth; the authority of the bishop always reserved, who is the provider of all things, according to the institution of the holy Fathers.

As concerning the last article, expressed under these words, 'It is not lawful for the christian clergy, in the time of the law of grace, to have dominion over temporal goods;' we remember that in the solemn disputation holden in the sacred council, he who was appointed by the council to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sort:

The fourth article of the Bohemians. Temporal possessions in the clergymen's hands.

First, that such of the clergy as were not religious, and had not bound themselves thereunto by a vow, might lawfully have and possess any temporal goods; as the inheritance of his father or any other, if it be left unto him; or any other goods justly gotten by means of any gift, or other lawful contract, or else some lawful art.

The second conclusion, 'The church may lawfully have and possess temporal goods, moveable and unmoveable, houses, lands, towns and villages, castles and cities; and in them have a private and civil dominion.' Your ambassador who disputed against him, granted those conclusions, saying, That they did not impugn the sense of this article being well understand, forsomuch as he understandeth this article of civil dominion, formally meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be understand, that those words, 'to have secular dominion,' expressed in the aforesaid article, seem to be referred to some special manner or kind of dominion. But forsomuch as the doctrine of the church is not to be intreated upon by any ambiguous or doubtful words, but fully and plainly; therefore we have thought good more plainly to express that, which according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the holy doctors, is universally to be believed; that is to say, the two aforesaid conclusions to be true. And also, that the clergy ought faithfully to distribute the goods of the Church, whose administrators they are, according to the decrees of the holy Fathers; and that the usurpation of the administration of the church goods, done by any other than by them, unto whom the administration is canonically committed, cannot be without guilt of sacrilege.

The papists stand hard for their temporal lordships.

'Thus the sacred council,' said they, 'hath diligently gone about, according to the verity of the gospel, all ambiguity set apart, to expound the true sense of the three aforesaid articles. Wherefore, if there do yet remain any doubt, according to the information which we have received in the sacred council, we are ready, by God's help, who is the principal Verity, to declare the truth unto you. If ye do receive and embrace the declaration of the said three articles, which is grounded upon the verity of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually have a pure, simple, and perfect unity; touching the liberty of the communion under both kinds, which you desire and require, which also you cannot lawfully have without the license of holy church, we have authority from the general council by certain means to intreat and conclude with you, trusting that you will show yourselves as you will continue.'

The Bohemians take a deliberation upon the first article.

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they said, That they would give no answer unto the premises, before they understood what should be offered them as touching the communion. Wherefore it shall be necessary to declare the matter, as it was written in form following:

A Declaration of the Council of Basil touching the first Article of the Communion.

In the name of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, upon the sacrament of whose most blessed Last Supper we are about to intreat, that He who hath instituted this most blessed sacrament of unity and peace, may work this effect in us, and make us that we may be one in the said Lord Jesu our Head, and that he may subvert all the subtleties of the devil; who, through his envious craftiness, hath made the sacrament of peace and unity an occasion of war and discord, that, whilst Christians do contend touching the manner of communicating, they may be deprived of the fruit of the communion. Wherefore

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St. Augustine in his Sermon upon Infants, cited in the Decrees 'De consecrat. Distinct. 2. 'Quia passus,' saith thus: 'So the Lord Jesus Christ sanctified us, and willed that we should appertain unto him, and consecrated the mystery of our peace and unity upon the table. He that receiveth the mystery of unity, and doth not keep the bond of peace, doth not receive a mystery for himself, but a testimony against himself.' This we thought good above all things to be premised, that the general custom of the church, which your fathers and you also in times past have observed, hath a long time had and still useth, that they who do not consecrate, communicate only under the kind of bread. Which custom being lawfully brought in by the church and holy fathers, and now a long time observed, it is not lawful to reject, or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the church. Therefore, to change the custom of the church, and to take in hand to communicate unto the people under both kinds, without the authority of holy church, is altogether unlawful; but holy church, upon reasonable occasions, may grant liberty to communicate unto the people under both kinds. And every communion, which, being attempted without the authority and license of the church, should be unlawful, when it is done with the authority of holy church, shall be lawful, if other things let it not: we say 'if other things let it not,' because, as the apostle saith, 'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.'

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This is to set up the church above the Scripture.

The holy communion requireth amendment of life.

Whereupon St. Isidore, as cited in Distinct. 2. 'De consecratione,' cap. 'Qui scelerate,' writeth thus: 'They who live wickedly, and cease not daily to communicate in the church, thinking thereby to be cleansed, let them learn that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleansing of their sins.' And St. Augustine, in the same distinction, cap. 'Et sancta,' saith, 'Holy things may hurt the evil, for unto the good they are salvation, but unto the evil damnation.' There are beside this many other authorities. The apostle Judas was amongst those who did first communicate, but forsomuch as he received unworthily, having the sin of treason in his heart, it did profit him nothing; but the devil by-and-by exercised the more power and authority over him. This is declared by a great reason. Which of you is it, that, if you should receive your lord into your house, would not with all diligence and care study to make clean and adorn his house, that he may receive his lord honestly? Much more he that shall receive his Lord and Saviour into the house of his soul, ought diligently to make clean and deck his soul; to cleanse it by the sacrament of penance, with sorrow and contrition of heart, humbly, purely, and truly confessing his sins, and making due satisfaction and penance; to adorn and deck the same with the purple or rich array of devotion, that the heart being so purged and adorned with fervent desire, he may come to that most holy sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the world unto him.

Holy things nothing profit the wicked.

The reverend receiving of the sacraments.

Wherefore the most sacred synod admonisheth, exhorteth, and commandeth, that all priests should diligently exhort and admonish the people, and that they should use all their care and endeavour, that no man come to that most blessed sacrament, except he be duly prepared with great reverence and devotion, lest that which is received for the salvation of the soul, redound to its condemnation, through the unworthy receiving thereof.

Moreover, doctors do say, that the custom of communicating unto the people only under the kind of bread was reasonably introduced by the church and holy fathers for reasonable causes, especially for the avoiding of two perils—error and irreverence. Of error, as to think that the one part of Christ's body were in the bread, and the other part in the cup; which were a great error. Of irreverence, forsomuch as many things may happen, as well on the part of the minister, as on the part of the receiver: as it is said, that it happened when a certain priest carried the sacrament of the cup unto a sick man, when he should have ministered, he found nothing in the cup, being all spilt by the way, with many other such like chances. We have heard, moreover, that it hath often happened, that the sacrament consecrated in the cup hath not been sufficient for the number of communicants, whereby a new consecration must be made, which is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy fathers; and, also, that oftentimes they do minister wine unconsecrated for consecrate wine, which is a great peril. By this means then, it shall be brought to pass, that if you will effectually receive the unity and peace of the church, in all other things besides the use of the communion under both kinds, conforming yourselves to the faith

Receiving under one kind, for avoiding two perils. Error grounded upon error. Causes why to minister under one kind.

and order of the universal church, you that have that use and custom, shall communicate still, by the authority of the church, under both kinds; and this article shall be discussed fully in the sacred council, where you shall see what, as touching this article, is to be holden as a universal verity, and is to be done for the profit and salvation of the christian people: and all things being thus throughly handled, then, if you persevere in your desire, and your ambassadors do require it, the sacred council will grant license in the Lord unto your ministers, to communicate unto the people under both kinds; that is to say, to such as be of lawful years and discretion, and shall reverently and devoutly require the same: this always observed, that the ministers shall say unto those who shall communicate, that they ought firmly to believe, not the flesh only to be contained under the form of bread, and the blood only under the wine, but under each kind to be whole and perfect Christ.

Receiving in both kinds, permitted to the Bohemians.

See Appendix.

Thus, hitherto, we have declared the decree of the council. As touching the other doubts and questions which were afterwards moved by the masters and priests of Bohemia, the ambassadors of the council answered thus:

Doubts or questions of the Bohemians.

First they said, That it was not the meaning of the sacred council, to suffer the communion under both kinds by toleration, or as the libel of divorcement was permitted to the Jews; forsomuch as the council, intending even to open the bowels of motherly charity and pity unto the Bohemians and Moravians, doth not mean to suffer it with such kind of sufferance, which should not exclude sin, but so to grant it, that by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his true spouse the church, it may be lawful, profitable, and healthful, unto those who worthily receive the same.

Answer. Permission of both kinds granted to the Bohemians, not of sufferance, but by full authority.

Also, as touching that which was spoken by the said Bohemians, of the punishing of offences, that it is in the Scriptures, how that God oftentimes stirreth up the hearts of private persons to the correcting and punishing of sins, and so it should seem lawful unto the inferiors to correct and punish their superiors: they answered, alleging the text of St. Augustine in the thirty-third decree, "He that striketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cause of death against them, is the minister of God: but he who, without any public administration or office, murdereth or maimeth any wicked thief, sacrilegious, adulterous, or perjured person, or any other offender, shall be judged as a homicide; and so much the more sharply, in that he feared not to abuse and usurp the power not granted him of God." And truly this city would take it much more grievously, if any private man should attempt to punish an offender, and set up a gallows in the street and there hang him, than if one man should kill another in brawl or quarrel. They alleged, also, other texts of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, agreeable to the same. They said that no man doubteth that the law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therein is simply written, "Thou shalt not steal;" and, notwithstanding, by the commandment of God, the children of Israel carried away the goods of the Egyptians, which they had borrowed of them. Also, in the same law it is plainly written, "Thou shalt do no murder." Whereupon St. Augustine, in his first book 'De Civitate Dei,' proveth that it is not lawful for any man to kill himself; and when he maketh example of Samson, he answereth with these words: "When God commandeth, and doth affirm himself to command, without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience sin? or who will accuse the obedience to God?" Here,

Punishing of offences considered.

How and by whom offenders ought to be punished. To do that God commandeth, is obedience, and no sin, though it be extraordinary.

The Israelites did steal from the Egyptians without sin.

Samson killed himself without sin.

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in this proposition, you have the words of St. Augustine for answer. But let every man well foresee, if God do command, or that he do intimate the commandment without any circumstances, and let him prove the spirits, whether they be of God. But in such cases there are no laws to be given, neither are they much to be talked of; for thereby there should easily arise occasion to make sedition, and for the inferiors to rise against the superiors. For, when any man had stolen any thing, or killed any man, he would say that he was moved thereunto by the Spirit of God: but without manifest proof thereof, he should be punished.

Of extraordinary commandment no general laws to be made.

Objection. Answer. How the laity hath power over the clergy, and wherein. The pope will be judged by his own law.

Again, they said that there were certain cases wherein the laity had power over the clergy. It was answered, That there were certain cases in the law, wherein the laity had power over the clergy, and oftentimes over cardinals. For if, the pope being dead, the cardinals would not enter the conclave to elect a new pope, the king, prince, or other lord or secular power, may compel them: but, in these cases, he is now no private person, but useth his jurisdiction by the authority of the law. The like is to be understand of all other cases expressed in the law.

Objection. Answer.

They said further, That no common law hath any right or justice, except God's law do allow the same. It was answered, That no common law hath right or justice, if it be against the law of God; because the law of God is the rule of all other laws. But great cunning is requisite in applying the rule to that which is to be ruled; for oftentimes it seemeth that there is crookedness in the thing ruled, when there is none indeed; but the default is in the applying, because the rule is not duly applied to the thing ruled.

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Objection. Answer. Abuse of prelates inhibiting true preachers. Remedy of appeal.

As touching the article of preaching the word of God, it was moved that oftentimes some prelates, through their own envy and malice, without any reasonable cause, did inhibit a good and meet preacher that preacheth catholicly and well. Answer was made, how that they understood well enough that the abuse of certain prelates, who did inordinately behave themselves, gave a great occasion of those troubles. But, that they never heard of any such complaints as to their country, but that the prelates did favour good preachers, and stir them up to preach by entreaty, favour, and promotion. In all such cases there were remedies already provided by the law; for, when any man was so prohibited to use his right, he had remedy to appeal: and if he did trust his appeal to be just, he might use his right, all violence both of the spiritual and secular power set apart; for the end of the matter would declare, if he had just cause to appeal. Then would it be declared that the superior had done evil in prohibiting and the appellant justly in doing, and the superior for his unjust prohibition should be punished. But if he had been justly prohibited, and that through his temerity he did contemn the just commandment of his superior, he was worthy to be punished with condign punishment.

Objection. Answer. Acts of secular dominion to be exercised of

Where it was moved concerning the fourth article, Whether it were lawful for the ecclesiastical prelates to exercise in their proper person the acts of secular dominion: hereunto it was answered, That if by these words, "acts of secular dominion," are understand acts which a secular lord may do or exercise, then is it to be said, that a prelate

may lawfully exercise some such acts in his proper person, as to sell, to pawn or pledge, to enfeoff by manner and form ordained by law: but there are some acts which it is not lawful for them to exercise in their proper person, but they ought to have, afterward, a vice-gerent or proctor to do the same: whereupon there is prohibition made in the law in the rubric, "Ne Clerus vel Monachus secularibus negotiis se immisceat, et in aliis rebus."

the clergy, after a double respect, 'vel per se vel per alium.'

It was also moved, whether that coactive power, which ought to be exercised by a steward &c., be in the hands of an ecclesiastical prelate. Whereupon John Polemar answered, That this question pre-supposed another, whereof there were divers opinions amongst the doctors, In whose power the dominion of the church is: and furthermore, whether the actions be in the person of the tutor or proctor; or, albeit they be not in their person, they be notwithstanding in them by virtue of their appointment of agent or proctor, whose exercising of those actions they themselves authorize; with other intricacies, whereof it is not needful to speak at this present. But forsomuch as he was urged to say his opinion, he said, that to such as had either leisure or pleasure in disputation, and would argue against him, he would be contented to give the choice, to take which part he would: but his opinion was rather that the dominion of church matters is in the power of Christ; and that the prelates, with the other clergy, are but canonical administrators in manner of tutors: but they have more power and administration than tutors: and by appointing a steward or vice-gerent, the appointment being duly made, the steward or vice-gerent hath the same coactive power and exercise of jurisdiction.

Objection. Answer. Coactive power, whether it belongeth to the clergy, and how.

Also, as touching the fourth article, for the declaration of the first conclusion, it was agreed that these words, "juste acquisita," i.e. "justly gotten," alleged therein, included all things contained under that definition.

Also, as touching the second conclusion, whereas the sacred canons and holy doctors speak thus: "The goods of the church, the substance of the church, and the possessions of the church;" and seeing there were divers opinions amongst the doctors, in whose power the dominion thereof should be, as it is noted in the Gloss on cap. "Expedit," 12 Quæst. 1; they did not intend to constrain any man to any of those opinions; neither to exclude any of them; but that every man should have liberty probably to maintain which of them he might think best.

The goods of the church, in whose possession they be properly.

Moreover the Bohemians said, That they did believe that the clergy are but administrators of the temporalties of the church, and not lords thereof, according to the manner of speaking of the Scriptures, holy doctors, and canons. Also the Bohemians said, That on all occasions which should hereafter arise, they would wholly stand to the determination of the judge agreed upon by all parties at Egra. In this manner did the ambassadors make answer unto the Bohemians.

The clergy be administrators, not lords of the temporalties of the church.

At the last, after much communication had to-and-fro, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by setting-to of their hands. The Bohemians promised to receive the peace and unity of the church, and the declaration of the three articles. This was done A.D. 1434, about the feast of St. Martin. It was afterward agreed,

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both by the ambassadors of the council and those of Bohemia, that whatsoever remained should be determined and agreed upon, first at Ratisbon, afterward at Brunn, in the diocese of Olmutz; then at Stuhl-Weissenburg in Hungary, before the emperor Sigismund. But the matter could not be ended in no place.

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At the last, the concord was confirmed by writing with their seals at Iglau, a city of Moravia, the fifth day of July, in the presence of the emperor.

Certain Petitions which the Bohemians put up, last of all, in the sacred Council of Basil, A.D. 1438, in the Month of November.

Unto the most reverend fathers in Christ, and our most gracious lords: We, the ambassadors of the kingdom of Bohemia, do most humbly and heartily require you, that for the perpetual preservation of peace and concord, and for the firm preservation of all things contained in the composition, you will vouchsafe of your clemency to give and grant unto us, all and singular our requests hereunder written, with effectual execution of the same.

First, And above all things, we desire and require you, for the extirpation of divers dissensions and controversies which will undoubtedly follow amongst our people under the diversity of the communion, and for the abolishing of infinite evils which we are not able to express as we have conceived them, that you will gently vouchsafe, of your goodness and liberality, to give, grant, and command, unto our kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, one uniform order of the communion unto all men, under both kinds; that is to say, unto the archbishop of Prague, the bishops of Lythomysl and Olmutz, and other prelates of the kingdom and marquisdom, having cure of souls, and to their vicars, and also to their flocks and subjects: and that according to those things which are contained in the bull of the ambassadors, and in the compositions made in the name of the whole council, written in the chapter, 'Pro firmitate,' where it is thus said, 'And all other things shall be done, which shall be meet and necessary for the preservation of the peace and unity.' For this done, by your benefit the whole kingdom shall be comforted above measure, and established in brotherly love; whereby a uniform subjection and obedience shall be perpetually attributed unto the holy church.

The communion in both kinds to be generally granted.

Item, We require and desire, as before, for the avoiding of all false suspicion and doubtfulness of many, who suppose that the sacred council hath granted the said communion under both kinds unto us, but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as the libel of divorcement; that you will vouchsafe (according to this chapter alleged in the compositions; 'First they said, that it was not the intent of the sacred council,' &c.) wholesomely and speedily to provide for our safety, and, with your grant in this behalf, and with the bulls of your letters, to confirm that chapter, together with the other pertaining to the office of your ambassadors.

To have a good and lawful pastor and bishop.

Item, We beseech you, as before, that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the discipline of all the clergy, and for the final defence and observation of all things determined and agreed upon, and for the good order in spiritualties, ye will vouchsafe effectually to provide for us a good and lawful pastor, archbishops, and bishops, who shall seem unto us most meet and acceptable for our kingdom, to execute those offices and duties.

Free communion under both kinds to be permitted to all princes.

Item, We require you, as aforesaid, that your fatherly reverences will vouchsafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the kingdom and marquisdom, to declare and show our innocency, in that they have communicated, do and hereafter shall communicate, under both kinds; to give out, ordain, and direct the letters of the sacred council, in manner and form most apt and meet for such declaration, unto all princes, as well secular as spiritual, cities and commonalties, according to the compositions, and as the lords the ambassadors are bound unto us to do.

Item, We desire you that in the discussing of the matter for the communion under both kinds, and of the commandment thereof given unto all the faithful, ye will not proceed otherwise than according to the Concordatum agreed upon at Egra: that is to say, according to the law of God, the order of Christ and

his apostles, the general councils, and the minds of the holy doctors, truly grounded upon the law of God.

Item, We desire that your fatherly reverences, considering the great affection of our people, will give us the desired liberty to communicate unto the younger sort the sacrament of the supper. For if this use of communicating should be taken away, which our kingdom, being godly moved by the writings of most great and holy doctors, and brought in by example, hath received as catholic, and exercised now a long time; verily it should raise up an intolerable offence amongst the people, and their minds would be grievously vexed and troubled.

The gospels and epistles to be read in the vulgar tongue.

Item, We require you, as before, that, for like causes, your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to permit at least the gospels, epistles, and creed, to be sung and read in the church in our vulgar tongue, before the people, to move them unto devotion; for in our Sclavonic language it hath been used of old in the church, and likewise in our kingdom.

Incorporations to be granted to universities, an unlawful request.

Item, We require you, in the name of the said kingdom, and of the famous university of Prague, that your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to show such diligence and care toward the desired reformation of that university, that according to the manner and form of other universities reformed by the church, prebends, and collations of certain benefices of cathedral and parish churches, may be annexed and incorporated unto the said university, that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

A request for necessary reformation and discipline.

Item, We desire you, as before, as heartily as we may, and also (saving always your fatherly reverences) require you, and by the former compositions we most instantly admonish you, that with your whole minds and endeavours, and with all care and study, your reverences will watch and seek for that long desired and most necessary reformation of the church and christian religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all public evils, as well in the head as in the members, as you have often promised to do in our kingdom, in the compositions; and as our fourth article, touching the avoiding of all public evils, doth exact and require.

There were certain answers provided by the council to these petitions of the Bohemians, which were not delivered unto them, but kept back; for what purpose and intent we know not. Wherefore, because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, and also to avoid prolixity, we have judged it meet at this present to omit them. Thus have ye heard compendiously the chief and principal matters treated of and done in this famous council of Basil. And here, to conclude withal, we have thought good to declare unto you, for the aid and help of the ignorant people (who judge many things to be of longer time and continuance than indeed they be; and, thereupon, have established a great part of their opinions), how that, towards the latter end of this council, that is to say, in the thirty-sixth session of the same, holden the 17th of September, A.D. 1439, the feast of the Conception of our Lady was ordained to be holden and celebrated yearly on the 8th of December.[1] In like case, also, in the forty-fourth session of the same council, holden the 1st day of July, A.D. 1441, it was ordained that the feast of the Visitation of our Lady should be celebrate and holden yearly on the second of July. We have also thought it good, before we do end the story of the council of Basil, to annex hereunto a certain brief decree, profitably and wholesomely ordained in the thirty-first session of the said council, against the inordinate giving of the ecclesiastical benefices and livings by the pope, with certain other constitutions also, fruitful for the behalf and edification of the church.

A.D. 1439.

The 'Conception of our Lady' brought into the church.

The 'Visitation of our Lady' brought in.

During the time that the general council at Basil was so diligent and careful about the reformation of the church, this one thing seemed good unto them to be prosecute and followed with an earnest care

Vowsons of benefices before.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

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and diligence: that throughout every church, apt and meet ministers might be appointed, who might shine in virtue and knowledge, to the glory of Christ, and the healthful edifying of the christian people; whereunto the multitude of expectative graces have been a great impediment and let, in that they have been found to have brought grievous troubles, divers disorders, and many dangers upon the ecclesiastical state. For hereby, oftentimes, scarcely apt or meet ministers have been appointed for the churches, who are neither known nor examined; and this expectation of void benefices, as the old laws do witness, doth give occasion to desire another man's death, which is greatly prejudicial unto salvation: besides that innumerable quarrels and contentions are moved amongst the servants of God; rancour and malice nourished; the ambition and greedy desire of pluralities of benefices maintained; and the riches and substance of kingdoms and provinces marvellously consumed. Poor men suffer innumerable vexations by running unto the court of Rome. They are oftentimes spoiled and robbed by the way, troubled and afflicted with divers plagues, and having spent their patrimony and substance, left them by their parents, they are constrained to live in extreme poverty. Many do challenge benefices, who, without any just title (yea such, indeed, as ought not to have them), obtain and get the same; such, I say, as have most craft and subtlety to deceive their neighbour, or have greatest substance to contend in the law. It happeneth oftentimes, that under the intrication of prerogatives, antelations, and other concomitants of these expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Also, oftentimes, young men are let from their studies and ministry, while by reason of these graces they are set running to-and-fro, and by the excitement of these struggles they are vexed and troubled. The ordinary givers, moreover, are deprived of their functions; the ecclesiastical order is confounded, while every man's authority and jurisdiction is not preserved; and the bishops of Rome, also, by challenging and taking upon them too much the office of the inferiors, are withdrawn from more weighty and fruitful matters; neither do they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiors, as the public utility doth require. All which things do bring a great confusion unto the clergy and ecclesiastical state, to the great prejudice and hinderance of God's true worship, and public salvation.

they were void, debarred by the council; which vowsons are here called 'Expectative graces.

Inconveniences that arise by vowsons of benefices.

In the same council, also, divers other constitutions were made, not unprofitable for reformation, and for removing of certain abuses and disorders brought in, especially by the bishop of Rome: as touching causes not to be brought up and translated to the court of Rome: wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controversies should be brought from other countries to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond four days' journey distant from the said court of Rome, a few principal matters only excepted. Also, that no frivolous appeals should be made to the pope hereafter. It was, moreover, in the same council decreed, for the number, age, and condition, of the cardinals, that they should not exceed the number of four and twenty, including them that were already; and that they should be freely taken out of all countries; and that they should not be of kin to the bishop of Rome, or to the cardinals, nor yet blemished with any spot or crime. Also for 'annates' or first fruits, or half fruits, it was there

Respecting controversies to be brought to Rome. *See Appendix.*

provided that no such annates, nor confirmation of elections, nor collation of benefices, should be paid or reserved any more to the pope, for the first year's voidance. All which things, there agreed and concluded by them, were afterwards confirmed and ratified by the French king, Charles VII., with the full consent of all his prelates, in his high court of parliament in Bourges, and there called 'Pragmatica sanctio,' A. D. 1438; whereupon great utility ensued afterwards to the kingdom of France. Albeit in process of time divers friars there were, who wrote against the same.[1]

Henry VI. A. D. 1431. to 1439. Against the pope's first-fruits.

Amongst many decrees of the said council of Basil, in the nineteenth session there was also a decree made touching the converting of Jews, and young novices in religion, unto the christian faith.

See Appendix.

Also, that all ordinaries should yearly, at appointed times, provide certain men well learned in the holy Scriptures, in such places where Jews and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the catholic faith, that they, acknowledging their error, might forsake the same; unto which preaching the said ministers should compel them to resort, and to hear, under pain of excluding them from occupying any more in that place; provided that the said diocesans and preachers should behave themselves towards them mercifully and with all charity, whereby they might win them to Christ, not only by the declaring of the verity, but also by exhibiting other offices of humanity.

Act for the conversion of the Jews

And, to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitful, and that the preachers might be the better instructed in the tongues, it was also, in the same council, provided and commanded, that the constitution made before in the council of Vienne, for learning the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek tongues, should, by all means, be observed and kept, and ordinary stipends provided for them that should teach the same tongues.

For studying the Hebrew, Latin, and Chaldee.

Another decree, moreover, in the twentieth session was enacted, that whosoever was known or publicly noted to be a keeper of concubines, should be sequestered from all fruits of his benefices for the space of three months, which fruits should be converted by the ordinary to the reparations, or some other utility of the church; and, if he did not so amend, it was by the synod decreed, that he should be clearly deposed from all his benefices.

Furthermore the said synod did greatly inveigh against those, who, having the jurisdiction of the church, did not shame to suffer such offenders, for bribes and money, still to continue in their filthiness, &c.

By these decrees of the council above specified, it is to be seen, what corruption had been then frequented in the church of God, through the bishop, and court of Rome. For the more express declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to infer the words of one Martin Meyre, writing to Æneas Sylvius, touching and noting the said corruptions; the tenor of whose epistle here ensueth.

(1) Ex lib. Pragm. Sanctionis.

Henry VI. A.D. 1431 to 1439.

An Epistle of Martin Meyre to Æneas Sylvius, translated into English, the Latin whereof is extant in the former Edition of this Book.[1]

Unto the reverend father, the lord Æneas, cardinal of Sienna, Martin Meyre, chancellor to the bishop of Mentz, wisheth health.

I have understand, by certain of my friends' letters, that you are created cardinal. I am glad for your part, that you have received so worthy rewards for your virtues. I rejoice, also, for mine own part, that my friend hath attained unto such a dignity, wherein he may, in time to come, both help me and my friends: but this is a grief unto me, that you have happened upon those days, which seem to be troublesome unto the apostolic see. For there are many complaints made unto my lord the archbishop upon the pope, that he will neither keep the decrees of the council of Constance, neither of Basil, neither yet thinketh himself bound to the covenants of his predecessors, and seemeth utterly to contemn our nation, and to seek the utter ruin thereof. For it is evident that the election of prelates is every where rejected; benefices and dignities, of what sort soever they be, are reserved for the cardinals, and chief notaries; and you yourself have obtained the reservation of three provinces of Germany, under such a form as hath not been accustomed or heard of. Advowsons or gifts of benefices are granted without number; yearly stipends and half the revenues are exacted without delay; and it is evident that there is more extorted than is due. The regiment of churches is not committed unto such as best deserve them, but unto such as offer most money for them; and new pardons are granted out daily to scrape and gather together money. Tithes are commanded to be exacted without the consent of our prelates, for the Turkish war; and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determined at home, are now carried unto the apostolic see of Rome. A thousand ways are invented and devised, how the see of Rome may, by subtlety and craft, extort and get gold and treasure from us, even as it were of the Turks or barbarians; whereby our nation, which was sometime famous and valiant, which by their power and blood conquered the Roman empire, and was once the lady and queen of all the world, now, being brought unto poverty, is made a hand-maid, and become tributary; and being now in extreme misery, hath of long time bewailed her cruel fortune and poverty. But now our nobles, being, as it were, awakened out of their sleep, have begun to consider and devise with themselves, by what means they might withstand this calamity, and utterly shake off this yoke and bondage, and have determined with themselves to challenge again their former liberty. This will be no small loss unto the court of Rome, if the princes of Germany bring to pass that which they have devised. Wherefore, as much as I do rejoice of your late obtained dignity, so much also am I moved and grieved that these things happen in your days. But peradventure God's determination is otherwise, and his will shall surely take place. You, in the mean time, be of good cheer, and devise according to your wisdom, by what means[2] the vehemency of these floods may be stayed. Thus, fare ye well.

The corruption of the church of Rome detected.

From Haschaffenberg, the last day of August.

The authority of the council of Basil.

Concerning the authority of this general council of Basil, what is to be esteemed of it, by the acts and fruits thereof may be understood of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the first beginning, so long as the pope agreed and consented unto it. But, after the pope began to draw back, many others followed, especially of the richer sort of prelates, who had any thing to lose; whereof sufficiently hath been said by Arelatensis, the cardinal, before. In the number of these inconstant prelates, besides many others, was first, cardinal Julian, the first collector of this council, and

(1) Ex Orth. Grat.

(2) "By what means," &c.; "by what means the flames of fire may be resisted." See Edition 1563, p. 346. "Quibus repagulis fluminis impetus coerceri possit." Ib. p. 345. The date 1457 is attached both to the Latin and English copy of this letter in the above edition.—Ed.

vicegerent of the pope, as by his fervent and vehement letter, written to pope Eugene in defence of this council, may well appear; wherein he most earnestly doth expostulate with the foresaid pope Eugene, for seeking to dissolve the council, and declareth in the same many causes, why he should rather rejoice, and give God thanks for the godly proceedings and joyful agreement between the council and the Bohemians; and so exhorteth him, with manifold persuasions, to resort to the council himself, and not to seek the dissolution of the same. The copy and tenor of Julian's epistle to the pope, if any be disposed to peruse the same, we thought here good to set down to be seen.

See Appendix.

The Copy of an Epistle which Julian, Cardinal of St. Angelo, and the Pope's Ambassador into Germany, wrote marvellous boldly and freely unto Eugene, Bishop of Rome, for that he went about to dissolve the Council of Basil.

Most blessed father! after the devout kisses of your blessed feet.

Now shall the whole world understand and know, whether your holiness have in you the bowels of fatherly love and charity, and the zeal of the house of God; whether you be sent to make peace or discord, to congregate or disperse; or whether you be that good shepherd that giveth his life for his sheep. Behold the door beginneth now to be opened, whereby the lost sheep may return again unto their own fold; now is there good hope even at hand of the reconciliation of the Bohemians. If your holiness, as it is your duty, do help and further the same, you shall obtain great glory both in heaven and earth. But if, peradventure, you go about to let the same (which is not to be expected at your hands), all men will reprove you of impiety; heaven and earth will conspire against you; all men will forsake you. For how is he to be followed, who, with one word, may restore peace and quietness to the church, and refuseth to do it? But I conceive a better hope of you, how that your holiness, without any excuse, will, with your whole heart and mind, favour this most sacred council, and give thanks unto Almighty God for his great goodness, that this congregation hath not departed. Behold the ambassadors of this sacred council are returned with great joy and gladness from Egra, reporting how that, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, they have firmly concluded with the ambassadors of the Bohemians (that is to say, of the Pragueians, Orphans, and Taborites, amongst whom were also present the captains of their armies, and specially Procopius), that a solemn ambassade of all the estates of the realm should come unto the council of Basil, after a safe conduct has been sent unto them by the said council in form conditioned, which shall be done with speed. This sacred congregation is marvellously exhilarate and joyful, for those our ambassadors affirm, that all things were handled with such charity at Egra, and that they did see such things amongst the Bohemians, that, not without cause, they do conceive great hope of their reconciliation.

The ambassadors of the council are returned from Egra.

And at last, gently embracing one another, even with tears of gladness, they departed from Egra; the Bohemians requiring our ambassadors, that the matter might be ended with all expedition. They report also, that many things happened in that treaty, which, if any man heard, and did not weep for joy, he might well think himself to be but smally affectioned unto Christ. As for three of the four articles, they seem not to make any great difficulty upon them. As touching the fourth, that is, of the communion under both kinds, there is good hope that they will follow the judgment of the council. Who is it, then, that dare counsel your holiness to persevere any longer in the purpose of dissolution? for, if the council had not been appointed before, for so great hope and necessity as this it ought to be now appointed in this place. How worthy of praise and commendation should your holiness act, if you would leave Italy and all other affairs, and come hither in your own person; although you should need to be carried in a waggon or litter. The keeping and defence of the temporal patrimony of the church may be managed very well by legates and vicars.

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This is the true patrimony of the church, to win souls; for the church is not a heap of stones and walls. Christ hath not made you a keeper of castles and forts, but a pastor of souls. Therefore you should do that in your own person, which is most necessary and acceptable unto Christ, and all other things by your substitutes. For so did the apostles, who, to the intent they might the more freely intend to the preaching of the word of God, did institute seven to serve the tables, and for the ministration of other inferior things. I hear that, by the grace of God, your holiness doth daily recover and amend; and, if so be, as it is said, you do visit some churches on foot, ye may also come hither on horseback; for you cannot enterprise any thing more profitable or concordant to your office, than to go unto a place where it is expected innumerable benefits may spring. Let your holiness understand and consider wherein Christ, whose vicar you are, and St. Peter, whose successor you are, and the apostles and holy bishops, did exercise and occupy themselves; and, as you do succeed them in office, so succeed them in manners. But if, peradventure, your holiness cannot come hither, I do counsel you, that, for so great a benefit, you would send the chief part of the reverend lord-cardinals of the court of Rome, and command all other prelates to come hither. Do not let or hinder those that are willing to come, as it is reported you do, but rather allure them to come hither.

What the church is.

Your holiness may believe me, that only charity moveth me to counsel you in this sort; do not separate from your members; nourish your children as the hen doth her chickens under her wings. And if so be that you will do nothing else, yet speak this only word 'Placet,' that is to say, that it pleaseth you that the council of Basil should go forward. For a few days past news have come hither, for the which your holiness ought altogether to cease from your dissolution. The reverend father, the archbishop of Lyons, hath written unto the council, and unto me also, how that the prelates of France have assembled together in the city of Bourges, and there, after long and exact examination, have concluded, that the council is lawfully congregate in this place; and that it is necessary that it should be celebrate both here and at this present; and that the prelates of France ought to come to it. He also sent hither the causes which moved them so to conclude, the copy whereof I suppose is sent unto your holiness by some other. Whereupon, then, doth your holiness stay? You have gone about as much as in you lay, by your messengers, letters, and divers means, to draw back the prelates, and have laboured with all your endeavour to dissolve the council; yet, notwithstanding, as you do see, it is increased day by day; and the more it is forbidden, the more are all men's minds inflamed to the contrary. Is not this, then, to resist the will of God? Why do ye provoke the church to anger? Why do ye stir up the christian people? Vouchsafe I pray you so to do, that ye may get the love and favour of the people, and not the hatred; for all nations are greatly offended, when they hear these your doings. Let not your holiness be seduced by any man, who, peradventure, doth inculcate fear unto you (whereas there is nothing at all to be feared), or that doth persuade you that this is no lawful council. I know I should offend your holiness if I should go about to prove the contrary, but it is better that I do offend you a little in words, and profit you in my deeds; for a physician applies a burning cautery unto a sick man, and healeth the sore; and a medicine cannot profit, except it be sharp and bitter in taste. Under this hope and confidence, I will not fear to declare the truth; that, it being known, your holiness may the better provide both for yourself and the church. It dependeth upon the council of Constance, whether this council be lawful or not. If that were a true council, so is this also. No man seemeth to doubt whether that council was lawful, and likewise whatsoever was there decreed, to be lawful; for, if any man will say, that the decrees of that council are not of force, he must needs grant that the deprivation of pope John, which was done by the force of those decrees, was of no effect. If that deprivation were not of effect, neither was the election of pope Martin of any force, which was made in John's life-time. If Martin were no true pope, neither is your holiness, who was chosen by the cardinals that he made: wherefore, it concerneth no man more, to defend the decrees of that council, than your holiness; for, if any decree of that council be called into doubt, by like means may all the rest of the decrees be revoked. And by like means shall the decrees of any other council be of no force and effect; for, by like reason, as the faith of one

Eugene provoketh the church.

A strong argument against Eugene.

council is weakened, all the rest shall also be weakened, according to St. Augustine's saying, in the 9th Distinct. capitulo, 'Si ad scripturas:' "Then," saith he, "both the faith and all the sacraments shall be put in doubt, if there be once any doubt made of the force and power of any council lawfully congregate." There was a decree made in the council of Constance, intituled 'Frequens,' whereby it was ordained that the first council after that should be holden in five years, and another in seven years after that again. The council of Constance being ended, and the five years passed, the council of Pavia or Sienna was holden, after which, seven years being also run over, this council is begun to be celebrate. To what end then is it expressed in the bull of the dissolution, amongst other causes, that the seventh year is already past, when as of necessity it ought to be passed before the council can be celebrate? For these words, in seven years or five years, signify, according to the laws, that all parts of the time should be passed, and the last day thereof waited for. Wherefore it behoved that the seven years should be fully complete, before this council of Basil should begin; like as five years were fully expired, before that the council of Pavia did begin.

But, peradventure, some man will say, that it ought to have begun the first day after the seventh year was expired; for, otherwise, the term of the council is passed. But hereunto we may answer, that it is not contained in the chapter 'Frequens,' that except it were holden the first day, it should not be holden at all; neither can it be gathered either by the words or meaning. For it is only required that it should be holden after seven years are expired; but whether it be the second or third day, or the third or fourth month, after the seventh year, it doth satisfy the chapter 'Frequens.' For, when the first day is come, then beginneth the power and liberty to celebrate the council, but not afore; but it is not prohibited to celebrate it after. Neither doth this word, 'immediatè sequens,' that is to say, 'next following,' which is added to 'quinquennium' in the chapter 'Frequens,' and seemeth to be repeated also for the seven years, stand in our way; for it does not mean that the council must be held precisely on the first day after the seven years, but only to distinguish it from any subsequent seven years. Not that such an addition was necessary, but only for greater clearness. Besides, even had there followed after 'immediatè sequens,' any of the words 'statim,' 'mox,' 'incontinenter,' or 'confestim,' or such like words, yet ought they to be understand with a certain modification of time, that is, as soon as might be convenient, as these words are expounded by the lawyers and doctors; for they are enlarged and restrained according to the subject and divers circumstances of the matters and affairs. For it is not by any means likely, considering the long journeys to be taken, and the difficulty of preparing such affairs, and also the manifold impediments which may arise, that it was the intention of those who framed the decree to limit a precise time, even the first day, so that if the council were not then opened, it should not be holden at all; for by such nice interpretation, it should also be holden even in the first moment and very instant after the seven years have expired. But, forsomuch as words are to be understand reasonably, this sense or understanding is quite absurd. Again, if any man will say, "Then there was a prorogation, a thing which is forbidden in the chapter 'Frequens,'" he that doth so argue, doth not understand himself nor the value of words. It is not a prorogation, if it be begun the second or third month; but it is rather a continuation or execution of that which was in their power. For, if it were a prorogation, then, forsomuch as a prorogation doth savour of the nature of the first appointment, it could not be begun *before the time named in the prorogation: but this happeneth not in our case; for, albeit it were not begun* in the first month, but in the second or third, it is not thereby concluded that it could not be begun in the first: but, if there had been any prorogation made till the second month, then it could not have been begun in the first. As for example, I promise to give Titius a hundred pounds after Easter; afore Easter it cannot be required; but, by-and-by after Easter it may be required: and, albeit that I be not urged for it, notwithstanding I do not cease to be bound; and, if so be I be demanded it in the second or third month after, it is not thereby understand that there is any prorogation made; neither doth it follow, but that it might have been demanded in the beginning, which could not have been, if that there had been any prorogation made. Also, it is the nature of prorogation, to be made before the

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first term be passed; but afterward is no prorogation, but a new appointment. It may be said, that then it may be too long delayed: it is answered, that in this point we must stand unto the judgment of the church, which, considering the divers circumstances, is to settle the time meet; for the liberty of celebrating councils, was instituted for the profit and favour of the church. What if it should happen that when the time cometh, in the place where a council should be kept, there be a great plague or some siege, which should continue for the space of three or four months, and the pope, in the mean time, doth not change the place, according to the form of the chapter 'Frequens,' and that, through such impediments, the prelates did not come the first day unto the place, or, if any were coming, that they were taken by the way, who, if they had not been taken, had been present at the first day in the place appointed: is it therefore to be said that the power of the council is past? or that the impediment ceasing, and the prelates coming thither, the council cannot be holden? That truly were absurd and exceedingly prejudicial to the church of God. But, in this our case, the cause is probable why the prelates did defer to come at the beginning of the time appointed; forsomuch as when the time drew near, pope Martin died the 20th day of February: for which cause the prelates might well doubt upon some impediment of the council. Also they tarried looking that some should come thither in the name of the pope, because they would not tarry in that place in vain without a president. As for the legate who was appointed for the council, whose presence all men tarried for, until he would prepare himself for that journey, he came not at the time appointed unto the council, but went unto Nuremberg to persecute the Bohemians, according to the commandment of Pope Martin, who had enjoined him to go first thither, before he went unto Basil.

Cause of the long delay of the prelates.

And the same legate, being oftentimes required by the emperor at Nuremberg, that he should go to Basil to hold the council, answered, that he would not go before he had the consent of the new pontiff. This was the cause of the prelates' delay; neither is it greatly to be imputed unto the prelates, who suspected that pope Martin would not have the council holden, and feared to bring themselves into trouble: and good cause had they so to fear, from what had happened in the council of Sienna. There were many things, also, said at the time, which caused great suspicion. It was reported unto me, that many had said, that I came into Germany to disturb the council.

Council of Sienna.

Also this was pope Martin's mind and intent, that, albeit the council was not begun at the beginning of March, notwithstanding, the authority of holding the council should not be void. For he, when the time of the council approached, willed me that I should first go unto Bohemia, before I went unto the council; whereof, also, mention is made in the bull of the consistorial dissolution.

But what need we any other proof, than the letters of your holiness? In which your letters, dated the 2d of the calends of June, and therefore long after the term, and not delivered unto me for three months more, you do command me, that, my business being done in Bohemia, I should take my way unto Basil to hold the council, and there foresee unto all things, as it was enjoined me and ordained in the council of Constance. The same also you repeat in the bull of the dissolution brought unto me by the lord bishop of Trent; the words whereof are these: 'Since your going into Germany no prelates have assembled in Basil for the celebrating of the council: wherefore, we give it in commandment to your circumspection that, in the mean time, you be diligent about the expedition against the Bohemian heretics, which is committed to your charge, and afterward come unto Basil, the place appointed for the council, and there preside in our name and that of the church.' What can be more clear than this? If there were any doubt, by the tenor of these letters it were evidently taken away. If any man would say, that neither pope Martin, nor Eugene, could confirm the council by writing of such letters, because there was a prorogation which is prohibited by the chapter 'Frequens:' it is answered, that there is no prorogation, but execution of that which was in their power, or a declaration that it is not necessary to hold the council precisely even at the beginning. Also it is no prorogation, for a prorogation is made before the term is expired, and not after; for after, it is rather called a new indiction or appointment. And if any man will say that there can be no new indiction made, then

may this be objected: how could the council of Bologna be newly appointed? If they will answer, that the appointment of the council of Bologna was of force, because the council of Basil was dissolved by your holiness, then I have my intent; for, if it were dissolved, *ergo*, it was a council before, because the objection presupposeth it to have been held. If it were a council before, then, as hereafter shall be proved, it could not be dissolved without the consent of the council. What more can be answered hereunto? For the greater declaration and evidence of the matter, the abbot of Vezelai, even upon the very day of the time appointed, or afore, gathering together the clergy of the great church and certain other prelates and notable men, made a solemn protestation, how the time was come to hold the council, and that he was come unto Basil for the very purpose; requiring them that they would confer and intreat together upon matters touching the council: and there is extant a public instrument to that effect.

Within a month after, the ambassadors of the university of Paris came thither, and began to intreat of matters touching the council, writing also unto the emperor and to the other princes of Germany, that they should send unto the council; which letters I myself did see. Neither doth the small number of men let; for, where authority is, a great number is not required, according to the saying of Christ, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them:' upon the which authority the councils are grounded. Now, therefore, your holiness doth manifestly see the said objection to be but frivolous. And to what end should any dissolution be made, if it had not been a council? Wherefore, it is not to be doubted but that it was a lawful council, and canonically congregate. And, perhaps, it is nowhere to be found that any council hath been confirmed by so many authorities as this; that is to say, by the two councils which preceded, of Constance and of Sienna, and that by two bishops of Rome.

Besides this, I have heard that some do report at Rome, that I could not call the prelates unto the council, because that clause was not added in the bull of pope Martin. I greatly marvel why this should be objected, specially seeing that not I alone have called them, but I, together with the rest who had here assembled in the council. It is a marvellous matter: pope Martin gave me authority, by the advice of the council, to root out heresies, to pacify kingdoms, to reform the manners of every state of Christendom, and yet they will say that I cannot cite them. Power is given me to judge and to condemn, and have I not also power to cite? The law doth say; unto whom any power or jurisdiction is committed, all things seem to be committed unto him, without the which he cannot exercise his jurisdiction. But how could all the premises be done, if the prelates or others should not come hither? Also, why is it said in the chapter "Ego," tit. 24, 'De jurejurando,' "I will come unto the synod if I be called," if he cannot be called? By whom, then, is it presupposed that he should be called, but only by the council, or by him who ruleth the council? Also the whole eighteenth distinction treateth of no other matter, but that the bishops being called unto the council, if they come not, may be excommunicate and suspended. Let these men read the Book of Councils of St. Isidore, and they shall find how that in many councils the prelates have been called by the synod.

Now it remaineth, that we should declare, whether the dissolution be of force or no. Wherein I do again fear to move your holiness unto anger, but charity forceth me thereunto; for, peradventure, your holiness doth think the dissolution to be valid, and therefore doth persevere in it; whereby forsomuch as many offences may arise, my conscience doth move me not to hold my peace. First of all, the chapter 'Frequens' declareth that it is of no force; for if prorogation be forbidden and prohibited, which is a small matter, much more is dissolution, which is a greater, for it is a greater matter to take away than to defer; for by proroguing a thing is but deferred, and by dissolving it is utterly taken away. Also these men say, that the said constitution in the chapter 'Frequens' may be made void, for that as soon as the council is begun, it may be dissolved without any thing done, as is said to have been done at Sienna; and now they say also, that your holiness hath been perversely informed touching the dissolution. They say also, that the said dissolution doth manifestly tend to the subversion of faith, the ruin of the church, and the trouble of the christian people: therefore it cannot be done, neither obeyed.

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They say, moreover, that the said dissolution could not be made by reason of a certain decree of the council of Constance in that behalf provided; that in such matters as pertain unto faith, the extirpation of schism, and reformation of the church in the head and in the members, all men, of what estate or condition soever they be, yea the pope himself, should be bound to obey the statutes, precepts, and ordinances, of every general council; and, except they did obey, the council had power to punish them. Mark how these things—to have power to determine upon any man, to command him, and punish him, if he be not obedient—are signs of superiority, in a party who doth so decree, command, or punish; and, to be bound to obedience, to be subject and obey the same, are signs of inferiority in the said cases. *Ergo*, in the aforesaid cases, seeing that the pope, as they say, is under the council (which also hath been proved by the fact; in that for one of the said three cases the council did deprive John, and for another Benedict), the pope could never dissolve the council, because he that is inferior cannot bind or compel the superior, as is shewn in the chapter 'Cum inferior:' otherwise it should contain in it a contradiction, that he is bound to obey, and is not bound to obey, because he may dissolve; for how should he be obedient unto the ordinance and decree of the council, if he may annihilate and take away the same ordinance and decree? This council is congregated for the rooting out of heresies, for the making of peace, and for the reformation of manners; and in the first session it did ordain, that their whole intent and respect should be thereunto, and that he who should procure to let the council, to prorogue or alter it, should be punished, and have process against him, as against a common disturber of the peace, &c. If it may be dissolved, it is evident that they do not obey the said ordinance; whereby this, also, must of necessity be granted, that if it may be dissolved, the decree of the council of Constance is of no force.

This is also proved by another reason. No man doubteth but if any controversy of heresy should be moved against any bishop of Rome, that he could not dissolve the council: for, if he might dissolve the council, he could not be judged, which were contrary to the chapter 'Si Papa,' 40 dist. Ergo, like as it is in heresy, so is it in the two other cases; for these three were pacified by the council of Constance: for thus speaketh the council, as it is in the chapter, 'Si Papa in illo uno.' And, as I have before said, the council of Constance allowed this decree, through which they deprived Peter de Luna, for making a schism, and pope John, for the deformity of his life.

And albeit there be certain laws that say, The principal seat cannot be judged of any man; and again, no man judgeth the chief seat; and, no man saith unto him, why doest thou so? it is to be understand in these three cases, first, that there was proviso made for the faith in the chapter 'Si Papa;' and for the other two points by the decree of Constance. Otherwise it should be understand, without any exception, that the first seat, &c., and then the chapter 'Si Papa, 40 dist., and the said decree of Constance should be false. If the chapter 'Si Papa' had added causes of heresies, no man would have doubted upon these two cases, touching the said sentence; so, likewise, no man ought to doubt of the decree of the council, that it was made by the authority of the pope, and representeth the universal church. And, if any man would say, that in all councils the authority of the pope is excepted: I answer, that is true, when the person of the pope is not specially included. But, if he be specially included, he cannot be excepted, because it should savour of contradiction. Most blessed father! God is my witness, that I have spoken these things with great anguish and sorrow of mind; but I am forced so to speak, that your holiness may cease from the said dissolution, lest there might happen infinite evils in the church of God. If your holiness did see my pure mind, my upright conscience, and entire affection towards you, whereby I am moved to write these things, even for very love you would embrace and kiss me, and, without doubt, love me as your own son. I have often said, and now do say, and protest before God and man, that you will be the cause of schism and infinite mischiefs, if you do not alter and change your mind and purpose. Almighty God preserve your holiness in the prosperity of a virtuous man! unto whose feet I do most humbly recommend me.

From Basil, the fifth day of June. [A.D. 1432.]

Thus endeth the epistle of cardinal Julian, written unto pope Eugene; wherein, forsomuch as mention is made how the Bohemians had promised to send their ambassadors unto the council, and, as before is partly touched in the Bohemian story, of their coming into Basil and propounding of certain articles, wherein they dissented from the pope; we thought it not any thing differing from our purpose, to have annexed a brief epitome, declaring the whole circumstance of their ambassade, their articles, disputations, and answers, which they had at the said council of Basil, with their petitions and answers unto the same: faithfully translated out of Latin by F. W. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1431 to 1439.

In like manner Æneas Sylvius also, with his own hand-writing, not only gave testimony to the authority of this council, but also bestowed his labour and travail in setting forth the whole story thereof. Notwithstanding the same Sylvius afterwards, being made pope, with his new honour, did alter and change his old sentence. The epistle of which Æneas, touching the commendation of the said council, because it is but short, and will occupy but little room, I thought hereunder, for the more satisfying of the reader's mind, to insert.

An Epistle of Æneas Sylvius to the Rector of the University of Cologne, in defence of the Council of Basil.

To a christian man who will be a true Christian indeed, nothing ought to be more desired, than that the sincerity and pureness of faith, given to us of Christ by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate: and, if at any time any thing be wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the gospel, the people ought with one consent to provide lawful remedy, and every man to bring with him some water to quench the general fire; neither must we fear how we be hated or envied, so we bring the truth. We must resist every man to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walk not directly to the truth of the gospel: which thing I am glad, and so are we all, to hear what your university hath done in this council of Basil. For a certain treatise of yours is brought hither unto us, wherein you reprehend the rudeness, or rather the rashness of such, as do deny the bishop of Rome, and the consistory of his judgment, to be subject unto the general council; and that the supreme tribunal seat of judgment standeth in the church, and in no one bishop. Such men as deny this, you so confound with lively reasons and truth of the Scriptures, that they are neither able to slide away like slippery eels, neither to cavil or bring any objection against you.

The tribunal seat standeth not in one bishop.

These be the words of Sylvius.—*But,[1] as our common proverb sayeth "Honours change manners," so it happened with this Sylvius, who, after he came once to be pope, was much altered from that he was before. For whereas before, he preferred general councils before the pope, now, being pope, he did decree that no man should appeal from the high bishop of Rome to any general council.

And likewise for priests' marriages; whereas before he thought it best to have their wives restored, likewise he altered his mind otherwise: insomuch that in his book treating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of Augsburg, by occasion he inveigheth against a certain epistle of Huldericke,[2] a bishop of the said city, written against the constitution of the single life of priests. Whereby it appeareth how the mind of this Sylvius, then pope Pius, was altered from what it was before.*

Furthermore, as touching the authority and approbation of the

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 384.—Ed. (2) For this epistle of Huldericke, see vol. ii. p. 8.—Ed.

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aforesaid council this is to be noted, that during the life of Sigismund, the emperor, no man resisted this council. Also, during the time of Charles VII., the French king, the said council of Basil was fully and wholly received through all France. But, after the death of Sigismund, when Eugene was deposed, and Felix, duke of Savoy, was elected pope, great discords arose, and much practice was wrought, but especially on Eugene's part; who, being now excommunicate by the council of Basil, to make his party more strong made eighteen new cardinals. Then he sent his orators unto the Germans, labouring by all persuasions to dissolve the council of Basil. The Germans, at that time, were so divided, that some of them did hold with Felix and the council of Basil; other some with Eugene and the council of Ferrara; and some were neuters. After this, about A.D. 1444, the pope beginneth a new practice, after the old guise of Rome, to excite, as is supposed, the dauphin of France, who was afterwards king Louis XI., by force of arms to dissipate that council collected against him. Who, leading an army of fifteen thousand men into Alsace, did cruelly waste and spoil the country, and after that laid siege unto Basil, to expel and drive out the prelates of the council. But the Switzers, most stoutly meeting their enemies, with a small power did vanquish the Frenchmen, and put them to sword and flight; like as the Lacedemonians, with only three hundred, did suppress and scatter all the mighty army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ.

The authority of the council of Basil maintained.

The practice of pope Eugene to undo the council.

Stirreth up war.

See Appendix.

The dauphin driven away by a few Germans.

Although Basil by the valiantness of the Switzers was thus defended, yet notwithstanding, the council through these tumults could not continue by reason of the princes' ambassadors, who shrunk away and would not tarry; so that at length Eugene brought to pass, partly through the help of Frederic (being not yet emperor, but labouring for the empire), partly by his orators (in the number of whom was Æneas Sylvius, above mentioned) amongst the Germans, that they were content to give over both the council of Basil, and their neutrality.

Dissolution of the council of Basil.

This Frederic of Austria being not yet emperor, but looking towards the empire, brought also to pass, that Felix, who was chosen of the council of Basil to be pope, was contented to renounce and resign his papacy to Nicholas V., successor to Eugene, of the which Nicholas the said Frederic was confirmed at Rome to be emperor, and there crowned, A.D. 1451.

Frederic of Austria, great grandfather to this Ferdinand.

As these things were doing at Basil, in the mean season pope Eugene brought to pass, in his convocation at Florence, that the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople, with the rest of the Greeks there present, were persuaded to receive the sentence of the church of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost; also to receive the communion in unleavened bread, to admit purgatory, and to yield themselves to the authority of the Romish bishop. Whereunto, notwithstanding, the other churches of Greece would in no wise assent, at their coming home; insomuch that with a public execration they did condemn, afterward, all those legates who had consented to these articles, that none of them should be buried in christian burial: which was, A.D. 1439.[1]

The legates of the Greeks condescend first to the pope's law.

The Greek churches refuse the pope's doctrine.

(1) Ex Casp. Peucer.

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And thus endeth the story, both of the council of Basil, and of the council of Florence; also, of the emperor Sigismund, and of the schism between pope Eugene and pope Felix, and also of the Bohemians; which Bohemians, notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults above-said, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length, through discord, partly between the two preachers of the old and new city of Prague, partly also through the discord of the messengers and captains taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong, and enfeebled themselves. Albeit afterwards, in process of time, they so defended the cause of their religion, not by sword, but by argument and disputation, that the bishop of Rome could never yet to this day remove the Taborites and city of Prague from the communion of both kinds, nor could ever cause them to keep the conditions, which, in the beginning of the council, were enjoined their priests to observe; as testifieth Cochleus:[1] with him also accordeth Antoninus, who saith, that the doctrine of the Bohemians (which he termeth by the name of Zizania), did take such deep root with them, and grew so fast, that afterwards, neither by fire nor sword, it could be extinguished.[2]

The inconveniency of discord.

Concerning which Bohemians, briefly and in a general sum to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted: that they, in their own defence, and in the quarrel of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, provoked by their catholic adversaries to war, fighting under Zisca their captain, had eleven battles with the pope's side, and ever went away victors.[3] Moreover, in the History of Peucer it is testified that pope Martin V., sending for the bishop of Winchester, then cardinal, had levied three main armies, intending to overrun all the Bohemians; one army of the Saxons under the prince elector; the second of the Francones, under the marquis of Brandenburg; the third of Rhenates, Bavarians, and Switzers, under Otho, archbishop of Treves.[4] With these, Sigismund also, the emperor, and cardinal Julian, the pope's legate (who at last was slain in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field), joined all their force; who, joining together five times (saith the story), with five sundry battles, assailed and invaded the Bohemians; at every such battle, five times the said adversaries, stricken and daunted with a sudden fear, ran away out of the field, leaving their tents with all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was given;[5] whereby it may appear that the holy angels of God do fight for them who embrace the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel.

Marvellous fear fallen upon the pope's army.

Thus the Bohemians, through the mighty protection of Almighty God, continued a long time invincible, during all the life of Zisca, and also of Procopius, till, at length, through discord growing between them and their captains Procopius and Mainardus, they were subdued unto their enemies.

And here by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruel fact of Mainardus, who, after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the realm of Bohemia of those chief and principal soldiers, who had been long expert and trained up in wars, found means for a

Cruelty of Mainardus against the Bohemians

(1) Ex Cochlæi Hist. Hussit. lib. viii. (2) Anton. iii. part. hist. tit. 22. cap. 10.
(3) Ex Paral. Abb. Ursp. in Epitaphio Joan. Zisc. (4) Ex hist. Caspari Peucer. lib. v.
(5) God's holy angels pitch their tents about them that fear him, Psa. xxxiv.

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proclamation to be made, as though he would war against other countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to train all those who were disposed to take wages, into certain barns or hovels prepared for the same purpose; and so, shutting the doors upon them, the wicked dissembler set fire upon them, and burnt of them divers thousands, and so brought the rest, by that means, under subjection to the emperor during his lifetime, which, after that continued not long;[1] which soldiers if they had fought as much for the catholic liberties of the pope and his church, as they had fought against him, it is marvel if the pope had not dignified them all for holy martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (saith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruel deceit of Mainardus is worthy of all men to be detested.[2]

Thousands of the Bohemian soldiers burnt.

England noted for cruelty.

During this business among the bishops beyond the sea, in the mean time our bishops here also in England were not unoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the country that so giveth, or whether the great livings and wealthy promotions of the clergy do draw with them a more insensible untowardness in God's religion, hard it is to say: this is manifest to all them who will read and mark our stories from time to time, that in England is more burning and slaying for religion and for all other matters; more bloodshed among us, than in any other land or nation in Christendom besides.

Burning and slaying in England.

Richard Wiche, Priest, Martyr.

After the burning of Richard Hoveden, and Nicholas Canon[3], and Thomas Bagley, priest, above recorded, whom the bishops condemned to death, A.D. 1431, not long after, about the year of our Lord 1439, which was the eighteenth of the reign of king Henry VI., they had another poor man by the back, named Richard Wiche, priest, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, and also in another old English chronicle borrowed of one Perminger. What his opinions were, they do not express. This they record, that this Richard Wiche was first degraded, then burnt at Tower-hill for heresy. Some do affirm, that he, before his death, revolted; but that seemeth, by his burning, not to be true.[4]

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake (as prophesying) that the postern of the Tower should sink; which, also, afterwards came, as he saith, to pass: wherefore of many of the people he was counted for a holy man; insomuch that, as it is affirmed, they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations and prayers, and upreared a great heap of stones, and set up a cross there by night; so that, by this means, a great clamour ran upon the churchmen, and especially upon such as put him to death. Then, to cease the rumour, the king gave commandment to punish such as went thither on pilgrimage: the copy whereof is here to be seen as followeth.

Wiche, after his death sainted.

(1) Ex Ænea Sylv. [Hist. Boh. cap. 62.]
(2) Ib. lib. de hist. Bohem. cap. 51.
(3) See Appendix.
(4) Ex Fabia. par. 7. Ex antiquo alio Chronico.

The King's Writ, prohibiting Pilgrimage to the Tomb of Richard Wiche.

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Rex Vicecomitibus London et Midd. salutem. Albeit Richard Wiche, late clerk, who heretofore long since heretically did hold, teach, and publicly preach, certain heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our realm of England, and for the same many years now past being judicially convicted, did, before a judge, in that behalf sufficient, abjure all heresy generally, and afterwards, as a dog returning to his vomit, did presume to maintain, teach, and publicly preach, his former errors and heresies, so that he was worthily adjudged a relapse: and again, being impeached for the same before the reverend father in God, Robert, bishop of London, his lawful ordinary, was called forth to judgment; and being before him, did judicially confess his errors and heresies. For which cause the reverend father, upon mature deliberation by him, the said reverend father, first had, with the advice of the learned in the law, his assistants, lawfully proceeding against the said Richard, did, by his sentence definitive, pronounce and adjudge him to be a relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and took from him all priestly ornaments, and deprived him of all priestly function and privilege (according to justice), and, last of all, turned him over to the secular power as the manner is; and afterwards you, by our princely commandment and warrant, did, according to the law of our realm, for his last punishment, consume the body of the said Richard to ashes, being a relapse, convict, and degraded, as a notorious traitor, not only against God, but also against us and our crown and dignity; all which notwithstanding, certain our subjects (as we have been sundry times informed) being pricked forward with a diabolical spirit, practising, of all likelihood, not only sedition, but also idolatry, within our realm, are not afraid publicly to affirm, that the said Richard was altogether innocent of heretical pravity. Nay rather they do most shamefully, with their vain devices, and wickedly conceived imaginations, blaze abroad, that he was, and died, a good, a just, and a holy man, and that he doth many miracles: whereas indeed no such miracles be done by him. Which disordinate persons we may well, and upon probable causes, repute and deem culpable, not only of heretical pravity, but also of high treason, and as rebels to our person, majesty, and violaters of the peace and dignity of our realm, as withal, breakers and trespassers against the sacred canons of the church, who dare so presumptuously adventure to worship the said Richard as a saint, whereas it is not lawful to worship any manner of person, be he ever so holy, before he be canonized by the authority of the bishop of Rome: We, therefore, being very careful for the good preservation of our peace, and desirous to abolish from out of all the coasts of the same all manner of idolatry, do charge and command you, that, in certain places within your liberties, where you shall think most convenient, you cause, forthwith, proclamations to be made on our behalf, straitly charging that no person from henceforth presume to resort to the place where the said Richard was executed, under colour of a pilgrim, or for any other cause of devotion whatsoever; nor send any offering thither, nor worship him hereafter openly or secretly, or adjudge, esteem, repute, name, or talk of him as otherwise justified or innocent, than such as the said reverend father, by his definitive sentence, hath pronounced him to be: upon pain and penalty to be taken and reputed for a heretic or a favourer of heretics, and to receive condign punishment provided for heretics. And that you arrest all and every person whom you shall find to do any thing contrary to this our proclamation, and the same, so arrested, commit to our prison; there to remain until we shall think good to send countermand for their deliverance.

Witness the king at his manor of Easthampstead, the fifteenth day of July, in the eighteenth year of his reign.

Per ipsum Regem.

Like writs, and to the same effect, were directed to all the sheriffs through all the realm, bearing all one and the same date; by virtue of which letters, the mayor and sheriffs did use such diligence, that shortly after, that concourse and seeking of the people was left off.

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After the burning of this man, which was about the month of June, in the same year, about November, a convocation was called by Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, wherein was propounded among the clergy, to consult with themselves what way were best to be taken for the removing away the law of 'Præmuniri facias;'[1] for so were the hearts then of the temporalty set against the ecclesiastical sort, that where any vantage might be given them by the law, they did nothing spare; by reason whereof the church-men at that time were greatly molested by the said law of 'Præmuniri,' and by the king's writs, and other indictments, to their no small annoyance. By long consultation and good advisement, at last this way was taken: that a petition or supplication should be drawn and presented to the king, for the abolishing of the aforesaid law of 'Præmuniri facias;' and, also, for the restraining of other briefs, writs, and indictments, which seemed then to lie heavy upon the clergy. This bill or supplication being contrived and exhibited, by the archbishops of Canterbury and of York, unto the king, standing in need at the same time of a subsidy to be collected of the clergy, this answer was given to their supplication, on the king's behalf: that, forasmuch as the time of Christmas then drew near, whereby he had, as yet, no sufficient leisure to advise upon the matter, he would take therein a farther pause. In the mean time, as one tendering their quiet, he would send to all his officers and ministers within his realm, that no such brief of 'Præmuniri' should pass against them or any of them, from the said time of Christmas, till the next parliament, A. D. 1489.[2]

The bishops consult to abolish the law of Præmuniri facias.

The king's answer to the bill.

A BRIEF ANSWER TO THE CAVILLATIONS OF ALAN COPE'S CONCERNING LADY ELEANOR COBHAM.

In my former edition of Acts and Monuments,[3] so hastily rashed up at that present, in such shortness of time, as in the said book thou mayest see, gentle reader! declared and signified; among many other matters therein contained, there is a short note made of one Eleanor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, and of sir Roger Only, knight (*priest*, it should have been printed), which two persons, about A. D. 1440, or the next year following, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetual prison. Of this little short matter Master Cope, the pope's scout, lying in privy wait to spy faults in all men's works, wheresoever any may appear, taketh pepper in the nose, and falleth again unto his old barking against me, for placing these aforesaid per-

A brief answer to Cope concerning lady Eleanor Cobham.

(1) Ex Regist. Henr. Chichesley. (2) Ex Regist. Cant.

(3) The quotation from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments to which Foxe alludes, is subjoined:—"Within short time after, sir Roger Onley followed the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton, being a knight of like nobility and order; and so likewise partaker of the like cause and quarrel; a man endowed with like valiantness and godliness, whom we do read in certain annals to be hanged for the truth's sake in the year of our Lord, 1441. And lest that this rage of persecution should not wrap in all and every sect and kind, or should not sufficiently fulfil all points of cruelty, as though it had been but a small matter hitherto to have murdered so many men, they began now to execute their cruelty upon women. Of the which sort although there have been many who have followed their spouse Christ, by torments, banishments, and death, yet the first in this number which cometh unto our hands, is Eleanor Cobham, a woman nothing at all degenerating from her stock, kindred, and name received of her ancestors, albeit that we can find or understand none other thing of her, but that for suspicion of heresy; that is to say, for the love and desire of the truth, she was by the papists banished into the Isle of Man; as Harding and Fabian do write. Whom a few years after, there followed a woman, who, for her obstinacy and virtue, was greatly to be commended and praised, being called the mother of a certain lady, surnamed Young, she persevering even unto the fire, with a stout and manly courage, for the confession of the gospel was burned in the year of our Lord, 1490." See Edition 1563, p. 371.—Ed.

sons in my 'Book of Martyrs;' but, especially, he thinketh to have great vantage against me, for that in the same story I do join withal, one Margaret Jourdeman, the witch of Eye, condemned also with them at the same time, and burned for practising the king's death by an image of wax, &c. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1440.

To answer hereunto, First, I say, as I before said, that I profess no such title to write of Martyrs, but, in general, to write of Acts and Monuments passed in the church and realm of England; wherein, why should I be restrained from the free walk of a story writer, more than others that have gone before me? To the third objection.

Secondly, Touching my commendation of sir Roger Only, and the lady Eleanor; if Master Alan be therewith offended, I answer, that I commended them for savouring and favouring of the truth of Christ's doctrine: for their fault, if any such were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long tarrying upon it, nor yet altogether upon mine own head, without some sufficient warrant of authority. For, why may not I as well believe John Bale, as Master Alan believe Mr. Fabian? especially seeing I do know, and was privy, that the said John, in recognising his Centuries, followed altogether the history of Leland 'De Catalogo virorum illustrium;' which book, being borrowed of Master Cheke, I myself did see in the hands of the aforesaid John Bale, what time we were both together, dwelling in the house of the noble lady the duchess of Richmond. Wherefore, if he think me so lewd to speak without mine authors, he is deceived. And if he think mine authors not to be believed, then let this Nomothetes, or jolly Dictator, come forth and prescribe us a law, what authors he would have us to take, and what to refuse. For else, why is it not as free for me to credit John Bale and Leland, as for him to credit Robert Fabian and Edward Hall? especially, seeing they had seen his books and works left behind him, whereupon they might better judge; and so did never these. *See Appendix.*

Thirdly, For the name of Roger Only; if Cope deny that there was any such name in stories mentioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolingbroke, &c., hereby it may appear, that either his prompter out of England deceived him, or else that he, going no further but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good will in him, but only a little matter, to make a perfect sycophant. And, admit the said name of 'Only' could not be found in those writers, yet it were not impossible for a man to have two names, especially if he were a religious man; to bear the name of the town where he was born, besides his own proper surname. But now, what if I, Master Cope! can avouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Only out of sufficient record, which you seem not to have yet read? Have ye then done well and properly, think you, so bitterly to flee in my face, and to bark so eagerly all this while at moonshine in the water, having no more cause almost against me, than against the man in the moon? And now (lest you should think me so much unprovided of just authority for my defence, as I see you unprovided of modesty and patience), write you to your prompter or suborner, wheresoever he lurketh here in England, to send you over unto Louvain the book of John Harding, a chronicler, more ancient than either Fabian or Hall, printed in the house of

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Richard Grafton, A. D. 1543; where turn to the fol. 223, fac. b., line 19, and there you shall find and read these words.

"Again, the church and the king cursedly,
By help of one Master Roger Only," &c.

By which words you must necessarily confess Roger Only to be the name of the man, or else must ye needs deny the author. For otherwise, that Master Roger Bolingbroke was the only helper to the duchess in that fact, by no wise it can stand with the story of these authors, who say, that four others, besides him, were condemned for the same crime, &c.[1] And, moreover, though the said sir Roger Only was no knight (as I have said in my former edition), yet this ye cannot deny, by the testimony of them that have seen his works, but that he was a priest, which you will grant to be a knight's fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of Master Roger Only.

Fourthly, As concerning Margaret Jourdeman, whom ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to say that I make her a martyr, who was a witch; when I here profess, confess, and ascertain,[2] both you, and all Englishmen, both present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that of this Margaret Jourdeman I never spake, never thought, never dreamed, nor did ever hear, before you named her in your book yourself. So far is it off that I, either with my will, or against my will, made any martyr of her.

Cope ralleth without a cause.

Furthermore, I profess and denounce in like manner, that neither have you any just nor congrue[3] occasion in my book so to judge, much less to rail on me. For where, in express words, I do speak of the mother of the lady Young, what occasion have you thereby to slander me and my book with Margaret Jourdeman? which Margaret whether she was a witch or not, I leave her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I mean of her now. But, 'because I couple her in the same story,' you say. To this I say, because she was the mother of a lady, I thought to join her with another lady in the same story, as in one pew together, although in one cause I will not say. And yet, notwithstanding, I do so couple the said mother with the duchess, in such distinct difference of years, that you, Master Cope! might easily have understood, or, beside you, no man else would have thought the contrary, but that Margaret Jourdeman was neither here in my book, nor yet in my Memento. For the words of my story are plain, where the condemnation of the lady Eleanor, and of the mother of lady Young, being referred to the year of our Lord, 1441, I do also, in the same story[4] (through the occasion of that lady), infer mention of the mother of the lady Young, declaring in express words, that she followed certain years after, and, in the end of that chapter, do name also the year of her burning to be 1490, which was fifty years after the death of Only and Margaret Jourdeman; by the computation of which years it is plain, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the lady Young's mother.

See Appendix.

But Master Cope, continuing still in his wrangling mood, objecteth again, for that in my calendar, the said lady Young's mother hath

(1) Vid. Centur. 8. Bal. cap. 4.
(2) "Ascertain," assure.—Ed.
(3) "Congrue," convenient.—Ed.
(4) The former edition, p. 371.

the day, in the catalogue, next after the death of Roger Only; which day pertaineth properly to Margaret Jourdeman, who was burned the same day in Smithfield, and not to the lady's mother, &c. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1440.

What order was taken in placing the names and days, what is that to me? If he who had the disposing of the catalogue, did place them so in months, as he saw them joined in chapters, not perusing peradventure, nor advising the chapters, that doth nothing prejudice the truth of my story, which sufficiently doth clear itself in distinguishing them rightly in names, and also in years, as is before declared.

The story pretermitted: Whether Eleanor the duchess was culpable of treason against the king

Fifthly and lastly: Having thus sufficiently answered to your circumstances of persons, names, and times, Master Cope! I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime objected to the lady duchess, and to the rest; with this protestation before premised unto the reader: that, if the fact be true, and so done as is reported in the histories of Fabian, Hall, and Harding, I desire the reader then so to take me, as though I did not deal here-withal, nor speak of the matter, but utterly to have pretermitted, and dispuncted the same. But, forasmuch as the deed and offence laid and given forth against these parties, may be a matter made, and of evil-will compacted, rather than true indeed; therefore, I do but only move a question by way of history, not as defending, nor commending, nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but only moving the question, whether it is to be judged true, or suspected rather to be false and forged; and so, having briefly propounded certain conjectural suspicions or supposals concerning that matter, I will pass it over, neither meddling on the one side nor on the other.

Certain conjectures that the charge was not true.

The first conjecture, why it may be possible that this act of treason, laid to the charge of the duchess and Roger Only, against the king, may be untrue, is this: that the said Only (otherwise named Bolingbroke) took it upon his death, that they never intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

The second conjecture: for that the lady Eleanor and Only seemed then to favour and savour of that religion set forth by Wickliff; and therefore it is like enough that they were hated of the clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practices of papists can do, it is not unknown.

The third conjecture: for that the said Master Roger Only, falsely noted and accused of necromancy, wrote a book in purgation of himself, entitled, 'De Innocentia sua;' also another book entitled, 'Contra vulgi superstitiones,' recorded in Centur. 8. Bale, cap. 4: whereupon it is not credible, that he who wrote professedly against the superstitions of the people, was overtaken with that filth of necromancy himself.

The fourth conjecture: because this accusation against the duchess of Gloucester, duke Humphrey's wife, began not before, but after the grudge kindled between the cardinal of Winchester, and duke Humphrey, her husband.

Another conjecture may be hereof, for that if the duchess had intended any such heinous treason against the king's life, as by burning of a wax-candle to consume him, it is not likely, neither was there any such need, that she would have made so many privy to

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such a pernicious counsel, as the witch of Eye, Master Roger Bolingbroke, Master Thomas Southwell, and John Hume.

Sixthly, It is not to be supposed, if any such high treason had been wrought or pretended against the king's person by these, that either the duchess should so escape with bearing a taper and banishment, or that John Hume should be pardoned his life; the fact being so heinous, that neither any durst ask his pardon, nor, if it had been asked, had it been likely to be granted.

To these we may also add another supposal, rising upon the words and form of their accusation, as it standeth in Harding, Polychronicon, and others besides, wherein they were accused for working sorcery and enchantments against the church and the king. Now, what sorcery can be wrought against the church, that is, the whole multitude of Christians, let the reader judge; and, by the truth of this, consider also the truth of the other, which was against the king. Furthermore, if, by this church, is meant the cardinal of Winchester, as like it is, then it may be conjectured, that all this matter rose of that cardinal, who was then a mortal enemy to the house of Gloucester, &c.

Eighthly, And, that all this was done and wrought by the said cardinal of Winchester, the witch of Eye maketh the matter the more suspicious, seeing that the town of Eye, as Fabian witnesseth, was near beside Winchester, and in the see of that bishop.

Moreover, forsomuch as Polydore Virgil, among other story authors, being a man (as may be supposed) rather favouring the cardinal's part than the duke's, made no mention at all touching this treason, his silence, therefore, may minister matter not only to muse, but also to conjecture that he had found something which made him to mistrust the matter. Otherwise it is unlikely that he would have so mewed up the matter, and passed it over without some mention.

Finally, and briefly, the frequent practices and examples of other times may make this also more doubtful, considering how many subtle pretences, after the like sort, have been sought, and wrongful accusations brought, against many innocent persons. For, not to repeat the like forgeries against the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton, &c., why may not this accusation of the duchess and Only be as false, as that in the time of king Edward V., which was laid to the charge of the queen and Shore's wife, by the protector, for enchanting and bewitching his withered arm? which to be false, all the world doth know, and but a quarrel made, only to oppress the life of the lord Hastings, and the lord Stanley. And thus mayest thou see, gentle reader! according to the wise man's saying, 'Nihil novum esse sub sole; nihilque dictum, quod non sit dictum prius,' &c.

Although these, with many more conjectures, may be alleged as some part of the defence of this duchess, and of her chaplains and priests, yet, because it may still not be impossible for the matter laid against them to be true, I leave it therefore at large, as I find it; saying, as I said before, that if that be true which the stories say in this matter, think, I beseech thee, gentle reader! that I have said nothing hereof. Only, because the matter may be disputable, and not impossible to be false, I have but moved thereof a question, and brought my conjectures, leaving the determination and judgment

hereof to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And, if Master Cope be so highly offended with me, because in my first edition of Acts and Monuments I durst name the lady Eleanor Cobham, and Roger Only; let him take this for a short answer, because my leisure serveth not to make long brawls with him: that if I had thought no imperfections to have passed in my former edition before, I would never have taken in hand the recognition thereof now the second time, whereby to spunge away such motes, as I thought would seem great stumbling blocks in such men's walks, who walk with no charity to edify, but with malice to carp and reprehend, neither admonishing what they see amiss in others, neither tarrying while other men reform themselves; and, finally, finding quarrels where no great cause is justly given. And here an end with Master Cope for this time.

Henry VI. A.D. 1440.

A brief answer to Master Cope's cavillations, concerning duke Humphrey's wife.

THE CONTENTION BETWEEN THE RICH CARDINAL OF WINCHESTER,[1] AND HUMPHREY, THE GOOD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

Forasmuch as in the process before, mention was touched concerning the grudge between the cardinal, called the rich cardinal of Winchester, and the good duke Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle and protector of the realm, order of story now requireth to open some part of that matter more at large; wherein this, first, is to be understood, that, long before, great flames of grudge and discord did burst out between these two: for, as the noble heart of the duke could not abide the proud doings of the cardinal, so much again the cardinal, in like manner, sorely envied and disdained at the rule of the duke of Gloucester. Notwithstanding that by means of the duke of Bedford, the brasting out between them was before appeased and cured; yet not so, but that under imperfect amity, privy hatred (as sparkles under the embers) did still remain: so that the cardinal, joining with the archbishop of York, attempted many things of their own presumption, contrary to the consent, not only of the king, being then under age, but also of the protector and governor of the realm. Wherewith the duke, like a true hearted prince, being not without just cause offended, declared in writing to the king certain complaints contained in twenty-one articles, wherein the cardinal and archbishop had transgressed, both against the king, and his laws; the tenor whereof, more at large, is in other stories expressed. The brief abstract thereof followeth in a short summary here to be seen.[2]

Certain Points or Articles objected by Duke Humphrey against the Cardinal of Winchester.

First, To his sovereign prince, his right redoubted lord, complaineth duke Humphrey, his uncle and protector of the realm, That the bishop of Winchester, in the days of his father, king Henry V., took upon him the state of a cardinal, being denied by the king, saying, that he had as lief set his own crown beside him, as see him wear a cardinal's hat; and that in parliaments, he, not being contented with the place of a bishop among the spiritual persons, presumed above his order: which the said duke desired to be redressed.

Winchester presumeth to be cardinal against the mind of the king.

II. Item. Whereas he, being made a cardinal, was voided of his bishopric of

(1) Henry Beaufort.—Ed. (2) Ex Polychron.

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A. D. 1440.

Winchester, he procured from Rome the pope's bull, unknown to the king; whereby he took again his bishopric, contrary to the common law of this realm, incurring thereby the case of Provision, and forfeiting all his goods to the king, by the law of 'Præmuniri facias.'

Intrudeth himself to be the king's governor.

III. Item, He complained that the said cardinal, with the archbishop of York, intruded themselves to have the governance of the king, and the doing, under the king, of temporal matters: excluding the king's uncle, and other temporal lords of the king's kin, from having knowledge of any great matter.

Defraudeth the king of his jewels.

IV. Item, Whereas the king had borrowed of the cardinal four thousand pounds, upon certain jewels, and afterwards had his money ready at the day to quit his jewels; the cardinal caused the treasurer to convert that money to the payment of another army, to keep the jewels still to his own use and gain.

Delivereth the king of Scots.

V. Item, He being then bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, delivered the king of Scots upon his own authority, contrary to the act of parliament, wedding his niece afterwards to the said king. Also, where the said king of Scots should have paid to the king forty thousand pounds, the cardinal procured ten thousand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the rest very slenderly paid.

Playeth the merchant.

VI. Item, The said cardinal, for lending notable sums to the king, had the profit of the port of Hampton, where he, setting his servants to be the customers, wool, and other merchandise, were, under that cloak, exported, not so much to his singular advantage, being the chief merchant, as to the great prejudice of the king, and detriment to his subjects.

VII. Item, The cardinal, in lending out great sums to the king, yet so deferred and delayed the loan thereof, that, coming out of season, the same did the king little pleasure, but rather hinderance.

A defrauder of the king.

VIII. Item, Where jewels and plate were prized at eleven thousand pounds in weight, of the said cardinal forfeited to the king; the cardinal, for loan of a little piece, got him a restorement thereof, to the king's great damage, who better might have spared the commons, if the sum had remained to him clear.

IX. Item, Where the king's father had given Elizabeth Beauchamp three hundred marks of livelode, with this condition, If she wedded within a year; the cardinal, notwithstanding she was married two or three years after, yet gave her the same, to the king's great hurt, and diminishing of his inheritance.

Taketh upon him like a king.

X. Item, The cardinal, having no authority nor interest in the crown, presumed, notwithstanding, to call before him like a king: to the king's high derogation.

XI. Item, That the cardinal sued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all disms, due to the king by the church of Winchester: giving thereby example to the clergy, to withdraw their disms likewise, and lay all the charge only upon the temporalty and poor commons.

XII. XIII. Item, By the procuring of the said cardinal and archbishop of York, great goods of the king's were lost and dispended upon needless ambassades, first to Arras, then to Calais.

XIV. Item, It was laid to the charge of the said cardinal and archbishop, that, by their means, going to Calais, the two enemies of the king, the duke of Orleans and duke of Burgundy, were reduced together in accord and alliance; who, being at war before between themselves, and now confederated together again, joined both together against the king's towns and countries over the sea: to the great danger of Normandy, and destruction of the king's people.

A traitor to the crown.

XV. Item, By the archbishop of York and the cardinal, persuasions were moved openly in the king's presence, with allurements and inducements, that the king should leave his right, his title, and the honour of his crown, in nominating him king of France, during certain years; and that he should utterly abstain, and be content, in writing, with 'Rex Angliæ' only: to the great note and infamy of the king, and all his progenitors.

XVI. XVII. Item, Through the sleight and subtlety of the said cardinal and his mate, a new convention was intended between the king and certain adversaries of France; also the deliverance of the duke of Orleans was appointed in such sort, as thereby great dis-worship and inconvenience were likely to fall, rather on the king's side, than on the other.

A purchaser of the king's lands.

XVIII. Item, That the cardinal had purchased great lands and livelodes of the king, the duke being on the other side of the sea occupied in wars, which

redounded little to the worship and profit of the king; and, moreover, he had the king bound to make him, by Easter next, as sure estate of all those lands, as could be devised by any learned counsel, or else that the said cardinal should have, and enjoy, to him and his heirs for ever, the lands of the duchy of Lancaster in Norfolk, to the value of seven or eight hundred marks by the year. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1443.

XIX. Item, Whereas the duke, the king's uncle, had often offered his service for the defence of the realm of France, and the duchy of Normandy; the cardinal ever laboured to the contrary, in preferring others, after his singular affection: whereby a great part of Normandy hath been lost. Perverse counsel of the cardinal.

XX. Item, Seeing the cardinal was risen to such riches and treasure, which could grow to him, neither by his church, nor by inheritance (which he then had), it was of necessity to be thought, that it came by his great deceits, in deceiving both the king and his subjects, in selling offices, preferments, livelodes, captainships, both here, and in the realm of France, and in Normandy: so that what hath been there lost, he hath been the greatest causer thereof. The cardinal a deceiver of the king, and a briber.

XXI. Furthermore, when the said cardinal had forfeited all his goods by the statute of Provision, he, having the rule of the king, and of other matters of the realm, purchased from the pope a charter of pardon, not only to the defeating of the laws of the realm, but also to the defrauding of the king, who, otherwise, might and should have had wherewith to sustain his wars, without any tallage of his poor people, &c. He purchaseth a pardon against his præmuniri.

When the king heard these accusations, he committed the hearing thereof to his council, whereof the most part were spiritual persons. So, what for fear, and what for favour, the matter was winked at, and dallied out, and nothing said thereunto; and a fair countenance was made to the duke, as though no displeasure had been taken, nor malice borne in these spiritual stomachs. But, shortly after, the smoke hereof, not able to keep in any longer within the spiritual breasts of these charitable churchmen, burst out in flames of mischief. For, upon the neck of this matter, as witnesseth Fabian, Polychronicon, and Hall, who followeth Polychronicon, first ensued the condemnation of lady Eleanor, the duchess, and her chaplains, as ye have heard before: whereby the said duchess may appear, more of malice than of any just cause thus to have been troubled. Also, within six years after, followed the lamentable destruction of the duke himself, as hereafter more is to be declared. Prelates hold one with another. Malice burst out.

About this time, or not long after, A.D. 1443, the steeple of Paul's was set on fire by lightning, and at last, by diligent labour of helpers, the fire was quenched. Paul's steeple set on fire by lightning.

And after the condemnation of lady Eleanor, the duchess aforesaid, within few years, A. D. 1445, followed the death of Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom she was condemned in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, for penance, to bear a taper through Cheapside three sundry times, and afterwards outlawed to the Isle of Man, under the custody of sir John Standly, knight. This Henry Chichesley builded in his time two colleges in the university of Oxford, the one called All-Souls' College, the other named Barnard College. A.D.1445. The death of Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury.

THE STORY AND DEATH OF HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

Proceeding now to the year wherein suffered Humphrey, that good duke of Gloucester, which was A.D. 1447, first we will begin in few words to treat of his life and conversation; and then of the manner A.D.1447.

Henry VI. A.D. 1447.

and cause of his death. As touching the offspring and descent of this duke, first, he was the son of Henry IV., brother to king Henry V., and uncle to king Henry VI., assigned to be the governor and protector of his person. Of manners he seemed meek and gentle, loving the commonwealth, a supporter of the poor commons, of wit and wisdom, discreet and studious, well affected to religion, and a friend to verity; and no less enemy to pride and ambition, especially in haughty prelates, which was his undoing in this present evil world. And, which is seldom and rare in such princes of that calling, he was both learned himself, and no less given to study, and also a singular favourer and patron to those who were studious and learned. And, that my commendation of him may have the more credit, I will produce the testimony of learned writers, who, living in his time, not only do commend his famous knowledge, and ripeness of learning in him, but also committed and submitted their works to his judgment, to be examined. Of which writers, one is Petrus de Monte, writing, "De virtutum et vitiorum differentia;" who, in his epistle dedicatory, beginneth with the singular commendation of this duke; and afterwards, speaking "De optimarum artium liberaliumque scientiarum peritia," saith thus: "Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atque studio incumbis; adeo ut nihil tibi sine librorum lectione jucundum, gratum aut certe delectabile videatur," &c. And in further process of his work, thus he further declareth, saying, "Delectaris autem non una tantum arte aut scientia, quanquam et id quidem esset satis, verum fere omnibus; earumque codices magna quadam aviditate legisti," &c. Besides this Petrus de Monte, let us hear also the judgment of another writer of the same age, named Lapis-castellius, who, likewise, dedicating to the said duke Humphrey his book, entitled "Comparatio studiorum et rei militaris," amongst divers other words commendatory, hath these which follow: "Ad te potissimum mitto, quod horum te optimum, et sapientissimum judicem fore existimo, qui, ut ex integerrimo patre domino Zenone Bajocensi Episcopo, homine tuæ laudis cupidissimo, accepi, ita in his humanitatis studiis invigilares, ut nullus toto terrarum orbe princeps nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus sit," &c. Many other arguments and places may be brought to declare, what is to be esteemed of the learning and studious wit of this noble prince.

Duke Humphrey commended for his learning.

Furthermore, as the learning of this prince was rare and memorable, so was the discreet wisdom and singular prudence in him no less to be considered; as, for the more manifest proof thereof, I thought here good, amongst many other his godly doings, to recite one example, reported as well by the pen of sir Thomas More, as also by Master William Tindal, the true apostle of these our later days, to the intent to see and note, not only the crafty working of false miracles in the clergy, but also that the prudent discretion of this high and mighty prince, the aforesaid duke Humphrey, may give us the better to understand what man he was. The story lieth thus:

In the young days of this king Henry VI., being yet under the governance of this duke Humphrey, his protector, there came to St. Alban's a certain beggar with his wife, and was walking there

about the town begging five or six days before the king's coming thither; saying, that he was born blind, and never saw in his life, and was warned in his dream, that he should come out of Berwick, where he said he had ever dwelled, to seek St. Alban; and that he had been at his shrine, and had not been holpen, and therefore he would go and seek him at some other place; for he had heard some say, since he came, that St. Alban's body should be at Cologne: and indeed such a contention hath there been; but of a truth, as I am surely informed, he lieth here, at St. Alban's, saving some relics of him, which they there show shrined. But, to tell you forth, when the king was comen and the town full, suddenly this blind man at St. Alban's shrine had his sight again, and a miracle solemnly rongen, and 'Te Deum' songen; so that nothing was talked of in all the town, but this miracle. So happened it then, that duke Humphrey of Gloucester, a man no less wise than also well learned, having great joy to see such a miracle, called the poor man unto him; and first, showing himself joyous of God's glory so showed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to meekness, and to no ascribing of any part of the worship to himself, nor to be proud of the people's praise, who would call him a good and godly man thereby; at last, he looked well upon his eyen, and asked whether he could see nothing at all in all his life before. And when his wife, as well as himself, affirmed fastly "no," then he looked advisedly upon his eyen again, and said, "I believe you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot see well yet." "Yea, sir," quod he, "I thank God and his holy martyr, I can see now as well as any man." "Yea can?" quod the duke, "What colour is my gown?" Then anon the beggar told him. "What colour," quod he, "is *this* man's gown?" He told him also, and so forth: without any sticking he told him the names of all the colours that could be showed him. And when the duke saw that, he bade him "Walk, faitour," and made him to be set openly in the stocks: for though he could have seen suddenly, by miracle, the difference between divers colours; yet could he not, by the sight, so suddenly tell the names of all these colours, except he had known them before, no more than the names of all the men, that he should suddenly see.

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A false miracle espied.

See Appendix.

Dissimulation well punished.

By this may it be seen, how duke Humphrey had not only a head, to discern and dissever truth from forged and feigned hypocrisy; but study also, and diligence, likewise, was in him, to reform that which was amiss.

And thus much, hitherto, for the noble prowess and virtues, joined with the like ornaments of knowledge and literature, shining in this princely duke: for which as he was both loved of the poor commons, and well spoken of, of all men, and no less deserving the same, being called the 'good' duke of Gloucester; so neither yet wanted he his enemies and privy enviers, whether it was through the fatal and unfortunate luck of the name of that house, which is but a vain and frivolous observation of Polydore, and Hall,[1] who followeth him, bringing in the examples of Hugh Spenser; of Thomas of Woodstock, son of king Edward III.; of this duke Humphrey; and, after, of king Richard III., duke likewise of Gloucester. Or whether it

Commendation of duke Humphrey.

(1) Polyd. Hist. lib. xxiii Hall in 25 Hen. VI.

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was, that the nature of true virtue is commonly such, that, as the flame ever beareth his smoke, and the body his shadow, so the brightness of virtue never blazeth, but hath some disdain or envy waiting upon it: or else, whether it was rather for some divorcement from his wife, or for some other vice or trespass done (as seemeth most like truth), which God, as well in dukes' houses correcteth, as in other inferior persons; especially where he loveth.

But, howsoever the cause is to us unknown, this good duke of Gloucester, albeit being both the king's sole uncle, and having so many well-willers through the whole realm, yet lacked not he his Satan, lacked not he his secret maligners. Of whom, specially, was Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England; who, of long time disdaining and envying the rule and authority of this duke, first had disposed and appointed himself to remove the king's person from Eltham unto Windsor, out of the duke's hands, and there to put in such governors as him listed. After that, intending the duke's death, he set men of arms and archers at the end of London-bridge, and fore-barring the highway with a draw-chain, set men in chambers, cellars, and windows, with bows and arrows, and other weapons, to the purposed destruction both of the duke and his retinue, if God had not so disposed to turn his journey another way. Beside other manifold injuries and molestations, the ambitious cardinal, seeking by all means to be pope, procured such trouble against him, that great division was thereby in the whole realm; insomuch that all the shops within the city of London were shut, for fear of the favourers of these two great personages: for each part had assembled no small number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the duke of Coimbra, called the prince of Portugal, rode seven times in one day, between those two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the realm, and all by the excitation of this unquiet cardinal.

His enemies.

The malicious working of the cardinal against him.

Over and beside this cardinal afore-mentioned, another capital enemy to the said duke was William de la Pole, first earl, then marquis, at last duke of Suffolk; a man very ill reported of in stories, to be not only the organ and instrument of this good man's death, but also to be the annoyance of the commonwealth, and ruin of the realm. For, by him, and his only device, was first concluded the unprofitable and unhonourable marriage between the king and lady Margaret, daughter of the duke of Anjou; whereas the king had concluded and contracted a marriage, before, with the daughter of the earl of Armagnac, upon conditions so much more profitable and honourable, as more convenient it is for a prince to marry a wife with riches and friends, than to take a maid with nothing, and disinherit himself and his realm of old rights and ancient inheritance: which so came to pass. And all this the good duke did well foresee, and declared no less: but his counsel would not be taken. Whereupon followed first, the giving away the duchy of Anjou, and the city of Maine, with the whole country of Maine, to René, duke of Anjou, and father of the damsel, called then king of Sicily and of Jerusalem, having thereof no penny profit, but only a vain name to play withal.

William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, the cause of the duke of Gloucester's death.

Unprofitable marriage between king Henry and queen Margaret.

Another sore enemy and mortal plague to this duke was the queen herself, lately before married to the king; who, being of haughty

stomach, and all set upon glory, of wit and wiliness lacking nothing, and perceiving her husband to be simple of wit, and easy to be ruled, took upon her to rule and govern both the king and kingdom. And because the advice and counsel of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was somewhat a stay that her authority and regiment could not so fully proceed; and, partly, because the said duke before did disagree from that marriage, this manly woman and courageous queen ceased not, by all imaginations and practices possible, to set forward his destruction, having also for her helper herein the duke of Buckingham, &c.

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The queen an enemy to the duke.

The malice of a woman.

These being his principal enemies and mortal foes, fearing lest some commotion might arise, if such a prince, so near the king's blood, and so dear to the people, and of all men so beloved, should be openly executed and put to death, they devised how to entrap him, and circumvent him unknowing and unprovided: for the more speedy furtherance whereof a parliament was summoned to be kept at Bury, A.D. 1447, far from the citizens of London, as William Tindal in his Book of Practice writeth; where resorted all the peers of the realm, and amongst them the duke of Gloucester, thinking no harm to any man, and less to himself. Who, on the second day of the session was, by the lord Beaumond, high constable then of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham and others, arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and, upon the same, all his servants discharged and put from him; of whom thirty-two of the principal, being also under arrest, were dispersed into divers prisons, to the great murmuring and grievances of the people. After this arrest thus done, and the duke put into ward, the night after (saith Hall; six nights after, saith Fabian and Polychron.), he was found dead in his bed, the 24th of February, and his body showed to the lords and commons, as though he had been taken naturally with some sudden disease. And although no wound in his body could be seen, yet to all indifferent persons it might well be judged, that he died of no natural pang, but of some violent hand. Some suspected him to be strangled, some that a whole spit was privily forced into his body; some affirm that he was stifled between two feather beds. After the death of this duke, and his body being interred at St. Alban's, after he had politicly, by the space of twenty-five years, governed this realm, five of his household, to wit, one knight, three esquires, and a yeoman, were arraigned, and convicted to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Who, being hanged and cut down half alive, the marquis of Suffolk, there present, showed the charter of the king's pardon, and so they were delivered. Notwithstanding, all this could not appease the grudge of the people, saying, That the saving of the servants was no amends for the murdering of the master.

A snare to catch the innocent. Parliament at Bury.

Cruel death or martyrdom of the good duke of Gloucester.

In this cruel fact of these persons, who did so conspire and consent to the death of this noble man, and who thought thereby to work their own safety, the marvellous works of God's judgment appear herein to be noted; who, as in all other like cruel policies of man, so in this also, turned all their policies clean contrary; so that where the queen thought most to preserve her husband in honour, and herself in state, thereby both she lost her husband, her husband lost his realm, the realm lost Anjou, Normandy, the duchy of Aquitaine, with all

Judgment of God upon those who persecuted the duke.

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her parts beyond the sea, Calais only excepted; as, in the sequel of the matter, whoso will read the stories, shall right well understand.

A. D. 1448.

The next year following, it followed also that the cardinal, who was the principal artificer and ringleader of all this mischief, was suffered of God no longer to live. Of whose wicked conditions, being more largely set forth in Edward Hall, I omit here to speak. What he himself spake on his death-bed, for example to others, I thought not best to pretermit; who, hearing that he should die, and that there was no remedy, murmured and grudged, wherefore he should die having so much riches, saying, That if the whole realm would save his life, he was able either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it; adding and saying moreover, "Fie," quoth he, "will not death be hired? will money do nothing? When my nephew of Bedford died, I thought myself half up the wheel, but when I saw mine other nephew of Gloucester deceased, then I thought myself able to be equal with kings, and so thought to increase my treasure, in hope to have worn the triple crown," &c.[1] And thus is the rich bishop of Winchester with all his pomp and riches gone; with which riches he was able, not only to build schools, colleges, and universities, but also was able to sustain the king's armies in war (as is specified in stories) without any taxing of the commons.

The death of the cardinal. Beaufort.

His words at his death.

In whose seat next succeeded William Wanfleet, preferred to the bishopric of Winchester; who, though he had less substance, yet having a mind more godly disposed, did found and erect the college of Mary Magdalen, in Oxford; for which foundation as there have been, and be yet, many students bound to yield grateful thanks unto God, so I must needs confess myself to be one, except I will be unkind.

William Wanfleet bishop of Winchester. Magdalen college builded.

Among the other mischievous adversaries who sought and wrought the death of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, next to the cardinal of Winchester (who as is said, died the next year following), was William de la Pole, marquis of Suffolk, who also lived not long after, nor long escaped unpunished. For, although he was highly exalted, by the means of the queen (whose marriage he only procured), unto the favour of the king, and was made duke of Suffolk, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole sway in the realm, whose acts and facts his vain glorious head caused also, by the assent of the commons, to be recorded, and substantially to be registered in the rolls of the parliament, for a perpetual renown to him and all his posterity for ever; yet, notwithstanding, the hand of God's judgment still hanging over him, he enjoyed not long this his triumphant victory: for, within three years after the death and ruin of the cardinal, the voices of the whole commons of England were utterly turned against him, accusing him, in the parliament at the Black-Friars, for delivery of the duchy of Anjou, and the earldom of Maine; also for the death of the noble prince Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. They imputed, moreever, to him the loss of all Normandy, laying unto him, that he was a swallower-up and consumer of the king's treasure, the expeller of all good and virtuous counsellors from the king, and advancer of vicious persons, apparent adversaries to the public wealth; so that he was called in every man's mouth, a traitor, a murderer, and a robber of the king's treasure.

God's punishment upon the marquis of Suffolk.

The vain glory of man's heart for getting himself honour.

The duke accused by the commons.

(1) Ex Edwar. Hallo.

Henry VI.

A. D. 1450.

The queen, albeit she tenderly loved the duke, yet, to appease the exclamation of the commons, was forced to commit him to the Tower; where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remained for a month, which being expired, he was delivered and restored again unto his old place, and former favour with the king; whereat the people more grudged than before. It happened by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called Bluebeard, that the parliament was for that time adjourned to Leicester, the queen thinking by force and rigour of law to repress, there, the malice and evil-will conceived against the duke. But at that place few of the nobility would appear: wherefore it was again rejourned unto London, and kept at Westminster, where was a whole company, and a full appearance with the king and queen, and with them the duke of Suffolk, as chief counsellor. The commons, not forgetting their old grudge, renewed again their former articles and accusations against the said duke, against the bishop of Salisbury, and sir James Fynies, lord Say, and others. When the king perceived that no glossing nor dissimulation would serve to appease the continual clamour of the importunate commons, to make some quiet pacification, first, he sequestered from him the lord Say, treasurer of England, and other the duke's adherents from their offices. Then he put in exile the duke of Suffolk for a term of five years; supposing, by that space, the furious rage of the people would assuage. But the hand of God would not suffer the guiltless blood of Humphrey duke of Gloucester to be unrevenged, or that flagitious person further to continue. For when he was shipped in Suffolk, intending to be transported into France, he was encountered with a ship of war belonging to the Tower, whereby he was taken, and brought into Dover-roads, and there, on the side of a ship-boat, one struck off his head: which was A. D. 1450.

The duke again accused.

Example of God's judgment, and of blood revenged.

The duke beheaded.

And thus have ye heard the full story and discourse of duke Humphrey, and of all his adversaries; also of God's condign punishment upon them for their bloody cruelty. But before I remove from the said story of the aforesaid duke, and of the proud cardinal his enemy, I will here annex, by the way, a certain instrument, by the king and advice of his council, made against the said cardinal, taking upon him to enter into this realm as legate from the pope, contrary to the old laws and customs of this realm; as by the words of the said instrument hereunder in Latin may well appear.[1] The sum and effect whereof in English is this:

(1) "In Dei nomine, amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod A. D. 1428, indictione septima pontificatus sanct. in Christo patris, et D. nostri D. Martini, etc. "Ego Richardus Candry, procurator et nomine procuratorio christianissimi principis domini Henrici, Dei gratia regis Angliæ et Franciæ, et domini Hiberniæ, domini mei supremi, de assensu pariter et advisamento illustris et potentis principis Humfredi ducis Glocestriæ, comitis Pembrochiæ, protectoris et defensoris regni Angliæ et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, et cæterorum dominorum meorum de consilio suæ regiæ celsitudinis ac consilium ejusdem facientium et hac vice repræsentantium, dico, allego, et in his scriptis propono, quod dictus christianissimus princeps, dominus meus supremus, suique inclytissimi progenitores dicti regni Angliæ reges fuerunt et sunt, tam speciali privilegio, quam consuetudine laudabili legitimeque præscripta, necnon a tempore et per tempus, (cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit) pacifice et inconcusse observata, sufficienter dotati, legitimeque muniti, quod nullus apostolicæ sedis legatus venire debeat in regnum suum Angliæ, aut alias suas terras et dominia, nisi ad regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, invitationem, seu rogatum: Fueruntque et sunt dicti christianissimus princeps dominus meus supremus ac sui inclyti progenitores, hujusmodi reges Angliæ, in possessione quasi juris et facti privilegii, et consuetudinis prædictorum, absque interruptione quacunque, toto et omni tempore supradicto, pacifice et quiete Romanis pontificibus, per totum tempus supradictum, præmissa omnia et singula scientibus, tolerantibus, et iisdem consentientibus tam tacite quam expresse, ac extra omnem et omnimodam possessionem, quasi juris et facti, legatum hujusmodi (ut præfertur) in regnum Angliæ aut alias suas terras et dominia mittendi, nisi ad vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, et rogatum regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis. Et quia

Henry VI. A.D. 1450.

Substance of the King's Writ against admitting the Pope's Legate.

In the year of our Lord 1428, as the king, with duke Humphrey lord protector, and the rest of the council, were in the duke's house in the parish of St. Bennet's by Paul's-wharf, one Richard Candray, procurator, in the king's name and behalf, did protest and denounce, by this public instrument: that whereas the king and all his progenitors, kings before him of this realm of England, have been heretofore possessed, time out of mind, with special privilege and custom used and observed in this realm from time to time, that no legate from the apostolic see should enter into this land or any of the king's dominions, without the calling, petition, request, invitement, or desire of the king; and forasmuch as Henry, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal of St. Eusebius, hath presumed so to enter as legate from the pope, being neither called, sent for, required, nor desired by the king; therefore the said Richard Candray, in the king's name, doth protest by this instrument, that it standeth not with the king's mind or intent, by the advice of his council, to admit, approve, or ratify the coming of the said legate in any wise, in derogation of the rights, customs and laws of this his realm; or to recognise, or assent to, any exercise of this his authority legatine, or to any acts, attempts, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this respect, contrary to the foresaid laws, rights, customs, and liberties of this realm, by these presents, &c.

And thus much as an appendix, annexed to the story of duke Humphrey, and the cardinal of Winchester, extracted out of an old written volume, remaining in the hands of Master William Bowyer.

The Invention and Benefit of Printing.[1]

In following the course and order of years, we find this aforesaid year of our Lord 1450, to be famous and memorable, for the divine and miraculous invention of printing. Nauclerus, and Wimphelingus following him, refer the invention thereof to the year 1440. In Paralipomena,[2] it is recorded this faculty to be found, A.D. 1446. Aventinus and Zieglerus do say, A.D. 1450. The first inventor thereof (as most agree) is thought to be a German, dwelling first in Strasburg, afterwards citizen of Mentz, named John Faustus, a goldsmith. The occasion of this invention first was by engraving the letters of the alphabet in metal; who then, laying black ink upon the metal, gave the form of letters in paper. The man being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceived to come well to pass, he made certain others of his counsel, one John Guttemberg and Peter Schafferd, binding them by their oath to keep silence for a season. After ten years John Guttemberg, copartner with John Faustus, began then first to broach the matter at Strasburg.

reverendis. in Christo Patri, et D. D. Henricus Dei gratia, etc. sancti Eusebii presbyter, cardinalis sanctæ sedis Romanæ, legatum se affirmans, more legati, insigniis apostolicæ dignitatis utens, absque vocatione, petitione, requisitione, invitatione, aut rogatu christianissimi domini nostri regis prædicti, inclytum regnum Angliæ de facto est ingressus, protector igitur palam, et publico in his scriptis nomine et vice quibus supra ac omnium ipsius domini nostri regis subditorum, quod non fuit, aut est intentionis præfati christianiss. principis, domini mei supremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de consilio, in derogationem legum, jurium, consuetudinum, libertatum et privilegiorum dicti D. nostri regis ac regni, ingressum hujusmodi dicti reverendiss. patris, ut legati in Angliam, authoritate ratificare, vel approbare, seu ipsum ut legatum sedis apostolicæ in Angliam, contra leges, jura, consuetudines, libertates et privilegia prædicta quovismodo admittere seu recognoscere; aut exercitio legationis, seu hujusmodi, aliquibusve per ipsum ut legatum sedis apost. actis, seu agendis, attentatis, seu attentandis adversus præmissa, leges jura, consuetudines, libertates, et privilegia, in aliquo consentire, sed dissentire; sicque dissentit dictus dominus noster rex, atque dissentiunt dicti domini mei de consilio, per præsentes," etc.

(1) Ex typographiæ [inventione] per Matthæum Judicem. [Copenhagii, 1566, p. 14; or in Wolfii Monumenta Typograph. i. 85.]

(2) Paralip. Abbatis Ursp.

The art, being yet but rude, in process of time was set forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof; in the number of whom, John Mentel, John Prus, and Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulricus Han, in Latin called Gallus, first brought it to Rome; whereof the epigram was made: *Henry VI.* A.D. 1450.

"Anser Tarpeii custos, vigilando quod alis
Constreperes, Gallus decidit. Ultor adest.
Ulricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis."[1] *See Appendix.*

Notwithstanding, what man soever was the instrument, without all doubt God himself was the ordainer and disposer thereof; no otherwise than he was of the gift of tongues, and that for a singular purpose. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to the gift of tongues: for like as God then spake with many tongues, and yet all that would not turn the Jews; so now, when the Holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the gospel. Printing came of God. Likened to the gift of tongues.

Now, to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath given this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great utility and necessity it serveth, it is not hard to judge, whoso wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequel which thereof ensueth.

And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use of man, this is to be marked, that when the bishop of Rome, with all the whole and full consent of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, lawyers, doctors, provosts, deans, archdeacons, assembled together in the council of Constance, had condemned poor John Huss and Jerome of Prague to death for heresy, notwithstanding they were no heretics; and after they had subdued the Bohemians and all the whole world under the supreme authority of the Romish see; and had made all christian people obedienciaries and vassals unto the same, having (as one would say) all the world at their will, so that the matter now was past, not only the power of all men, but the hope also of any man to be recovered: in this very time so dangerous and desperate, where man's power could do no more, there the blessed wisdom and omnipotent power of the Lord began to work for his church; not with sword and target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with printing, writing, and reading: to convince darkness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. So that by this means of printing, the secret operation of God hath heaped upon that proud kingdom a double confusion. For whereas the bishop of Rome had burned John Huss before, and Jerome of Prague, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacy, nor yet his popish mass, but said mass, and heard mass themselves; neither spake against his purgatory, nor any other great matter of his popish doctrine, but only exclaimed against his excessive and pompous pride, his unchristian or rather antichristian abomination of life: thus, while he could not abide his wickedness only of life to be touched, but made it heresy, or at least matter of death, whatsoever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners, God, of his secret judgment, seeing time to help his church, hath found a way, by this faculty of printing, not only to confound his life and conversation, which before The time considered, when printing was found. Double confusion upon the pope by printing.

(1) Carmen Ant. Campani

Henry VI. A.D. 1450.

he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast down the foundation of his standing; that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine, laws, and institutions most detestable, in such sort, that though his life were never so pure, yet his doctrine standing as it doth, no man is so blind but he may see, that either the pope is Antichrist, or else that Antichrist is near cousin to the pope; and all this doth and will, hereafter, more and more appear by printing.

The fruit and profit of printing.

The reason whereof is this: for that hereby tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctors be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected, and with finger pointed, and all (as I said) through the benefit of printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over: for else, as this world standeth, printing doubtless will abolish him. But the pope, and all his college of cardinals, must this understand: that through the light of printing the world beginneth now to have eyes to see, and heads to judge; he cannot walk so invisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although, through might, he stopped the mouth of John Huss before, and of Jerome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure; yet, instead of John Huss and others, God hath opened the Press to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven; and what God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many, and what is known in one nation, is opened to all.

Good counsel to the pope.

The first and best were for the bishop of Rome, by the benefit of printing, to learn and know the truth. If he will not, let him well understand that printing is not set up for nought. To strive against the stream it availeth not. What the pope hath lost, since printing and the press began to preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was given to all friars and monks in the world? And who seeth not that the pen of Luther, following after Erasmus, and set forward by writing, hath set the triple crown so awry on the pope's head, that it is like never to be set straight again?

Briefly, if there were no demonstration to lead, yet by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might understand the counsel and purpose of the Lord to work against him, having provided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing presses there be in the world, so many block-houses there be against the high castle of St. Angelo; so that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will root him out.[1] For if a man wisely consider the hold and standing of the pope, thus he may repute with himself: that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lack of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians; so, contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his papacy so much, as reading, preaching, knowledge, and judgment;

(1) So preached the vicar of Croydon in the days of king Henry VIII., at Paul's Cross, saying, that either we must root out printing, or else printing will root out us.

that is to say, the fruit of printing, whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (by the Lord's blessing) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of men daily, no doubt, be instructed through this benefit of printing. And though the pope both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all under his possession, yet, neither must he think that violence will always continue, neither must he hope for that now which he had then: forasmuch as in those former days books then were scarce, and also of such excessive price, that few could attain to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying thereof; which books now, by means of this art, are made easy unto all men. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1450.

* Herein[1] also appeareth the prophecy of the Sibyls to be fulfilled, who, long time before, had prophesied, that flax and line should subvert and overthrow Antichrist, God's enemy. Wherefore, as God, by his marvellous providence, for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this art or science, for the abolishing of ignorance and idolatry, so, as in these our days, we may well perceive and see how that the pope, that Great Antichrist of Rome, could never have been suppressed, and, being suppressed, could not have been kept under, except this most excellent science of printing had been maintained; whereby the shameful hypocrisy of the papists is detected and discovered unto the whole world, and God's truth and glory manifestly set forth and advanced.*

Ye heard before,[2] how Nicholas Belward bought a New Testament in those days for four marks and forty pence, whereas now, the same price will well serve forty persons with so many books.

Moreover, it was before noted and declared by the testimony of Armachanus, how, for defect of books and good authors, both universities were decayed, and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging friars, scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped up all books that could be gotten, into their own libraries; where, either they did not diligently apply them, or else did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would have perused them. In this then so great rarity, and also dearth of good books, when neither they who could have books would well use them, nor they that would, could have them to use, what marvel if the greediness of a few prelates did abuse the blindness of those days, to the advancement of themselves? Wherefore Almighty God, of his merciful providence, seeing both what lacked in the church, and how also to remedy the same, for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came into the world. First, the price of all books is diminished. Secondly, the speedy help of reading is more furthered. And thirdly, the plenty of all good authors is enlarged; according as Campanus, bishop of Abruzzo, doth truly report: Triple commodity by printing.

> 'Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.'
>
> The Press, in one day, will do in printing,
> That none, in one year, can do in writing.

By reason whereof, as printing of books ministered matter of reading, so reading brought learning, learning showed light, by the bright-

(1) See Edition 1563, p 362.—Ed. (2) See above, p. 597.—Ed.

Henry VI. ness whereof blind ignorance was suppressed, error detected, and finally, God's glory, with truth of his word, advanced. This faculty of printing was after the invention of guns, the space of one hundred and thirty years; which latter invention was also found in Germany, A.D. 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of printing.

A.D. 1453.

When guns were first invented.

THE LAMENTABLE LOSING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

A. D. 1453, Constantinus Paleologus, being emperor of Constantinople, the twenty-ninth day of May, the great city of Constantinople was taken by the Turk Mahomet after the siege of fifty-four days; which siege began in the beginning of April. Within the city, besides the citizens, were but only six thousand rescuers of the Greeks, and three thousand of the Venetians and Genoese. Against these, Mahomet brought an army of four hundred thousand, collected out of the countries and places adjoining near about; as out of Grecia, Illyrica, Wallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulgaria, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Cilicia, and such others; which places had the name yet of Christians. Thus, one neighbour, for lucre's sake, helped to destroy another.

See Appendix.

The city was compassed of the Turks both by the sea and land. Mahomet the Turk divided his army into three sundry parts, which in three parts of the city so beat the walls and brake them down, that they attempted, by the breaches thereof, to enter the city. But the valiantness of the Christians therein won much commendation; whose duke was called John Justinianus, of Genoa. But forasmuch as the assaults were great, and the number of the christian soldiers daily decreased, fighting both at the walls and at the haven against such a multitude of the Turks, they were not able long to hold out. Besides the armies which lay battering at the walls, the Turk had, upon the sea, his navy of two hundred and fifty sail, lying upon the haven of the city, reaching from the one side of the haven's mouth unto the other, as if a bridge should be made from the one bank to the other; which haven by the citizens was barred with iron chains, whereby the Turks were kept out a certain space. Against which navy seven ships there were of Genoa within the haven, and three of Crete, and certain of Chios, which stood against them. Also the soldiers, issuing out of the city as occasion would serve, did manfully gainstand them, and with wildfire set their ships on fire, that for a certain space they could serve to no use. At length the chains being burst, and a way made, the Turk's navy entered the haven, and assaulted the city; whereby the Turk began to conceive great hope, and was in forwardness to obtain the city. The assault and skirmish then waxing more hot, Mahomet the tyrant, stood by, upon a hill, with his warriors about him, crying and howling out unto them to scale the walls and enter the town: otherwise, if any reculed,[1] he threatened to kill them; and so he did. Wherefore a great number of his soldiers, in their repulse and retire, were slain by the Turk's men, being sent by his commandment to slay them: and so they were justly served, and well payed their hire.

Tyranny of the Turk toward his own men.

Although this was some comfort to the Christians, to see and behold, out of the city, the Turk's retinue so consumed, yet that

(1) "Recule," to recoil or rebel.—Ed.

hope lasted not long. Shortly after, by rage of war, it happened that Justinian, the duke above-named, was hurt; who, notwithstanding that he was earnestly desired by Paleologus the emperor, not to leave his tower which he had to keep, seeing his wound was not deadly dangerous, yet could he not be entreated to tarry, but left his standing, and his fort dis-furnished, setting none in his place to award the same. And so this doughty duke, hurt more with his false heart than with force of weapon, gave over and fled to Chios, where, shortly after, for sorrow, rather than for soreness of his wound, he died. Many of his soldiers, seeing their captain flee, followed after, leaving their fort utterly destitute without defence. The Turks, understanding that vantage, soon burst into the city: the emperor Paleologus seeing no other way but to flee, making toward the gate, either was slain, or else trodden down with the multitude; in which gate eight hundred dead men's bodies were found and taken up.

Henry VI. A. D. 1453.

Cowardliness of duke Justinian.

The emperor of Constantinople slain; the city won.

The city of Constantinople thus being got, the Turks, sacking and ranging about the streets, houses, and corners, did put to the sword most unmercifully whomsoever they found, both aged and young, matrons, virgins, children and infants, sparing none. The noble matrons and virgins were horribly used; the goods of the city, the treasures in houses, the ornaments in churches were all sacked and spoiled; the pictures of Christ opprobriously handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoil and havoc of the city lasted three days together, while the barbarous soldiers murdered and rifled what them listed.

The bloody victory of the Turks.

These things thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three days Mahomet the Turk entereth into the city; and first calling for the heads and ancients of the city, such as he found to be left alive, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in pieces. It is also (saith my author) reported, that in the feasts of the Turks, honest matrons and virgins, and such as were of the king's stock, after other contumelies, were hewn and cut in pieces for their disport.

Their horrible tyranny

And this was the end of that princely and famous city of Constantinople, beginning first with Constantine, and ending also with Constantine, which, for the princely royalty thereof, was named and ever honoured, from the time of the first Constantine, equally with the city of Rome, and called also by the name thereof New Rome, and also continued the space of eleven hundred and twenty years. I pray God that Old Rome may learn of New Rome, to take heed and beware betimes.

Constantinople, called New Rome.

This terrible destruction of the city of Constantinople, the queen of cities, I thought here to describe, not so much to set forth the barbarous cruelty of these filthy rake-hells and merciless murderers; as specially for this, that we, being admonished by the doleful ruin and misery of these our even christened, may call to mind the plagues and miseries deserved, which seem to hang no less over our own heads, and thereby may learn betimes to invocate, and call more earnestly upon, the name of our terrible and merciful God, that he, for his Son's sake, will keep us, and preserve his church among us, and mitigate those plagues and sorrows, which we no less have deserved, than these above minded have done before us. Christ grant it, Amen![1]

A warning to all Christendom by Constantinople.

(1) Ex Hist. Wittenbergica Peuceri.

Henry VI.

A.D. 1457.

The History of Reynold Peacock, Bishop of Chichester,

AFFLICTED AND TORMENTED BY THE FALSE BISHOPS FOR HIS GODLINESS, AND PROFESSION OF THE GOSPEL.[1]

*It is not to be marvelled at, if the tyranny of these men did so prevail, and overrun the lay-citizens and common sort of priests, that neither the mitre, nor the anointing, could make the bishops themselves to live in safety; so is there no kind of degree or order, in which some fruit, as clusters of the vineyard, doth not spring and grow up unto the Lord; as amongst priests, monks, friars, lay-men, soldiers, and courtiers, of whom we have somewhat spoken before; the order of the bishops only was behind, being yet slow and barren in bringing forth fruit. Howbeit it is not to be doubted but that the Lord, even amongst them, hath his remainder, who have not bowed their knees unto Baal, as in times past the Pharisaical people had their Nicodemus and Gamaliel: although that these kind of people are very rare and hard to be found; and few of them, either for fear of peril, or loss of substance, dare openly profess that which they do think. Amongst the rest we will bring forth and allege this one man, Peacock, bishop, first by the title of St. Asaph, if there were any such saint, and afterward of Chichester.

See Appendix.

This man, after he had received into his heart some sparks of the pure and sincere religion (all be it that he did not greatly attempt any thing against the bishops in this troublous time), foreseeing and providing for his own safe-guard as much as he might, yet could he not so lurk, or lie hidden, but that at length he was perceived. These men have so many marks, so many eyes, so many suspicions, that there can be none so small a thing which may pass or scape them; no so high estate or dignity, unto which these men, through their cruel and unshamefaced tyranny, will not give assault: in so much that now they begin not only to be feared of the common people, but also to be a terror unto kings and princes. Peacock was taken and carried straight unto Lambeth; Thomas Burschere, archbishop of Canterbury, then primate, bearing all the rule.

Then the doctors and bishops gathered together into the archbishop's court, in which convocation the duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied with the bishop of Rochester, and the bishop of Lincoln, where, besides many other articles, the presence of the bread in the sacrament was laid unto Peacock: insomuch that the knot of amity and concord which was ordained by Christ, to the great comfort of the church, (I know not by what means,) through the envy of Satan, is turned into a matter of most grievous discord and dissension amongst Christians. Insomuch that there hath in a manner no matter continued so many years more pernicious or hurtful unto men's salvation, than that from whence the chief seed or offspring of mutual consolation and comfort of men's life, ought to be taken and sought for.

For what other thing doth the communicating of the Lord's body and blood declare unto us, but first of all a testimony and witness of

(1) For this admirable preamble to the history of Reynold Peacock, see Edition 1563, pp. 363—367; also the Latin Edition, 1559, pp. 109—114.—Ed.

his benefits towards us, and of our amity and joining with him? For we do understand by the bread, which is communicate and given unto every man, that his body once broken was given unto all and every one of us. So likewise the cup, passing through us all in order, declareth that the blood once shed for us, not for Himself alone, was, as it were, bestowed for the salvation of all men. Therefore, lest any man should think that His passion should be vain, but that it alone should work in all men (as many as do believe or hereafter shall believe) absolute and perfect peace and quietness, and eternal refreshing of the soul, now languishing with over-long hunger; therefore, as a figure and remembrance of that thing, is the bread together with the cup set before us; which, being received into the outward man, it is easy to be understanded what the sacrifice of his body, applied unto us by faith, worketh in our inward soul. For by faith that sacrifice is to be applied, if we will have it profit us any thing at all: for, except the meat be received, it engendereth no nourishing, Therefore we are commanded to eat. Even so, where faith doth not receive Christ, there is no hope of life or quietness of soul; the body is quickened up with eternal life, by the bread which is received, albeit that the bread alone, without the cup, is not of so great effect; neither otherwise is the body and blood of Christ as common meat, but mystical and spiritual food, wherewithal our bodies are not fed, but our spiritual parts and members. For corporal and bodily things are apt and fit for bodies, and spiritual things for the spiritual parts. Therefore I call this, spiritual food or sustenance; for as much as whatsoever effect corporal food worketh in the sustentation of the body, the same doth Christ work in our spiritual soul. That is to say: he feedeth it, refresheth, quickeneth, maketh it joyful, maintaineth and supporteth it, and restoreth it unto everlasting life; giveth peace unto the unquiet conscience, reconcileth the Father's wrath, pacifieth the displeasure of sin, and giveth all kind of abundance of heavenly grace; and, finally, whatsoever force and power the meat outwardly received hath in the visible body, the like power and strength doth the Son of God perform in our invisible members, if he be received with faith.

Henry VI. A.D. 1457.

How Christ's body is meat.

Thus, not without cause, he is called food in the mystical Scriptures, where the Lord himself prophesieth, saying: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you;" in which place the bare words are not to be looked upon, but the analogy of them; that, like as the Son of God is meat, so our faith should be the mouth and the belly. How the same should be received, it is already declared by the Jews, who, seeking salvation by righteousness of the law, and by works, therefore fell away from God, because they, being filled and stuffed up with other meats, have not eaten the flesh of the Son of Man; that is to say, because they did not believe upon his anointed. The same likewise will happen unto the Turks, whatsoever works they do work by the law, as unto us also there is none other way or mean of salvation appointed in any thing, than only by belief in Jesus Christ. There be many kinds of meat, but one only which bringeth forth eternal life; for the Jews have their meats which are unsavoury

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letters, which they do yet gnaw upon. The Turks also have their unsavoury meats, which are also gathered thereupon; which do nothing else but fill and stretch out the belly and bowels, and engender no lively juice; and we also, playing in a manner the Jews' part, have our dishes filled with divers and sundry ceremonies, traditions, rites, superstitions, and works. This man trusteth much in long pilgrimages; another tarrieth at home, devoutly praying unto saints; another giveth much unto the high altar, and to building of churches; another getteth him a holy vesture, wherein he thinketh himself safe from all evil spirits. There be also some, who think to help themselves much, by often hearing of masses. How much confidence do many put in pardons bought, or in confession of their sins unto the priest! And as these lets are gathered somewhere else, than in the secret gardens of the Scripture; so were there other accidents more near unto the Scriptures than they, which, notwithstanding, for so much as they are nothing else but, as it were, the sauces of that one meat, they are very foolishly taken of many for the meat itself; as fasting, praying, watching, alms, and such other like works of charity, and of the law, which being used as sauces, have their sweet savour. For there is but only one meat which is effectual unto everlasting life, unto such as do eat it, which is the flesh of Christ Jesus; the eating whereof, if we will interpret the allegory, is our faith taking hold of Christ, which alone, without all help, doth only justify us. Where this faith is not present, it is sin, a filthy and vile thing, and a defiled cloth, whatsoever man's holiness doth; and it is mere folly, whatsoever the wisdom of man taketh in hand, or goeth about. Finally, the unhappy hunger of the soul can by no other means be remedied or holpen, but only by this heavenly food, after that Christ came down from heaven, who was offered up for us by his death, pacifying all things. They were but vanities before, whatsoever man's traditions did show unto us. There was great study and care had for good works, wherewithal every man laboured to mitigate and assuage his hunger: but they were all vanities, whatsoever man's power or the elements of this world did show unto us: the soul was wounded, and could not cure itself; it lacked another kind of medicine. The thirst was great, which might be remedied, but could not be satisfied; it might be watered or quenched with blood, otherwise it could not be assuaged with any liquor of man's invention. Wherefore the Lord doth not unaptly call himself 'meat,' and his blood verily 'drink:' not that it is so in deed, according to the outward sense, but that under the covered sense of this sacrament, he might declare what our faith doth work upon him.

See Appendix.

Thou, peradventure, believest in Christ, and sayest that he is dead for thee; wilt thou then understand and know, what effect his death doth work in thee? Thou comest to this supper, and, first of all, the bread and the wine is set before thee, which doth pass into thy body. To what end is that done? To none other end, but only that they should nourish thee. Therefore art thou commanded to take and eat.

But what wilt thou eat? Truly if there were none other thing meant in it, the matter were not of great importance. But, foras-

much as the bare elements are not set afore thee, but under the name of the Lord's body and blood, thou mayest well judge that there is some mystery contained herein, which may admonish or warn thee. But what mystery thinkest thou is contained therein? What other canst thou judge, than that thereby thou mayest behold and see, as it were in a seal, what the body and blood of our Lord, being shed for thee, doth work in thy soul? even the very same effect that the bread and the drink do work in the external body. Therefore do the bread and wine take the name of the body and blood, that by the one, the power and operation of the other may the better be understood and known: not that the same should be bread according to his substance which is the body of Christ; but that we, conferring the power and effect of both of them together, may be admonished and warned by the bread, whose memory it is, that we do celebrate by the bread. Wherefore the bread and Christ do wholly differ in the predicament of substance, while that they do understand the quality for the substance, and do not diligently seek out the power and mystery of his passion, only staying themselves upon his passion, and passing over to seek out the power and operation of his death, in which the whole principal point doth consist: in the other part there is not so great profit or benefit received by them, who either behold or handle the same. Let us also here allege the figures of the old law, and especially such as are compared unto memorials. The people of Israel, what time they were amongst the Egyptians, the same night that they should be delivered, were commanded to kill a lamb, which, without all doubt, did signify that Christ should come. But how? did it foreshow the same, according to any part of the substance? No, verily: for there is no man that will say that Christ was a lamb indeed, but according to certain qualities and properties of the same. Therefore were they commanded to take a young lamb, without any spot. What is more simple than a lamb? what is more pure than that which is without spot? and, finally, what can be more like unto Christ?

And, contrariwise, according to the reason of the substance, what can be more unlike the same? Likewise may be said of the cow, with other sacrifices and oblations of the Jews, by which Christ was foreshowed by certain marks, very aptly, when, notwithstanding, their substance was greatly repugnant and contrary. Why do we then in these sacraments so greedily seek for the concordance of the substance, when it doth not greatly pertain unto the purpose? For the mystery doth not lie hid in the matter itself, but rather in more secret notes and marks of things, by which the bread and the body of Christ, the wine and his blood, are correspondent, the one unto the other, by a mutual analogy; which analogy, when the christian mind doth consider and weigh with himself, of necessity he doth thereby get a great confirmation and establishing of his faith, together with great consolation and comfort of his conscience; and, specially, unto such as be afflicted and troubled in spirit, and do labour, being heavy laden. For what can be more acceptable or more pleasant unto that heart, than, where he doth not only believe, but also seeth plainly set forth, as it were, before his eyes, his sins freely to be forgiven him; his long, great hunger to be satisfied, as it were

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at a banquet; and to be converted into all kind of fulness: all the tumults and vexations, which gnaw and trouble the mind, to be at quietness; all fear of damnation utterly to be avoided; and most firm and steadfast hope of salvation to be come in place; and that he shall now enjoy with his God most joyful peace and quietness? And that, not by reason of any of his own merits, neither by any works or labours achieved; not because he had fasted so long, or filled up so many bushels or measures with prayers; not by this or that kind of hurting or tormenting his body, or being clothed in this or that colour, or being conversant in any kind of religion: but freely, through the only faith in Christ, who is made the redemption for our sins, that He alone might worthily be called the bread of our life. Otherwise, if there were any other help or preferment unto salvation but only Christ, then were not he the only bread of life: and, as this bread which came down from heaven is freely given unto us, so is it the only bread, neither doth it require any other food or sustentation; albeit that all other meats do require bread.

Thus, christian reader, thou seest so great strength and power in this death and passion, which, albeit it be invisible, and cannot be perceived with our bodily senses (howsoever that it may be noted or figured out), yet the Lord could by no means more aptly or plainly set out unto us so secret a mystery, than by this kind of sensible sacrament. What is more familiar or common unto the world, than daily bread and drink, by the continual use whereof the life of man is restored and maintained? and what thing comes nearer to the declaration of this unspeakable mystery than they, if we do behold the power, strength, and properties thereof, and not the substance. Wherefore, not without great cause and deep consideration, the Lord himself did give unto us bread and wine, which we should receive for his body and blood; not for any necessity in the things themselves, but, by this means, providing for our dulness and slowness, which is accustomed to be led by none other means than by the outward senses and eyes; that thereby he might the more firmly establish our faith, and make our consolation and comfort in him the more full and certain. And whereupon now is this great frowardness sprung up amongst Christians, that they, envying their own so great felicity, that they now convert and turn that into a snare of their own destruction, which is given us by the Lord to be our only comfort and consolation? Amongst the Greeks, in times past, the celebrating of this communion was called 'Eucharistia;' in which they received the benefit of salvation, and the Lord again received of them thanksgiving. But where is now this love, thanksgiving, and charity, become? when, for our salvation, received of the Lord, we destroy our brother, we shed *his* blood whom the Lord redeemed with his precious blood; and for none other occasion, but only for that which ought to teach us all kind of meekness and gentleness towards all men. I grant that the purity and sincerity of the doctrine is to be defended; but what kind of defence call you this, when men are first slain and put to death, and afterwards we seek out and discourse, in the synods, parliaments, universities, and schools, whether the matter and cause be true and certain or not? And the matter is yet before the Judge! David did not deserve to put to his hand or help to

the building of the temple of God, because he came bloody out of so many battles and slaughters of men; albeit that they were most just battles, and that he took them not upon him without the prescribed commandment of God. Notwithstanding, the business was left wholly unto Solomon to be performed and finished, who succeeded his father in peace and quietness. So likewise let us feign the cause here to be just and true; let us grant that it cannot be proved that Christ's words have any ambiguous sense. Notwithstanding, by mine opinion, it is greatly to be looked upon, and taken heed of, with what lenity and gentleness these christian princes, and these holy builders of the Lord's temple, do execute and use their office; and it is diligently to be marked, lest that thing which is lawful in them, be not likewise allowed of the Lord. How many, before this man Peacock, and how many, since his death, have there been devoured and swallowed up by the bloody bishops! Yet do I not here discourse whether the cause were just and true or no. But admit it were most true, yet in mine opinion, it is greatly to be respected and regarded with what hands they do come to the building of the holy temple of God. Besides that, I will here pass over and speak nothing how unjust and false their cause is. Henry VI. A. D. 1457

But now I return again unto Peacock, of whom, notwithstanding, I will not rehearse all things, for his injurious handling is long, and the circumstances thereof very long. I will only touch the principal points. When the articles were laid against him, and that they had charged this catholic bishop with the grievous and heinous name of heresy, they, by and by, made haste to give judgment. For these are the kinds of disputations which are now used amongst Christians: that if any controversy do rise in the church, or that there be any disputation about any ambiguous sense of the Scripture, straightway it is converted and turned into a matter of judgment; so that learning hath lost her liberty, the schools are changed into courts of judgment, where it is not looked for who shall vanquish or win, but whether of them shall live. Instead of the adversary, the judge sitteth; and, in place of the pen, the sword is drawn; which, for the most part, doth not fall upon him who is worst or most wicked, but upon the most inferior and weak; and this may be their liberty which is used in pleading, that, whereas before the face and eyes of the one, death is set; the other, although he be overcome with reason, yet doth he vanquish and overcome by power. How much have we Christians gone astray in these days from the footsteps and examples of the ancient church! What more cruel time of heresies was there, than even in that age, when St. Jerome did live? I will not here report with how grievous heresies the church was infected. Yet, notwithstanding, they were not driven unto this severity of judgment, if any did dissent or disagree from the residue: for there was no need of it. For why? the errors were so manifestly declared and tossed in the books of the doctors, in which the reader might quietly with himself judge, which was confirmable or agreeable in either part, and what contrariwise. How oftentimes doth St. Jerome, in equal and open contentions, provoke his adversaries to read over his writings, epistles, and apologies, as unto places abundantly discussing such matters; neither suffering his own liberties to be taken from him,

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neither taking away others.' "I will not," said he, "that he shou't answer me, who by power and might may oppress me, but teach me cannot." Notwithstanding, he did no less prevail in this behalf, in seeking out the perils and dangers of opinions, but much more happily and fortunately satisfied also them who did contend; and confirmed and established the others who were in doubt. How little could Helvidius, Jovinianus, and Pelagius, prevail in sowing of their opinions and heresies, when that St. Jerome's works, being so eloquently written, were once spread abroad, and read! What heresy was it so largely spread over all, which, as soon as St. Augustine's works were once published, did not, by and by, keep silence, as though the voice or speech thereof had been utterly taken away; or, when St. Jerome began to shine in the church, who is no less to be feared in his books, than any judge sitting in the place of judgment. But now we have lost all those learned contentions; or, more truly to speak, we have lost such heads and rulers of the church as St. Augustine and St. Jerome were, who have knowledge and understanding to dispute with learning and eloquence. But, in their place, there is such posterity crept in, as which, with mere power and violence, do for the most part defend that, which they cannot judge or discern, when they are not able to accomplish the matter by learning. Yet notwithstanding learned men must now, will they, nil they, speak and answer to their unlearned law: or else let them learn, by the peril and danger of this man Peacock, to keep silence and hold their peace.

For how do they vanquish or overcome him with learning, according to the example of their elders? Do they overthrow him with eloquence, or confound him with writing? do they subdue him with arguments, or subvert him by learning or judgment? or else do they, as St. Jerome saith, set foot to foot, conferring together, and bring to light the secret snares of errors? or do they convince them, when they are so made manifest, and violently take away the victory from the man, although he do never so much resist? Finally, they do either force him to silence, or put him to shame; so compassing him round about with snares and nets of reasons, that he dare not, not once, open his mouth against them; but also he cannot, though he would. And with such helps and means, they ought to proceed in such matters, if they were learned men. If they be not learned, why have they the rule in determining controversies in the church? why is the pooreblind suffered to judge colours? If it were a false matter which Peacock did sustain, there was no doubt but that he might easily have been overcome, if any learned man had withstood him with apt and fit arguments, who, by the dexterity of learning, and by the force and power of the Scriptures, might have caused the truth and goodness of the matter to have had the upper hand; such as in our forefathers' days were wont to root out errors.

But now, it may thus be thought, that amongst them, either they lacked some fit champions to defend the truth, who might be equal unto him in doing the business; or else that their matters seemed very doubtful unto them, in which they durst not, in equal balance, contend and strive, but that they fly straightway to judgment, as unto their only fort and defence, where they do not contend with

learning, but with threatenings and authority; wherewithal it is easy to vanquish and overcome even the most wise and learned men. When Peacock was brought before the judges and bishops, although he did nothing prevail, notwithstanding he declared many things worthy of a good divine, and armed himself with all kind of armour, both for the defence of his life and cause. They, on the contrary part, with like labour and pain, laboured and travailed for their dignity and gain; and so much the more earnestly, because they had now gotten such an adversary, whose authority, the higher and greater it was in the church, they supposed it would bring the greater ruin and decay of their tyranny and estimation unto the people. They, fearing this, and the matter being as it were even now brought to hand-strokes, they thought good to use all kind of preparation and to show their power and strength, all that ever they might. Wherefore the most subtle and exquisite sophisters, philosophers, divines, and orators, were called for, besides centurions of lawyers, and decretists, whose use and help in these matters is greatly esteemed. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1457.

First of all the matter was attempted with private colloquies, and, by and by after, a terrible form of judgment was appointed, threatening present death unto him. To these terrors often were adjoined threatening exhortations, and quarrellings, and oftentimes there lacked no flattering promises, as cups mingled with the venomous enchantment of Circe. And, finally, there is no stone left unturned; they entreat him; desire him; they earnestly lay upon him; they require him with fair means; they threaten him; they make him fair promises; they flatter him. Moreover they grant him a further time to consult and repent, whereby the delay of his death might make his life the sweeter unto him: they bid him speedily to foresee and look unto himself, affirming that there was yet great hope both of having his life and dignity, if he would recant and forsake his opinions.*

The story of Reynold Peacock. *See Appendix.*

After the death of Henry Chichesley above mentioned, next succeeded John Stafford, A.D. 1443, who continued nearly nine years. After him came John Kemp, A.D. 1452, who sat but one year and a half. Then succeeded Thomas Burschere. In the time of which archbishop fell the trouble of Reynold Peacock, bishop of Chichester, afflicted by the pope's prelates for his faith and profession of the gospel. Of this bishop, Hall also, in his Chronology, toucheth a little mention, declaring that an overthwart judgment, as he termeth it, was given by the fathers of the spiritualty against him. "This man," saith he, "began to move questions not privately, but openly in the universities, concerning the Annates or Peter-pence, and other jurisdictions and authorities pertaining to the see of Rome; and not only put forth the questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same: wherefore he was for this cause abjured at Paul's Cross." Thus much of him writeth Hall. Of whom also recordeth Polychronicon, but in few words. This bishop, first of St. Asaph, then of Chichester, so long as duke Humphrey lived, by whom he was promoted and much made of, was quiet and safe, and also bold to dispute and to write his mind, and wrote, as Leland recordeth, divers books and treatises. But after that good duke was thus, as ye have heard, made away, this good man, lacking his back-stay, was open to his enemies, and

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matter soon found against him. Whereupon he being complained of, and accused by privy and malignant promoters unto the archbishop, letters first were directed down from the archbishop, to cite all men to appear that could say any thing against him. The form of which citation here ensueth.

Copy of the Citation sent by Thomas Bowcher, alias Burschere, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas, by the permission of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to all and singular parsons, vicars, chaplains, curates and not curates, clerks and learned men, whatsoever they be, constituted and ordained in any place throughout our province of Canterbury, health, grace, and benediction.

We have received a grievous complaint of our reverend fellow-brother, Reynold Peacock bishop of Chichester, containing in it: that, albeit our said reverend fellow-brother, the bishop, delivered unto us certain books written by him in the English tongue, by us and our authority to be examined, corrected, reformed, and allowed: notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the said books depending and remaining before us undiscussed) have openly preached and taught at Paul's Cross in London, and in divers other places of our province of Canterbury, that our said fellow-brother the bishop hath propounded, made, and written, or caused to be written, in the said books, certain conclusions repugnant to the true faith, and that he doth obstinately hold and defend the same; by the pretence of which preaching and teaching, the state and good name and fame of the lord Reynold the bishop, are grievously offended and hurt, and he and his opinions marvellously bur dened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and severally apart do command you, firmly enjoining you, that openly and generally you do warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular such persons, who will object any thing contrary and against the conclusions of our said reverend fellow-brother the bishop, had or contained in his books or writings; that the twentieth day after such monition or warning had, they do freely, of their own accord, appear before us and our commissaries in this behalf appointed, wheresoever we shall then be, in our city, diocese, or province of Canterbury, to speak, propound, allege, and affirm fully and sufficiently in writing, whatsoever heretical or erroneous matter they will speak, propound, or object, against the said conclusions contained in his said books; and both to satisfy and receive, whatsoever shall seem meet and right in this behalf by the holy institution and ordinances.

And forasmuch as this matter depending yet undetermined and undiscussed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed, we charge you that, by this our authority, you inhibit and forbid all and every one so to preach and teach hereafter. Unto whom also we, by the tenor of these presents, do likewise forbid, that, during the examination of the conclusions and books aforesaid, depending before us and our commissaries undiscussed, they do not presume by any means, without good advice and judgment, to preach, judge, and affirm, any thing to the prejudice or offence of the said lord Reynold the bishop: and if so be you do find any in this behalf gainsaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite or cause them peremptorily to be cited, to appear before us or our commissaries, in this behalf appointed, the tenth day after their citation, if it be a court day, or else the next court-day following, wheresoever we shall then be, in our city, diocese, or province of Canterbury, to make further declaration, by form of law, of the cause of their disobedience, and to receive such punishment as justice and equity shall determine in that behalf; and that by your letters you do duly certify us or our commissaries, what you have done in the premises, at the day and place aforesaid; or that he who hath so executed our commandment, do so certify us by his letters.

Dated at our manor of Lambeth, the 22d day of October, A. D. 1457, and in the fourth year of our translation.

Peacock appeareth at Lambeth.

This citation being directed, the bishop, upon the summons thereof, was brought, or rather came, before the judges and bishops unto

Lambeth, where the aforesaid Thomas the archbishop, with his doctors and lawyers, were gathered together in the archbishop's court; in which convention also, the duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied by the bishops of Rochester and Lincoln. What were the opinions and articles against him objected, afterwards, in his revocation, shall be specified. In his answering for himself, in such a company of the pope's friends, albeit he could not prevail, notwithstanding he, stoutly defending himself, declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning against power could have prevailed. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1457.

But they, on the contrary part, with all labour and travail extended themselves, either to reduce him, or else to confound him. As here lacked no blustering words of terror and threatening, so also many fair flattering words and gentle persuasions were admixed withal. Briefly, to make a short narration of a long and busy traverse, here was no stone left unturned, no ways unproved, either by fair means to entreat him, or by terrible menaces to terrify his mind, till at length, he, being vanquished and overcome by the bishops, began to faint, and gave over. Whereupon, by and by, a recantation was put unto him by the bishops, which he should declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here followeth. Great labour to reduce Peacock from his opinions.

The Form and Manner of the Retractation of Reynold Peacock.

In the name of God, Amen. Before you, the most reverend father in Christ and lord, the lord Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England and legate of the apostolic see: I Reynold Peacock, unworthy, bishop of Chichester, do purely, willingly, simply, and absolutely confess and acknowledge, that I, in times past, that is to say, by the space of these twenty years last past and more, have otherwise conceived, holden, taught, and written, as touching the sacraments, and the articles of the faith, than the holy church of Rome, and universal church; and also that I have made, written, published, and set forth, many and divers pernicious doctrines, books, works, writings, heresies, contrary to and against the true catholic and apostolic faith, containing in them errors contrary to the catholic faith, and especially these errors and heresies hereunder written.[1]

Articles formerly held by Peacock.

I. First of all, That we are not bound, by the necessity of faith, to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ, after his death, descended into hell.

II. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the holy catholic church.

III. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe the communion of saints.

IV. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to affirm the body materially in the Sacrament.

V. Item, That the universal church may err in matters which pertain unto faith.

VI. Item, That it is not necessary unto salvation to believe that that, which every general council doth universally ordain, approve, or determine, should necessarily, for the help of our faith, and the salvation of souls, be approved and holden of all faithful Christians.

Wherefore I Reynold Peacock, wretched sinner, who have long walked in darkness, and now, by the merciful disposition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again unto the light and way of truth, and restored unto the unity of our holy mother the church, renounce and forsake all errors and heresies aforesaid.

Notwithstanding, godly reader, it is not to be believed that Peacock

(1) Ex Regist.

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did so give over these opinions, howsoever the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policy and play of the bishops, that when they do subdue or overcome any man, they carry him whither they list, as it were a young steer by the nose, and frame out his words for him beforehand, as it were for a parrot, what he should speak unto the people; not according to his own will, but after their lust and fantasy. Neither is it to be doubted but that this bishop repented him afterwards of his recantation; which may easily be judged hereby, because he was committed again to prison, and detained captive, where it is uncertain whether he was oppressed with privy and secret tyranny, and there obtained the crown of martyrdom, or no.

Articles of Peacock, mentioned by Thomas Gascoigne.

The dictionary of Thomas Gascoigne I have not in my hands at present: but, if credit be to be given to such as have to us alleged the book, this we may find in the eighth century of John Bale, chapter xix.; that the said Thomas Gascoigne, in the third part of his said dictionary, writing of Reynold Peacock, maketh declaration of his articles, containing in them matter of sore heresy.[1] First, saith he, Reynold Peacock, at Paul's Cross, preached openly, that the office of a christian prelate, chiefly, above all other things, is to preach the word of God. That man's reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. That the use of the sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse than the use of the law of nature. That bishops who buy their admissions of the bishop of Rome, do sin. That no man is bound to believe and obey the determination of the church of Rome. Also that the riches of the bishops, by inheritance, are the goods of the poor. Item, that the apostles themselves, personally, were not the makers of the Creed; and that in the same Creed, once, was not the article, "He went down to hell." Item, that of the four senses of the Scripture none is to be taken, but the very first and proper sense. Also, that he gave little estimation, in some points, to the authority of the old doctors. Item, that he condemned the wilful begging of the friars, as a thing idle and needless. This out of Thomas Gascoigne. Leland also, adding this moreover, saith, that he, not contented to follow the catholic sentence of the church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not think soundly (as he judged it) of the holy Eucharist.

Peacock detained in prison.

At length, for these and such other articles, the said Reynold Peacock was condemned for a heretic, by the archbishops and by the bishops of Rochester, Lincoln, and Winchester, with other divines more. Whereupon he, being driven to his recantation, was notwithstanding detained still in prison; where some say, that he was privily made away by death.

Hall addeth, that some say his opinions to be, that spiritual persons, by God's law, ought to have no temporal possessions. Others write, that he said, that personal tithes were not due by God's law. But whatsoever the cause was, he was caused at Paul's Cross to abjure, and all his books burned, and he himself kept in his own house during his natural life. I marvel that Polydore, of this extremity of the bishop's handling, and of his articles, in his history maketh no memorial. Belike it made but little for the honesty of his great master the pope.

Polydore noted.

(1) Ex Tho. Gascoig. lib. de Doctrina Theolog. part iii.

From persecution and burning in England, now out of the way to digress a little, to speak of foreign matters of the church of Rome: you remember before, in the latter end of the council of Basil, how Eugene was deposed. *Henry VI.* A. D. 1457.

The[1] Germans at that time were so divided, that some of them did hold with Felix, and the council of Basil; others with Eugene and the council of Ferrara; and some with neither. It happened also, at the same time, A. D. 1444, that the dauphin of France, set on, as it is supposed by some, by the same Eugene, leading an army of twenty-five thousand men into Alsace, laid siege unto Basil to disturb the council, having, there, a great conflict with the Germans, not without great slaughter on both sides; whereby the council could no longer be kept in Germany for the power of pope Eugene and his adherents, but only in France, through the pragmatical sanction of the French king. At length Eugene brought to pass, partly through the help of Frederic (being not yet emperor, but labouring for the empire), partly by his orators, in the number of whom was Æneas Sylvius above mentioned, amongst the Germans, that they were content to give over, both the council of Basil, and the neutrality. *See Appendix.*

Of the conditions and martial affairs of Eugene, how he made war against Sfortia, a famous captain of Italy, and what other wars he raised besides, not only in Italy, but also in Germany, against the city and council of Basil, I shall not need to make any long rehearsal. After his deposition ye heard also how Felix, duke of Savoy, was elected pope. Whereupon another great schism followed in the church during all the life of Eugene. Eugene warreth against Sfortia and divers others. Pope Felix.

After his death, his next successor was pope Nicholas V., who, as you before have heard, brought so to pass with the emperor Frederic III., that Felix was contented to renounce and resign his papacy to Nicholas, and was therefore of him afterwards received to the room of cardinal for his submission; and Frederic, for his working, was confirmed at Rome to be full emperor, and there crowned, A. D. 1451. For emperors, before they be confirmed and crowned by the pope, are no emperors, but only called kings of Romans. Emperors are but kings of Romans before they be crowned by the pope.

This pope Nicholas here mentioned, to get and gather great sums of money, appointed a jubilee A. D. 1450, at which time there resorted a greater number of people unto Rome, than hath at any time before been seen. At which time we read in the story of Platina that to have happened, which I thought here not unworthy to be noted for the example of the thing.[2] As there was a great concourse of people resorting up to the mount Vatican to behold the image of our Saviour, which there they had to show to pilgrims, the people being thick going to and fro between the mount and the city, by chance a certain mule, belonging to the cardinal of St. Mark, came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to avoid the way, one or two falling upon the mule, there was such a press and throng upon that occasion on the bridge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of men, and three horses were there strangled, and on each side of the bridge many besides fell over into the water, and were drowned. By means of which occasion the pope afterwards caused the small houses to be Idolatry punished.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 369.—Ed. (2) Ex Platina de vitis.

Henry VI. plucked down, to make the way broader. And this is the fruit that cometh by idolatry.[1]

A. D. 1458. In the time of this pope one Mattheus Palmerius wrote a book 'De Angelis,' for defending whereof he was condemned by the pope, and burned at Corna, A. D. 1448.[2]

After Nicholas V. succeeded Calixtus III., who, amongst divers other things, ordained, both at noon and at evening the bell to toll the aves, as it was used in the popish time, to help the soldiers that fought against the Turks; for which cause, also, he ordained the feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord, solemnizing it with like pardons and indulgences, as was Corpus Christi day.

St Edmund of Canterbury canonized.

Also this pope, proceeding contrary to the councils of Constance and Basil, decreed that no man should appeal from the pope to any council. By him also St. Edmund of Canterbury, with divers others, were made saints.

Next after this Calixtus succeeded Pius II., otherwise called Æneas Sylvius, who wrote the two books of commentaries upon the council of Basil before mentioned. This Æneas, at the time of the writing of those his books, seemed to be a man of an indifferent and tolerable judgment and doctrine, from which he afterwards, being pope, seemed to decline and swerve, seeking by all means possible how to deface and abolish the books which heretofore he had written.

Promotion choketh religion.

Sentences or Proverbs attributed unto this Pope Pius II.

The divine nature of God may rather be comprehended by faith, than by disputation.

Christian faith is to be considered, not by what reason it is proved, but from whom it proceedeth.

Neither can a covetous man be satisfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poor men instead of silver, to noblemen instead of gold, and to princes instead of precious stones.

An artificial oration moveth fools, but not wise men.

Suitors in the law be as birds: the court is the bait; the judges be the nets and the lawyers be the fowlers.

Men are to be given to dignities, and not dignities to men.

The office of a bishop is heavy, but it is blessed to him that doth well bear it

A bishop without learning may be likened to an ass.

An evil physician destroyeth bodies, but an unlearned priest destroyeth souls.

Marriage of priests allowed by Æneas Sylvius.

Marriage was taken from priests not without great reason; but with much greater reason it ought to be restored again.

The like sentence to this last, he uttereth in his second book of the Council of Basil before specified, saying, "Peradventure it were not the worst, that the most part of priests had their wives, for many should be saved in priestly marriage, who now, in unmarried priesthood, are damned." The same Pius also, as Celius reporteth, dissolved certain orders of nuns, of the orders of St. Bridget and St. Clare, bidding them to depart out, that they should burn no more, nor cover a harlot under the vesture of religion.

This Pius, if he had brought as much piety and godliness as he brought learning unto his popedom had excelled many popes that went before him.

(1) Ex Platina. (2) Ex Tritemio.

It shall not be impertinent here to touch, what the said Æneas, called Pius the Pope, writeth touching the peace of the church, unto Gasper Schlick, the emperor's chancellor, in his 54th epistle.

A Letter of Pope Pius, touching the Peace of the Church

All men do abhor and detest schism. The way to remedy this evil Charles, the French king, hath showed us both safe and brief; which is, that princes or their orators should convent and assemble together in some common place, where they may conclude upon matters amongst themselves. To bring this to pass, it were needful for writings to be sent again to all kings and princes, to send their orators to Strasburg, or to Constance, with their full authority, there to treat of matters appertaining to the peace of the church. Neither would it require so great expenses; forasmuch as we see the year before three hundred gilders to be sufficient. Constantine, the emperor, bestowed not much more in the congregation of the council of Nice. And this way could not be stopped; neither could the pope or the council withstand it, or make excuse, as though this might not easily be done without them. For why? The secular princes may convent and assemble together, will they, nill they; and yet notwithstanding unity may there be concluded; for he should be an undoubted pope, whom all princes would obey. Neither do I see any of the clergy so constant to death, who will suffer martyrdom either for the one part or the other.[1] All we lightly hold that faith which our princes hold; which if they would worship idols, we would also do the same, and deny not only the pope, but God also, if the secular power strain us thereunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all faith is gone. Howsoever it be, let us all desire and seek for peace; which peace, whether it come by a council, or by assembly of princes, call it what you will, I care not, for we stand not upon the term, but upon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a stone, so you give it me to assuage my hunger. Whether you call it a council, or a conventicle, or an assembly, or a congregation, or a synagogue, that is no matter, so that schism may be excluded, and peace established.

The way to exclude schism is by the concord of princes

Thus much out of the epistle of Pius. Thus again it may appear, of what sentence and mind this Pius was in the time of the council of Basil, before he was made pope.[2] For, as our common proverb saith, "Honours change manners;" so it happened with this Pius, who, after he came once to be pope, was much altered from what he was before. For when before, he preferred general councils before the pope, now, being pope, he did decree that no man should appeal from the high bishop of Rome to any general council.

And likewise for priests' marriage, whereas before he thought it best to have their wives restored, yet afterwards he altered his mind otherwise, insomuch that in his book treating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of Augsburg, by occasion he inveighed against a certain epistle of Huldericke, once bishop of the said city, written against the constitution of the single life of priests: whereby it appeareth how the mind of this Pius was altered from that it was before.[3] This epistle of Huldericke is before expressed at large.[4]

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this Æneas Sylvius and Diether, archbishop of Mentz, and what discord was stirred up in Germany upon the same between Frederic palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, with others; by

Discord between Pius and the archbishop of Mentz.

(1) The pope's clergy will not abide the fire, either for prince, or pope.
(2) The breath of this pestilent seat corrupteth all that sit in it, whatsoever they were before.
(3) Æneas Sylvius, now puffed up with worldly pomp and glory, impugneth the truth which he did before both know and profess.
(4) Vol. ii. page 8.—Ed.

Henry VI.

the occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the city of Mentz, which was free before, lost her freedom and became servile.

A. D. 1457.

The causes of the discord betwixt pope Pius and Diether were these:—First, Because that Diether would not consent unto him in the imposition of certain tallages and taxes within his country. Secondly, For that Diether would not be bound unto him, requiring that the said Diether, being prince-elector, should not call the other electors together without his license, that is, without the license of the bishop of Rome. And thirdly, Because Diether would not permit to the pope's legates, to convocate his clergy together after their own lust. This pope Pius began his see about A.D. 1458.

A.D. 1458.

See Appendix.

After this Pius II. succeeded Paul II., a pope wholly set upon his belly and ambition, and not so much void of all learning, as the hater of all learned men. This Paul, who had a daughter begotten in fornication, because he saw her on that account to be had in reproach, began (as the stories report) to repent him of the law of the single life of priests, and went about to reform the same, had not death prevented him.[1]

After this Paul, came Sixtus IV., who builded up in Rome stews of both kinds, getting thereby no small revenues and rents unto the church of Rome.[2] This pope, amongst his other acts, reduced the year of Jubilee from the fiftieth unto the twenty-fifth. He also instituted the feast of the Conception, and the Preservation of Mary and Anna her mother and Joseph. Also he canonized Bonaventure and St. Francis for saints.

The feast of the Conception and Preservation of our Lady.

By this Sixtus also were beads brought in, and instituted to make our Lady's Psalter, through the occasion of one Alanus and his order, whom Baptista maketh mention of in this verse: "Hi filo insertis numerant sua murmura baccis;" that is, "These men, putting their beads upon a string, number their prayers." This Sixtus the pope made two and thirty cardinals in his time, of whom Petrus Ruerius was the first, who, for the time that he was cardinal, which was but two years, spent in luxurious riot, wasted and consumed, two hundred thousand florins, and was left sixty thousand in debt. Wesellus Groningensis, in a certain treatise of his, 'De Indulgentiis Papalibus,' writing of this pope Sixtus, reporteth this, That at the request of the aforesaid Peter, cardinal, and of Jerome, his brother, the said pope Sixtus permitted and granted unto the whole family of the cardinal of St. Lucy, in the three hot months of summer, June, July, and August, a thing too horrible to be spoken; with this clause, "Fiat ut petitur;" that is, "Be it as it is asked."

Beads brought in.

†

Next after this Sixtus, came Innocent VIII., as rude, and as far from all learning, as his predecessor was before him. Amongst the noble facts of this pope this was one, that in the town of Poli in the Campagna he caused eight men and six women, with the lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and judged for heretics, because that they said none of them was the vicar of Christ who came after Peter, but they only who followed the poverty of Christ. Also he condemned of heresy, George, the king of Bohemia, and deprived him of his dignity, and also of his kingdom, and procured his whole

Innocent VIII. He condemns eight men and six women for heresy.

George, king of Bohemia, condemned.

(1) Ex Stanisla. Rutheno. Cent. viii. Bal. [See Appendix.]
(2) See Appendix. (3) Ibid.

stock to be utterly rejected and put down, giving his kingdom to Matthias, king of Pannonia. *Henry VI.*

A. D. 1458.

Now from the popes to descend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the emperors incident to this time, with matters and grievances of the Germans, and also other princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home, pertaining to the overthrow of this king Henry and his seat, now following to be showed. And briefly to contract long process of much tumult and business into a short narration, here is to be remembered, which partly before was signified, how, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, mischiefs came in by heaps upon the king and his realm. For, after the giving away of Anjou and Maine to the Frenchmen, by the unfortunate marriage of queen Margaret above-mentioned, the said Frenchmen, perceiving now by the death of the duke of Gloucester, the stay and pillar of this commonwealth to be decayed, and seeing, moreover, the hearts of the nobility amongst themselves to be divided, foreslacked no time, having such an open way into Normandy, that in short time they recovered the same, and also got Gascony, so that no more now remained to England of all the parts beyond the sea, but only Calais. Neither yet did all the calamity of the realm only rest in this: for the king, now having lost his friendly uncle, as the stay and staff of his age, who had brought him up so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more emboldened to set upon him; as appeared first by Jack Cade, the Kentish captain, who, encamping first on Blackheath, afterwards aspired to London, and had the spoil thereof, the king being driven into Warwickshire. After the suppression of Cade, ensued not long after the duke of York, who, being accompanied with three earls, set upon the king near to St. Alban's, where the king was taken in the field captive, and the duke of York was by parliament declared protector; which was A. D. 1454. After this followed long division and mortal war between the two houses of Lancaster and York, continuing many years. At length about A. D. 1460, the duke of York was slain in battle by the queen, near to the town of Wakefield, and with him also his son, the earl of Rutland; by which queen also, shortly after, in the same year, were discomfited the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Norfolk, to whom the keeping of the king was committed by the duke of York; and so the queen again delivered her husband.

Mischiefs to England after the death of the duke of Gloucester.

Lands recovered of the Frenchmen.

Jack Cade.

The duke of York against the king.

See Appendix.

A.D.1460.

After this victory obtained, the northern men, advanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take upon them great attempts, not only to spoil and rob churches, and religious houses, and villages, but also were fully intended, partly by themselves, partly by the inducement of their lords and captains, to sack, waste, and utterly to subvert the city of London, and to take the spoil thereof; and no doubt (saith my history[1]) would have proceeded in their conceived greedy intent, had not the opportune favour of God provided a speedy remedy. For, as these mischiefs were in brewing, suddenly cometh the noble prince Edward unto London with a mighty army, the 27th day of February, who was the son and heir to the duke of York

The northern men intended the subversion of London.

London rescued by prince Edward.

(1) Ex historia manuscripta, cui titulus, 'Scala Mundi.'

Henry VI. A. D. 1459.

above-mentioned, accompanied with the earl of Warwick, and divers more. King Henry, in the mean time, with his victory, went up to York; when Edward, being at London, caused there to be proclaimed certain articles concerning his title to the crown of England, which was the second day of March. Whereupon the next day following, the lords both temporal and spiritual being assembled together, the said articles were propounded, and also well approved. The 4th day of the said month of March, A. D. 1461, after a solemn general procession (according to the blind superstition of those days) the bishop of Exeter made a sermon at Paul's Cross, wherein he commended and proved, by manifold evidences, the title of prince Edward to be just and lawful, answering in the same to all objections which might be made to the contrary.

The title of Edward to the crown proved at Paul's Cross.

He taketh possession of the crown.

This matter being thus discussed, prince Edward, accompanied with the lords spiritual and temporal, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to Westminster Hall, and there, by the full consent, as well of the lords, as also by the voice of all the commons, took his possession of the crown, and was called king Edward the Fourth.

These things thus accomplished at London, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of money sufficiently being ministered of the people and commons, with most ready and willing minds, for the necessary furniture of his wars; he, with the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Warwick, and lord Faucenbridge, in all speedy wise took his journey toward king Henry, who, now being at York, and forsaken of the Londoners, had all his refuge only reposed in the northern men.

Fierce and cruel battle between Henry and Edward.

When king Edward with his army had passed over the river Trent, and was come near to Ferrybridge, where also the host of king Henry was not far off, upon Palm Sunday, between Ferrybridge and Tadcaster, both the armies of the southern and northern men joined together in battle. And although, at the first beginning, divers horsemen of king Edward's side turned their backs, and spoiled the king of carriage and victuals, yet the courageous prince with his captains, little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their adversaries: which battle on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slain to the number, as is reported, of thirty thousand of the poor commons, beside men of name. Notwithstanding, the conquest fell on king Edward's part, so that king Henry having lost all, was forced to flee into Scotland, where also he gave up to the Scots the town of Berwick, after he had reigned eight and thirty years and a half.

King Henry VI. conquered.

The claim and title of the duke of York, and after him of Edward his son, put up to the lords and commons, whereby they challenged the crown to the house of York, is thus, in the story of Scala Mundi, word for word, as hereunder is contained.

The Title of the House of York to the Crown of England.

Edward the Third, right king of England, had issue, first, prince Edward: secondly, William Hatfield: thirdly, Lionel: fourthly, John of Gaunt, &c. Prince Edward had Richard the Second, which died without issue. William Hatfield died without issue. Lionel, duke of Clarence, had issue lawfully begot,

Philippa, his only daughter and heir; the which was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and had issue lawfully begot, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, and heir; which Roger had issue, Edmund earl of March, Roger, Anne, and Alienor: Edmund and Alienor died without issue, and the said Anne, by lawful matrimony was coupled unto Richard earl of Cambridge, the son of Edmund of Langley, who had issue and lawfully bare Richard Plantagenet, now duke of York. John of Gaunt gat Henry, who unrightfully entreated king Richard, then being alive Edmund Mortimer earl of March, son of the said Philippa, daughter to Lionel. To the which Richard, duke of York and son to Anne, daughter to Roger Mortimer earl of March, son and heir to the said Philippa, daughter and heir to the said Lionel, the third son of king Edward the Third, the right and dignity of the crown appertained and belonged, afore any issue of the said John of Gaunt. Notwithstanding the said title of dignity of the said Richard of York, the said Richard desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperity of England, agreeth and consenteth that king Henry the Sixth should be had and taken for king of England during his natural life from this time, without hurt of his title.

Henry VI. A.D. 1461. Richard Plantagenet.

Wherefore the king, understanding the said title of the said duke to be just, lawful, true, and sufficient, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the parliament, and by the authority of the same parliament, declareth, approveth, ratifieth, confirmeth, and accepteth the said title for just, good, lawful and true; and thereto giveth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberty. And over that, by the said advice and authority declareth, calleth, stablisheth, affirmeth, and reputeth the said Richard of York very true and rightful heir to the crown of England and France; and that all other statutes and acts made by any of the late Henries, contrary to this advice, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, void, and of no force or effect. The king agreed and consented that the said duke and his heirs shall after his natural life enjoy the crown, &c. Also, that all sayings and doings against the duke of York, shall be high treason, and all acts of parliaments contrary to this principal act be void and of none effect, &c.[1]

And thus much for the reign of king Henry VI., who now lacked his uncle and protector, duke of Gloucester, about him. But commonly the lack of such friends is never felt before they be missed.

In the time of this king was builded the house in London, called Leaden-hall, founded by one Simon Eyre, mayor once of the said city of London, A.D. 1445.

Leaden-hall. The standard, the conduit in Fleet-street, and Newgate: the colleges of Eaton and King's.

Also the standard in Cheap, builded by John Wells, A.D. 1442; the conduit in Fleet-street, by William Eastfield, A.D. 1438: item, Newgate, builded by the goods of Richard Whittington, A.D. 1422.

Moreover the said Henry VI. founded the college of Eton, and another house, having then the title of St. Nicholas, in Cambridge, now called King's College.[2]

In the reign of this Henry VI., it is not to be passed over in silence, which we find noted in the parliament rolls, how that Lewis, archbishop of Rouen, after the death of the late bishop of Ely, had granted unto him by the pope's bulls, during his life, all the profits of the said bishopric, by the name of the administrator of the said bishopric. Lewis, the aforesaid archbishop, showed his bulls to the king, who utterly rejected his bulls. Notwithstanding, for his service done in France, the king granted to him the administration aforesaid, which, to all intents, at the petition of the said Lewis, should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were bishop, touching profits, liberties, and hability.

The king rejects the pope's bulls.

Neither again is here to be overpast a certain tragical act done

(1) Ex Scala Mundi. (2) Ib.

Henry VI. between Easter and Whitsuntide of a false Briton, A.D. 1427, who murdered a good widow in her bed (who had brought him up of alms, without Aldgate in the suburbs of London) and bare away all that she had, and afterwards he took succour of holy church at St. George's in Southwark; but at last he took the cross, and forswore the king's land.[1] And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed; and women of the same parish came out with stones and channel-dung, and there made an end of him in the High-street, so that he went no further, notwithstanding the constables and other men also, who had him under governance to conduct him forward; for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.

A. D. 1461.

Example of God's rod and judgment.

EDWARD THE FOURTH.[2]

A. D. 1461. KING EDWARD, after his conquest and victory achieved against king Henry, returned again to London, where, upon the vigil of St. Peter and Paul, being on a Sunday, he was crowned king of England, and reigned twenty-two years, albeit not without great disquietness, and much perturbation in his reign.

Queen Margaret flees the land. Queen Margaret, hearing how her husband was fled into Scotland, was also fain to flee the land, and went to her father, duke of Anjou; from whence, the next year following, she returned again, to renew war against king Edward, with small succour and less luck. For being encountered by the earl of Warwick, about November, she was driven to the seas again, and by tempest of weather was driven into Scotland.

A.D.1462. In this year we read that king Edward, in the cause of a certain widow for rape, sat in his own person in Westminster-hall, upon his own bench, discussing her cause.[3]

A.D.1463. King Henry VI. again repulsed at the battle of Exham. The year following, king Henry, issuing out of Scotland with a sufficient power of Scots and Frenchmen, came into the north country to recover the crown, unto whom the lord Radulph Percy, and lord Radulph Gray flying from king Edward, did adjoin themselves: but the Lord so disposing, king Henry with his power was repulsed in battle at Exham by the lord Mountecute, having then the rule of the north; where the duke of Somerset, lord Hungerford, lord Ross, with certain others were taken. The lord Radulph Percy was slain, the residue fled. Albeit the history of 'Scala Mundi' referreth this battle to the year 1464, the 15th day of May: in which month of May were beheaded the duke of Somerset, lord Hungerford, lord Ross, lord Philip Wentworth, lord Thomas Hussy, lord Thomas Findern, besides twenty-one others belonging to the retinue and household of King Henry VI. Queen Margaret, finding no resting place here in England, took her progress again from whence she came, learning in her own country to drink that drink, which she herself had brewed here in England.

(1) Ex vetusto cod. cui initium, nomina custodem, &c. Et ex Fabiano.
(2) Edition 1583. p. 712.—Ed. (3) Ex Scala Mundi.

Edward IV.

A. D. 1465.

And not long after, the next year, A. D. 1465, on the day of St. Peter and Paul, king Henry being found and known in a wood by one Cantlow (as they say), was arrested by the earl of Warwick, and at last, of a king made prisoner in the Tower of London.

King Henry taken, arrested, and committed to the Tower.

In this mean time, king Edward after the motion of marriage for him being made, and first the lady Margaret, sister to James IV., king of Scots, thought upon, but that motion taking no effect, afterwards the lady Elizabeth, sister to Henry king of Castile, was intended; but she being under age, the earl of Warwick turning then his legation and voyage to the French king, Louis XI., to obtain lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and sister to Charlotte the French queen, and having obtained the same, had cast favour upon one Elizabeth Grey, widow of sir John Grey, knight, slain before in the battle of St. Alban's, daughter to the duchess of Bedford, and lord Rivers; and first went about to have her to his concubine. But she, as being unworthy (as she said) to be the wife of such a high personage, so thinking herself too good to be his concubine, in such sort won the king's heart, that incontinent, before the return of the earl of Warwick, he married her; at which marriage were no more than only the duchess of Bedford, two gentlewomen, the priest, and the clerk. Upon this so hasty and unlucky marriage ensued no little trouble to the king, much bloodshed to the realm, undoing almost to all her kindred, and finally confusion to king Edward's two sons, who both were declared afterwards to be bastards, and also deprived of their lives. For the earl of Warwick, who had been the faithful friend and chief maintainer before of the king, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so grievously moved and chafed in his mind, that he never after sought any thing more, than how to work displeasure to the king, and to put him beside his cushion. And, although for a time he dissembled his wrathful mood, till he might spy a time convenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last, finding occasion somewhat serving to his mind, he breaketh his heart to his two brethren, to wit, the marquis Mountecute, and the archbishop of York, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. Then thought he also to prove afar off the mind of the duke of Clarence, king Edward's brother, and likewise obtained him, giving also to him his daughter in marriage.

The king's sudden marriage with queen Eliza beth.

The first falling out between king Edward and the earl of Warwick.

Conspiracy against king Edward.

This matter being thus prepared against the king, the first flame of his conspiracy began to appear in the north country. Where the northern men, in short space gathering themselves in open rebellion, and finding captains of their wicked purpose, came down from York toward London. Against whom was appointed by the king, William lord Herbert, earl of Pembroke, with the lord Stafford, and certain other captains, to encounter. The Yorkshire men, giving the overthrow first to the lord Stafford, then to the earl of Pembroke, and his company of Welchmen at Banbury field, at last, joining together with the army of the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night secretly stealing on the king's field at Wolney by Warwick, killed the watch, and took the king prisoner, who first being in the castle of Warwick, then was conveyed by night to Middleham castle in Yorkshire, under

Edward IV. A.D. 1465.

the custody of the archbishop of York, where he, having loose keeping, and liberty to go on hunting, meeting with sir William Stanley, sir Thomas of Borough, and other his friends, was too good for his keepers, and escaped the hands of his enemies, and so came to York, where he was well received; from thence to Lancaster, where he met with the lord Hastings, his chamberlain, well accompanied; by whose help he came safe to London.

King Edward taken prisoner by the earl of Warwick.

The rebellion in Lincolnshire repressed.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to perfect peace and unity, although much labour was made by the nobility, the earl of Warwick raiseth up a new war in Lincolnshire, the captain whereof was sir Robert Wells, knight, who shortly after, being taken in battle with his father, and sir Thomas Dunocke, were beheaded. The residue casting away their coats, ran away and fled, giving the name of the field, called Loose-coat-field. The earl of Warwick after this, put out of comfort and hope to prevail at home, fled out of England, A.D. 1470, first to Calais, then to Louis, the French king, accompanied with the duke of Clarence. The fame of the earl of Warwick and of his famous acts was at that time in great admiration above measure, and so highly favoured, that both in England and France all men were glad to behold his personage. Wherefore the coming of this earl, and of the duke of Clarence, was not a little grateful to the French king, and no less opportune to queen Margaret, king Henry's wife, and prince Edward her son, who also came to the French court to meet and confer together touching their affairs, where a league between them was concluded; and, moreover, a marriage between Edward prince of Wales, and Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily upon the earl's part, besides the large offers and great promises made by the French king, in the best manner to set forward their purpose; the earl having also intelligence by letters, that the hearts almost of all men went with him, and longed sorely for his presence, so that there lacked now but only haste, with all speed possible to return; he, with the duke of Clarence, well fortified with the French navy, set forward toward England: for so was it between them before decreed, that they two should prove the first venture, and then queen Margaret, with prince Edward her son, should follow after. The arrival of the earl was no sooner heard of at Dartmouth in Devonshire, than great concourse of people, by thousands, went to him from all quarters to receive and welcome him; who immediately made proclamation, in the name of king Henry the Sixth, charging all men, able to bear armour, to prepare themselves to fight against Edward duke of York, usurper of the crown. Here lacked no friends, strength of men, furniture, nor policy convenient for such a matter.

The earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence flee into France.

The earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence return into England.

King Henry again proclaimed king.

When king Edward (who before not passing for the matter, nor seeking how either to have stopped his landing, or else straightways to have encountered with him, before the gathering of his friends, but passing forth the time in hunting, in hawking, in all pleasure and dalliance) had knowledge what great resort of multitudes incessantly repaired more and more daily about the earl and the duke, he began now to provide for remedy, when it was too late; who, trusting too much to his friends and fortune before, did now right well perceive what a variable and inconstant thing the people is, and especially

The inconstant levity of the people of England.

Edward IV. A.D. 1470.

the mercy of God, not forsaking the life of him who showed mercy unto others, so provided, that at the same present there was an English ship, and two hulks of Holland, ready to their journey. Thus king Edward, without provision, without bag or baggage, without cloth-sack or mail, without store of money, without raiment, save only apparel for war; also without all friends, except only his brother the duke of Gloucester, the lord Scales, and lord Hastings, with a few other trusty friends, to the number of seven or eight hundred persons, took shipping towards Holland; at which time he was in no less jeopardy almost on the sea, than he was on the land. For certain Easterlings, having many ships of war, which lay roving the same time on the sea, and had done much damage the year before, as well to the English merchants as to the French nation, spying the king's ship, with seven or eight gallant ships made sail after the king and his company. The king's ship was good of sail, and got some ground, albeit not much, of the Easterlings, that she came to the coast of Holland before Alckmaer, and there cast anchor: for otherwise, being an ebbing-water, they could not enter the haven. The Easterlings with their great ships approached as near as they could possibly come for the low water, purposing at the flood to obtain their prey; and so were like to do, if the Lord had not there also provided Mounsieur de Grounture, governor for duke Charles in Holland, at that season to be personally present in the town of Alckmaer, who, hearing of the jeopardy of the king being there at anchor, prohibited the Easterlings, on pain of death, to meddle with any Englishmen who were the duke's friends and allies.

God provideth.

King Edward taketh shipping.

King Edward near taken of the Easterlings.

God again provideth.

Thus king Edward, well chastised of God for his wantonness, both by sea and land, but not utterly given over from his protection, escaping so many hard chances, was set on land with his company; who, there well refreshed, and newly apparelled, were conducted to the Hague.

King Edward delivered from the Easterlings.

Duke Charles, at the hearing of the unprosperous case and condition of king Edward, his brother-in-law, was greatly amazed and perplexed in himself, much casting and doubting what he should do. For being then at war with the French king, he could not well provoke the English nation against him, without his manifest grievance and decay; neither yet could he, without great shame and obloquy, leave the king his brother in that necessity. Notwithstanding, so he demeaned himself through fair speech, pretending to the Englishmen to join part with the house of Lancaster, being himself partly descended of the same family by his grandmother's side; that he both was his own friend openly, and the king's friend covertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

Charles duke of Burgundy, king Edward's brother-in-law.

When tidings were spread in England of king Edward's flying, innumerable people on all hands resorted to the earl of Warwick, to take his part against king Edward, a few only excepted of his constant friends, who took sanctuary. Amongst whom was also Elizabeth his wife, who, desperate almost of all comfort, took also sanctuary at Westminster, where she, in great penury forsaken, was delivered of a fair son called Edward, that without all pomp was baptized like another poor woman's child, the godfathers being the abbot and prior of Westminster; the godmother was the lady Scroope.

Queen Elizabeth taketh sanctuary.

Prince Edward born in sanctuary.

Edward IV. A.D. 1471

To make the story short, the earl of Warwick, having now brought all things to his appetite, upon the twelfth day of October rode to the Tower, which was then delivered to him, and there took king Henry out of the ward, and placed him in the king's lodging. The 25th day of the same month, the duke of Clarence, accompanied with the earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, and the lord Stanley, with a great company, brought him, in a long gown of blue velvet, through the high streets of London, first to Paul's church to offer, then to the palace of the bishop of London, and there he resumed again the crown royal, A.D. 1470, which he did not long enjoy.

Henry VI. brought out of the Tower, but restored again to his kingdom.

See Appendix.

After this followed a parliament, in which king Edward with all his partakers were judged traitors. Queen Margaret with her son prince Edward, all this while were tarrying for a fair wind, thinking long, belike, till she came to an evil bargain, as it proved after. For king Edward, within six months after his departure out of England unto the duke of Burgundy, whether solicited by letters from his friends, or whether by his adventurous courage incited, made instant suit to duke Charles his brother, to rescue him with such power as he would bestow upon him: for he was fully resolved to defer the matter, and to protract the time, no longer.

King Edward returneth again into England.

The duke, damped in double fear in such a dangerous case, notwithstanding overcome by nature and affinity, secretly caused to be delivered to him fifty thousand florins, and further caused four great ships to be appointed for him in a haven in Zealand, where it was free for all men to come. Also the same duke had for him hired fourteen ships of the Easterlings well appointed, taking bond of them to serve him truly till he were landed in England, and fifteen days after.

King Edward with only two thousand soldiers cometh to Ravenspur, alias Ravensport.

Thus king Edward, being furnished but only with two thousand men of war, with more luck than hope to speed, sped his voyage into England, and landed at Ravenspur, on the coast of Yorkshire. Although there was no way for the king with such a small company of soldiers to do any good, yet, to use policy where strength did lack, first he sent forth certain light horsemen to prove the country on every side with persuasions, to see whether the uplandish people would be stirred to take king Edward's part. Perceiving that it would not be, king Edward flieth to his shifts, dissembling his purpose to be, not to claim the crown and kingdom, but only to claim the duchy of York, which was his own title; and caused the same to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more but only his just patrimony and lineal inheritance, they began to be moved with mercy and compassion towards him, either to favour him, or not to resist him: and so journeying toward York, he came to Beverley. The marquis Montacute, brother to the earl of Warwick, was then at Pomfret, to whom the earl had sent straight charge, with all expedition to set upon him, or else to stop his passage; and likewise to the citizens of York and all Yorkshire, to shut their gates and take armour against him. King Edward, being in these straits, proceeded notwithstanding near to York without resistance, where he required of the citizens to be admitted into their city. But so stood the case then, that they durst not grant it unto him, but on the contrary sent him word to approach no nearer, as he loved his own

The dissembling policy of King Edward.

He cometh to York.

He is repelled by the citizens of York.

time about London had levied a great host coming toward the earl of Warwick, as he was by the earl appointed. But when the earl saw the duke to linger the time, he began to suspect (as it fell out indeed) that he was altered to his brethren's part. The king, advancing forward his host, came to Warwick, where he found all the people departed. From thence he moved toward Coventry, where the earl was; unto whom, the next day after, he boldly offered battle. But the earl, expecting the duke of Clarence's coming, kept him within the walls. All this made for the king. For he, hearing that his brother the duke of Clarence was not far off, coming towards him with a great army, raised his camp, and made towards him, either to treat or else to encounter with his brother. When each host was in sight of the other, Richard duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as arbiter between them, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is uncertain; but hereby both the brethren, laying all army and weapon aside, first lovingly and familiarly communed; after that, brotherly and naturally joined together. And that fraternal amity by proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspicion.

Edward IV. A.D. 1471.

King Edward cometh to Warwick.

The earl of Warwick flyeth to Coventry.

The duke of Clarence cometh with a great army.

Concord of brethren.

Then was it agreed between the three brethren to attempt the earl of Warwick, if he likewise would be reconciled: but he, crying out shame upon the duke of Clarence, stood at utter defiance. From thence king Edward, so strongly furnished, and daily increasing, taketh his way to London; where, after it was known that the duke of Clarence was come to his brethren, much fear fell upon the Londoners, casting with themselves what was best to do. The suddenness of time permitted no long consultation. There was at London at the same time the archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Somerset, with others of king Henry's council, to whom the earl had sent in commandment a little before, knowing the weakness of the city, that they should keep the city from their enemies two or three days, and he would follow with all possible speed with a puissant army, who, according to their commandment, defended the city with all their power; but yet to little purpose. For the citizens, consulting with themselves most for their own indemnity, having no walls to defend them, thought best to take that way which seemed to them most sure and safe, and therefore concluded to take part with king Edward. This was not so soon known abroad, but the commonalty ran out by heaps to meet king Edward, and to salute him as their king. Whereupon the duke of Somerset, with others of king Henry's council, hearing thereof, and wondering at the sudden change of the world, to shift for themselves, fled away and left there king Henry alone; who, the same day being caused by the archbishop of York to ride about London like a king, was before night made captive, and reduced again to the Tower.

The ear of Warwick refuseth to be reconciled.

King Edward cometh to London.

Londoners take part with king Edward.

King Henry's councillors flee away.

Henry again taken and committed to prison.

It was not long after these things thus done at London, but the coming of the earl of Warwick was heard of; who, thinking to prevent mischiefs with making speed, came a little too late and missed of his purpose. In the earl's army were John, duke of Exeter, Edmund earl of Somerset, John earl of Oxford, and the marquis Mountacute, the earl's brother. The earl had now passed a great

Edward IV. A.D. 1471.

part of his journey, when he, hearing news of the world so changed, and of the captivity of king Henry, was not a little thereat appalled in his mind: wherefore he stayed with his army at St. Alban's, to see what way further to take. And, forasmuch as there was no other remedy, but either he must yield, or one conflict must finish the matter, he removed to Barnet, ten miles from St. Alban's.

The earl of Warwick cometh to Barnet.

Against him set forth king Edward, well appointed, with a strong army of picked and able persons, with artillery, engines, and instruments, meet for the purpose; bringing with him also king Henry. On Easter-even he came to Barnet, and there he embattled himself.

The battle of Barnet.

In the morning upon Easter-day the battle began, and fiercely continued almost till noon, with murder on each side, much doubtful, till both parties were almost weary with fighting and murdering. King Edward then, desirous to see an end, off or on, with a great crew of new fresh soldiers set upon his wearied enemies, whereby the earl's men, encouraged with the words of their captain, stoutly fought: but they, sore wounded and wearied, could not long hold out.

The earl of Warwick and his brother slain.

The earl, rushing into the midst of his enemies, ventured so far that he could not be rescued; where he was stricken down and slain, and there lay he. The marquis Montacute, thinking to succour his brother, whom he saw to be in great jeopardy, was likewise overthrown and slain. After that Richard Nevil earl of Warwick and his brother were gone, the rest fled, and many were taken. The number of them who were in this field slain, are judged about ten thousand, as Polydore Virgil reciteth. Fabian numbereth of them that were slain but fifteen hundred. The duke of Somerset and the earl of Oxford, thinking to fly to Scotland, returned to Jasper, earl of Pembroke, in Wales. The duke of Exeter hardly escaped to Westminster, and there took sanctuary. For the death of the earl of Warwick, the king was not so glad, as he was sorry for the marquis Mountacute, whom he took to be his friend. The corpses of these two were brought to the church of Paul's, where they lay open in two coffins two days, and then were interred.[1]

Difference between Polydore and Fabian.

In the narration of this history, Polydore Virgil, whom Hall followeth word for word, doth some deal differ from Robert Fabian: neither do I doubt but both these had their authors by whom they were directed. Notwithstanding this I marvel, that Polydore, writing of so many things which he never saw, doth not vouchsafe to

Polydore is said to have burned a number of our English writers.

cite unto us those writers of whom he borrowed. And more do I marvel or rather lament, if it be true what I have heard, that he not only nameth no author unto us, but also burned a heap of our English stories unknown, after the finishing of his, in the days of king Henry VIII. But now to our text again.

The return of Queen Margaret into England.

All this while Queen Margaret, with young prince Edward her son, was scarce come over, being long let with contrary winds; who, at length, in the month of April, arrived at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, and hearing the sorrowful tidings of these things lately happened to her husband, and to the earl of Warwick and his brother, and of the prosperous success of king Edward, was so dismayed, disquieted, and pierced with sorrow, seeing all things, contrary to her expectation, so to frame against her, that she feared and took on with

1) Ex Polyd. et aliis

herself, lamenting her husband, bewailing her son, cursing her coming, and crying out of fortune; as though blind fortune were she that governeth times and tides (rewarding just punishments to unjust deservings of men), and not the secret power and terrible justice of Almighty God. Such was then the impatience of that queen, being not able to bear the vehemency of her passion (who rather should have sorrowed the dolorous death of duke Humphrey, whom before she neglected, but now she lacked), that her senses failed, her spirits were taken, her speech decayed, and, life almost gone, she fell to the ground, as one that would rather die than live.[1] In this desolate case queen Margaret, learning now to know her friends from her foes when it was too late, fraught full of heaviness, without solace or hope of remedy, she with her son and her company departed for her next refuge, to a monastery of monks called Beauly in Hampshire, there to take sanctuary and privilege of the house.

Edward IV. A.D. 1471.

Queen Margaret for sorrow swoons.

Taketh sanctuary.

Yet all hearts were not sound nor subdued in England, especially Edmund duke of Somerset, with lord John his brother; Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonshire; Jasper, earl of Pembroke; lord Wenlock; John Longscrother, being prior of the knights of St. John in Rhodes. These, hearing of the queen's return, with speed resorted to her; by whom she, being somewhat quickened in her spirits, and animated to war, began to take some heart, and to follow their counsel; which was, in all the hot haste, to renew war against king Edward, being now unprovided, by reason his army was now dispersed, and chiefest of his soldiers wasted. Here great hope of victory was showed; great promises made. Although the queen's mind was (being more careful for the young prince than for herself) to send him over into France, before some proof or trial made; yet following the contrary counsel of them, and partly cut off by shortness of time, which required haste, she began with all expedition to gather power. Likewise Jasper, earl of Pembroke, posted into Wales to do the same.

Moved by her friends to renew wars against king Edward.

King Edward, having intelligence of all these doings, first sendeth out certain light horsemen, to espy abroad through the west parts what ways his enemies did take. In the mean time he, using all celerity to meet them before they came to London, gathered a power, such as he could make about London, and first cometh to Abingdon, from thence to Marlborough, hearing that the queen was at Bath, thinking to encounter with them before they diverted into Wales to the earl of Pembroke, whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that they would take. But the queen, understanding the king to be so nigh, removeth from Bath to Bristol, sending word in the mean while to the citizens of Gloucester, that they would grant her leave safely to pass by their city. Which when it could not be obtained, with her army she departed from Bristol to Tewkesbury; where the duke of Somerset, knowing king Edward to be at hand at his very back, willed the queen there to stay, and in no wise to fly backward, for certain doubts that might be cast. Although this counsel was against the consent of many other captains, who thought it best rather to draw aside, while the earl of Pembroke with his army were

King Edward warreth against queen Margaret.

Queen Margaret debarred from Gloucester.

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Polyd. lib. xiv.

Edward IV. A.D. 1471.

with them associated; yet the mind of the duke prevailed, the place was prefixed, the field pitched, the time of battle came, the king was looked for; who, being within one mile of Tewkesbury, with like industry and policy as his enemies had done, disposed his army likewise in array. This celerity of the king, taking the time, was to him great advantage; who otherwise, if he had deferred till they had conjoined with the earl of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

The battle of Tewkesbury.

Of this battle Hall thus reporteth, adding more than Polydore, that the duke of Somerset, although he was strongly intrenched, yet, through the occasion or policy of the duke of Gloucester, who had the fore-ward of the king's part, a little reculing back, followed the chase, supposing that the lord Wenlock, who had the middle-ward, would have followed hard at his back. The duke of Gloucester, whether for shame rather than of policy, espying his advantage, suddenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the contrary part was eftsoons discomfited, and so much the more, because they were separated from their company. The duke of Somerset, not a little aggrieved at this so unfortunate a case, returneth to the middle-ward, where he, seeing the lord Wenlock abiding still, revileth him, and calleth him traitor, and with his axe striketh the brains out of his head.

This much addeth Hall besides Polydore; but showeth not his author where he had it. Polydore, writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this: That the queen's army, being overset with the number and multitude of their enemies, and she having no fresh soldiers to furnish the field, was at last overmatched, and the most part were slain or taken. In which battle were named to be slain, the earl of Devonshire, the lord Wenlock, lord John the duke of Somerset's brother, besides others. Among them that were taken was queen Margaret, found in her chariot almost dead for sorrow, prince Edward, Edmund duke of Somerset, John, prior of St. John's, with twenty other knights; all which were beheaded within two days after, the queen only and the young prince excepted: which prince Edward being then brought to the king's presence, it was demanded of him how he durst be so bold to stand in battle against him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and saith, that after the field was finished the king made proclamation, That whosoever would bring prince Edward to him, should have an annuity of a hundred pounds during his life, and the prince's life should be saved. Whereupon sir Richard Croftes, not mistrusting the king's promise, brought forth his prisoner, &c. And so the king demanding of the prince (as is said) how he durst so presumptuously enter this realm with his banner displayed against him, he answered, saying, That he came to recover his father's kingdom and inheritance, from his grandfather and father to him descending; whereat (said Polydore) the king with his hand disdainfully thrust him from him. Others say, that the king struck him on the face with his gauntlet.

Queen Margaret taken in battle.

Prince Edward brought to the king.

The stout answer of the prince to the king.

At the speaking of these words were present George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Gloucester, and the earl, lord William Hastings; who, upon the same, uncourteously falling upon the prince, did slay him. Queen Margaret, being brought prisoner to London,

Prince Edward, son to king Henry, slain.

was afterwards ransomed by her father, the duke of Anjou, for a great sum of money which he borrowed of the French king, and for the payment thereof was fain to yield unto him the title of the kingdom of Sicily and Naples, &c. King Edward, for these prosperous wars, rendered to God his hearty thanks, and caused publicly, through his realm, solemn processions to be kept three days together. And thus much, and too much, touching the wars of king Edward IV., which was done, A.D. 1471.[1]

Edward IV. A.D. 1471.

Queen Margaret ransomed for a great sum of money.

Public processions.

The death of king Henry VI.

The same year, and about the same time, upon Ascension-even, king Henry, being prisoner in the Tower, departed, after he had reigned in all thirty-eight years and six months. Polydore, and Hall following him, affirm that he was slain with a dagger by Richard duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, for the more quiet and safeguard of the king his brother. In the history, entitled, 'Scala Mundi,' I find these words: "Quod in turri, in vigilia ascensionis Dominicæ, ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thamesiam navicula usque ad abbatiam de Chertesey deductus, ibi sepultus est;" that is, "That king Henry, being in the Tower, upon the Ascension-even, there happily or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boat to the abbey of Chertsey, and there buried.

King Henry buried at Chertsey.

Polydore, after he hath described the virtues of this king, recordeth that king Henry VII. did afterwards translate the corpse of him from Chertsey to Windsor, and addeth, moreover, that by him certain miracles were wrought: For which cause the said king Henry VII. (saith he) laboured with pope Julius, to have him canonized for a saint; but the death of the king was the let, why that matter proceeded not. Edward Hall, writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cause, why king Henry's sancting went not forward, to be this: for that the fees for canonizing a king were of so great a quantity at Rome (more than of another, bishop or prelate), that the said king thought it better to keep the money in his chests, than, with the impoverishing of the realm to buy so dear, and pay so much, for a new holy-day of St. Henry in the calendar, &c.[2] Which if it be true, it might be replied then to pope Julius, that if popes be higher than kings in the earth, and especially in heaven, why then is a pope-saint so cheap in the market-place of Rome, and a king-saint so dear? Again, if the valuation of things in all markets and burses be according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought, what reason is it, seeing the sancting of a king beareth a bigger sale than the sancting of any pope in heaven, but that kings should be above popes also upon the earth? *Sed extra jocum*, as I do not doubt, but that king Henry was a good and a quiet prince, if he had not otherwise been abused by some; so, touching the ruin of his house, I think not contrary, but it came not without the just appointment of the Lord, either for that Henry of Lancaster's house were such enemies to God's people, and for the burning of the lord Cobham and many others; or else for the unjust displacing of king Richard II.; or else, thirdly, for the cruel slaughter of Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester, his uncle; whereof sufficiently hath been said before.

Polydore's miracles.

A king-saint, is dear ware in the pope's market.

The cause examined of Lancaster house.

Example of God's just rod of correction.

During the time of these doings, being about A. D. 1464, there

(1) Ex Polyd. et aliis. (2) Ex Edv. Hallo.

Edward IV. A. D. 1471.

was here in England a certain friar Carmelite, who, about the term of Michael the Archangel, preached at Paul's in London, that our Lord Jesus Christ, being here in this present world, was in poverty, and did beg. To whose opinion and doctrine the provincial of that order seemed also to incline, defending the same both in his reading and preaching, with other doctors more and brethren of the same order; unto whom also joined certain of the Jacobites, and stiffly did take their parts. On the contrary side, many doctors and also lawyers, both in their public lectures and preaching, to the uttermost of their cunning did withstand their assertion, as being a thing most pestiferous in the church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the defendant part was driven for a while to keep silence. Much like to those times I might well resemble these our days now present, with our tumultuous contention of forms and fashions of garments. But I put myself here in Pythagoras's school, and keep silence with these friars. In the story, moreover, it followeth, that this beggarly question of the begging friars, whether Christ did beg or no, went so far, that at length it came to the pope's ears, Paul II., who was no beggar ye may be sure! After that the fame of this doctrine, mounting over the Alps, came flying to the court of Rome, which was about the assumption of the Virgin Mary, the year next following, A. D. 1465, it brought with it such an evil smell to the fine noses there, that it was no need to bid them to stir; for begging to them was worse than high heresy. Wherefore the holy father pope Paul II., to repress the sparkles of this doctrine, which otherwise perhaps might have set his whole kitchen on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and eftsoons directeth down his bull into England, insinuating to the prelates here, "That this heresy, which pestiferously doth affirm that Christ did openly beg, was condemned of old time by the bishop of Rome, and their councils, and that the same ought to be declared in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be trodden down under all men's feet,"[1] &c. This was in the same year when prince Edward, king Edward's son, was born in the sanctuary at Westminster, A. D. 1465.

A sore heresy preached at Paul's cross.

Contention in the church, whether Christ was a beggar, or not.

Times compared.

The pope's determined solution, that Christ was no beggar.

King Edward vanquished in nine battles, being himself present at them all.

As touching the rest of the doings and affairs of this king (who had vanquished hitherto in nine battles, himself being present), how afterwards he, through the incitement of Charles duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, ventured into France with a puissant army, and how the duke failed him in his promise; also how peace between these two kings was at length concluded in a solemn meeting of both the said kings together (which meeting is notified in stories, by a white dove, sitting the same day of meeting upon the top of king Edward's tent); also of the marriage promised between the young Dauphin and Elizabeth, king Edward's eldest daughter, but afterwards broken off on the French king's part; moreover as touching the death of the duke of Burgundy slain in war, and of his daughter Mary, niece to king Edward, being spoiled of her lands and possessions wrongfully by Louis, the French king, and married after to Maximilian: Furthermore, as touching the expedition of king Edward into Scotland, by

(1) "Hæresim illam pestifere asserentem quod Christus publice mendicavit, esse antiquitus a Romanis pontificibus, cum suis concilliis damnatam, et eam pro damnata undique declarandam et conculcandam," &c. Ex Hist. Scalæ Mundi, fol. ult.

reason of king James breaking promise in marrying with Cecilia, the second daughter of king Edward, and of his driving out his brother, and how the matter was composed there, and of the recovery again of Berwick; of these (I say) and such other things more, partly because they are described sufficiently in our common English stories, partly also because they be matters not greatly pertaining to the church, I omit to speak, making of them a 'supersedeas.' Two things I find here, among many others, specially to be remembered.

Edward IV. A. D. 1471.

King James of Scotland goeth from his promise of marriage.

Berwick recovered.

The first is concerning a godly and constant servant of Christ, named John Goose, who, in the time of this king, was unjustly condemned and burnt at the Tower-hill, A. D. 1473, in the month of August. Thus had England also its John Huss as well as Bohemia. Wherein moreover this is to be noted, that since the time of king Richard II., there is no reign of any king to be assigned hitherto, wherein some good man or other hath not suffered the pains of fire, for the religion and true testimony of Christ Jesus. Of this said John Goose, or John Huss, this, moreover, I find in another English monument recorded, that the said John being delivered to Robert Belisdon, one of the sheriffs, to see him burnt in the afternoon; the sheriff, like a charitable man, had him home to his house, and there exhorted him to deny (saith the story) his errors. But the godly man, after long exhortation heard, desired the sheriff to be content; for he was satisfied in his conscience. Notwithstanding this, he desired of the sheriff, for God's sake to give him some meat, saying, That he was very sore hungered. Then the sheriff commanded him meat; whereof he took and did eat, as if he had been towards no manner of danger, and said to such as stood about him, "I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower, ere I go to supper." And when he had dined, he gave thanks, and required that he might shortly be led to the place, where he should yield up his spirit unto God.[1]

A.D.1473 John Goose, martyr.

John Goose in English, as much as John Huss in the Bohemian tongue.

See Appendix.

John Goose taketh his dinner, before he goeth to martyrdom.

The second thing herein to be noted is the death of George duke of Clarence, the king's second brother; of whom relation was made before, how he assisted king Edward his brother, against the earl of Warwick, at Barnet field, and helped him to the crown; and now, after all these benefits, was at length thus requited, that (for what cause it is uncertain) he was apprehended and cast into the Tower, where he, being adjudged for a traitor, was privily drowned in a butt of Malmsey. What the true cause was of his death it cannot certainly be affirmed. Divers conjectures and imaginations there be diversely put forth. Some partly imputed it to the queen's displeasure. Others suppose it came from taking part in the cause of his servant, who was accused and condemned for poisoning, sorcery, or enchantment. Another fame there is, which surmiseth the cause hereof to rise upon the vain fear of a foolish prophecy, coming no doubt, if it were true, by the crafty operation of Satan, as it doth many times else happen among infidels and gentiles, where Christ is not known; where, among high princes and in noble houses, much mischief groweth, first murder and parricide, and thereby ruin of ancient families, and alteration of kingdoms. The effect of this prophecy, as the fame goeth, was this: that after king Edward, should one reign whose name should begin with G; and, because the name of the duke of Clarence, being George,

The unworthy death of the duke of Clarence.

The duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of Malmsey.

The mischief that Satan worketh by false prophecies.

The prophecy of G.

(1) Ex Polychron.

Edward IV. began with a G, therefore he began to be feared, and afterwards privily, as is before said, was made away with.

A. D. 1473.

CERTAIN NOTES UPON FALSE PROPHECIES.

Prophecies not rashly to be believed.

By these experiments and mischievous ends of such prophecies, and also by the nature of them, it is soon to be seen from what fountain or author they proceed; that is, no doubt, from Satan, the ancient enemy of mankind, and prince of this world; against whose deceitful delusions, christian men must be well instructed, neither to marvel greatly at them, though they seem strange, nor yet to believe them, though they happen true. For Satan, being the prince of this world, in such worldly things can foresee what will follow, and can say truth for a mischievous end; and yet for all that, is but a Satan. So the dream of Astyages, seeing a vine to grow out of his daughter, which should cover all Asia, and fearing thereby that by his nephew he should lose his kingdom, proved true in the sequel thereof; and yet notwithstanding of Satan it came, and caused cruel murder to follow, first of the shepherd's child, then of the son of Harpagus, whom he set before his own father to eat.[1] Likewise Cyrus was prophetically admonished by his dream, to take him for his guide, whom he first met the next morrow. In that also his dream fell true, and yet was not of God. In the same number are to be put all the blind oracles of the idolatrous gentiles, which although they proceed of a lying spirit, yet sometimes they hit the truth to a mischievous purpose. The like judgment also is to be given of Merlin's prophecies. The sorceress mentioned 1 Sam. xviii., raising up Samuel, told Saul the truth, yet was it not of God. In Acts xvi. there was a damsel having the spirit of Pytho,[2] who said truth of Paul and Silas, calling them the messengers of the high God: and yet it was a wrong spirit. The unclean spirits, in giving testimony of Christ, said the truth; yet because their testimony came not of God, Christ did not allow it.

Satan can say truth, for a wicked end.

Devilish prophecies, although they tell truth, yet are not to be followed.

Merlin's prophecies.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valentinian the emperor, that he also had a blind prophecy, not much unlike to this of king Edward, which was, that one should succeed him in the empire whose name should begin with θ, o, and δ. Whereupon one Theodorus, trusting upon the prophecy, began rebelliously to hope for the crown, and for his labour felt the pains of a traitor. Notwithstanding the effect of the prophecy followed: for, after Valentinian, succeeded Theodosius. Wherefore christian princes and noblemen, and all Christ's faithful people must beware and learn:

Three things to be noted concerning false prophecies.

First, That no man be inquisitive or curious in searching to know what things be to come, or what shall happen, besides those things only which are promised and expressed in the Word.

Secondly, To understand what difference there is, and how to discern the voice of God from the voice of Satan.

Thirdly, How to resist and avoid the danger of false and devilish prophecies.

Many there be, who, not being contented with things present, curi-

(1) Ex Just. lib. 1.
(2) A spirit of divination, which could guess and foredeem things past, present, and to come which knowledge God, many times, permitteth to the devil.

ously occupy their wits to search what is to come, and not giving thanks to God for their life which they have, will also know what shall bechance them, how and when their end will come, how long princes shall reign, and who, after, shall succeed them; and for the same get unto them soothsayers, astrologers, sorcerers, conjurers, or familiars. And these are not so much inquisitive to search or ask, but the devil is as ready to answer them, who either falsely doubleth with them to delude them, or else telleth them truth, to work them perpetual care and sorrow. Thus was pope Silvester, the sorcerer, circumvented by the devil, who told him, that he should be at Jerusalem before he died, and so it fell out. For as he was saying his mass at a chapel in Rome, called Jerusalem, there he fell sick, and within three days after died:[1] to king Henry IV., also, it seemeth it was prophesied, that he should not die before he went to Jerusalem; who, being brought to the abbot's chamber of Westminster, and hearing the name of the chamber to be called Jerusalem, knew his time to be come, and died. *Edward IV.* A. D. 1473.

By such deceitful prophecies it cannot be lamented enough to see what inconvenience, both public and private, groweth to the life of men, either causing them falsely to trust where they should not, or else wickedly to perpetrate what they would not; as may appear both by this king, and also divers more. So were Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar (as writeth Cicero) deceived by the false Chaldees, in declaring to them that they should not die but in their beds, and with worship, and in their old age. Of such false trust rising upon false prophecies, St. Ambrose, in his book of Exameron, writeth, speaking of rain, which being in those parts greatly desired, was promised and prophesied by one certainly to fall upon such a day, which was at the changing of the new moon: but (saith St. Ambrose) there fell no such rain at all, till, at the prayers of the church, the same was obtained. Giving us to understand, that rain cometh not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the moon, but by the providence and mercy of our Creator.[2] False trust by devilish prophecies.

Johannes Picus, earl of Mirandula, in his excellent books written against these vain star-tellers and astrologers,[3] writeth of one Ordelaphus, a prince, to whom it was prognosticated by a famous cunning man in that science, called Hieronymus Manfredus, that he should enjoy long continuance of health, and prosperous life; who, notwithstanding, the self-same year, and in the first year of his marriage, deceased; and, after divers other examples added moreover upon the same, he inferreth also mention, and the name, of a certain rich matron in Rome, named Constantia, who, in like manner, departed the same year in which she received great promises by these soothsayers and astrologers, of a long and happy life, saying to her husband these words. "Behold," saith she, "how true be the prognostications of these sooth-tellers!" Experience of false prophecies.

If it were not for noting of those who now are gone, and whose names I would in no case to be blemished with any spot, I could recite the names of certain, especially one, who, taking his journey in a certain place, after diligent calculation and forecasting of the success and good speed of his journey, was, notwithstanding, in the same This man by false dissemblers was taken, and brought into England.

(1) See vol. ii. p. 95. (2) Ex Ambros. in Examer (3) Lib. ii. cap. 9.

Edward IV. A. D. 1473.

journey apprehended, and brought where he would not; and after that never enjoying a good day, in a short time he departed. In Basil this I myself heard, of one who knew and was conversant with the party, who, having a curious delight in these speculations of chances and events to come, by his calculation noted a certain day, which he mistrusted should be fatal unto him, by something which at that day should fall upon him. Whereupon he determined with himself all that day to keep him sure and safe within his chamber: where he, reaching up his hand to take down a book, the book falling down upon his head, gave him his death's wound: and, shortly after, he died upon the same. Of these and such like examples the world is full, and yet the curiousness of men's heads will not refrain still to pluck the apple of this unlucky and forbidden tree.

A perilous matter for a man to be curious of times and things to come.

Beside all this, what murder and parricide come by the fear of these prophecies, in great bloods and noble houses, I refer it unto them who read and well advise the stories, as well of our kings here in England, as in other kingdoms more, both Christened and Turkish, whereof another place shall serve as well (Christ willing) more largely to treat, and particularly to discourse. To this pertain also the great inconvenience and hindrance that grow by the fear of such prophecies in the vocation of men, forasmuch as many there be, who, fearing some one danger, some another, leave their vocations undone, and follow inordinate ways. As if one having a blind propheey, that his destruction should be in the day, would wake and do all his business by night and candle-light; and so forth in other several cases of men and women, as every one in his own conscience knoweth his own case best.

The second part: how prophecies are to be discerned.

The second thing to be considered in these prophecies, is rightly to discern and understand, as near as we can, the difference between the prophecies proceeding from God, and the false prophecies counterfeited by Satan. For Satan sometimes playeth God's ape, and transformeth himself into an angel of light; bearing such a resemblance and colour of truth and religion, that a wise man is scarcely able to discern one from the other, and the most part is beguiled. Concerning prophecies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three things are to be observed:

First, Whether they go simply and plainly, or whether they be doubtful and ambiguous: whereof the one seemeth to taste of God's Spirit, such as be the prophecies of the Scripture; the other to come otherwise, having a double or doubtful interpretation. Although the time of God's prophecies, as also of miracles, is commonly and ordinarily expired, yet if the Lord in these days now extraordinarily do show any prophecy, by the simpleness and plainness thereof it may partly be discerned.

Secondly, This is to be expended: whether they be private, tending to this family or that family, or public. For, as the Scriptures, so commonly the prophecies of God, have no private interpretation, but general; forasmuch as the care of God's Holy Spirit is not restrained partially to one person more than to another, but generally, and indifferently, respecteth the whole church of his elect in Christ Jesus his Son. Wherefore such prophecies as privately are touching the arms of

houses or names of men, rising or falling of private and particular families, are worthily to be suspected. *Edward IV.* A. D. 1473.

The third note and special argument to descry the true prophecies of God from the false prophecies of Satan and his false prophets, is this, to consider the matter and the end thereof; that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be spiritual, or whether they tend to any glory or state of this present world, or whether they tend to the spiritual instruction, admonition, or comfort, of the public church.

The third part: how to avoid the danger of sinister prophecies.

Now remaineth thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be instructed next how to eschew the fear and peril of all devilish prophecies, which make against us; wherein two special remedies are to be marked of every christian man, whereby he may be safe and sure against all danger of the enemy. The first is, that we set the name of Christ Jesus, the Son of God, against them, through a true faith in him; knowing this, that the Son of God hath appeared to dissolve the works of the devil. And again, "This is the victory," saith the Scripture, "that overcometh the world, even our faith." Whatsoever then Satan worketh, or can work against us, be it ever so forcible, faith in Christ will vanquish it. Such a majesty is in our faith, believing in the name of the Son of God.

The other remedy is faithful prayer, which obtaineth, in the name of Christ, all things with the Lord. So that wicked fiend, which had killed before seven husbands of Tobias's wife, could not hurt him entering his matrimony with earnest prayer: so no more shall any sinister prophecy prevail, where prayer out of a faithful heart doth strive against it. Neither am I ignorant, that against such temporal evils and punishments in this life inflicted, a great remedy lieth also in this, when Satan findeth nothing wherein greatly to accuse our conscience. But because such a conscience is hard to be found, the next refuge is to fly to repentance, with amendment of life. For many times where sin doth reign in our mortal bodies, there also the operation of Satan is strong against us, to afflict our outward bodies here; but as touching our eternal salvation, neither work nor merit hath any place, but only our faith in Christ. And thus much briefly touching the two special remedies, whereby the operation of all devilish prophecies may be avoided and defeated.

Man's policy can do nothing against the devil.

Now many there be, who, leaving these remedies aforesaid, and the safe protection which the Lord hath set up in Christ, take other ways of their own, seeking by their own policy how to withstand and escape such prophecies, either subtilely in eschewing the place and time, or else cruelly, by killing the party whom they fear; whereof cometh injury, murder, and parricide, with other mischiefs in commonwealths unspeakable. To whom commonly it cometh so to pass, that whereby they think most to save themselves, by the same means they fall most into the snare, being subverted and confounded in their own policy, for that they, trusting to their own device, and not unto the Lord, who only can dissolve the operation of Satan, the Lord so turneth their device into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they think most surely to escape. Examples whereof we see not only in Astyages, king of the Medes aforesaid, and Cyrus; but in infinite other like events, which the trade of the world doth daily offer to our

No power can withstand him but only Christ, and our faith in him.

Edward IV. A.D. 1473.

eyes. So queen Margaret thought her then cock-sure, when duke Humphrey was made away; when nothing else was her confusion so much, as the loss and lack of that man.

So, if king Richard II. had not exercised such cruelty upon his uncle Thomas, duke of Gloucester, he had not received such wrong by king Henry IV. as he did. Likewise this king Edward IV., if he had suffered his brother George, duke of Clarence, to live, his house had not so gone to wrack by Richard, his other brother, as it did. What befel the student of astrology, in the university of Basil, ye heard before; who, if he had not mewed himself in his chamber for fear of his divination, had escaped the stroke that fell. Now, in avoiding such prophetical events, which he should not have searched, he fell into that which he did fear. These few examples, for instruction's sake, I thought by occasion to infer, not as though these were alone; but by these few to admonish the reader of infinite others, which daily come in practice of life, to the great danger and decay, as well of private houses, as of weals public.

A brief rehearsal of the matter of prophecies before passed.

Wherefore, briefly to repeat what before simply hath been said touching this matter, seeing that Satan, through such subtle prophecies, hath yet and doth daily practise so manifold mischiefs in the world, setting brother against brother, nephew against the uncle, house against house, and realm against realm; engendering hatred where love was, and subverting privily the simplicity of our christian faith: therefore the first and best thing is for godly men not to busy their brains about such phantasies, neither in delighting in them, nor in hearkening to them, nor in searching for them, either by soothsayer, or by conjuration, or by familiar, or by astrologer; knowing and considering this, that whosoever shall be desirous or ready to search for them, the devil is as ready to answer his curiosity therein. For as once, in the old time of Gentility, he gave his oracles by idols and priests of that time; so the same devil, although he worketh not now by idols, yet he craftily can give now answer by astrologers and conjurers in these our days; and in so doing, both to say truth, and yet to deceive men, when he hath said. Wherefore, leaving off such curiosity, let every christian man walk simply in his present vocation, referring hid things, not in the word expressed, unto him who saith in his word, "Non est vestrum scire tempora et momenta temporum," &c. "It is not for you to know the times, and seasons of times, which the Father hath kept in his own power," &c.

The devil ready to answer, in matters of divination.

Curiosity of prophecies to be avoided.

Secondly, In this matter of prophecies, requisite it is (as is said) for every christian man to learn, how to discern and distinguish the true prophecies, which proceed of God, and the false prophecies, which come of Satan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be discerned; so necessary it is, that every good man do rightly understand the same, to the intent that he, knowing and flying the danger of the one, may be the more certain and constant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, Because it is not sufficient that the deceitful prophecies of the devil be known, but also that they be resisted, I have also declared, by what means the operation of Satan's works and prophecies is to be overcome; that is, not with strength and policy of man, for that there is nothing in man able to countervail the power of that enemy. Under heaven there is nothing else that can prevail

against his works, but only the name of the Lord Jesus, the Son of God, not outwardly pronounced only with our lips, or signed on our foreheads with the outward cross, but inwardly apprehended, and dwelling in our hearts by a silent faith, firmly and earnestly trusting upon the promises of God, given and sealed unto us in his name. For so it hath pleased his fatherly wisdom to set him up, to be both our righteousness before himself, and also to be our fortitude against the enemy, accepting our faith in his Son in no less price than he accepteth the works and worthiness of the same his Son, in whom we do believe. *Edward IV.* A. D. 1437. The strength of a christian man's faith in Christ.

Such is the strength and effect of faith both in heaven, in earth, and also in hell: in heaven to justify, in earth to preserve, in hell to conquer. And, therefore, when any such prophecy, or any other thing is to us objected, which seemeth to tend against us, let us first consider whether it savour of Satan, or not. If it do, then let us seek our succour, not in ourselves, where it doth not dwell, neither let us kill, nor slay, nor change our vocation there-for, following inordinate ways: but let us run to our Castle of refuge, which is, to the power of the Lord Jesus, remembering the true promise of the ninety-first Psalm: "Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi, in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur;" that is, "Whoso putteth his trust in the succour of the Lord, shall have the God of heaven to be his protector." And then shall it afterwards follow, as in the same Psalm: "Ipse liberabit te a laqueo venantium, et a verbo aspero;" that is, "And he shall deliver him from the snare of the hunter, and from all evil words and prophecies, be they never so sharp or bitter against him," &c. And thus much, by the occasion of king Edward, of prophecies. Only Christ able to withstand the power of Satan.

Now, having long tarried at home in describing the tumults and troubles within our own land, we will let out our story more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places also of Christ's church, as well here in Europe under the pope, as in the east parts under the Turk, first deducing our story from the time of Sigismund, where we before left off; which Sigismund, as is above recorded, was a great doer in the council of Constance against John Huss and Jerome of Prague. This emperor had ever evil luck, fighting against the Turks. Twice he warred against them, and in both the battles was discomfited and put to flight; once about the city of Nicopolis in Mœsia, fighting against Bajazet, the great Turk, A.D. 1395, the second time fighting against Celebine, the son of Bajazet, about the town called Columbacium.[1] But especially after the council of Constance, wherein were condemned and burned those two godly martyrs, more unprosperous success did then follow him, fighting against the Bohemians, his own subjects, A.D. 1420, by whom he was repulsed in so many battles, to his great dishonour, during all the life of Zisca and of Procopius, as is before more at large expressed: who was so beaten both of the Turks, and at home of his own people, that he never did encounter with the Turks after. Then followed the council of Basil, after the beginning whereof, within six years, this Sigismund, who was emperor, king of Hungary, and king of Bohemia, died in Moravia [Dec. 9th], A.D. 1437. Sigismund, the emperor, unprosperous in his wars.

(1) Columbetz, near Semendria, on the Danube. See vol. iv. p. 93, note (4).—Ed.

Edward IV.

ALBERT, THE EMPEROR.

A. D. 1440.

This Sigismund left behind him one only daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Albert duke of Austria, by reason whereof he was advanced to the empire, and so was both duke of Austria, emperor, king of Hungary, and king also of Bohemia. But this Albert (as is afore declared) being an enemy and a disquieter to the Bohemians, and especially to the good men of Tabor, as he was preparing and setting forth against the Turks, in the mean time died, in the second year of his empire, A. D. 1439, leaving his wife great with child; who lying then in Hungary, and thinking herself to be great with a daughter, called to her the princes and the chieftains of the realms, declaring to them that she was but a woman, and insufficient to the governance of such a state; and moreover how she thought herself to be but with child of a daughter; and therefore required them to provide among them such a prince and governor (reserving the right of the kingdom to herself), as would be fit and able under her, to have the regiment of the land committed. The Turk, in the mean while, being elevated and encouraged with his prosperous victories against Sigismund aforesaid, began then more fiercely to invade Hungary, and those parts of Christendom. Wherefore the Hungarians, making the more haste, consulted among themselves to make duke Uladislaus, brother to Cassimir king of Poland, their king.

The Turk beginneth to invade Hungary.

But while this was in working between the Hungarians and Uladislaus the duke, in the mean space Elizabeth brought forth a son called Ladislaus, who being the lawful heir of the kingdom, the queen called back again her former word, minding to reserve the kingdom for her son, being the true heir thereof, and therefore refused marriage with the said Uladislaus, which she had before pretended. But Uladislaus, joining with a great part of the Hungarians, persisting still in the condition before granted, would not give over; by reason whereof great contention and division kindling among the people of Hungary, Amurath, the great Turk, taking his advantage of their discord, and partly surpressed with pride of his former success against Sigismund aforesaid, with his whole main and force invaded the realm of Hungary; where Huniades, the Vaivode or prince of Transylvania, joining with the new king Uladislaus, did both together set against the Turk A.D. 1444, and there Uladislaus, the new king of Hungary, in the fourth year of his kingdom, was slain. Elizabeth with her son had fled in the mean while to Frederic the emperor. Of Huniades, the noble captain, and of his acts, and also of Ladislaus, (Christ willing) more shall be said hereafter, in his time and place.

The queen hath a son.

Ladislaus prince of Hungary, born.

Division and discord in Hungary. *See Appendix.*

The Turk warreth against Hungary.

Uladislaus slain by the Turks

FREDERIC THE THIRD, EMPEROR.

After the decease of Albert succeeded in the empire Frederick III., duke of Austria, A. D. 1440; by whom it was procured (as we have before signified) that pope Felix, elected by the council of Basil, did resign his popedom to pope Nicholas V., upon this condition, that the said pope Nicholas should ratify the acts decreed in the said council of Basil. In the days of this emperor, much war and dissension raged almost through all christian realms in Austria, Hungary, Poland,

France, Burgundy, and also here in England, between king Henry VI. and king Edward IV., as ye have already heard; whereby it had been easy for the Turk, with little mastery, to have overrun all the christian realms in Europe, had not the providence of our merciful Lord otherwise provided to keep Amurath, the Turk, occupied in other civil wars at home in the mean while. Unto this Frederic came Elizabeth (as is afore said) with Ladislaus her son; by whom he was nourished and entertained a certain space, till at length, after the death of Uladislaus aforesaid, king of Hungary (who was slain in battle by the Turks), the men of Austria, through the instigation of Ulric Eizinger, and of Ulric, earl of Cilley, rising up in arms, required of Frederic the emperor, either to give them their young king, or else to stand to his own defence.[1]

Edward IV. A. D. 1453.

When Frederic heard this, neither would he render to them a sudden answer, neither would they abide any longer delay; and so the matter growing to war, Neustadt was besieged, where many were slain, and much harm done. At length, the emperor's part being the weaker, the emperor, through the intervention of certain nobles of Germany, restored Ladislaus unto their hands, who being yet under age committed his three kingdoms to three governors, whereof John Huniades, the worthy captain above-mentioned, had the ruling of Hungary; George Podiebrad had Bohemia; and Ulric, the earl of Cilley, had Austria: which Ulric, having the chief custody of the king, bare the greatest authority above the rest; a man as full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated almost of all the Austrians, and, shortly after by the means of Eizinger was excluded also from the king and the court, but afterward restored again, and Eizinger thrust out. Such is the unstable condition of those, who be next in place about princes. But this contention between them I overpass.

Governors of Hungary and Bohemia under the king of Austria.

Not long after, Ladislaus, the young king, went to Bohemia, there to be crowned, where George Podiebrad (as is said) had the governance. But Ladislaus, during all the time of his being there, though being much requested, yet would neither enter into the churches, nor hear the service of those who did draw after the doctrine of Huss. Insomuch that when a certain priest was appointed and addressed, after the manner of priests, to say service before the king in the castle chapel at Prague, being discovered to hold with John Huss and Rochezanus, the king disdaining at him, commanded him to give place and depart, or else he would send him down headlong from the castle rock: and so the good minister, repulsed by the king, departed. Also another time, the said Ladislaus seeing the sacrament carried by a minister of that side, whom they called then Rochezanians, would do thereunto no reverence.

Ladislaus, a young popish king, could not abide the doctrine of Huss.

At length the long abode of the king, although it was not very long, yet seemed to the godly-disposed to be longer than they wished; and that was not to the king unknown, which made him to make the more haste away: but, before he departed, he thought first to visit the noble city of Breslau in Silesia; in the which city the aforesaid king Ladislaus, being there in the high church at service, many great princes were about him. Among whom was also George Podiebrad, who then stood nearest to the king, unto whom one Chilianus,

(1) Ex Æn. Sylv. [See the Appendix.—Ed.]

Edward IV. A.D. 1456.

the king's 'fool' (a term applied to certain persons, who, while they pretend themselves fools, make fools of others), spake in this wise as followeth:

The words of a popish jester to Podiebrad.

'With what countenance you do behold this our service I see right well, but your heart I do not see. Say then, doth not the order of this our religion seem unto you decent and comely? do you not see how many and how great princes, yea, the king himself, do follow one order and uniformity? and why do you not then follow these, rather than your preacher Rochezana? do you think a few Bohemians to be more wise than all the church of Christ besides? why then do you not forsake that rude and rustical people, and join to these nobles, as you are a noble man yourself?'

Unto whom thus Podiebrad sagely again answered,

An answer proceeding of a heavenly wisdom.

'If you speak these words of yourself, saith he, you are not the man whom you feign yourself to be; and so to you I answer, not as to a fool. But if you speak this by the suggestion of others, then must I satisfy them. Hear therefore: As touching the ceremonies of the church, every man hath a conscience of his own to follow. As for us we use such ceremonies, as we trust do please God; neither is it in our arbitrement to believe what we will ourselves. The mind of man, being persuaded with great reasons, is captived, will he, nill he; and as nature is instructed and taught, so is she drawn, in some one way, and in some another. As for myself, I am fully persuaded of the religion of my preachers. If I should follow thy religion, I might perchance deceive men, while going counter to my own conscience; but I cannot deceive God, who seeth the hearts of all; neither shall it become me to frame myself to thy disposition. That which is meet for a jester, is not likewise convenient for a noble man. And these words either take to thyself, as spoken to thee, if thou be a wise man; or else I refer them to those who set thee at work.'[1]

After the king was returned from the Bohemians again to Austria, the Hungarians likewise made their petitions to the king, that he would also come unto them. The governor of Hungary (as ye before have heard) was John Huniades, whose victorious acts against the Turks are famous. Against this Huniades, wicked Ulric, earl of Cilley, did all he could with the king, to bring him to destruction, and therefore caused the king to send for him up to Vienna, and there privily to work his death. But Huniades, having thereof intelligence, offereth himself, within Hungary, to serve his prince in all affairs: out of the land where he was, he was not bound (he said) to attend his commands. The earl, being so disappointed, came down with certain nobles of the court to the borders of Hungary, thinking either to apprehend him and bring him to Vienna, or there to dispatch him. Huniades said he would commune with him abroad in the fields; within the town he would not be brought. After that, another train also was laid for him, that under pretence of the king's safe-conduct he should meet the king in the broad fields of Vienna. But Huniades, suspecting deceit, came indeed to the place appointed, where he, neither seeing the king to come, nor the earl to have any safe-conduct for him, was moved (and not without cause) against the earl, declaring how it was in his power there to slay him, who went about to seek his blood; but, for the reverence of the king, he would spare him and let him go.

Ulric seeketh the death of Huniades.

See Appendix.

Huniades spareth his enemy.

Belgrade besieged by the Turk.

Not long after this, the Turk with a great power of fighting men, to the number of a hundred and fifty thousand, arrived in Hungary, where he laid siege to the city of Belgrade. But through the merciful

(1) Ex Æn. Sylv., in Hist. Bohem. [cap. 62.]

hand of God, John Huniades, and Capistranus a certain Minorite, with a good muster of christian soldiers, gave him the repulse and put him to flight with all his mighty host; whereof more, Christ willing, hereafter.[1] Huniades shortly after this victory deceased. Of whose death when the king and the earl did understand, they came the more boldly into Hungary; where, being received by Ladislaus, Huniades's son, into the city of Belgrade, they viewed the place where the Turks before had pitched their tents. When this Ladislaus heard that the king was coming first toward the town, obediently he opened to him the gates. Four thousand only of armed soldiers he debarred from entering the city.

Edward IV. A. D. 1456.

The power of God by means of Huniades and Capistranus against the Turk.

In the mean time, while the king was there resident in the city, the earl with other nobles did sit in council, requiring also Ladislaus to resort unto them; who, first doubting with himself what he should do, at length putteth on a privy coat of mail, and cometh to them. Whether the earl first began with him, or he with the earl, it is not known. The opinion of some is, that Ulric first called him traitor, for shutting the gates against the king's soldiers. Howsoever the occasion began, this is undoubted, that Ulric, taking his sword from his page, let fly at his head. To break the blow, some, putting up their hands, had their fingers cut off. The Hungarians, hearing a noise and tumult within the chamber, brake in upon them, and there incontinent slew Ulric the earl, wounding and cutting him almost all to pieces. The king hearing thereof, although he was not a little discontented thereat in his mind, yet seeing there was then no other remedy, dissembled his grief for a time.

Debate between Ulric and Ladislaus, Huniades's son.

Ulric, earl of Cilley, slain.

From thence taking his journey again to Buda, accompanied with the aforesaid Ladislaus, the king, passing by the town where the wife of Huniades was mourning for the death of her husband, seemed with many fair words to comfort her, and after he had there sufficiently repasted himself, with such pretence of dissembled love, and feigned favour, that they were without all suspicion and fear; from thence he set forward on his journey, taking with him the two sons of Huniades, Ladislaus and Matthias, who were right ready to wait upon him. The king, being come to Buda (whether of his own head, or by sinister counsel set on), when he had them at a vantage, caused both the sons of Huniades, to wit, Ladislaus and Matthias, to be apprehended. And first was brought forth Ladislaus, the elder son, to the place of execution, there to be beheaded; where meekly he suffered, being charged with no other crime but this, published by the voice of the crier, saying, "Thus are they to be chastened, who are rebels against their Lord." Peucer, writing of his death, addeth this moreover. that after the hangman had three blows at his neck, yet notwithstanding the said Ladislaus, having his hands bound behind him, after the third stroke rose upright upon his feet, and looking up to heaven called upon the Lord, and protested his innocency in that behalf; and so laying down his neck again, at the fourth blow was dispatched.[2] Matthias, the other brother, was led captive with the king into Austria. The rest of the captives brake the prison, and escaped.

The cruel dissimulation of Ladislaus, the king

The two sons of Huniades, Ladislaus, and Matthias.

Ladislaus, Huniades's son, innocently put to death.

A miraculous token at the death of Ladislaus.

It was not long after this cruelty was wrought upon Ladislaus (the king being about the age of eighteen years), that talk was made

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Hist. Bohem. Æn. Sylvi. [cap. 65. See infrà, vol. iv. p. 40.] (2) Ex Peucer. Chron. lib. 5.

Edward IV. A.D. 1458.

of the king's marriage with Magdalen, daughter to Charles the French king. The place of the marriage was appointed at Prague, where great preparation was for the matter. At the first entrance of the king into the city of Prague, Rochezana, with a company of ministers such as were favourers of John Huss and of sincere religion, came with all solemnity to receive the king, making there his oration to gratulate the king's most joyful and prosperous access into the same his own realm and country of Bohemia. Unto which Rochezana, after he had ended his oration, scarce the king would open his mouth to give thanks to him, or show any cheerful countenance unto his company, but seemed fiercely to frown upon them. In the next pageant after these, came forth the priests of the high minster after the most popish manner, meeting him with procession and with the sacrament of the altar: for as panacea, among physicians, serveth for all diseases, so the sacrament of the pope's altar serveth for all pomps and pageants. First it must lie upon the altar; then it must be holden up with hands; then it must hang in the pix; it must serve for the quick; it must also help the dead; it must, moreover, visit the sick; it must walk about the churchyard; it must go about the streets; it must be carried about the fields to make the grass to grow; it must be had to the battle; it must ride on horseback before the pope: and finally it must welcome kings into cities. Wherein these catholic fathers do seem somewhat to forget themselves. For if the pope, being inferior to the sacrament of the altar, at the coming of kings do use to sit still, while the kings come and kiss his feet, what reason is it that the sacrament of the altar, which is (I trow) above the pope, should meet kings by the way, and welcome them to the town? But this by the way of parenthesis: let us now continue the text.

Preparation for the king's marriage.

Ladislaus, the king, received in Bohemia.

A fierce enemy against the Husites.

The sacrament of the altar used to many purposes.

When Ladislaus, this catholic king, who had showed himself before so stout and stern against Rochezana and his company, had seen these catholic priests with their procession, and especially with their blessed sacrament, coming; with all reverence and much devotion, he lighted down from his horse, he embraced the cross and kissed it, and with cheerful countenance saluted the priests in order. All this while, his young wife was not yet come out of France, but legates were sent, after most sumptuous wise to conduct her. Other legates also were sent at the same time to the emperor Frederic, for conclusion of peace. The third legation was directed likewise to pope Calixtus about religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the church of Rome.[1]

A great concourse of catholic princes intended against the Husites.

The author of this story (who was pope Pius II. himself) declareth farther the opinion of some to be, that king Ladislaus, the same time, had intended to make a final end and destruction of all that sect in Bohemia, which held with the doctrine of John Huss and Jerome, by the assembly and concourse of the catholic princes and popish prelates, who were appointed there to meet together at that marriage in Prague. For there should be first, the emperor Frederic and the empress, the king's two sisters Elizabeth and Anna, the princes of Saxony, Bavaria, Silesia, Franconia, the Palatine and other princes of the Rhine: many also of the lords of France, besides the pope's cardinals, legates, prelates, and other potestates of the pope's church; who if they had altogether convented in Bohemia, no doubt but

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Ænea Sylvio in hist. Bohem. [cap. 69.]

some great mischief had been wrought there against the Hussites, against whom this Ladislaus, following the steps of Sigismund, his grandfather, and Albert, his father, was ever an utter enemy. But when man hath purposed, yet God disposeth as pleaseth him. *Edward IV* A. D. 1458.

And therefore truly it is written by Æneas Sylvius in the same place, saying, "De regimine civitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum est quod homines possunt: magna magnus disponit Deus:" That is, "In regiment of cities, in alteration of kingdoms, in ruling and governing the world, it is less than nothing that man can do; it is the high God that ruleth high things." Whereunto then I may well add this moreover, and say: that if the governance of worldly kingdoms standeth not in man's power, but in the disposition of God, much less is it then that man's power can do, in the regiment and governing of religion. Example whereof in this purposed device of princes doth evidently appear: for, as this great preparation and solemnity of marriage was in doing, and the princes ready to set forth, with a little turn of God's holy hand all these great purposes were suddenly turned and dashed. For in the midst of this business, about midnight, the 22nd day of November, A.D. 1458, this great adversary of Christ's people, king Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and of Hungary, and prince of Austria, sickened, and within thirty-six hours died; some say of a pestilent sore in his groin, some say of poison. But howsoever it was, as it came not without the just judgment of God, revenging the innocent blood of Ladislaus, Huniades's son, wrongfully put to death before; so, by the opportune death of this king the poor churches of Bohemia were graciously delivered. And this end made Ladislaus, one of the mightiest princes at that time in all Europe; in whom three mighty kingdoms were conjoined and combined together, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia; which countries do lie south east from England, in the farthest parts of all Germany, toward Constantinople and the dominion of the Turks, and contain these principal towns in them.

Governance of empires and kingdoms is not in man's power, much less the governance of religion.

The great work of God in defending his poor servants.

Death of king Ladislaus. *See Appendix*

Blood revenged by God.

THE LARGE DOMINIONS OF LADISLAUS.

AUSTRIA.[1]

Vienna.[2]
Melck.
Neustadt (nova Civitas).
Gretz.
St. Hypolit.
Lintz.
Stein.
Haimburg.
Kremsier.
Karolsburg.
Teben.

HUNGARY.[3]

Kotzo.
Raba.
Lindenburg.
Ofen Buda.
Strigonium.
Kalachia.
Varadein.
Nitria.
Nicopolis, Nova et Vetus.
Agria.
Orszaw.
Bossen.
Sabaria.

BOHEMIA.

Prague.
Plizen.
Tabor.
Budweis.
Kolm, or Kœlu.
Egra.

(1) Called once Pannonia Superior. To Austria be adjoining also certain provinces and earldoms as, Stiria, Carinthia, Croatia; provinces. Silesia and Tyrolentz; earldoms.
(2) Besieged by the Turk, A.D. 1533.
(3) This Hungary was first called Pannonia Inferior, or Pœonia. After the coming of the Huns, it was called Hungaria: of whom came Attila, who destroyed Italy, about A.D. 440. Through Hungary runneth the Danube, having on the west side, Austria; and Bohemia on the east; Servia, on the south side; Polonia, &c. The most of this Hungary is now under the Turk; which Turk first came into Europe, A.D. 1211.

Edward IV. A. D 1462.

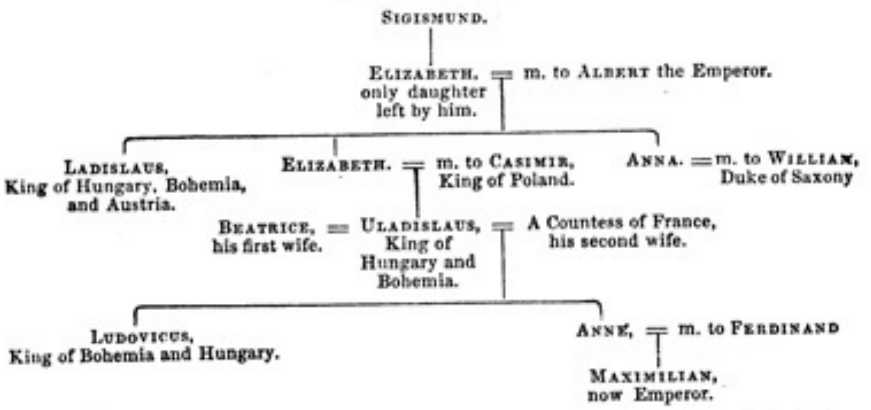
Kuttenberg.
Leimiritz.
Laun.
Racownitz.
Glataw.
Bern, or Beraun.
Bruck, or Most.
Gretz, or Hradetz.
Austi.
Maut, or Myto.
Hof.
Jaromir.
Dubitz, or Biela.
Lantzhut.
Gilgwey.
Krupa.
Krumaw.
Pardubice.
Chumitaum.
Loket, or Teplitz.
Hantzburg, or Zbraslau.
Labes, or Ultawa.

After the death of Ladislaus, the kingdom of Bohemia fell to George Podiebrad above mentioned, whom Pope Innocent VIII. did excommunicate and depose for his religion, as is afore declared.

Furthermore the kingdom of Hungary was given to Matthias, son of Huniades, who was in captivity (as is said) with king Ladislaus, and should have been put to death after his brother, had not the king before been prevented with death, as is above recorded. Moreover, here is to be noted that the said king, Ladislaus, thus dying without wife and issue, left behind him two sisters alive, to wit, Elizabeth, who was married to Casimir, king of Poland; and Anna, married to William duke of Saxony; Elizabeth by her husband Casimir, king of Poland, had Uladislaus, who at length was king of both Bohemia and Hungary. This Uladislaus was first married to Beatrix, wife before to Matthias. Then, being divorced from her by the dispensation of pope Alexander, he married a new wife, a countess of France, by whom he had two children, Louis and Anne; Louis, who was heir of both kingdoms, Bohemia and Hungary, was slain fighting against the Turks. Anne was married to Ferdinand, by whom he was archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia, &c.

See Appendix.

MAXIMILIAN, HOW DESCENDED FROM SIGISMUND.



War between Matthias and Frederic the emperor.

Ye heard before, how, after the decease of Ladislaus, the Hungarians, by their election, preferred Matthias, surnamed Corvinus, who was son of Huniades, to the kingdom of Hungary: for which cause dissension fell between Frederic the emperor and him, for that the said Frederic was both nominated himself by divers unto that kingdom, and also because he had the crown of Hungary then remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth, mother to king Ladislaus, had brought to the emperor, as was before declared. But this war between them was ceased by the intercession of the princes of

Germany, so that Matthias ransomed that crown of Frederic for eight thousand florins. *Edward IV.*

A. D. 1474.

Not long after, pope Innocent being displeased with George Podiebrad (or Bojebracius), king of Bohemia, for favouring of John Huss and his religion, that is to say, for playing the part of a godly prince, did excommunicate and depose him, conferring his kingdom on Matthias. But, forsomuch as Frederic the emperor would not thereto consent, and especially after the death of the aforesaid George, when the emperor and the Bohemians, leaving out Matthias, did nominate Uladislaus, son of Casimir king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, to be king of Bohemia, therefore great war and trouble kindled between him and Frederic the emperor; wherein the emperor had utterly gone to ruin, had not Albert, duke of Saxony, rescued the emperor, and repressed the vehemency of Matthias.

George Podiebrad by the pope deposed from his kingdom, for favouring of John Huss. Albert, duke of Saxony.

The noble acts of John Huniades, and of this Matthias, his son, were not only great stays to Hungary, but almost to all Christendom, in repelling back the Turk. For besides the other victories of John Huniades, the father aforementioned, this Matthias also, his son, succeeding no less in valiantness, than in the name of his father, did so recover Sirmium, and the confines of Illyrica, from the hands of the Turks, and so vanquished their power, that both Mahomet, and also Bajazet, his son, were enforced to seek for truce.

The noble acts of John and Matthias Huniades against the Turks

Over and besides, the same Matthias conducting his army into Bosnia, which lieth south from Hungary, recovered again Jaitza, the principal town of that kingdom, from the Turks' possession; who, if other christian princes had joined their helps withal, would have proceeded further into Thrace. But behold here the malicious subtlety of Satan, working by the pope. For while Matthias was thus occupied in this expedition against the Turks, wherein he should have been set forward and aided by christian princes, and bishops; the bishop of Rome wickedly and sinfully ministereth matter of civil discord between him and Podiebrad aforesaid, in removing him from the right of his kingdom, and transferring the same to Matthias. Whereupon, not only the course of victory against the Turks was stopped, but also great war and bloodshed followed in christian realms, as well between this Matthias and Podiebrad, with his two sons Victorinus and Henricus, as also between Casimir, Uladislaus, and Matthias, warring about Breslau; till at length the matter was taken up by the princes of Germany.

Jaitza recovered. The subtle practice of Satan to stop good proceedings.

Albeit, for all the execrable excommunication of the pope against Podiebrad, a great part of Bohemia would not be removed from the obedience of their king, whom the pope had cursed, and deposed: yet Matthias took from him Moravia, and a great portion of Silesia, and adjoined it to his kingdom of Hungary, A. D. 1474.

The pope's excommunication not obeyed by divers in Bohemia.

Here this by the way is to be noted, that the religion in Bohemia, planted by John Huss, could not be extinguished or suppressed with all the power of four mighty princes, Wenceslaus, Sigismund, Albert, and Ladislaus, notwithstanding they, with the popes, did therein what they possibly could; but still the Lord maintained the same, as

The religion of the Bohemians defended by God against

Edward IV. — A. D. 1474.

ye see by this Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, whom the pope could not utterly remove out of the kingdom of Bohemia.

the four greatest princes in Europe. Matthias a great lover of learning and of learned men: his noble library.

This forementioned Matthias, besides his other memorable acts of chivalry, is no less also commended for his singular knowledge, and love of learning and of learned men, whom he with great stipends procured into Pannonia; where, by the means of good letters, and furniture of learned men, he reduced in short space the barbarous rudeness of that country into a flourishing commonwealth. Moreover such a library he did there erect, and replenish with all kind of authors, sciences, and histories, which he caused to be translated out of Greek into Latin, as the like is not thought to be found, next to Italy, in all Europe beside. Out of which library we have received divers fragments of writers, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, which were not extant before.[1]

Commendation of Podiebrad.

The constant fortitude also of George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, is not unworthy of commendation; of whom also pope Pius himself, in 'Descriptione Europæ,' doth honestly report (as a pope may speak of a protestant), in these words writing, "Magnus vir alioqui, et rebus bellicis clarus," &c.: who, although pope Innocent did execrate him with his children, yet he left not off the profession of the verity and the knowledge which he had received. Moreover, the Lord so prospered his sons, Victorinus and Henricus, that they subdued their enemies, and kept their estate: insomuch that when Frederic the emperor, at Vienna, was in custody enclosed by the citizens, Victorinus did restore, and deliver him out of their hands. Wherefore the emperor afterwards advanced them to be dukes. Also God gave them sometimes prosperous victory against Matthias, as at the city of Glogau, &c.

God's favour to the sons of Pogiebracius.

The death of Podiebrad, [May 22d, A.D. 1471.]

After the decease of George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, Frederic the emperor assigned that kingdom, not to Matthias, upon whom the pope had bestowed it before, but to Uladislaus, son of Casimir king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Albert II., and sister to Ladislaus. For the which Matthias being discontented, and for that the emperor had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, went about to exclude Uladislaus out of Bohemia, and also proclaimed war against Frederic. But before he accomplished his purposed preparation, death prevented him, who without issue departed, A. D. 1490.

Uladislaus, Casimir's son, made king of Hungary.

After the death of Matthias, departing without issue, Uladislaus, son of Casimir king of Poland, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert the emperor, and sister to king Ladislaus, married his wife Beatrix, whom Matthias left a widow, and with her was elected king of Hungary, with this condition made between him and Frederic the emperor, that if he died without lawful issue, then the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia should return to Maximilian, son to Frederic. But Uladislaus not long after did repudiate his wife Beatrix, and depriving her of her kingdom, caused the said Beatrix to swear and to consent to his marrying another woman, who was the daughter of the French king, named Anne, procuring from pope Alexander a dispensation for the same, as is before signified. By

Uladislaus obtaineth a dispensation from pope Alexander, to forsake his first wife, and to marry another.

(1) Ex Pouc. lib. v.

this Anne, Uladislaus had Louis and Anne, which Anne afterwards was married to Ferdinand. *Edward IV.*

Louis succeeding his father, had both the said kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, A. D. 1492, and married Mary, sister to the emperor Charles the Fifth. Anne as is said, was coupled to Ferdinand, &c. A. D. 1475.

Of Charles duke of Burgundy somewhat was before touched, who had married king Edward's sister; and what troubles by him were stirred up in France, partly was before notified. This Charles after he had besieged the town of Nuys, near to Cologne, the space of a whole year, went about to alienate the territory of Cologne from the empire to his own dominion: wherefore war began to be moved between him and Frederic the emperor. At length, through communication had, peace was concluded, and a marriage appointed between Mary the only daughter of Charles, and Maximilian the emperor's son, A. D. 1475. Then from Nuys Charles leadeth his army towards Switzerland, against Renatus, or René, duke of Lorraine; then against the Switzers, where he, being thrice overcome, first at Granson, then at Moratum, or Morat, in the higher part of Switzerland, at last, at the town of Nancy, was overthrown and slain, A.D. 1477. The procurer of which wars was chiefly Louis XI., the French king, to the intent he might compass the dominion of Burgundy under his subjection; which afterward by open wrong and privy fraud he brought about, defrauding Mary, the daughter of Charles, of her rightful inheritance; for the which cause the Burgundians were the more willing to join her in marriage with Maximilian, son of Frederic the emperor: by reason whereof the title of Burgundy was first joined to the house of Austria.

War between Charles duke of Burgundy and Frederic the emperor.

A.D.1475.

Duke of Burgundy slain in war.

A.D.1477

Mary, daughter of Charles of Burgundy, married to Maximilian.

And thus have you the miserable vexations and contentions among our christian princes here in Europe described, under the reign of this emperor Frederic III., so that almost no angle or portion of all Christendom (whether we consider the state of the church, or civil government) was free from discord, tumults, and dissensions. This cankered worm of ambition so mightily creepeth, and every where prevaileth in these latter ends of the world, that it suffereth neither rest in commonweals, nor peace in the church, nor any sparkle of charity almost to remain in the life of men. And what marvel then if the Lord, seeing us so far to degenerate, not only from his precepts and counsels, but almost from the sense and bond of nature, that brother with brother, uncle with nephew, blood with blood, cannot agree, in striving, killing and fighting for worldly dominions, do send therefore these cruel Turks upon us, so to scourge and devour us? of whose bloody tyranny and daily spilling of christian blood hereafter, by the grace of Christ, we will discourse more at large, when we come to the peculiar consideration of the Turkish stories. In the mean time this shall be for us to note and observe: not so much the scourge how grievous it is, but rather to behold the causes which bring the whip upon us, which are our own miserable ambition and wretched wars among ourselves.

War and dissension among christian princes.

The discord of the Christians scourged by the Turks.

And yet if this christian peace and love, left and commended so heartily unto us by the mouth of the Son of God, being now banished out of christian realms, and civil governance, might at least find

Discord in the church noted.

Edward IV. A.D. 1438.

some refuge in the church, or take sanctuary among men professing nothing but religion, less cause we had to mourn. Now so it is, that as we see little peace and amity among civil potentates; so less we find in the spiritual sort of those, who chiefly take upon them the administration of Christ's church. So that it may well be doubted whether the scourge of the Turk, or the civil sword of princes have slain more in the fields, or the pope's keys have burnt more in towns and cities. And albeit such as be professed to the church, do not fight with sword and target for dominions and revenues, as warlike princes do; yet this ambition, pride, and avarice, appeareth in them nothing inferior unto other worldly potestates; especially if we behold and advise the doings and insatiable desires of the court of Rome. Great arguments and proof hereof neither are hard to be found, nor far to be sought. What realm almost through all Christendom hath not only seen with their eyes, but have felt in their purses the ambition intolerable, and avarice insatiable of that devouring church, and also have complained upon the grievance thereof, but never could be redressed? What exactions and extortions have been here in England out of bishoprics, monasteries, benefices, deaneries, archdeaconries, and all other offices of the church, to fill the pope's coffers? and when they had all done, yet almost every year brought some new invention from Rome to fetch in our English money; and if all the floods in England (yea in all Europe) did run into the see of Rome, yet were that ocean never able to be satisfied.

Ambition and avarice of the church of Rome.

In France, likewise, what floods of money were swallowed up in this see of Rome! It was openly complained of in the council of Basil. as is testified by Henry Token, canon and ambassador of the archbishop of Magdeburg, written in his book, entitled, 'Rapularium,' where he writeth that in the council of Basil, A. D. 1436, the archbishop of Lyons did declare, that in the time of pope Martin there came out of France to the court of Rome, nine millions of gold, which was gathered of the bishops and prelates, besides those which could not be counted of the poor clergy, who daily, without number, ran unto the court of Rome, carrying with them all their whole substance. The archbishop of Tours said also at Basil, A. D. 1439, that three millions of gold came unto Rome in his time, within the space of fourteen years, from the prelates and prelacies, whereof no account could be made, besides the poor clergy who daily run to that court. Let the man that feareth God judge what a devouring gulf this is: a million containeth ten hundred thousand.

The see of Rome is turned into an ocean, that hath no bottom.

And what made pope Pius II. to labour so earnestly to Louis XI., the French king, who, as is aforesaid, was a great enemy to the house of Burgundy, that he would, according to his former promise, abolish and utterly extinguish the constitution established before at the council of Bourges, by king Charles VII., his predecessor, called 'Pragmatica Sanctio,' but only the ambition of that see, which had no measure, and their avarice, which had no end? The story is this: King Charles VII., the French king, willing to obey and follow the council of Basil, did summon a Parliament at Bourges; where, by the full consent of all the states in France, both spiritual and temporal, a certain constitution was decreed and published, called 'Pragmatica Sanctio;' wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and

Concilium Bituricense.

Pragmatica Sanctio.

effect of all the canons and decrees concluded in the council of Basil. Which constitution the said king Charles willed and commanded through all his realm inviolably to be observed and ratified, for the honour and increase of the christian religion, for ever. This was A.D. 1438.[1] *Edward IV.* A. D. 1466.

Pope Pius laboureth that 'Pragmatica Sanctio' should be abolished.

It followed that after the decease of the foresaid Charles VII. succeeded king Louis XI., who had promised before (being dauphin) to pope Pius, that if he ever came to the crown the aforesaid 'Sanctio Pragmatica' should be abolished. Whereupon pope Pius, hearing him to be crowned, did send unto him John Balveus a cardinal, with his great letters patent, willing him to be mindful of his promise made. The king, either willing, or else pretending a will, to perform and accomplish that he had promised, directed the pope's letters patent, with the said cardinal, to the council of Paris; requiring them to consult upon the cause.

Thus the matter being brought and proposed in the parliament-house, the king's attorney, named Johannes Romanus, a man well spoken, singularly witted, and well reasoned, stepping forth, with great eloquence, and no less boldness, proved the said sanction to be profitable, holy, and necessary for the wealth of the realm, and in no case to be abolished. Unto whose sentence the university of Paris, adjoining their consent, did appeal from the attempts of the pope to the next general council. The cardinal understanding this, took no little indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatening many terrible things against them: but, all his minatory words notwithstanding, he returned again to the king, his purpose not obtained, A.D. 1466.[2]

The council of Paris appealeth from the pope to the general council.

Thus the pope's purpose in France was disappointed, which also in Germany had come to the like effect, if Frederic the emperor had there done his part likewise toward the Germans; who, at the same time, bewailing their miserable estate, went about with humble suit to persuade the emperor, that he should no longer be under the subjection of the popes of Rome, except they had first obtained certain things of them as touching the charter of appeals; declaring their estate to be far worse (although undeserved) than the Frenchmen or Italians, whose servants (and especially of the Italians) they are worthily to be called, except that their estate were altered. The nobles and commonalty of Germany did instantly entreat, with most weighty reasons and examples, both for the utility and profit of the empire, to have the emperor's aid and help therein, for that which he was bound unto them by an oath; alleging also the great dishonour and ignominy, in that they alone had not the use of their own laws, declaring how the French nation had not made their suit unto their king in vain against the exactions of popes, by whom they were defended; who also provided decrees and ordinances for the liberty of his people, and caused the same to be observed; which thing the emperor ought to foresee within his empire, and to provide for his people and states of his empire, as well as other kings do. For what shall come to pass thereby, if that foreign nations, having recourse unto their kings, being relieved and defended by them from the said exactions, and the Germans, and states of the empire flying unto their

The complaint of the Germans to the emperor, for help and aid against the oppression of the pope.

(1) Ex Joan. Mario Bely de Schismat. et Concilio, cap. 24. (2) Ex Joan. Mario.

Edward IV. A. D. 1457.

emperor, be by him forsaken, or rather betrayed and deprived of their own laws and decrees? The emperor, being moved, and partly overcome by their persuasions, promised that he would provide no less for them, than the king of France had done for the Frenchmen, and to make decrees in that behalf. But the grave authority of Æneas Sylvius, as Platina writeth in the history of Pius II., brake off the matter; * whose[1] talk was thus unto the emperor. Mark here the wicked oration of a wicked and traitorous orator. "Amongst princes," saith he, "albeit there be variance and discord about great and weighty matters, yet peace may sometimes be made again: but between the prince and the common people there is always mortal hatred." Wherefore this wicked Æneas, forasmuch as he should be shortly the successor of Calixtus, concluded upon this point, saying: That he thought it much better to accord with the pope, than to follow their covetous desires, whose minds are led with covetousness and appetite, rather than by reason. Behold by what policy and engine, with what force of impiety and wickedness, that venomous tongue hath suddenly envenomed and enchanted the emperor, that with one word he hath subverted and put away such evident truth, such exquisite justice, and such manifest utility and necessity of laws and decrees, which Æneas himself was present at the making of, and a long time allowed the same unto the emperor, and put them in execution; besides the manifold and weighty reasons of the princes and people of Germany, who were admitted, had already taken place and persuaded, but that as yet they were not performed. This, I say, he brought to pass by that his only false, seditious, and venomous oration, that he* did so bewitch the emperor, that he, contemning the equal, just, and necessary requests of his subjects, chose the said Æneas to be his ambassador unto Calixtus, then newly chosen pope, to swear unto him in his name, and to promise the absolute obedience of all Germany, as the only country (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the ordinances and decrees of their country, as before he had done unto Eugene IV., being ambassador for the said Frederic, promising that he and all the Germans would be obedient unto him from henceforth, in all matters, as well spiritual as temporal.

Thus, twice, Frederic of Austria contemned and derided the Germans, and, frustrating them of their native decrees and ordinances, brought them under subjection and bondage of the pope; which partly was the cause that seven years before his death, he caused his son Maximilian not only to be chosen, but also crowned king of the Romans, and did associate him in the ministration of the empire, lest after his death (as it came to pass) the empire should be transported into another family; suspecting the Germans, whom he had twice, contrary to his laws, made subject, and in bondage unto the pope's exactions; first, before he was crowned in the time of Eugene IV.; and again, the second time, after his coronation, and the death of pope Nicholas V., denying their requests; by whom, afterwards, in the year of our Lord 1463, he was besieged. Whereupon Germany being in this miserable poverty and grievous subjection under the pope's tyranny and pollings, with tears and sighs lamenting their

Frederic made the Germans twice subject unto the pope.

Frederic, Albert, and Sigismund, strive for the dukedom of Austria.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 370.—Ed.

estate, continued so almost unto Luther's time; as the histories hereafter following do testify. *Edward IV.*

And here ceasing with the story of Frederic, we will now proceed to the reign of Maximilian, his son, omitting divers things else incident in the time of this emperor; as first, touching the unbrotherly contention and conflicts between this Frederic and Albert his brother, and Sigismund his uncle, for the dukedom of Austria, after the death of Matthias afore-mentioned. Omitting also to speak of the long and cruel war between the Prussians and Poles, with the religious sect of those who were called 'Teutones fratres sanctæ Mariæ,' in the time of Uladislaus: omitting also the strife and variance for the dukedom of Milan, between Frederic the emperor, Alphonsus, Charles duke of Orleans, and Francis Sfortia: and how the said princedom being after given to Sfortia, great wars were kindled and long continued between Sfortia and the Milanese, then between the Milanese and Venetians, and after between the Frenchmen and the Milanese. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpose of this story, I refer to other writers, where they are to be found more amply discoursed. A.D. 1477.

War between Francis Sfortia and the Venetians about Milan.

War between Louis the French king, and the city of Milan

John the Neatherd, of Franconia, a Martyr; and Doctor Johannes de Wesalia.

This, as more properly belonging to the story of the church, I thought good not to pass over, touching such as were condemned, and suffered the pains of fire, for testimony of Christ and his truth; of whom one was John, a pastor or neatherd, who was a keeper of cattle: the other was Johannes de Wesalia, although not burned, yet persecuted nearly to death, under the reign of this emperor, Frederic III.

And first touching this John, the neatherd, thus writeth Sebastian Munster: That the bishop of Würtzburg condemned and burned for a heretic one John, who was a keeper of cattle at a town called Nicholas Hausen, in Franconia, because he taught and held that the life of the clergy was ignominious and abominable before God, A.D. 1479.

John, the neatherd of Franconia, a martyr.

The other was doctor Johannes de Wesalia, who was complained of unto Dietherus, archbishop of Mentz, by the Thomists, upon certain articles and opinions gathered out of his books. Wherefore the said Dietherus, fearing else to be deposed again from his bishopric, directeth forth commission to the universities of Heidelburgh and Cologne, to have the matter in examination; who, conventing together the year above mentioned, called this doctor de Wesalia before them, making him to swear that he should present and give up all his treatises, works, and writings, whatsoever he had made or preached. That being done, they divided his books amongst themselves, severally every man to find out what heresies and errors they could. His articles and opinions are these:

John de Wesalia persecuted. A.D 1479.

I. That all men be saved freely, and through mere grace, by faith in Christ.
II. Free-will to be nothing.
III. That we should only believe the word of God, and not the gloss of any man, or fathers.

His articles and opinions.

Edward IV. A. D. 1479.

IV. That the word of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with another.

V. That prelates have no authority to make laws, or to expound the Scriptures, by any peculiar right given unto them, more than to another.

VI. That men's traditions, as fastings, pardons, feasts, long prayers, peregrinations, and such like, are to be rejected.

VII. Extreme unction and confirmation to be reproved.

VIII. Confession and satisfaction to be reprehended.

IX. The primacy of the pope also he affirmed to be nothing

Certain other articles also were gathered out of him by his adversaries, but in such sort, that they may seem rather to follow their own malicious gathering, than any true intelligence of his mind; whereof more is to be understood in this process hereafter.

Thus when Wesalianus was commanded to appear, there convented together first the archbishop, the inquisitor, the doctors of Cologne, and the doctors of Heidelburgh, with the masters of the same, and the rector of the university of Mentz, the dean of faculties, bachelors of divinity, and many other masters of the same university, canons, doctors, with the bishop's chancellor, and his counsellors; besides many religious prelates, scholars, with a doctor of Frankfort, the somner, and beadles, who all met together in the great hall of the Minorites, for the examination of this Johannes de Wesalia.

The inquisitor speaks.

Friar Elton, the inquisitor, first sitteth in the highest place; then, after him, others according to their degree. In the beginning of the examination, first the inquisitor beginneth with these words:

'Most reverend father and honourable doctors! &c. Our reverend father and prince elector hath caused this present convocation to be called, to hear the examination of Master John de Wesalia, in certain suspected articles concerning the catholic faith. But something I will say before, that may do him good, and desire that two or three of them that favour him, or some other, will rise up and give him counsel to forsake and leave his errors, to recognise himself, and to ask pardon: which if he will do, he shall have pardon; if he will not, we will proceed against him without pardon.'

John of Wesalia brought before the prelates.

And thus Wesalianus, being cited, and brought in the midst betwixt two Minorites, being very aged, and having a staff in his hand, was set before the inquisitor: who, beginning to answer for himself with a long protestation, could not be suffered to prosecute his oration, but was cut off, and required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in few words, whether he would stand to his opinions, or to the determination of the church. To this he answered, that he never spake any thing against the determination of the church, but said, that he had written divers and sundry treatises, in which if he had erred, or were found to say otherwise than well, he was contented to revoke and call back the same, and to do all things that were requisite. Then said the inquisitor, "Do you ask then pardon?" The other answered: "Why should I ask pardon, when I know no crime or error committed?" The inquisitor said: "Well, we will call you to the remembrance thereof, and proceed to the examination."

His answer reasonable.

The cruel proceeding of the inquisitor.

In the mean time, others called upon him instantly to ask pardon. Then said Wesalianus: "I ask pardon." Notwithstanding the inquisitor proceeded to the examination, reading there two instruments,

declaring that he had authority from the apostolic see. After this, he cited the said John to appear to his examination. Thirdly, he commanded him, under pain of disobedience, in the virtue of the Holy Ghost, and under pain of excommunication of the greater curse (from which no man could absolve him, but only the pope, or the inquisitor, except only at the point of death), to tell plainly the truth upon such things as should be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambages, and sophistication of words. And so, being demanded first whether he did believe upon his oath taken, that he was bound to tell the truth, although it were against himself or any other: To this he answered, "Scio," that is, "I know." Then the inquisitor biddeth him say, "Credo," that is, "I believe." To which he answered again, "What need I say, that I believe that thing which I know?" There the inquisitor something stirred with the matter, as hot as a toast (as they say) cried with a loud voice, "Master Johannes, Master Johannes, Master Johannes, say 'Credo,' say 'Credo:'" then he answered, 'Credo.'

Edward IV. A.D. 1479.

The greater curse of the people.

Scio.

Credo.

After this, being demanded whether he had written any treatise, concerning the binding of human laws, to one Nicholas of Bohemia; and whether he had written any treatise on the ecclesiastical power of Indulgences and Pardons, and on Fasting and other treatises; he answered, That he believed he had so written, and had conferred with divers learned men; also, that he had sent to the bishop of Worms a certain treatise on Fasting.

Many other interrogatories were ministered unto him, whereof some were vain, some false. Such as were more principal, here we will briefly touch, leaving out superfluities.

Being demanded whether he was a fautor of the Bohemians, he said, he was not. Also, being demanded concerning the sacrament of the holy body and blood of our Lord, whether he thought Christ there to be contained really, or only divinely, and whether he did believe, in the said sacrament, the substance of bread there to remain, or only the form thereof: To this he answered, not denying but the body of Christ was there really contained, and also, that with the body of Christ, the substance of bread did remain.

His opinion of the sacrament.

After this, he was demanded his opinion concerning religious men, as monks, nuns, or beguines, whether he thought them to be bound to the vow of chastity, or to the keeping of any other vow, and whether he said to the friars Minorites any such word in effect, "I cannot save you in this your state and order." This he confessed that he had said, how that "not your religion saveth you, but the grace of God," &c.; not denying but they might be saved.

His opinion of monks and nuns. The vow of chastity.

Item, Being required whether he believed, or had written, that there is no mortal sin,[1] but that which is expressed to be mortal in the canon of the holy Bible: to this he answered, that he did so believe as he had written, till he was better informed. Likewise, being required what he thought of the vicar of Christ on earth,[2] he answered, That he believed that Christ left no vicar on earth: for the confirmation whereof he alleged and said, That Christ, ascending up to heaven, said "Ecce ego vobiscum sum;" "Behold I am with

(1) Mortal sin found by the pope, besides that which is expressed to be mortal in the Scripture.
(2) What is this article, but to make the pope a God? Christ left no vicar on earth.

Edward IV. A.D. 1479.

you:" in which words he plainly declared, that he would substitute under him no vicar here on earth: and he said moreover; "If a vicar signify any man who, in the absence of the principal, hath to do the works of the principal, then Christ hath no vicar here on earth."

Pardons and indulgences be of no effect.

In like manner, concerning indulgences and pardons, such as the church doth use to give, they demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy, and what he thought thereof: who answered again, That he had written a certain treatise of that matter, and what he had written in that treatise he would persist therein, which was thus:

The treasure of saints' merits is not on earth.

That he believed that the treasure-box of the merits of saints could not be distributed of the pope to others, because that treasure is not left here on earth; for so it is written in the Apocalypse, "Opera enim illorum sequuntur illos," &c. that is, "Their works follow them."

Item, That their merits could not be applied to other men, for the satisfaction of their pain due unto them; and therefore that the pope and other prelates, cannot distribute that treasure to men.

It was objected to him moreover, that in his said treatise he called pardons and indulgences, 'pias fraudes fidelium,' that is, 'holy frauds and deceits of the faithful.'[1]

Also, being demanded what he thought of the hallowing and blessing of altars, chalices, vestments, wax-candles, palms, herbs, holy water, and other divine things, &c. He answered, That they had no spiritual virtue and power in them to drive away devils, and that holy water hath no more efficacy than other water not hallowed, as concerning remission of venial sins, and driving away devils, and other effects, which the school-doctors do attribute to it.

Item, For degrees of marriage forbidden in the Scriptures, he believeth, That all christian men under deadly sin are bound unto the same.

Item, That he believeth, That God may give grace to a man, having the use of reason, without all motion of free will. Also he thinketh, that St. Paul, in his conversion, did nothing of his own free will for his conversion. He believeth moreover, That God may give such grace to a man having the use of reason, not doing that which in him is.

Item, He affirmed, That nothing is to be believed, which is not contained in the canon of the Bible.

Also, That the elect are saved only by the grace of God.

Besides all these, moreover he was charged with the old opinion of the Grecks, which they did hold contrary to the Roman church, unto the time of the council of Ferrara above mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

The Wednesday next following, three doctors, the Suffragan, Herwicus, and Jacobus Sprenger, were sent unto him, with persuasions to exhort him; and when he would not stand to their canons, whereby they went about to refute his doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwicus, why he would believe rather the four evangelists, than the gospel of Nicodemus? to whom he answered, Because he would.

(1) This saying was taken out of one Cantor Parisiensis, who was wont to say, That pardons were holy deserts, because that laymen there were provoked, by naughty deserts, to give good alms.

Being asked again, why he believed the four evangelists? he said, Because he so received of his parents. Then being demanded, why he would not believe the doctors? Because (said he) their doctrine is not canonical scripture.[1] Again, it was to him objected, why he would be credited himself when he preached, seeing he would not believe the holy doctors? to whom he answered in this wise, saying, That he did preach as his duty was; but whether they gave credit to his words, he did not care. *Edward IV.* A. D. 1479.

This examination being ended, after these articles were condemned by the inquisitor and his assistants, then said he after this manner: "As you do with me, if Christ himself were here, he might be condemned as a heretic." After this they sent divers to him to have communication with him, and to persuade him, sending also to him, with his articles, a form of asking pardon. At length, within three or four days after, he was content to condescend unto them, and to submit himself to their holy mother church, and the information of the doctors. In the book of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Paralipomena, adjoined to Abbas Urspergensis, we read these words written of this Johannes de Wesalia:[2] 'Except only the article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, in other articles it seemeth that he was not to be chastened with so sharp censure, if respite and space had been given him, if good counsellors had been about him, if all they who did accuse and molest him had not been 'de via realium,' as Thomists, that is, of the sect of Thomas; which Thomists were set at that time against the other sect of the seculars, who were called Nominals, and therefore they so spited this doctor, because he did not hold with their Thomas, against whom otherwise (had it not been for that cause), they would never have been so fierce and malicious in proceeding against him. I take God to witness, who knoweth all things, that this process which was made against him, for his revoking and burning of his books, did greatly displease Master Engeline of Brunswick, a great divine, and also Master John Keisersberg, being both learned and famous men; but namely Master Engeline thought, that too much malice and rashness were showed in handling of that same man, and did not fear to say, That many of his articles, and the greater part thereof, might be holden well enough; and greatly blamed the mad and fantastical dissension of the Thomists, seeking by all manner of ways how to get the triumph over the secular divines,' &c.[3]

By this inquisition, Christ himself might be condemned.

See Appendix

Discord betwixt Reals and Nominals.

Although this aged and feeble old man, by weakness, was constrained to give over unto the Romish clergy, by outward profession of his mouth; yet notwithstanding, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward heart, of what judgment he was, if fear of death present, had not enforced him to say otherwise than he did think. Again, although he had revoked after their minds, yet we read no such form of recantation to be prescribed to him to read openly unto the people, as the use is here in England. The story of this man is more fully to be found in the books of Orthuinus Gratius, &c.

Doctor John de Wesalia revoketh his opinions.

As touching the reign of this emperor Frederic, seeing we have comprehended hitherto sufficiently the most principal matters in his

(1) The church giveth witness who were the writers of the Scriptures; but hath no authority above that which is written.
(2) Dempto solo articulo de processione Spiritus Sancti in aliis videtur non ita gravi censura, &c.
(3) Ex Orth. Grat.

Edward IV. A.D. 1479. time incurrent, we will now pass forward, the Lord guiding us, to Maximilian, after I have first given a brief memorandum of three valiant princes and captains, flourishing in the same time of this Frederic in Germany, of which, one was Albert duke of Saxony, who for his renowned and famous acts, was called by public voice, 'Dextra manus imperii,' 'the right hand of the empire;' another was Albert, marquis of Brandenburgh, to whom also the name attributed (named of pope Pius) was Achilles Germanicus; the third was Frederic, earl Palatine, surnamed Victoriosus, who manfully defended the freedom and majesty of the empire, from the fraudulent oppressions of the pope's tyranny.

The abomination of pope Sixtus. In the year of our Lord 1484, in this emperor's time, died pope Sixtus IV., a little before touched; rather a monster of nature, than a prelate of the church. Of him writeth Platina, that unjustly he vexed all Italy with war and dissension. Agrippa, writing of him, saith, That among all the bawds of these our latter days, who were builders of brothel-houses, this pope Sixtus IV. surmounted all others; who at Rome erected stews of double abomination, not only of women, but also, &c.; whereupon no small gain redounded to his coffers. For every such common harlot in Rome paid to him a July piece, the sum whereof grew in the year, some while to twenty thousand; at length to forty thousand ducats.[1] Whereunto accordeth right well the epitaph of John Sapidus, which in the end hereof we will annex.

See Appendix.

The wars of pope Sixtus John Carion also, speaking of this bishop, witnesseth him to be a man rather born to war than to religion. For he warred against Vitellius Tiphernates, against the Florentines, the Venetians, whom he excommunicated, and did not absolve till he died; also against Columnensis, against Ferdinand, king of Apulia, and duke of Calabria; also against other nations and princes besides.[2]

A large gift of the pope to the begging friars. Of the said pope it is recorded, that he was a special patron and tutor to all begging friars, granting them to have and enjoy revenues in this world, and in the world to come everlasting life. Among which friars there was one named Alanus de Rupe a black friar, who made the rosary of our lady's psalter (so they term it) and erected a certain new fraternity upon the same, called Fraternitas Coronariorum, pertaining to the order of the Dominics; of which order Jacobus Sprenger, one of the condemners of Johannes de Wesalia above-mentioned, was a great advancer, and especially this pope Sixtus IV., who gave to the said fraternity large graces and privileges.

Alanus, author of our Lady's Psalter.

Then had the blessed Virgin Mary two husbands

An old knave!

Concerning the institution of this rosary, there was a book set forth about A. D. 1480, in the beginning whereof is declared, That the blessed Virgin entered into the cell of this Alanus, and was so familiar with him, that not only she did espouse him for her husband, but also kissed him with her heavenly mouth, and also, for more familiarity, opened to him her paps, and poured great plenty of her own milk into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof, the said Alanus, this holy babe (saith the story), did swear deeply, cursing himself, if it were not thus, as he had made relation.

This fabulous figment when I read in the Centuries of John Bale, I began with myself to mistrust the credit thereof, and had thought

(1. Ex declamatione Agrippæ ad Lovanienses. (2) Ex Joan Lazlardo, lib. hist. univers. c. 234.

not to trouble the reader with such incredible forgeries. But, as the providence of God worketh in all things, so also it appeared in this, that the very same book came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein this self-same narration is contained, wherein I found not only this to be true, which in John Bale is expressed, but also found in like manner another wonder, as prodigious as this; where, in another place not far off, it is storied in the same book, how that about the time of St. Dominic, there was a certain matron in Spain, named Lucia, who, being taken captive by the Saracens, having her husband killed, was carried, great with child, into the Turkish land. When the time of her labour came, she being left desolate among beasts and hogs, and remembering this twice holy rosary (first instituted, saith the book, by St. Dominic, and afterwards renewed by Alanus), eftsoons the Holy Virgin was ready and stood by her, and received the child at her travail, supplying all the parts of a diligent midwife; and, moreover, causing a priest suddenly to appear, she gave the child to be christened, calling it after her own name, Marianus. And so was she wife to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and godmother to Marianus! Which story if it be true, then is the pope's canon by this example to be controlled, which permitteth midwives in time of necessity to baptize, seeing the blessed Virgin, playing the part herself of a midwife, durst not baptize this child without a priest. It followeth more in the story, that by the help of the said blessed Virgin, this Lucia, our lady's gossip, after her purification, was restored with her child safe to her country again!

Edward IV. A.D. 1480.

The detestable impiety and blasphemy of the popish lying religion. Mendacem memorem esse oportet.

This book, being in Latin and printed, beareth this title, 'Rosacea augustissimæ Christiferæ Mariæ corona;' and in front it showeth the name of Jodocus Beisselius, a nobleman of Aix-la-Chapelle.[1] And this by occasion of pope Sixtus; which Sixtus, what a maintainer of blind superstition he was, partly by that before spoken, partly by the end following, it may be seen. For we read in certain writers, that after this pope had understanding that Hercules Estensis, duke of Ferrara, had joined peace with the Venetians against his will, he was so grieved therewith, that for rancour of mind, within five days after, he died; whereunto his epitaph following giveth sufficient record. About this time also died Platina, a man not unlearned, but yet a shameful flatterer and bearer with the wicked lives of the popes.

See Appendix.

Death of Pope Sixtus IV. Here endeth Platina.

An Epitaph on Pope Sixtus.

Non potuit sævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

Another on the same Pope.

Sixte jaces tandem, nostri discordia secli.
Sævisti in superos, nunc Acheronta move.
Sixte jaces tandem, deflent tua busta cinædi,
Scortaque, lenones, alea, vina, venus.

Another.

Gaude prisce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,
Hic scelus omne simul clauditur, et vitium.

(1) Ex Latino Codice impresso, cui titulus, 'Rosacea Mariæ Corona.'

Edward IV. A. D. 1483.

But leaving here pope Sixtus with his verses and vices, let us now proceed, as we before promised, to enter the story of Maximilian, keeping notwithstanding, the order of our kings here in England. For a little before the reign of Maximilian, king Edward IV. ceased his life, A.D. 1483, after he had reigned twenty-two years.

Death of king Edward IV.

In the time of which king Edward this also is not to be forgotten, that one Burdet, a merchant dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, which is now the sign of the Fleur-de-luce, merrily speaking to his son, said that he would make him inheritor of the crown, meaning indeed his own house; for which words, king Edward causing them to be misconstrued, and interpreted as though he had meant the crown of the realm, within less space than four hours, he was apprehended, judged, drawn, and quartered, in Cheapside!

The laws of the realm misconstrued for the prince's pleasure.

EDWARD THE FIFTH.

A. D 1483.

THIS king Edward left behind him by his wife Elizabeth, two sons, Edward and Richard, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Cecilia: which two sons, Edward and Richard, forasmuch as they were under age, and not ripe to govern, a consultation was called among the peers, to debate whether the aforesaid young prince and king, should be under the government of his mother, or else that Richard, duke of Gloucester, brother to king Edward IV., and uncle to the child, should be governor of the king, and protector of the realm. There hath been, and is, an old adage, the words whereof, rather than the true meaning, wrested out of Solomon [Eccl. x.], "Væ regno cujus rex est puer," &c.; i. e. "Wo to the kingdom, the king whereof is a child," &c. But if I may find leave herein to thrust in a gloss, I would add this, and say: "Væ illi puero, qui sui regni rex non est;" i. e. "Wo to that child, which is a king in a kingdom unruly and ambitious."

There was, the same season, among other noble peers of the realm, the duke of Buckingham, a man of great authority, who had married the sister of king Edward's wife. Because the duke, being so nearly allied to the king, had been unkindly, as he thought, of the king entreated, having by him no advancement, nor any great friendship showed, according to his expectation, he took part therefore with Richard, duke of Gloucester, both against the queen and her children, to make the aforesaid duke the chief governor and protector. Which thing being brought to pass, by the aid, assistance, and working of the duke of Buckingham, the queen took sanctuary with her younger son; the elder brother, who was the king, remaining in the custody of the duke of Gloucester, his uncle; who, being now in a good towardness to obtain that which he had long looked for, sought all the means, and soon compassed the matter, by false colour of dissembled words, by perjury, and labour of friends, namely the duke of Buckingham and the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, that the other brother also should be committed to his credit.

Richard, duke of Gloucester, made protector.

The young king committed to him.

Buckingham, a great doer for the protector.

Thus the ambitious protector and unnatural uncle, having the

possession of his two nephews, and innocent babes, thought himself almost up the wheel where he would climb; although he could not walk in such mists and clouds, but his devised purposes began to be espied; which caused him more covertly to go about to remove from him all suspicion, and to blind the people's eyes. But before he could accomplish his execrable enterprise, some there were whom he thought first must be rid out of his way, as namely the lord Hastings, and the lord Stanley; who, as they were sitting together in council within the Tower, the protector (the matter being so appointed before) suddenly rushed in among them, and after a few words there communed, he suddenly hasted out again (his mind belike, being full of mischief and fury, was not quiet); who, within the space of an hour, returned again into the chamber with a stern countenance and a frowning look, and so there sat down in his place. When the lords were in great marvel and muse at the meaning hereof, then he, out of a cankered heart, thus began to bray, asking them: "What are they worthy to have, who go about to imagine the destruction of him being so near to the king's blood, and protector of the realm?" At which question as the other lords sat musing, the lord Hastings, because he had been more familiar with him, thus answered, That they were worthy of punishment, whatsoever they were: which when the other lords also had affirmed, "That is," quoth the protector, "yonder sorceress, my brother's wife," meaning the queen and others with her: adding moreover, and saying, "That sorceress, and others of her council, as Shore's wife, with her affinity, have, by their witchcraft, thus wasted my body;" and therewith showed forth his left arm, a wearish withered thing, as it was never otherwise, as was well known.

Edward V. A. 1483.

Both king Edward's children in the possession of the protector.

The devilish protector picketh quarrels.

The queen and Shore's wife falsely accused of the protector to bewitch his arm.

This Shore's wife had been before a concubine to king Edward, and afterwards was kept by the same lord Hastings. Moreover, here is to be noted, that by the consent of the said lord Hastings, the cruel protector had devised, about the same time, the kindred of the queen innocently to be beheaded at Pomfret, of mere despite and hatred. Wherefore, this punishment not undeservedly, by the just hand of God, fell upon the lord Hastings.

Murder justly punished of God.

It followeth then more in the story, that when the lord Hastings had heard of these false accusations of the tyrant, which he knew to be untrue; "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they have so done, they be worthy of heinous punishment." "Why," quoth the protector, "dost thou serve me with *if*, and with *and*? I tell thee, they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor;" and therewith giving a great rap on the board (for a token or a watchword), one without cried 'treason,' and forthwith the chamber was full of harnessed men. The protector then, approaching to the lord Hastings, arrested him as a traitor. Another let fly at the lord Stanley; who, to avoid the blow, shrunk under the table, or else his head had been cleft asunder; notwithstanding he received such a wound, that the blood ran about his ears. There were in that council at the same time the archbishop of York, and doctor Morton, bishop of Ely (by whose procurement, afterwards, king Henry VII. was sent for into England, and he made archbishop, after that, of Canterbury); these, with the lord Stanley, diversly were bestowed in divers chambers. The lord Hastings was commanded to speed and shrieve him apace,

Lord Hastings arrested for a traitor.

Lord Stanley wounded

Bishop Morton.

The tyranny of the protector.

Edward V. A. D. 1483.

for before dinner, the protector sware by St. Paul, that he should die And so incontinently, without further judgment, his head was stricken off, by whose counsel the queen's kindred were, at the same time and day, beheaded at Pomfret.

After this tyrannous murder accomplished, the mischievous protector, aspiring still to the crown, to set his devices forward, first, through gifts and fair promises, did suborn doctor Shaw, a famous preacher then in London, at Paul's Gross to insinuate to the people, that neither king Edward with his sons, nor the duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the duke of York; but begotten, unlawfully by other persons, in adultery, on the duchess their mother, and that he alone was the true and only lawful heir of the duke of York. Moreover, to declare and to signify to the audience, that king Edward was never lawfully married to the queen, but his wife before was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so the two children of king Edward to be base and bastards, and therefore the title of the crown most rightly to pertain unto the lord protector. Thus this false flatterer and loud lying preacher, to serve the protector's humour, shamed not most impudently to abuse that holy place, that reverend auditory, and the sacred word of God, taking for his theme, "Adulteræ plantationes non dabunt radices altas," &c., which he most impiously did apply against the innocent children, and right heirs of the realm. Whereupon such grudge and disdain of the people with worldly wonder followed him, that for shame of the people crying out of him, in a few days after he pined away.

The protector accuseth his own mother. Dr. Shaw's impudent sermon at Paul's-Cross.

Wisd. iv.

Example for all flattering preachers to beware.

When this sermon would take no effect with the people, the protector, unmercifully drowned in ambition, rested not thus, but within a few days after excited the duke of Buckingham, first to break the matter in covert talk to the mayor, and certain heads of the city, picked out for the purpose: that done, to come to the Guildhall, to move the people by all flattering and lying persuasions to the same, which shameless Shaw before had preached at Paul's Cross. This the duke, with all diligence and helps of eloquence (being a man both learned and well spoken), endeavoured to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificial oration, supposing no less but that the people, allured by his crafty insinuations, would cry, "King Richard!" "King Richard!" But there was no king Richard in their mouths; less in their hearts. Whereupon the duke, looking to the lord mayor, and asking what this silence meant, contrary to the promise of the one, and the expectation of the other, it was then answered of the mayor, that the people, peradventure, well understood him not: wherefore the duke, reiterating his narration in other words, declared again that he had done before. Likewise the third time he repeated his oration again and again. Then the commons, who before stood mute, being now in amaze, seeing this opportunity, began to mutter softly among themselves, but yet no king Richard could sound in their lips, save only that in the nether end of the hall, certain of the duke's servants, with one Nashfield, and others belonging to the protector, thrusting into the hall among the press, began suddenly, at men's backs, to cry "King Richard," "King Richard;" throwing up their caps: whereat the citizens, turning back their heads, marvelled not a little, but said nothing.

The duke of Buckingham, another minister for the protector's fury, speaketh for the protector in Guildhall.

A hard thing, to make the tongue speak against the heart.

A stolen consent in the Guildhall.

The duke and the lord mayor with that side, taking this for sufficient testimony, incontinent came, blowing for haste, to the protector then lying at Baynard's castle; where the matter being made before, was now so contrived, that forsooth humble petition was made, in the name of the whole commons, and that with three sundry suits, to the humble and simple protector, That he, although it was utterly against his will to take it, yet would, of his humility, stoop so low, as to receive the heavy kingdom of England upon his shoulders. At this their tender request and suit of the lords and commons made (ye must know how), the mild duke, seeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yield, although sorely against his will (ye must so imagine), and to submit himself so low, as of a protector to be made king: not much herein unlike to our prelates in the popish church, who when they have before well compounded for the pope's bulls, yet must they for manner-sake make courtesy, and thrice deny that, for which they so long before have gaped, and so sweetly have prayed.

Edward V. A. D. 1483

Fye of hypocrisy.

The hypocrisy of the protector denying the crown thrice before he would take it.

RICHARD THE THIRD, THE USURPER.

And thus Richard duke of Gloucester took upon him to be made and proclaimed king of England the year aforesaid, A. D. 1483, in the month of June: who then coming to the Tower by water, first made his son, a child of ten years old, prince of Wales, and John Howard (a man of great industry and service) he advanced to be duke of Norfolk, and sir Thomas Howard his son, he ordained earl of Surrey. Also William lord Berkley was appointed earl of Nottingham. Francis lord Lovel was made viscount Lovel. Lord Stanley, for fear of his son, was delivered out of the Tower, and made steward of the king's household: likewise the archbishop of York was set free. But Morton bishop of Ely, was committed to the duke of Buckingham, by whom was wrought the first device to bring in Henry earl of Richmond into England, and to conjoin marriage between Elizabeth, king Edward's daughter, and him, whereby the two houses of York and Lancaster were united together.

A. D. 1483.

After the kingdom of England was thus allotted to king Richard the usurper, as in manner above remembered, he tarried not long for his coronation, which was solemnized the month next ensuing, the sixth day of July.

King Richard crowned

The triumph and solemnity of this usurped coronation being finished, and all things to the same appertaining, this unquiet tyrant yet could not think himself safe, so long as young Edward the right king, and his brother, were alive; wherefore the next enterprise which he did set upon was this: how to rid those innocent babes out of the way, that he might reign king alone.

In the mean time, while all this ruffling was in hand, what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherless and friendless children were in, what little joy of themselves, what small joy of life they had, it is not so hard, as dolorous, for tender hearts to understand. As the younger brother lingered in thought and heaviness, so the prince, who

Richard III. A.D. 1483.

was eleven years old, was so out of heart, and so fraught with fear, that he never tied his points, nor enjoyed good day, till the traitorous impiety of their cruel uncle had delivered them of their wretchedness; which was not long in despatching. For after king Richard, their uncle, had first attempted to compass his devilish device by Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, and could not win him to such a cruel fact (to die therefore), then he got one James Tyrell, joining with him John Dighton, and Miles Forrest, to perpetrate this heinous murder. Which Dighton and Forrest, about midnight entering into their chamber, so bewrapped and entangled them amongst the clothes, keeping down the feather-bed and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while they smothered and stifled them piteously in their bed.

The truth of Robert Brakenbury to his prince.

The two young children of king Edward murdered.

And thus ended these two young princes their lives, through the wretched cruelty of these forenamed tormentors, who, for their detestable and bloody murder committed, escaped not long unpunished by the just hand of God. For first Miles Forrest, at St. Martin's-le-Grand, by piece-meal miserably rotted away: John Dighton lived at Calais long after, so disdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great misery: sir James Tyrell was beheaded at Tower Hill for treason. Also king Richard himself, within a year and a half after, was slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies' hands, torn and tugged like a cur-dog.

The just punishment of God upon the murderers of them two.

Also upon king Richard.

Furthermore, the said justice of God's hand let not the duke of Buckingham escape free, who was a great maintainer and setter-up of this butcherly usurper: for less than within a year after, so God wrought, that he was himself beheaded for treason by the said king, whom he so unjustly before had advanced and set up.

The punishment of God upon the duke of Buckingham.

In the same catalogue and order of these wicked doers afore recited, we have also to comprehend two others, as well worthy of memorial as the best, or rather as the worst. The name of the one was doctor Shaw above rehearsed; the other doctor Pinky, provincial of the Austin friars; both famous preachers, and both doctors in divinity; both of more learning than virtue (saith the story), of more fame than learning, and yet of more learning than truth. Shaw made a sermon in praise of the protector, before his coronation. Pinky preached after his coronation. Both were so full of tedious flattery, that no good ears could abide them. Pinky, in his sermon, so lost his voice, that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst. Dr. Shaw by his sermon lost his honesty, and soon after his life, for very shame of the world; so that he never durst, after that, show his face again. But as for the friar, he was so far past shame, that the loss thereof did little touch him. Mention was made a little before of doctor Morton, bishop of Ely, by whose means the device was first broached, for the conjoining of the two houses of York and Lancaster together. This device was first broken to the duke of Buckingham, which soon after cost him his life. But that bishop, more crafty, to save himself, incontinent fled into Brittany. Notwithstanding, the device, once broached, was so plausible and took such effect, that message was sent over the sea to Henry earl of Richmond, by his mother, and by the queen, mother to the lady Elizabeth, that if he would make his return, and promise to marry with the said lady Elizabeth, king Edward's

Dr. Shaw, and Dr. Pinky, two flattering preachers.

God's judgment upon flattering preachers.

The first motion of joining the two houses, York and Lancaster, together.

daughter, he should be received. To make a longer discourse of this matter which is sufficiently set forth by sir Thomas More, and so ornately, it needeth not. *Richard III.* A.D. 1483.

Briefly (to contract that in a small compass of words, which was not so small a thing in doing), after that the earl Henry, with such other banished men as fled out of England at the taking of the duke of Buckingham, had perfect intelligence by his mother, and by the queen and other friends more out of England, how the case of the realm stood, and how it was here purposed by his friends, that is, that he should with all convenient speed hasten his return over into England, promising to marry with lady Elizabeth; he, with all diligence, as time and preparation would serve, advanced forward his journey, being well helped and furnished by Francis duke of Brittany, and so shipped his men. Albeit his first voyage sped not; for that the winds turning contrary, by force of weather his ships were dispersed, and he repulsed back into France again. His second voyage was more prosperous, who, taking the seas at Harfleur, in the month of August, A. D. 1485, accompanied only with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, arrived at Milford Haven in Wales, and first came to Dale, then to Haverfordwest, where he was joyfully received, and also, by the coming in of Arnold Butler and the Pembroke men, was in power increased. From thence, he removed by Cardigan to Shrewsbury, and then to Newport, and so to Stafford, from thence to Lichfield, his army still more and more augmenting. Like as a great flood, by coming in of many small rivers, gathereth more abundance of water; so to this earl, divers noble captains and men of power adjoined themselves, as Richard Griffith, John Morgan, Rice ap Thomas; then sir George Talbot, with the young earl of Shrewsbury his ward, sir William Stanley, sir Thomas Burchier, and sir Walter Hungerford, knights. At last the said earl, hearing of the king's coming, conducted his whole army to Tamworth.

Earl Henry maketh preparation toward his journey.

Arrival of Henr earl of Richmond in Wales.

King Richard, first hearing of the arrival of the earl Henry in the parts of Wales after such a slender sort, did give little or no regard unto it. But after, understanding that he was come to Lichfield without resistance or incumbrance, he was sore moved, and exceedingly took on, cursing and crying out against those who had so deceived him; and in all post speed sent for John duke of Norfolk, Henry earl of Northumberland, Thomas earl of Surrey, with other his friends of special trust. Robert Brakenbury also, lieutenant of the Tower, was sent for, with sir Thomas Burchier, and sir Walter Hungerford, with certain other knights and esquires, of whom he partly misdoubted, or had some suspicious jealousy. Thus king Richard, after most forcible manner well fortified and accompanied, leaving nothing undone that diligence could require, set forward toward his enemies. The earl by this time was come to Tamworth, to whom secretly in the evening resorted sir John Savage, sir Bryan Sanford, sir Simon Digby, and many others; forsaking the part of king Richard, whom all good men hated, as he no otherwise deserved. The king, having perfect knowledge that the earl was encamped at Tamworth, embattled himself in a place near to a village called Bosworth, not far from Leicester, appointing there to encounter with his adversaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and suspense con-

King Richard gathereth his power to encounter with earl Henry.

King Richard taketh the field of Bosworth.

Richard III. A. D. 1485.

cerning the Lord Stanley,[1] who was the earl's father-in-law, and had married his mother, to what part he would incline. For, although his heart went, no doubt, with the earl, and had secret conference with him the night before, yet because of his son and heir George, lord Strange, being then in the hands of king Richard, lest the king should attempt any prejudicial thing against him, he durst not be seen openly to go that way where in heart he favoured; therefore closely kept himself between both, till the push came, that his help might serve at a pinch.

The number of the earl's part exceeded not the one half of the side of king Richard. When the time and the place were appointed, where the two battles should encounter and join together, sore stripes and great blows were given on both sides, and many slain. If number and multitude might govern the success of battle, king Richard had double to the earl. But God is he, not man, that giveth victory, by what means it seemeth to his divine providence best. In what order, and by what occasion this field was won and lost, the certain intelligence we have not certainly expressed, but only the history of Polydore Virgil, whom sir Thomas More doth follow word for word; in which story it doth appear, that as these two armies were coupling together, king Richard, understanding by his espials where the earl of Richmond was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and seeing him to approach more near unto him, rather carried with courage, than ruled with reason, set spurs to his horse, and ranging out of the compass of his ranks, pressed toward the earl, setting upon him so sharply, that first he killed sir William Brandon the earl's standard-bearer, father to the lord Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, then after overthrew sir John Cheney, thinking likewise to oppress the earl. But, as the Lord by his secret providence disposeth the event of all things, as the earl with his men about him, being overmatched, began to despair of victory, suddenly and opportunely came sir William Stanley with three thousand well appointed able men, whereby king Richard's men were driven back, and he himself, cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was there slain, and brought to his confusion and death, which he worthily deserved.

The history of sir Thomas More, word for word, taken out of Polydore Virgil.

The death of king Richard.

In the mean time the earl of Oxford, who had the guiding of the foreward, discomfited the fore-front of king Richard's host, and put them to flight, in which chase many were slain, of noblemen especially above others: John duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrers, sir Richard Radcliff, and Robert Brakenbury lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Lord Thomas Howard earl of Surrey there submitted himself, and although he was not received at first to grace, but long remained in the Tower, yet at length, for his fidelity, he was delivered and advanced to his recovered honour and dignity again.

This king Richard had but one son, who, shortly after the cruel murder of king Edward's sons, was taken with sickness and died. The wife of the said king Richard (whether by poison or by sickness) died also a little before the field of Bosworth, after whose decease, the story of Polydore and of sir Thomas More affirmeth, that he intended himself to marry the lady Elizabeth, his own brother's daughter, and so to prevent the earl of Richmond.

King Richard purposed to marry Elizabeth, his brother's daughter.

(1) This lord Stanley was he who was hurt at the Tower, when the lord Hastings was arrested.

Richard III.

A. D. 1485.

Moreover, as touching the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the story, that king Richard being in Bosworth field, sent for the lord Stanley by a pursuivant, to advance forward with his company, and come to his presence: otherwise, he sware by Christ's passion, that he would strike off his son's head before dinner. The lord Stanley sent word again, That if he did, he had more sons alive. Whereupon the king immediately commanded the lord Strange to be beheaded; which was the very time when both the armies were within sight, and were ready to join together. Wherefore the king's counsellors, pondering the time and the case, persuaded the king that it was now time to fight, and not to do execution, advising him to delay the matter till the battle were ended. And so, as God would, king Richard breaking his oath, or rather keeping his oath, for he himself was slain before dinner, the lord Strange was committed to be kept prisoner within the king's tent; who then, after the victory gotten, was sought out and brought to his joyful father. And thus have ye the tragical life and end of this wretched king Richard.

Lord Stanley, husband to king Henry's mother, forsakes king Richard.

The lord Strange marvellously preserved.

Henry, the earl of Richmond, after hearty thanks given to Almighty God for his glorious victory obtained, proceeded to the town of Leicester, where was brought to him, by the lord Strange, the crown, and put on the earl's head.

In the mean time the dead corpse of king Richard was shamefully carried to the town of Leicester, being naked and despoiled to the skin; and being trussed behind a pursuivant at arms, was carried like a hog or a dog, having his head and arms hanging on the one side of the horse, and the legs on the other side, all sprinkled with mire and blood. And thus ended the usurped reign of king Richard, who reigned two years and two months.[1]

The shameful tossing of king Richard's dead corpse.

(1) Ex Polyd. et Thoma More.

APPENDIX TO VOL. III.

PAGE 3, line 1. "*His son's son.*"]—The Latin edition calls Richard "Edvardi ex filio nepos:" the edition of 1563, Edward's "nephew" (see vol. i. p. 89, note 2): the edition of 1570, "his sonne:" the editions of 1576, &c. "his sonnes sonne."

Page 4.]—Foxe has derived the ensuing account of Wickliff, extending to page 24, from several sources (see pp. 5, 8, 13, 19, 20): most of it, however, will be found in Walsingham; the present page, for example, might be considered as a translation of the following passage:—

"Qui [Wiclevus], ut suam hæresin cautius palliaret, ac sub exquisito colore dilataret latiùs, congregavit iniquitatem sibi, videlicet, comites atque socios unius sectæ insimul Oxoniis et alibi commorantes, talaribus indutos vestibus de russeto, in signum perfectionis amplioris, incedentes nudis pedibus, qui suos errores in populo ventilarent et palam ac publice in suis sermonibus prædicarent. Qui inter cætera ista quidem tenuerunt ad unguem, videlicet, &c." [Then follow the Articles which Foxe here translates: after which Walsingham proceeds,] "Ista et plura alia ..... asseruerunt et affirmarunt ..... Cum autem conclusiones istæ et deliramenta fuissent exhibita et perlecta coram Papa, viginti tres earum tanquam hereticas et vanas ipse damnavit, dirigens bullas suas archiepiscopo et episcopo Londinensi, ut ipsarum authoritate dictum Johannem facerent comprehendi, ac supra dictis conclusionibus diligenter examinari. Quo facto, atque habitâ declaratione super istis, licet ficta et vana, dictus dominus archiepiscopus sibi et omnibus aliis super illa materia, præsente duce Lancastriæ cum domino Henrico Percy, indixit silentium, prohibens ne de cetero illam materiam quovismodo tangeret aut tractaret, et ne illam permitteret alios ventilare. Igitur tam ipse quam sequaces sui aliquandiu siluerunt. Sed tandem contemplatione dominorum temporalium easdem opiniones et alias multò pejores illis postmodum ausi sunt reassumere et laicis spargere, quam sparsere prius. Hi vocabantur a vulgo Lollardi, incedentes nudis pedibus, vestiti pannis vilibus, scilicet de russeto, ut per vitam pœnalem facilius incautos traherent ad sectam suam. Eo vero die quo præmissa Londoniis erant peracta, propter verbum quoddam injuriosum et insolens à duce Lancastriæ episcopo Londinensi prolatum confestim Londonienses unanimiter insurgentes, arreptis armis, ipsum occidere proponebant," &c. (Walsingham's History, edit. 1574, p. 188, and Hypodig. Neust. p. 135.)

There is considerable perplexity, however, about this part of Foxe's narrative. The second half of this page, beginning at the § "In the mean time," &c., is only a repetition of the former half; and yet the second half is made to grow out of the first, as though it were posterior in time. Here is a council at St. Paul's (bottom of page 3), then an injunction of silence, disregarded by Wickliff, and followed by papal interference. This papal interference produces —not, *another* but—the *same* citation of Wickliff to appear at St. Paul's, "*as is aforesaid;*" where all proceeded "*as hath been above recorded,*" except the addition of the pope's part, which is certainly quite new: and then the same sequel follows—an injunction of silence, disregarded by Wickliff, and papal interference *in consequence*. This manifest incoherency in the narrative would have been avoided, if Foxe, instead of alluding at bottom of page 3 to the council at St. Paul's, had referred to some earlier stage of Wickliff's course; for example, to vol. ii. pp. 799, 800, where Wickliff is stated to have "commenced in sundry acts and disputations, contrary unto the form and teaching of the pope's church in many things," &c.; for which "he was deprived, and prohibited to stir any more in those sorts of matters:" then this page would naturally proceed, "Who, notwithstanding," &c. The articles ensuing, called

in the margin Wickliff's "first articles," would then appear what Walsingham represents them, viz. as the substance of his preaching *previous* to the council at St. Paul's: and it is observable, that the articles here given as Wickliff's "first articles" coincide exactly with the description given of his preaching at that period, vol. ii. pp. 799, 800.

There is yet another difficulty, however, which requires explanation. The description given in the middle of this page of the origin and proceedings of the council at St. Paul's, is inconsistent with the former narrative, vol. ii. p. 801, where it is described as purely the act of the English prelates, and as followed by no result, not even an injunction of silence on Wickliff: *here*, however, it is represented as summoned purposely to receive the pope's letters, wherein Wickliff's doctrines were condemned (as Walsingham says) *to the number of twenty-three*, or (as Foxe says) *by twenty-three cardinals;* and these letters (it seems) were exhibited; and (according to Walsingham) a declaration made thereon (*i.e.* by Wickliff), and an injunction of silence, &c.: in short, a deal of solemn business was transacted; only, through the presence of the two noblemen Wickliff escaped without any personal molestation. The explanation of this inconsistency seems to be, that there was a *second* council at St. Paul's about February 1378, *i.e.* a year after the *first*—that council, in fact, the summons to which is given at p. 12, note (6); at which all this might have really happened, and Wickliff might have again escaped through the second intervention of the two noblemen, who were yet overawed by the pope's letters to behave with less violence than on the former occasion. Such a second failure at St. Paul's would lead, naturally, to another citation of Wickliff soon after to appear at *Lambeth*, where the bishops might hope to have it all their own way; but how Wickliff again escaped through court favour, is told at page 13 Walsingham might easily blunder the two councils into one, if both were held in the same month (February), and if the same two noblemen interposed with like success on both occasions: he would also be glad, for the church's credit, to merge the account of a second defeat at St. Paul's in that at Lambeth. It may be added, that the impassioned state of mind in which the bishops are described (p. 12) as going to the council of Lambeth, would be well accounted for by the supposition of a recent *second* disappointment at St. Paul's. The hypothesis of this second council would also account for a statement of Foxe in this page, which (as it stands) is not accurate; viz. that "all this," *i.e.* the proceedings at St. Paul's, "happened in the days and last year of King Edward III. and pope Gregory XI.;" the *second* council would fall in the "last year" of this pope, who died March 27th, 1378, but the *first* evidently did not.

Page 4, line 3. "*Long frieze gowns.*"]—See the archbishop's remark to Thorpe, p. 272, line 44.

Page 4, last line but one. "*Accordingly, that same year.*"]—Foxe says, "In the year following (A.D. 1378)," evidently supposing the pope's bulls to have been issued in that year; at p. 8 he repeats the error, and defends it: the following passage from Walsingham (containing in itself a manifest inconsistency) shows how Foxe was betrayed into it:—"Anno dominicæ incarnationis millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo *octavo*, qui est annus regni regis Richardi Secundi *primus*, tenuit idem rex natale apud Windesore. Paucis diebus *ante natale dominicum*, misit dominus papa bullam suam universitati Oxoniæ, ministerio magistri Edmundi Stafford," &c. From which it appears, that the five bulls ensuing were not *made use of* till the end of 1377, or the beginning of 1378; but they were *issued* (and probably sent over into England) May 22d, 1377: the death of Edward III., June 21st following, prevented any immediate *use* being made of them. It is observable, that the summons to the *second* council at St. Paul's (p. 12, note (6)) speaks of the bulls as then (Dec. 28th, 1377) in the archbishop's possession. It is probable that the bishops were roused into fresh activity at this time, by the reply which Wickliff had just returned to a question proposed to him by Richard's first parliament, which met October 13th, 1377: see a portion of that reply at p. 54.

Page 5, line 12. "*The authors of this story, whom I follow.*"]—Walsingham says (Hist. p. 200), "Pudet recordationis tantæ imprudentiæ, et ideò supersedeo in hujusmodi materia immorari, ne materna videar ubera decerpere dentibus, quæ dare lac potum scientiæ consuevere."

Page 6, last line.]—Two lines which follow here in Foxe's text—"and that the king . . . or to his doctrine in any wise"—have been transferred to the next page, as belonging to the description of another letter: see the letters themselves, as given in the foot notes.

Page 7, line 7.]—The words in the text—"the one directing . . . within three months"—are put into the text on the authority of the letter in the note.

Page 7, note, line 9 from bottom.]—Walsingham, p. 201, inserts "Johannam" before "principissam."

Page 8, note (1).]—Foxe here again falls into the error mentioned in the note on the last line but one of page 4, of supposing the five bulls to have been first *issued* when they were first *used*, and defends his error by a false argument, for the 7th year of Gregory began January 5th, 1377, and his bulls are dated May 22nd following; and Edward III. did not die till June 21st following.

Page 11, line 13.]—See the remarks with which Foxe introduces the 24 Articles at p. 21, and upon his Articles generally at p. 64. Dr. Wordsworth, in his "Eccl. Biog." vol. i. p. 203, edit. 1839, makes some valuable remarks on these Conclusions, "in justice" (as he says) "to the reader and to the memory of this great man." After remarking that several of the Articles will startle the reader, he adds that, "partly it is to be borne in mind, that the Articles come to us from the hands of Wickliff's adversaries; and partly, we must take them in connexion with the limitations and explanations which he himself has given of them." Dr. Wordsworth then shows, that in regard to some of them he is certainly calumniated.

Page 11, Art. IV.]—The doctrine that *dominion is founded in grace*, which the pope here tries to fasten on Wickliff, was none of his, but was, in truth, maintained and acted upon to a fearful degree by the Roman Catholics themselves. See Lewis, pp. 115—117, 342; and Dr. Wordsworth's note on this Article.

Page 11, Art. VI.]—Wickliff in both his subsequent Expositions of these Articles (see p. 15, and Appendix) disclaims any intention of teaching, that where individuals were dissatisfied with their clergyman, however justly, they should take the law into their own hands: he rather pleaded for better laws and discipline in regard to the clergy, and that proper facilities should be afforded for legal process against such of them as grossly neglected their duties. It is observable that John Huss, while defending this Article of Wickliff, makes a similiar disclaimer at p. 78: "Notwithstanding, I protest that it is not my intention," &c.

Page 12, Art. XVI.]—This Article may be illustrated by the conduct of Henry III. toward the bishop and chapter of Hereford, as related suprà, vol. ii. p. 559.

Page 12, Art. XVII. "*Under a condition implied.*"]—See Swinderby's observations on this point at p. 122, line 32; "And as anentes," &c.

Page 12, note (6).]—The meeting at Lambeth must have been early in 1378, for Gregory XI. died March 27th; and Walsingham particularly bewails his death, because it put a stop to any further process against Wickliff.

Page 13, middle.]—Dr. Vaughan insinuates a doubt, as to how far the document which Walsingham has preserved as Wickliff's exposition of his sentiments, is genuine: certainly Walsingham entertained a bitter hatred toward Wickliff and his opinions, which he takes no pains to conceal; and occasionally gives a much more unfavourable turn to his history than Walden. (See p. 19, note (1).) Knyghton is open to the same charge, and gives documents as recantations, which are either plainly the reverse or plainly forgeries.

Page 13, note (1).]—Walsingham says, p. 206, "tanto timore concussi sunt, ut cornibus eos carere putares, factos velut homo non audiens, et non habens in ore suo redargutiones:" a citation of Psalm xxxviii. 14.

Page 13, note (3).]—The following is Foxe's translation (somewhat modified) of the second edition of Wickliff's Protestation and Expositions, referred to in the note, and extant in Walden's "Fasciculus" apud Bodleianum, fol. 57 *b*, and in the Selden MSS. B. 10. Walden speaks of it as addressed to the *bishops*,

but the other copy intitules it as addressed "*ad Parliamentum Regis.*" The paper begins in the Selden MS. with this preface: "Ista est protestatio Reverendi Doctoris, una cum ejus conclusionibus quæ ab eo in subscripta forma sunt positæ, quæ in consimilibus materiis et dissimilibus formis sunt et fuerunt reportatæ et ad curiam Romanam transmissæ, et sic in multis minus bene impositæ." The paper then proceeds:—

Conclusions, and Expositions thereof, exhibited by John Wickliff to the Parliament.

"I protest publicly, as I have often before done, that I intend and wish to be entirely a Christian, and as long as breath shall remain in me to profess the law of Christ in word and deed. But if from ignorance or any other cause I shall fail thereof, now as then I revoke and abhor the same, humbly submitting myself to the correction of holy mother church.

I. "The whole human race concurring," &c. This I grant from the Scriptures; forsomuch as before the final judgment all civil polity must cease; for the Apostle speaking in 1 Cor. xv. of the day of judgment, writeth thus: "Then shall th' end come, when he shall deliver up his kingdom unto God, his Father; when as he shall have made void all princely rule, power, and dominion." Whosoever then believeth the resurrection of the flesh, believeth also this article, forsomuch as after that there shall be no more exaction or secular conversation. No man, then, hath power to ordain any thing contrary to the decree of the Lord on this behalf.

II. "God cannot give civil dominion to any man," &c. Here it is to be understood, First, that the term "for ever" is taken properly and famously and after the manner of the church, when she prayeth, "Glory be unto the Trinity both now and ever:" Secondly, I understand that civil dominion is taken formally for that, whereby any man doth civilly govern: and, Thirdly, that the conclusion speaketh of the ordinary power of God: and then this conclusion followeth from the preceding. But speaking of the absolute power of God, it seemeth probable unto many, that God cannot continue eternally the pilgrimage of his spouse, because he would then defraud her of her reward, or would unjustly defer to take that vengeance upon the body of the devil, which he hath deserved.

III. "Charters of human invention," &c. This was spoken by the way unto a certain doctor, who highly commended the writings of men, to the disparagement of the Christian Scripture: I said it were best to attend to the defence and exposition of the Scripture, forsomuch as many of these charters are impossible. I therefore grant the conclusion, forsomuch as many charters affirm as touching those who are disherited and dead intestate, that certain lordships are given to them for themselves and their heirs for ever: the which thing, forsomuch as it is against the divine ordinance, we must not canonize every such charter, thereby contemning the Scriptures.

IV. "Every one existing [or, being] in grace justifying," &c. The which is proved evidently enough from the holy Scripture (Matt. xxiv.). "He will set him over all his goods," &c.; together with that of the apostle in Romans viii., "God spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all; how then (saith he) did he not give us all things with him?" Wherefore the *first three* conclusions do priat the faith of Christ on the hearts of worldlings, that they should not be drowned in the sea of the world, which passeth away with its concupiscence: and the *fourth* conclusion allureth men unto the love of the Lord, who hath chosen us to so many true riches.

V. "A man can give any temporal dominion (or eternal, by implication), as well to his natural son, as to his son by adoption, only ministratoriously." This is proved from Luke vi., "They shall give into your bosom a good measure, shaken together, and running over." And, that it is done only ministratoriously is proved from this, that it is not lawful for a man purely to give any thing except as the minister of God, according to the saying of the Apostle (1 Cor. iv.), "Let a man account us as the ministers of Christ." Whence Christ was a true minister of the church, as the Apostle saith (Rom. xv.), "I say that Jesus Christ was a minister," &c. Let not his vicar, therefore, blush to perform the ministry of the church, forsomuch as he is (or at the least, ought to be) the "servant of the servants of God." For any decree

deviating from the manner of speaking of the holy Scripture, and the pride of secular dominion, with an ambitious worldly style, seemeth to tend too much unto blasphemy and to the advancement of Antichrist; and specially if the verities of the Scripture faith are reputed as cockle, something contrary to the christian faith, by the chief captains themselves, who presume that all controversies of the faith should stand in their determination, albeit they be never so ignorant of the faith of the Scriptures. For so they might come together to the Court [of Rome] to purchase a condemnation of holy Scripture as heretical, and a determination against the articles of our christian faith.

VI. "If God is, temporal lords can lawfully," &c. Here it is to be understood that we use the expression "can" according as the authentic Scripture saith most truly and excellently (Matt. iii.), "God *can* even of these stones raise up children unto Abraham." Wherefore I grant the conclusion as correlative unto the first article of our faith: for if God be, he is omnipotent; and if he be omnipotent, he can give unto the secular lords such power; and so, by consequence, they can meritoriously and lawfully use such a power. But lest this conclusion should seem far fetched and inconsequential, I have shown that the temporal lords have power to take away their alms bestowed upon a church, if that she abuse the same, and that such taking away might, percase, be a spiritual work of mercy, saving the soul from hell-fire, and obtaining for both parties blessedness; and such alms bestowed upon the church, although beyond, yea, against the religion which Christ instituted, doth relieve the body from temporal misery as well as a corporal alms. And as it seemeth that giving may be an occasion of blessedness, so more likely taking away. Yet notwithstanding, I have said it was not lawful to do this but by the authority of the church, and in lack of a spiritual ruler, and in case that the ecclesiastical ruler shall himself need to be rebuked by persons worthy of that trust.

VII. "We know that it is not possible that the vicar of Christ," &c. This is proved from the Scripture, according to which the church doth fully believe that the enabling of any man must first proceed from the Lord. But no vicar of Christ hath any power in this matter, except as vicar in the name of the Lord, to notify unto the church whom God hath enabled. Therefore if he do any thing not as vicar and in the name of the Lord, whom he is to recognise in his work and account as the author thereof, it is presumption worthy of Lucifer, since in 2 Cor. iii. Christ saith by his apostle, "All your sufficiency is of the Lord."

VIII. "It is not possible that a man should be excommunicated to his damage," &c. This appeareth, in that every such excommunication doth tend unto the damaging of him who is excommunicated. But no man, according to St. Chrysostom and the holy Scripture, can be endamaged, except he be hurt by sin, the which must take its first original from him who committeth the sin. For the merited suspension of a man from the sacraments and from entrance into the church, is no excommunication but in name only. And as touching the desert itself, it proceedeth first from him which is excommunicated, not from the vicar of Christ, who only giveth the sentence against him. For no man is damnified, except through sin the divine help were withdrawn from him; as is proved by Isaiah lix., "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God."

IX. "No body ought to excommunicate," &c. This is proved from the circumstance, that no man ought to seek vengeance but in the cause of justice: but every cause of justice is the cause of God, since he is himself the fountain of justice: *Ergo*, &c. For inasmuch as all such punishment hath its original in sin, and that all sin is against God, according to the saying, Psalm li. "Against thee only have I sinned," thereby it is evident that no man ought to proceed to such punishment but only in respect to take vengeance for the injury done to God. For according unto the Scripture, no man ought to take vengeance but only on the account of injury being done to his Lord, remitting all account of personal injury; as is plain from the commandment of Christ (Matt. xviii.), "If thy brother have sinned against thee, forgive him even unto seventy times seven."

X. "Cursing or excommunication doth not bind simply [or, absolutely], but only in so far as it is pronounced against the adversary of God's law." This is proved thus. Every such curse doth not bind as touching God, except

that he who is so bound do offend against his law: but it doth not bind except so far as it bound touching God: *Ergo*, &c. "For if God do justify, who is he that can condemn?" and God is not offended at any time, except it be for resistance of his law. And these articles of faith do further and help, both that the law of Christ should be the more loved, for that it ought to be the rule to direct us in every lawful process, and also that the Scripture doctrine written in Romans xii. should be the better impressed, where it is said, "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give place to wrath, for it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay."

XI. "There is no power exemplified [or, granted] by Christ," &c. This is proved from the fact, that Christ teacheth, that the honour of God and the profit of the church are to be thought of before any personal commodity or the denial of temporalities. The second part is proved from Luke ix., where Christ forbade his disciples, when they would have had fire to come down from heaven, to excommunicate the unbelievers, unjustly keeping back their goods from Christ and his disciples. "Ye know not," said he, "what spirit you are of; for the Son of man is come, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Whence it is concluded generally, that it is not lawful for Christ's vicar to excommunicate his neighbour but only for love, wherewithal he must be more affected than with [the desire of] all the temporal goods in the world. The negative conclusion is also proved inductively, and by reducing us to an impossibility which otherwise should have been in Christ, namely, a "yea" and a "nay."

XII. "The disciples of Christ have no power," &c. This is proved from the apostles and the other of Christ's disciples until the time that the church was endowed with possessions; for in how great necessity soever the faithful then were, they did never exercise any such kind of power, but exhorted men according to the law of God and from devotedness to his service to suitable benefactions of voluntary alms. But after that the church was endowed, then were these cloaked censures and secular exactions brought in. Nay, it is proved by Luke xxii., that civil possessions were prohibited unto Christ's disciples.

XIII. "It is not possible by the absolute power of God," &c. This is proved from the fact, that every Christian might err in this matter so as to disagree with the church triumphant; but in that case he would not bind or loose as he doth pretend to do; wherefore it cannot be, that albeit he do pretend to bind and loose, that he necessarily doth so. Whereupon it seemeth unto me, that he that doth usurp that power unto himself should be that Man of Sin, of whom it is written in 2 Thess. ii. that "he sitteth in the temple of God, and sheweth himself as though he were God."

XIV. "We ought to believe, that then only the vicar of Christ," &c. This is proved from the fact, that all the power of Christ's vicar is then only lawful in effect, when it is regulated and governed by the good pleasure of the Head of the church.

XV. "This ought universally to be believed, that any priest rightly ordered according unto the law of grace, hath a power, according to which he may minister the sacraments, and, by consequence, absolve any man who confesseth to him from any sin whatever, he being contrite for the same." This is proved by the fact, that the powers of orders in all christian priests are equal; as Hugo in his second book 'on the Sacraments' doth declare. Notwithstanding, the powers of orders in some, though substantially equal to those of others, are reasonably restrained, and yet may again be loosed for the work of the ministry, as the conclusion saith.

XVI. "It is lawful for kings, in cases limited by the law, to take away the temporalities from ecclesiastics habitually abusing the same." This is proved by the principle laid down in the fifth conclusion; for to the works of greatest merit, and at the same time most easy to the temporal lords, the said lords are most bound: but it might, percase, be a greater alms, as well as an easier thing for the temporal lord, to take away his alms from one who is building unto damnation through the abuse thereof, than to bestow the said alms for mere corporal succour: *Ergo*, &c. Whence this opinion is specified according to a threefold law: The first is the civil law, "de Capitulis Corradi," col. 10. "[1] If

(1) The passage referred to will be found in the Corpus Juris Civilis, tom. ii. among the "Constitutiones Feudorum," lib. ii. tit. 40: these Constitutiones are printed immediately after the Authenticæ Collationes, or Novellæ of Justinian, of which Collationes there are nine, and these

a cleric," saith that law, "as a bishop or an abbot, having a benefice given by the king, not only to his own person but also to the church, through his own default should lose the same, during his life let it pertain to the king; but after the death of the cleric let it revert to his successor." The second is the canon law, [Causa] 16, quæst. 7, where it is thus decreed touching sons, that "it shall be lawful for the sons, nephews, and the most respectable of the kindred of him who either builded or endowed any church, to have this foresight, that if they perceive any priest to mis-apply any portion of the property bestowed upon him, they should either admonish him by honest communication, or else report to the bishop or judge the matters needing correction: but if the bishop shall be negligent in doing of his office, let it be told unto the metropolitan: and thirdly, in case of his neglect, it ought (as saith the canon) to be intimated to the king." But I cannot imagine any end in so complaining to the king, but only that he should himself apply correction; neither is there any doubt, but that the correction most suitable for the king and most advantageous in this behalf would be, the taking away of the goods (whereof he is lord *in capite*) in proportion to the quality of the fault. The third is the law of the gospel, 2 Thess. iii., where the apostle writeth thus; "When we were with you, this we declared unto you, that if any would not work neither should he eat." The law of nature also doth allow, that such as have the governance of kingdoms should rectify such abuses of the temporalities, as would prove the chief destruction of their kingdoms.

XVII. "Whether they be temporal lords, or any others, who have endowed," &c. This is proved from the fact, that the condition consequent upon the gift of any goods unto the church is, that God should be honoured and the church edified thereby; which condition, if it fail through the opposite result taking place, proveth that the title of the gift is lost, and that, by consequence, the lord who gave the gift ought to correct the fault. But excommunication ought not to stop the full execution of justice, for otherwise the clergy might by their excommunications get the whole world into their hands.

XVIII. "An ecclesiastical minister, even the Roman pontiff," &c. The first part is proved by the fact, that every such ecclesiastic is our peccable brother, and is consequently under the law of brotherly correction; wherefore, according to Matt. xviii., if he do offend in any point, any body having any possible opportunity ought to rebuke him; and so likewise, if that he obstinately continue in the maintenance of any heretical opinion or other grievous offence tending to the spiritual damage of the church, in that case he ought to be complained on to his superiors, to the intent that through his correction the danger to the church may be avoided. For so was Peter rebuked by St. Paul (Gal. ii.); and many unruly popes have been deposed by the emperors, as Cestrensis in the fifth book of his Polychronicon[1] doth declare. For the church is above the pontiff, and therefore to say that he ought not to be rebuked of man but only of the Lord, what offence soever he hath committed, seemeth to me to imply that he is above the church, the spouse of Christ, and that, after the manner of Antichrist, he is exalted higher even than Christ. For Christ himself, albeit that he was without sin, yet chose to be subject to princes, even in the taking away of his temporalities, as appeareth in Matt. xvii. This is a sort of rejoinder to the bull.[2] These conclusions I would describe as the pure wheat of faith separated from the chaff; whereby is to be burned the intrusive cockle, which, after it hath brought out the scarlet and unsavoury blossom of vengeance, provideth food for Antichrist against the holy Scriptures: of whose coming it is an infallible sign, that there should reign among the clergy the venom of Lucifer, namely, pride, consisting in the lust of domination, whose wife, namely, covetous desire of earthly things, should bring forth children of the devil, the children of evangelical poverty being extinguished. But some judgment may be formed of the vigorous growth of this plant from the fact, that many even of the children of poverty, having degenerated, do maintain by their

"Constitutiones Feudorum" are sometimes (as here) called the tenth Collatio. Cujacius "de Feudis," lib. iv. tit. 49, says that Frederic II., not Conrad, was the real author of this constitution.—Ed.

(1) Lewis would here read "Polycratica."—Ed.

(2) "Hæc est aliqualis responsio ad bullam." These words are in the Latin Selden MS. but they are not in Walden, or in Foxe's Latin edition, nor is there anything corresponding to them in Foxe's translation. The bull referred to is no doubt that addressed to the University of Oxford, translated at p. 5 of this volume.—Ed.

words, or at the least by their silence, the part of Lucifer, not being able, or at the least not daring, because of the seed of the man of sin which is sown in their hearts, or else for the slavish dread of losing their temporalities, to stand to the defence of evangelical poverty."

Then follow these words in the Selden MS.: "Hæ sunt Conclusiones quas vult etiam usque ad mortem defendere, ut per hoc valeat mores ecclesiæ reformare."

Foxe then proceeds:—

"These were the chief conclusions which Wickliff, at that present, exhibited unto the bishops, which being either not thoroughly read, or at least not well understood, (I cannot tell by what means) suddenly they waxed very meek and gentle, and granted him free liberty to depart."—See Latin Edition, Basle, 1559, pp. 8—12. Edition 1563, London, pp. 91—95. See these conclusions also, in Lewis's Life of Wickliff, p. 318, and Vaughan's Life of Wickliff (Appendix to vol. i.), copied from MSS. Seldeni Archi. B. 10.

About the same time, as Lewis thinks (p. 326), or rather later according to Dr. Vaughan, Wickliff wrote an answer in Latin under a feigned name to a certain doctor, whom he calls a *medley divine* ("mixtus theologus"), who had asserted the papal supremacy and infallibility; it is extant in MSS. Seldeni, Archi. B. 10. Lewis and Vaughan give an abstract of it.

Dr. Lingard has inverted the chronological order of these three apologies by Wickliff, and represents him as gradually qualifying his assertions; whereas internal evidence seems to prove their order to be as above stated, and consequently that Wickliff grew bolder and more distinct in the avowal of his sentiments.—Milner in his Church History speaks of the explanations as evasive, and inconsistent with that boldness with which Wickliff has spoken against the pope in his other writings: Dr. Vaughan, however, triumphantly vindicates the Reformer against this charge, by showing that those other writings were of a posterior date; and that Wickliff in reality increased in boldness, as he became more distinct in his views of the errors and abominations of popery. In fact, Wickliff took the 18 Articles as he found them, *framed by his enemies*, and therefore likely enough to be distortions, if not falsifications, of his real sentiments: yet even at such a disadvantage, he chose rather to face his adversaries than appear timidly to abandon the cause which he had undertaken. His feeling in writing these Expositions was doubtless the same as that, with which John Huss afterwards undertook the defence of some of the most obnoxious Articles: "I protest that it is not my intention, like as it is not the intention of the University, to persuade, &c. . . . . But it is our intention diligently to search out whether this Article may have in it a true sense, in which it may be defended without reproof." (See p. 78 of this vol.)

Page 17, note (3).]—Foxe considers the schism as terminating when the council of Constance deposed Benedict XIII., July 1417, which would make it thirty-nine years in duration. Sir H. Nicolas however observes, that on the death of Benedict XIII. in 1424, another pope was chosen as Clement VIII., who however abdicated July 1429, thus terminating a schism of fifty-one years.

Wickliff himself refers to this schism in his writings. Among other advantages which he gained from it, one was, that of leisure from controversy for carrying on his translation of the Scriptures, which Walsingham does not notice; this may account for Foxe's silence on that point.

Page 17, note (4).]—It should have been stated in this note, that several erroneous dates in the text have been corrected.

Page 18, line 13.]—"*The bishop of Aquilonensis*," Foxe. Stephen, bishop of Aquila, in Apulia, is the individual here meant.

Page 18, line 15 from bottom.]—The first edition (1563) reads "route out."

Page 18, note (1).]—Theodoric, of Niem in Germany, and (according to some) bishop of Verden, was private secretary to several popes. He wrote a history of the schism, from the death of Gregory XI. to the election of Alexander V., *i.e.* from A.D. 1378 to A.D. 1410, in three books; which is here referred to. See Cave's "Hist. Lit.," and Illyricus's "Cat. Test.," which gives extracts.

Page 18, note (2).]—The following is Berton's Process against Wickliff,

copied from Walden's "Fasciculus," folio 28 *b*, and collated with the copy in the "Sudbury Register," folio 76 *b*, Wilkins, iii. p. 170. Foxe misdates this process "A. D. 1380," though he begins his next paragraph, "The next year after (A. D. 1382):" Walden places it in or after the year 1381, which year is inserted in the text.

"Diffinitio facta per Cancellarium et Doctores Universitatis Oxoniæ de Sacramento Altaris contra opiniones Wycliffianas: aliàs, Sententia Willielmi Cancellarii Oxon. contra opiniones Wycliff.

"Willielmus de Berton, Cancellarius Universitatis Oxon. omnibus dictæ Universitatis filiis ad quos præsens nostrum mandatum pervenerit, salutem et mandatis nostris firmiter obedire. Ad nostrum non sine grandi displicentia pervenit auditum, quòd, cum omnes heresium inventores, defensores, seu fautores, cum eorum perniciosis dogmatibus, sint per sacros canones sententia majoris excommunicationis damnabiliter involuti, et sic à cunctis catholicis rationabiliter evitandi; nonnulli tamen maligni Spiritus repleti consilio, in insaniam mentis producti, molientes tunicam Domini scilicet Sanctæ Ecclesiæ scindere unitatem, quasdam hæreses olim ab Ecclesia solemniter condemnatas his diebus (proh dolor!) innovant, et tam in universitate ista quam extra publicè dogmatizant; duo inter alia sua documenta pestifera asserentes; Primò, in sacramento altaris substantiam panis materialis et vini, quæ prius fuerunt ante consecrationem, post consecrationem realiter remanere; Secundò, quod execrabilius est auditu, in illo venerabili sacramento non esse corpus Christi et sanguinem essentialiter, nec substantialiter, nec etiam corporaliter, sed figurativè seu tropicè, sic quòd Christus non sit ibi veraciter in sua propria Præsentia corporali. Ex quibus documentis fides catholica periclitatur, devotio populi minoratur, et hæc Universitas mater nostra non mediocriter diffamatur. Nos igitur advertentes quòd assertiones hujusmodi per tempus se deteriores haberent, si diutius in hac Universitate sic conniventibus oculis tolerentur, convocavimus plures sacræ theologiæ doctores et juris canonici professores quos peritiores credidimus, et, præmissis assertionibus in eorum præsentia patenter expositis ac diligenter discussis, tandem finaliter est compertum et eorum judicio declaratum, ipsas esse erroneas atque determinationibus ecclesiæ repugnantes, contradictoriasque earundem esse veritates catholicas, et ex dictis sanctorum et determinationibus ecclesiæ manifestè sequentes; videlicet quòd per verba sacramentalia a sacerdote rite prolata panis et vinum in altari in verum corpus Christi et sanguinem transubstantiantur seu substantialiter convertuntur, sic quòd post consecrationem non remanent in illo venerabili sacramento panis materialis et vinum quæ prius, secundum suas substantias seu naturas, sed solum species eorundem: sub quibus speciebus verum corpus Christi et sanguis realiter continentur, non solum figurativè seu tropicè, sed essentialiter, substantialiter ac corporaliter, sic quòd Christus est ibi veraciter in sua propria præsentia corporali. Hoc credendum, hoc docendum, hoc contra contradicentes viriliter defendendum. Hortamur igitur in Domino, et auctoritate nostra monemus primò, secundò, et tertiò, ac districtiùs inhibemus, pro prima monitione assignando unum diem, pro secunda alium diem, et pro tertia monitione canonicâ ac peremptoriâ unum alium diem, nequis de cetero, cujuscunque gradus status aut conditionis existat, præmissas duas assertiones erroneas, aut earum alteram, in scholis vel extra scholas in hac Universitate publicè teneat, doceat, seu defendat, sub pœna incarcerationis et suspensionis ab omni actu scholastico, ac etiam sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, quam in omnes et singulos in hac parte rebelles et nostris monitionibus non parentes, lapsis ipsis tribus diebus pro monitione canonica assignatis, mora, culpa, et offensa precedentibus et id fieri meritò exigentibus, ferimus in his scriptis, quorum omnium absolutiones et absolvendi potestatem, præterquam in mortis articulo, nobis et successoribus nostris specialiter reservamus.

"Insuper ut homines, quamvis non propter timorem latæ sententiæ, saltem propter defectum audientiæ, à talibus doctrinis illicitis retrahantur, et eorum opiniones erroneæ sopiantur, eadem auctoritate qua prius monemus, primò, secundò, tertiò, ac districtiùs inhibemus, ne quis de cetero aliquem publicè docentem, tenentem, seu defendentem præmissas duas assertiones erroneas, aut earum alteram, in scholis vel extra scholas in hac Universitate quovismodo audiat vel auscultet, sed statim sic docentem tanquam serpentem venenum pestiferum emittentem fugiat et abscedat, sub pœna excommunicationis majoris

in omnes et singulos contravenientes non immeritò fulminandæ et sub pœnis aliis superius annotatis.

"Nomina autem Doctorum qui præsenti decreto specialiter affuerunt, et eidem unanimiter consenserunt, sunt hæc:—

"Magister Johannes Lawndryne, sacræ paginæ professor et secularis.
"Magister Henricus Crompe, Albus Monachus.
"Magister Johannes Chessham, de ordine Prædicatorum.
"Magister Willielmus Bruscombe, de eodem ordine.
"Magister Johannes Schipton, de ordine Augustinensium.
"Magister Johannes Tissington, de ordine Minorum.
"Magister Johannes Loveye, de ordine Carmelitarum.
"Magister Johannes Welles, monachus de Ramesey.
"Magister Johannes Wolverton, de ordine Prædicatorum.
"Magister Robertus Rygge, S. paginæ professor et secularis.
"Magister Johannes Moubray, Doctor in utroque Jure.
"Magister Johannes Gascoigne, Doctor in Decretis.

"Convocatis igitur præfatis Doctoribus, ut dictum est, in eorum domum, et plena deliberatione habitâ de præmissis, ex omnium nostrorum unanimi consilio et assensu præsens mandatum emanare decrevimus. In quorum omnium singulorum testimonium, sigillum officii nostri fecimus his apponi."

Page 19, note (1).]—The following is from Walden's "Fasciculus" apud Bodleianum, whence it is printed by Spelman. It is also in Wilkins, iii. p. 171, where it pieces on to the Process given in the note preceding this. It is also printed by Lewis, p. 271. Dr. Vaughan is mistaken in saying that it is in the "Sudbury Register."

"Ista prædicta condemnatio promulgata est publicè in scholis Augustinensium, ipso Magistro Joanne sedente in cathedra et determinante contrarium: sed confusus est ista audita condemnatione. Sed tamen dixit quòd nec Cancellarius nec aliquis de suis complicibus poterat suam sententiam infringere, se in hoc ostendens hereticum pertinacem. Sed post, ad suæ heresis majorem manifestationem et suæ pertinaciæ ostentationem, aliàs publicè à condemnatione Cancellarii et judicio prædicto appellavit, non ad Papam, vel ad Episcopum, vel ad Ordinarium Ecclesiasticum: sed hereticus, adherens seculari potestati in defensionem sui erroris et heresis, appellavit ad Regem Ricardum, volens per hoc se protegere regali potestate, quòd non puniretur vel emendaretur ecclesiastica potestate. Et post appellationem advenit nobilis dominus, dux egregius et miles strenuus sapiensque Consiliarius, dux Lancastriæ, Sacræ Ecclesiæ filius fidelis, prohibens magistro prædicto Johanni quòd de cetero non loqueretur de ista materia. Sed nec ipse obtemperans suo ordinario, Cancellario, nec etiam tam strenuo domino, incepit confessionem quandam facere, in qua continebatur omnis error pristinus, sed secretius sub velamine vario verborum, in qua dixit suum conceptum, et nisus est suam sententiam probare. Sed velut hereticus pertinax refutavit omnes Doctores de Secundo Millenario in materia de Sacramento Altaris, et dixit omnes illos errasse præter Berengarium, cujus opinio damnatur Distinct. 2da 'de Consecratione,' cap. 'Ego Berengarius,' et ipsum et suos complices; dixit palam Sathanam solutum et potestatem habere in Magistro Sententiarum et in omnibus qui fidem catholicam prædicaverunt."

Wicliff is stated by Wood (Ant. Oxon. I. p. 189) to have read a Confession on the Sacrament in Latin at Oxford before certain bishops and an assembled multitude, in which he retracted his opinions. Lewis gives a Latin Confession in his Appendix No. *16; together with the ensuing one in English, from Kynghton, col. 2649. One can only wonder how either of them should be considered a recantation. See the note in this Appendix, on p. 49, note (1).

"We beleve as Crist and his Apostolus han taugt us, that the Sacrament of the Auter white and ronde, and lyk tyl oure Brede or ost unsacrede is verray Goddus Body in fourme of Brede, and if it be broken in thre Parties os the Kirke uses, or elles in a Thousand, everylk one of these Parties is the same Goddus Body, and ryth so as the Persone of Crist is veray God and verray Man, verray Godhede, and verray Manhede, ryth so, as holy Kirke many hundrith wynter has trowyde, the same Sacrament is verray Goddus Body and verray Brede: As it is Forme of Godus Body and Forme of Brede as techith Crist and his Apostolus. And therefore Seynt Poule nemeth it never but

when he callus it Brede, and he be our beleve tok his wit of God in this: And the Argument of Heretykus agayne this Sentens, lyth to a Cristene Man for to assolve. And right as it is Heresie [to belive that Crist is a Spirit and no Body: So it is Heresie] for to trowe that this Sacrament is Goddus Body and no Brede; for it is both togedur. But the most Heresie that God sufferyde come tyl his Kirke is to trowe that this Sacrament is an accident withouten a Substance, and may on no wyse be Goddus Body: for Crist sayde be witnesse of John, that this Brede is my Body. And if the say that be this skylle that holy Kyrke hat bene in Heresy many Hundred Wynter, sothe it is, specially sythen the Fende was lousede that was be witnesse of Angele to John Evangeliste after a Thousande Wynter that Crist was stenenyde to Heven. But it is to suppose that many Seyntes that dyede in the mene tyme before her Death were purede of this Erroure. Owe howe grete diversitie is betwene us that trowes that this Sacrament is verray Brede in his Kynde, and betwene Heretykus that tell us that this is an Accident withouten a Sujet. For before that the Fende Father of Lesyngus was lowside, was never this gabbyng contryvede. And howe grete diversitie is betwene us that trowes that this Sacrament that in his Kinde is veray Brede and sacramentally Goddus Body, and betwene Heretykes that trowes and telles that this Sacrament may on none wyse be Goddus Body. For I dare surly say that gif this were soth Crist and his Seynts dyede Heretykus, and the more partye of holy Kyrke belevyth nowe Heresye, and before devout Men supposene that this Counsayle of Freres in London was with the Herydene.[1] For they put an Heresie upon Crist and Seynts in Hevyne, wherefore the Erth tremblide. Fay land maynnus Voice answeryde for God als it did in tyme of his Passione, whan he was dampnyde to bodely Deth. Crist and his Modur that in gronde had destroyde all Heresies kep his Kyrke in right Belefe of this Sacrament, and move the King and his Rewme to aske sharply of his Clerkus this Offis that all his Possessioneres on pain of lesing all her Temporaltes telle the King and his Rewme with sufficient grownding what is this Sacrament; and all the Orders of Freres on payne of lesing her Legians telle the King and his Rewme with gode grounding what is the Sacrament; for I am certaine of the thridde Partie of Clergie that defendus thise Doutes that is heresaid, that they will defende it on paine of her Lyfe."

Page 19, note (3).]—This anecdote respecting the earthquake is told by Walden, who says expressly, "In die S. Dunstani post prandium apud Prædicatores London." ("Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevi," apud Bodleianum, fol. 63.) St. Dunstan's day was May 19th. (Nicolas's Chronol. of History.)

The Preaching Friars were Dominicans, and also called Black Friars: their priory stood in the parish near St. Paul's, which is still called, from them, St. Anne's Black-friars. The Grey Friars were of the Franciscan order; and their priory was where Christ's Hospital now stands. (Tanner's Notitia Monastica.)

Page 20, line 9. "*Reported by John Huss's enemies.*"]—See p. 455.

Page 20, note (3).]—The short paragraph in the text is put in by the Editor, in lieu of the following words which stand in Foxe's text: "The mandate of the archbishop, William Courtney, sent abroad for the conventing together of this council, here followeth underwritten, truly copied out of his own register." Instead of a "Mandate for the conventing of the council," it is a Process consequent upon the council: it is so called in the Register (Wilkins, Conc. iii. p. 157), and internal evidence proves it such. In conformity with this correction, the whole previous paragraph—"Here is not to be passed over . . . . . nature and infirmity"—which contains some account of the council itself, but which in Foxe stands *after* the Process, is in this edition placed *before* it. The marginal note to that paragraph—"Determination upon the Articles of Wicliff"—in the edition of 1570 was slipped down and made, in that and all subsequent editions, the head line of a paragraph relating to a totally different matter (see the note in this Appendix, on page 24, note (2)). The whole of the ensuing Process, Articles, and Mandates, to p. 24, have been collated with the original in Wilkins, and revised, or rather retranslated.

(1) "Herydene," earthquake.—Ed.

Page 21, line 27. "*The articles of John Wickliff*," &c.]—The manner in which Foxe here cautions his readers against receiving these twenty-four Articles too implicitly as a fair exhibition of Wickliff's sentiments, accords with what has been already said on this subject in reference to the eighteen Articles above, p. 11. The need of this caution is illustrated in the foot-notes, with regard to several of the ensuing Articles; several more illustrations shall be added here.

Page 21, note (1).]—See the explanation of Huss at p. 454. In fact, Wickliff himself says expressly: "Sophisters shulden know well, that *a cursed man doth fully* the sacraments, though it be to his damning; for they ben not authors of these sacraments, but God keepeth that divinity to himself." (Lewis, p. 96. See also Swinderby's answer on this point at p. 117, Art. IV.)

Page 21, note (2).]—Wickliff in a Defence of his opinions, written after this council, takes notice of this Article thus: "Such things they do invent of Catholic men that they may blacken their reputation, as if they held this heresy, That God is the devil, or any other open heresy; being consequently prepared by false witnesses to impose such heresies on true men, as if they were the false inventors of them." (Lewis, p. 96.)

Page 22, Art. XVIII. "*That tithes are pure almose*," &c.]—Wickliff does not appear to have held this Article, in its absolute sense. See the note on Article VI. at p. 11, and Dr. Wordsworth's note in his Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. i. p. 326. Lewis (pp. 119—124) maintains that he only taught (what was the fact) that the tithes were held by the tenure called *frank-almoigne*, *i. e.* exempt from secular burdens, being originally given "in liberam, puram, et perpetuam eleemosynam, ad Deo soli et ecclesiæ serviendum:" and that, consequently, when these implied ends were not accomplished by the clergy, it was the duty of the supreme authority in the realm to rectify the abuse, by transferring their benefices to those who would carry out the pious intentions of the donors. This is no more than was actually done at the period of the Reformation, when the tithes were transferred by the State from the papal clergy to the clergy of the Reformed church. Dr. Wordsworth, indeed, cites (Eccl. Biog. 1839, vol. i. p. 329) an awkward passage from Wickliff himself, proposing, that "when the new bishops came successively before the king to do homage, he should in all cases refuse to make restitution of the temporalities, seize them into his own hands, and dispose of them to whatever uses he might be advised to think good." (Trialogus, p. 239.) Still it may be doubted whether Wickliff meant anything more by this proposal than what is hinted above, viz. a transfer by legal authority of the church endowments to those who would accomplish their ends. It is likely, however, that some of Wickliff's disciples were tempted by the desperate corruption of the church in that age to go a step further, and maintain that "tithes were pure alms," in the sense that the payment of them was optional. (See *Thorpe's Examination*, pp. 269, &c.) But the expression "*perpetua* eleemosyna," as Dr. Wordsworth well shows, makes the payment of tithes obligatory, and precludes the notion of *purely spontaneous gift*, which Thorpe and others seem to contend for, except in the case of the original donors; and the State, in securing the payment of the tithes and other church dues, is only executing a sacred trust placed in its hands by those original donors.

Page 22, note (1).]—Foxe refers to Huss's defence of this article at pp. 70—76. Neither Wickliff nor Huss, however, would have denied the right of ecclesiastical rulers to regulate the ministrations of the clergy so as should most tend to general edification, nor the general duty of the clergy to render canonical obedience to such regulations. Wickliff says, that "though the priestly power is not more or less sufficient in its essence, still the powers of inferior priests are at times reasonably *restrained*, and at other times *relaxed*." (See p. 16, Art. XV.) But Huss argues, that the church in all ages had expected all clergymen to preach the word of God as the essential business of their calling, and that the ordination vows of a clergyman involved as much; and that consequently any regulations which went to prevent such exercise of their function, were unlawful, and not entitled to obedience. The reasoning of Swinderby and Thorpe goes to the same point. (See pp. 123, 260.) If there be some danger attending such a doctrine, there is no less danger attending

the opposite doctrine of unqualified submission to the authority of the church. There are cases in which we must "obey God rather than man;" and the case of the Reformers was surely one of them. (See Bilney's apology in his last moments for some irregularity of proceeding, infrà, vol. iv. p. 654.) What would have become of the Reformation, if its early champions had submitted to the repeated injunctions of silence, or to such a constitution as that of archbishop Arundel at p. 243, which went virtually to silence the witnesses for Christ, while it left the mendicant friars in undisturbed possession of their privilege of preaching where, and when, and how they pleased. Often as those friars interfered with the province of the parochial clergy, so as to produce the most unseemly bickerings and heart-burnings, they were shortly after secured in the enjoyment of their privileges by a special declaration of archbishop Arundel, published the same year with his Constitutions (Wilkins, iii. p. 324). Hence, as Thorpe observes in his Testament at p. 284, "Hermits and pardoners, anchorites and strange beggars, are licensed and admitted by prelates and priests to beguile the people with flatterings and leasings slanderously against all good reason and true belief; and so to increase divers vices in themselves, and also among all them that accept them or consent unto them." We cannot wonder that the Reformers felt their "spirit stirred within them" at the sight of such things, and stoutly maintained the right and duty of rightly ordained clergymen to preach "the everlasting gospel" of Christ.

Some persons may think, that these good men would have acted in a more straightforward manner, had they seceded openly from a church the proceedings of which they deemed unscriptural. But they entertained a laudable dread of schism, and rather than incur that charge they preferred asserting the constitutional liberties of the church by the Scriptures, by her own canons, and by the writings of her most eminent fathers, though at the risk of appearing contumacious. The notion, moreover, had for ages prevailed, that the church of Rome was the only true church; and most, if not all, of the early Reformers appear to have died in her communion, though protesting against her errors; and they must be allowed the praise of having made the experiment (to many of them a most dreadful one), what might be done to reclaim her from her unscriptural dogmas and proceedings. This experiment failing, men began to inquire into the grounds on which Rome claimed the supremacy, when it was perceived to be founded altogether on fable and usurpation. Whereupon an indignant nation arose, and emancipated both herself and her church from the unrighteous tyranny.

Page 22, note (4).]—The correcting and retaining of the passage in the text from the edition of 1563, besides filling up the narrative here, makes it harmonize with the subsequent narrative at p. 25, where it is expressly stated, that "the doing of this matter was committed to Peter Stokes, friar," &c.

Page 23, line 5.]—Knyghton (col. 2651) gives a letter of John, bishop of Lincoln, to his diocese, dated Stowe-park, 12th July, 1382, including a letter to himself from Robert, bishop of London, dated London, July 5th, 1382, and communicating this mandate of the archbishop, dated Otteford, penult. die Maii.

Page 24, note (2).]—Foxe derived the ensuing account of Rygge, Hereford, Reppyngdon, and Ashton (extending to page 48) *immediately* from Walden's "Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevi." The documentary portions of it were not introduced by Foxe before the edition of 1570, and are distinguished in this edition from the rest of the narrative by being printed in smaller type. The whole has been collated with Walden's "Fasciculus," and with the archbishop's Registers as printed in Wilkins's Concilia, tom. iii. p. 157; some errors have been thence corrected in the narrative, and the documents have been retranslated. A new arrangement also of the whole has been found absolutely necessary, to render the account consistent and intelligible. Foxe appears to have become fairly puzzled amidst the numerous facts and documents before him; and for want of accurately considering their dates, and their mutual relation, he lost the thread of the story, and of course perplexed his narrative. By a new arrangement of his own materials, however, and the occasional introduction of a few connecting words, order has been restored. These first four pages, for example, would stand, according to Foxe's arrangement, immediately before the king's letter in

favour of Henry Crompe, at p. 43: and instead of the proper commencement of the narrative, as it stands in this present edition—"Matters incident of Robert Rygge, &c."—we have here, according to Foxe's text—"Determination upon the Articles of Wickliff. Item, the twelfth day of June, A.D. 1382, in the chamber of the friars preachers, the *aforesaid* Master Robert Rigges, &c."—whereas no mention whatever had been made of Robert Rigges. This proves incidentally, that the arrangement now adopted was that which Foxe originally intended. He afterwards resolved to connect the proceedings at Black-friars against Rygge with those at the same place against Wickliff in the preceding month. Hence he brought down a side-note which had originally related to the proceedings against Wickliff (see note on p. 20, note (3)), and made it the title to these proceedings against Rygge. Foxe was led so strangely to dislocate his materials, partly, through his misunderstanding a passage in Walden, which will be brought forward in a note on p. 31, note (1).

A large extract from Walden, extending to eight folios, and embracing most of this affair, is among the Cotton MSS. Cleopatra E. Anthony à Wood also gives the history in his "Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.," i. p. 190, on the authority of the "Fasciculus," referring to the folios as they stand in the copy preserved in the Bodleian, formerly the property of bishop Bale, and which has been referred to by the present Editor.

Page 24.]—With respect to the mode of writing the proper names concerned in this process—"Ryggæus," "Rygge," and "Rigges," are the readings in the several editions of Foxe: "Rygge" is retained, as the spelling in the archbishop's Registers. "Hereford" is "Herford" and "Harford" in Foxe, but "Hereford" at p. 188, "Hereford" in the Registers, and "Herefordiensis" in Walden and Wood. Foxe uses "Repyngdonus," "Rapyndon," "Reppington," "Repington:" in the Registers it is always "Reppyngdon," except twice, when it is "Rappyngdon:" probably it was always pronounced "Rappyngdon," just as "Derby" (in which county Repton stands) is pronounced Darby: and this pronunciation would the more easily suggest the nickname "Rampyngdon," which was afterwards applied to this man (see pp. 46, 258).

Lastly, Rygge is called by Foxe "chancellor," "vice-chancellor," and "commissary," of Oxford, for which he is criticized by Wood. He is always called "chancellor" in the Registers, which designation is adopted in the text, to preserve the identity of the individual.

Page 25, line 14.]—"His first degree unto doctorship," *i.e.* he was already bachelor of divinity.

Page 25, line 17. "*But through the great and notable dexterity of his wit,*" &c.]—Foxe's original Latin here seems to have been penned rather with an eye to Reppyngdon's subsequent apostasy, and to imply that he had never been sincere in the cause: "Erat hic canonicus Leicestrensis, jamque primum gradum fecerat ad Doctoratum: quo tempore concionem ad Braclenses quandam habuit; ob quam Pharisæis invisus suspectusque reddebatur. Cæterum ob ingenii niveum quendam quem omnibus ubique præ se tulit, cum pari comitatum modestiâ, candorem, vel superavit vel temperavit certè hanc Nemesin; moxque in Doctoratum cum publicâ theatri approbatione adoptatus est. Qui simul atque jam sumpta doctoris persona in scenam tandem fabulam saltaturus prodiit, cœpit protinus bene celatum ac dissimulatum ingenium prodere, publice attestatus, Wiclevum se in omni materia morali defensurum: De re vero sacramentariâ *Pythagorisare* velle, donec Dominus afflasset cleri animos." (Lat. Ed. p. 19.)

Page 25, line 3 from the bottom.]—The words "as is before declared" have been added to Foxe's text, to show that this narrative synchronizes with that in page 22.

Page 25, note (2). *Brackley.*]—The Latin edition says "ad Braclenses;" the edition of 1563 "at Bracle;" all the subsequent editions "at Broadgates," a hall for law-students at Oxford, now merged in Queen's College: Walden says "Bracle," and Wood (Ant. Oxon. i.) says "Bracleia in agro Northampton:" "Doctoratum hoc anno adeptus in Theologia Wicliffio addictum sese ostendit; quod semel tantum antehac fecerat, nempe cum Bracleiæ in agro Northampton concionem habens doctrinam ejus de sacramento

altaris enunciavit." As there seems to be no authority for "Broadgates," Foxe's original text is retained: there can be no doubt that the place meant was Brackley Hall, which formerly stood near Baliol College (see Peshall's Oxford, p. 241), and not, as Wood conjectures, Brackley in Northamptonshire.

Page 25, note (3).]—Lewis gives this letter in his Appendix, with marginal corrections of certain alleged errors in the MS.; but the Editor is able to state, on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Coxe, sub-librarian of the Bodleian, that Lewis's collator mis-read the MS., except in the two instances noticed in the present copy.

Page 26, line 1.]—The retaining of this passage from the Edition 1563 is important, as it explains what is said in the next page about the chancellor being "accused for the contempt of the archbishop's letters."

Page 27, line 19.]—On Brightwell's recantation, see the note infrà, on p. 257, line 7. He seems to have been rewarded with the Deanery of the New College at Leicester; see Lewis, p. 338. He is, nevertheless, honourably mentioned by Foxe infrà, p. 96.

Page 27, note (2).]—The whole of these seven "Evidentiæ" are given at length from Walden by Wood (Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. i. 191).

Page 27, note (3). "*The Tuesday after.*"]—Foxe says, "three days after." Walden's words are, "Sabbato autem proximo [*i.e.* Saturday next following his sermon, which was on Thursday, June 5th, see margin, p. 25] dixit Philippus publicè in scholis inter cætera, quòd ordo suus, &c. *Feria* autem *tertia proxima* frater Petrus prædictus determinavit contra eum publicè in scholis in materia recommendationis," &c. "*Feria*" means *a day of the week* (see vol. ii. p. 209, note (1)); "tertia feria" therefore is *Tuesday*: Wood, not understanding this, says "tertio abhinc festo," which conveys no distinct meaning. According to Walden, the archbishop's letter summoning Stokes to London was delivered to him before he had left the schools; and both he and the chancellor appeared next day (Wednesday, June 11th) before the archbishop in London, when the matter was remanded to the "feria quinta [Thursday, June 12th] proximè sequens," *i.e.* the morrow; at which point the archbishop's Register takes up the matter next page.

Page 28, line 6 from the bottom. "*Bedeman.*"]—Foxe reads "Redman" both here and at p. 96, which reading he derived from Walden ("Fasciculus," fol. 70); but the Register reads "Bedeman" (Wilkins, iii. p. 160), and in one place "Laurentius Stephyns, alias Bedeman." (Ibid. p. 168.)

Page 28, note (1).]—The words "For confirmation of the foregoing history hereunder follow" have been put into the text for the sake of clearness. It has been already explained (see the note in this Appendix on page 24, note (2)), that the foregoing narrative respecting Rygge, Hereford, and Reppyngdon, would not be introduced according to Foxe's arrangement till page 43; *i.e.* after the story had been told from the archbishop's Register, it is partly told again some pages after, to the utter confounding of the reader. This confusion is obviated on the plan here adopted, by which the Register is brought in to confirm the previous narrative; conformably to Foxe's own example at p. 342, where he brings in a long epistle of archbishop Arundel from the Registers, "for confirmation" of the previous account of Lord Cobham's prosecution.

Page 29, line 25. "*After this, the same day and place,*" &c.]—Foxe here says, "After this, within a few days, the aforesaid archbishop William Courtney directed down his letters monitory," &c. But the Register expressly says, "Postmodum, *eisdem die et loco*, dictus Dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Cancellarium prædictum monuit sub eo qui sequitur tenore verborum."

Page 30, line 21. "*Were offended and in the tops of the friars,*" &c.]—"Atqui religiosis potissimum infensi infestique omnes reddebantur," &c. (Lat. Ed. p. 15.) The phrase "to be in the top of" is similarly used at p. 24, line 5 from the bottom.

Page 30, line 31.]—Henry Crompe was a Cistercian monk of Baltinglass, diocese of Meath, in Ireland. Wood states from Walden (Hist. Oxon. i. p. 196),

that Crompe after this returned to Ireland and preached the doctrines of Wickliff, for which he was called to account by William Andrew, bishop of Meath, and after steadily refusing to recant was declared a heretic, A.D. 1385: after this he returned to Oxford, and preached there the doctrines of Wickliff, for which he was suspended from all his Acts, cited up to the king's council, March 21st, 15 Rich. II. (A.D. 1392), and compelled to recant at Stamford, May 28th: he subsequently renewed his profession of Wickliffite doctrines at Oxford, and was somewhat protected against the chancellor and others by a letter of the archbishop, dated October 21st, A.D. 1392. (Walden's "Fasciculus," fol. 77 *b*.) Foxe, following Walden, at once introduces a letter of the king's in his favour here: it has been postponed in this edition to page 43, that the reader may the better perceive the chronological order of the events. That letter supports Foxe's statements in this paragraph.

Page 30, line 17 from the bottom. "*He called the heretics 'Lollards.'*"]—Foxe, in using the term "heretics," is only translating his authority: "Suspenditur Henricus Crompe, magister in theologia, ab actibus suis publicè in ecclesia beatæ Virginis, et imponunt sibi perturbationem pacis, quia *vocavit hæreticos Lollardos.*" (Walden, fol. 70 *b*). Wood appears to have caught the true sense of the passage, when he says, "Quòd Hæreticorum stigmate Lollardos vocaverat." "Lollard" was the nickname for supposed heretics, from *lollen* to sing.

Page 30, note (2).]—The fact that Rygge returned to Oxford on Saturday is stated by Walden in a passage which shall be quoted presently.

Page 31, note (1). "*On Monday.*"]—This appears from Walden, who says "feria ii," *i.e.* "the second day of the week." It may be well here to quote the passage of Walden, on which this part of the narrative is founded, because Foxe has evidently misunderstood the passage. Walden, after mentioning Crompe's affair, and Rygge's *second* citation up to London, and the king's subsequent letter in Crompe's favour, dated July 14th, proceeds thus:—"Sed et cancellarius prædictus postquam feriâ quintâ habuit mandatum prædictum ab archiepiscopo et præceptum concilii regni, venit (ut dictum est) Oxonium sabbato proximo; qui intimavit Philippo et Nicolao suas suspensiones; qui statim feria ii proximâ London. venerunt, quærentes dominum ducem Lancastriæ Johannem. Quo invento apud Totenhale juxta London, &c. . . . In crastino [*i.e.* Tuesday] plures doctores pontificii . . . Tandem præcepit eis [dux Lancastriæ] ut starent ordinationi domini archiepiscopi, qui eis assignavit feriam sextam proximam [*i.e.* Friday, June 20th] ad respondendum London. in conventu prædicatorum: qui comparuerunt, et petierunt tempus deliberandi, et datum est usque ad 12 Kalend. Julii [*i.e.* Friday, June 20th], et tum venerunt," &c. It is obvious that Walden has made a mistake in calling the first day of their appearance "feriam sextam," as it should have been "quartam," *i.e.* Wednesday, June 18th, the day presently named in the Registers: he probably mis-read, or it was mis-written, in some MS. "feriam vi" for "feriam iv;" or he was thinking of the day on which they were eventually brought to their answer.

Walden, in the foregoing passage, clearly intended to resume the thread of his narrative—interrupted by the anticipative introduction of Crompe's affair and the king's letter in his favour dated July 14th—and informs us that Rygge, having on the Thursday [June 12th] received the commands of the archbishop and the council, returned, *as before stated*, to Oxford on the Saturday following [June 14th], when he informed his friends Hereford and Reppyngdon of their suspension: they on the Monday following [June 16th] fled to the duke of Lancaster, who received them kindly, but next day [June 17th] being solicited by some doctors of the other party changed his mind, and desired them to go and submit to the archbishop's award. Foxe was quite aware that this was the general drift of the passage; but in an evil hour confounded this flight of Hereford and Reppyngdon from Oxford to the duke with their *subsequent* absconding from London while their trial was pending, between June 27th and July 1st; for he follows up this paragraph on which we are now commenting by the following: "In the mean time, *while they were thus fled to the duke*, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoever they might be found," &c. The Latin edition (page 15) makes it still plainer that this was his notion: "Unde iterum arcessitus cancellarius

cum procuratoribus, regis et concilii nomine sed pontificis instinctu, nova accepit mandata ad investigandos persequendosque hereticos. Ibi Philipp. Repyngtonus et Nic. Herfordus clam admoniti per cancellarium, ilico ad D. Johan. Lancastriæ ducem se receperunt." It is curious that Anthony à Wood has likewise stumbled at the above passage of Walden, and supposes it to describe events altogether subsequent to July 14th: for he interprets Walden's "feria quinta" by "quinto abhinc die," which makes his narrative as confused and incoherent as Foxe's. To Foxe's misunderstanding of this passage of Walden we are to trace his dislocation of these proceedings against the Oxford reformers.

Page 31, note (3). "*From the hall to the kitchen.*"]—Here ends the portion which, according to Foxe's arrangement, would have stood at page 43. (See note on p. 24.)—The reader will find the English proverb used by Foxe again at p. 377, line 29, only in an inverse order.—That this occurred on the Tuesday appears from Walden, as cited in the last note.

Page 31. "*Examination of N. Hereford,*" &c.]—These proceedings, taken by Walden (fol. 70) from the archbishop's Register, show that the alleged recantation of Hereford given by Knyghton (col. 2655), dated June 19th, must be a forgery.

Page 32, line 35.]—Foxe reads "Si Dudum" for the first words of this Clementine, both here and at p. 34: he misunderstood Walden's abbreviation, "Si D̄nm." ("Fasciculus," fol. 72, 73.)

Page 34, line 15 from the bottom. "*The nineteenth conclusion.*"]—Both Walden and the Register here call this the "twentieth" conclusion: but 12 lines lower they call it "decimam nonam," which Foxe's text translates "tenth ninth," as if it were not certain whether two Articles were not referred to, the 10th and the 9th. It is the 19th in p. 33, and is therefore so numbered here.

Page 35, line 27. "*The same day se'nnight.*"]—Foxe's text reads, "eight days' space;" the Register says, "præfixit et assignavit præfatis Nicolao et Philippo diem eundem ad 8 dies, videlicet 27 diem dicti mensis." (Wilkins, iii. p. 163.)

Page 35, line 4 from the bottom. "*Uttered frivolous and opprobrious contumelies,*" &c.]—The reader will observe that this is the statement of the archbishop's Register, which Foxe gives just as he found it: "Clamando verba frivola opprobriosa et contumeliosa .... ut videbatur." (Wilkins, iii. p. 164.)

Page 36, line 32. "*That day se'nnight, that is to say, the twenty-seventh of the said month.*"]—Here again Foxe misapprehends the date: "Præfixit et assignavit dictum diem octavum, videlicet 27 diem dicti mensis" (Wilkins, iii. p. 164); whence Foxe says, "assigned .... eight days after, that is to say, the twenty-eighth of the said month;" and 11 lines lower down he says, "the twenty-eighth of June," whereas the Register says, "Subsequenter die Veneris dicto, videlicet vicesimo septimo die mensis Junii."

Page 36, note (1).]—Foxe mis-read the MS. of Walden here, and translates, "Saying oftentimes and expressly, as Luke said;" which is not sense. "To believe as the church believes," *i.e.* as the priest teaches, is a principle sedulously inculcated on the laity of the Romish church to this day.—Several of the early Reformers seem to have used a prudent reserve on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Reppyngdon above (p. 25) had said, "De materia sacramenti altaris *pythagorisare* velle, donec Dominus afflasset cleri animos;" and Purvey recommends his friends a particular course to be taken, when they were catechized on the subject of the Lord's Supper: "Therefore, when Anti-Christ, &c. .... as true martyrs of Jesus Christ." (See the note in this Appendix on p. 287.) The conduct of Ashton seems to have been regulated on this occasion by the foregoing maxim.

Page 37, line 1. "*The archbishop, yet not contented with this,*" &c.]—Another transposition is here made of Foxe's materials; for the three pages extending from hence to the bottom of p. 39 would, according to the original text, come in at p. 42, before the paragraph, "The young king also, moved, &c." The new arrangement preserves the chronological order of events, and seems in the present case very important. (See page 39, foot-note (3).)

quarto reverenter recepi" (Wilkins, iii. p. 168)—where *Junii* is plainly an error for *Julii*. Foxe mistranslates, "Your letters bearing the date of the fourteenth of July I have received." See the next note to this.

Page 44, last paragraph. "*In the mean time.*"]—Foxe adds, "while they were thus fled to the duke." These words have been dropped, because Foxe here laboured under a mistaken impression, pointed out in the note on p. 31, note (1); viz. that their present flight from the archbishop's judgment, between June 27th and July 1st, was identical with their former flight from Oxford to the duke, June 16th. The reader will bear in mind, that according to Foxe's arrangement, the last paragraph at p. 30. "Mention was made before," &c. would immediately precede this paragraph; but the words, "while they were thus fled to the duke," lose their meaning under the new arrangement.

Another change in this paragraph requires notice. Foxe says that "the archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtney, directed his letters first to the vice-chancellor of Oxford, then to the bishop of London, named Robert Braybroke, charging them not only to excommunicate the said Nicholas and Philip within their jurisdiction, and the said excommunication to be denounced, likewise, throughout all the diocese of his suffragans, but also, moreover, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in Oxford and in London, that they might be apprehended; requiring, moreover, by them to be certified again, what they had done in the premises. And this was written the fourteenth day of July, A.D. 1382." But the archbishop's letter to Rygge has already been given at p. 41, dated July 13th; and Rygge's reply, given in this page, dated July 25th, was received before the archbishop's letter to the bishop of London was sent, which is given in the note, dated July 30th. Rygge's reply to the archbishop, which is placed by Foxe after this last paragraph, has for the above reason been placed before it. The last sentence, also, of this paragraph, "Whereby may appear," &c. has been brought from a previous page. See the note on p. 41.

Page 45, line 15.]—The restoration of Laurence Stephyns, alias Bedeman, is dated October 18th, 1382 (Wilkins, iii. p. 168); that of Reppyngdon, October 23d (ibid. p. 169); and that of Ashton, November 27th (ibid.).

Page 46, line 10 from the bottom. "*Became at length the most bitter persecutor.*"]—That this was no slander against Reppyngdon, will appear from the character given of him by abp. Arundel in 1407, at p. 258. The following notices of his course subsequent to this period may be acceptable to the reader:—He became abbot of Leicester, according to Thorpe, p. 258; he became chancellor of Oxford in 1400; was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, March 29th, 1405; made by Gregory XII. cardinal of St. Nereus and Achilles, Sept. 18th, 1408; resigned his bishopric, October 10th, 1419; ceased his spiritual functions, Feb. 1st, 1420; Regist. Repynd. (Godwin); was yet living, 1 Hen. VI. Regist. Chich. (Richardson apud Godwin.)

Page 47, line 13. "(1382)."]—This date is calculated to mislead: the above particulars about Ashton are perhaps told in the Chronicle by anticipation under that year; but Arundel did not become archbishop till the year 1397. This error is repeated at p. 285.

Page 49, line 12. "*And thus far concerning Nicholas Hereford, and the other aforesaid.*"]—The following notices have been collected of the subsequent fortunes of these Reformers. Knyghton (col. 2657) states that Hereford went to Rome in 1382, and there pleaded his cause before the pope, who imprisoned him; but that he escaped from prison by occasion of a riot of the citizens; and that returning to England he resumed his preaching, and was again imprisoned by the archbishop. In 1387 he was reckoned a Lollard, for Wilkins (iii. 203) gives a mandate of the bishop of Worcester, dated August 10th, 1387, against Lollard preachers in his diocese, and naming N. Hereford, J. Ashton, John Purvey, John Parker, and Robert Swinderby; and in 1392 he sought and obtained the protection of the court against the machinations of his enemies, who supposed him to be a disciple of Wickliff. (Vaughan, ii. p. 89.) Yet we find him, at p. 187, sitting on his countryman Walter Brute in 1393; and a letter from some Lollard, reproaching him with apostacy, is given at p. 188. Thorpe, at pp. 257, 258, speaks of Hereford and others as having then (1407) recanted their Lollard doctrines,

and as bringing much scandal on their profession by their vacillation; while he speaks with the greatest respect of Wickliff and Ashton, the latter of whom, he says, "died as he had lived." (See p. 258.)

Page 49, line 22.]—This letter is by Walden dated 1384.

Page 49, note (1).]—Whatever became of Wickliff after his appearance at the Black-friars, it is certain that (as Foxe says at p. 53) he "again within short space repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson;" for Dr. Vaughan gives us a passage from one of his parochial homilies, in which he probably adverts to the process pending against Hereford, Ashton, &c. He is speaking of the entombment of Christ, and of the abortive attempts of the priesthood to prevent his resurrection; and these he produces as illustrating the attempts of the prelates to suppress the revival of the Gospel of Christ: "Even thus do our high priests; lest God's law, after all they have done, should be *quickened*. Therefore make they statutes, stable as a rock; and they obtain grace of knights to confirm them; and this they well mark with the witness of lords: and all lest the truth of God's law, hid in the sepulchre, should break out, to the knowing of the common people. O Christ, thy law is hidden thus; when wilt thou send thine angel to remove the stone, and shew thy truth unto thy flock? Well I know that knights have taken gold in this case to help that thy law may be thus hid, and thine ordinances consumed: but well I know, that at the day of doom it shall be made manifest, and even before, when thou arisest against all thine enemies." Dr. Vaughan also gives an extract from another of his parochial expositions, referring to the same process, wherein he attributes the persecution principally to the zeal of Courtney, whom he describes as the "great bishop of England," and as deeply incensed "because God's law is written in English to lewd men." "He pursueth a certain priest, because he writeth to men this English, and summoneth him, and traveleth 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." MS. Hom. Bib. Reg. cited by Dr. Vaughan, vol. ii. pp. 87, 96, edit. 1831. The former of the two priests here alluded to was probably Hereford, who much assisted Wickliff in translating the Testament (see the Preface to Bagster's English Hexapla, pp. 18, 24); and the latter well describes Ashton, who was famous as an itinerant preacher.

Mr. Le-Bas (Life of Wiclif, p. 267) conjectures that he was protected during this period by the appeal which he had made to the crown; which he further followed up in November by an "Appeal and Complaint to the king and parliament." Soon after which the Commons entered their protest against the statute of 5 Rich. II. (see p. 38). Wickliff was cited before the Convocation at Oxford to answer respecting the opinions expressed in the Articles of his "Complaint;" after which he published the two confessions of his belief touching the Eucharist, mentioned in the note on p. 19, note (1). After this he was by a royal ordinance expelled the university of Oxford, whence he retired to Lutterworth for the rest of his life.

There is no reason to believe that Wickliff retired into comparative privacy in order to shun the crown of martyrdom, for it was during his retirement that some of his most spirited attacks on popery were penned; particularly his "Trialogus" and his "Objections to the Freres." That he was also aware of the danger attendant upon his unsparing exposure of errors and corruptions in the Church, Mr. Le-Bas[1] thinks to be clear from various passages of his writings, and more especially of his "Trialogus," which was produced after his banishment from Oxford, and in which it is plainly intimated, that a multitude of the friars, and of others who were called Christians, were then compassing his death by every variety of machination.[2] That he had fully counted the cost of his warfare, is further evident from the language in which he contends for the necessity of constant preparation for martyrdom. "It is a satanical excuse," he says in the same treatise, "made by modern hypocrites, that it is

(1) Life of Wickliff, p. 291.
(2) "Trialogus," lib. iv. c. 4, 17, 39. See Lewis, c. vii. p. 125. Turner's Hist. of England, pt. iv. p. 424.

enemies as an inconsistency with his former profession. It nowhere appears, however, that he entertained any scruples on the subject of the mass; and it has been already observed on p. 22, that the early Reformers strove to maintain communion with the Church of Rome.

Supplement to "Early Notices of different Wycliffes," at pp. 939—944 *of* vol. ii.

1. The Wycliffe Pedigree at the College of Arms, and Whitaker's Richmondshire, supply the following notices:—

Robert de Wycliffe, by Kirby's inquest in 1272, 6 Ed. I., held 12 carrucates of land in Wyclif, Thorp, and Girlington.

Roger de Wyclif was living in 1319, Ed. II.

Roger de Wyclif, the same or more probably his son, lies buried at Wyclif Church under a brass,[1] with = Catharine[2] his wife.

John Wyclif of Wyclif, Esq.[3] by an inquisition post mortem, in 1367, is said to have held by military service 3 carrucates of land in Thorp-super-Teese.

William Wyclif of Wyclif, Esq married = Frances, daughter of Sir Robert Belasyse, Knt.

John Wyclif, armiger, of Wyclif, in co. York, 3 Dec. 1 Hen. VI. (1422): living in 22 Hen. VI. (1444). = Anne, alibi Agnes, daughter of Sir Thomas Rokesby of Rokesby, Knt.

After which the Pedigree is perfect.

2. The Abbotsley documents at Baliol show that the Society consisted of "discreti viri *Magister* Johannes de Wykclyffe (Wycliffe, Wyclyff, or Wycliff) *domini* Hugo de Wakfeld, Johannes de Hugate, Johannes de Prestwold, Rogerus de Grisburgh, Willielmus Alayn, Thomas de Lincolnia, Willielmus de Wykclyffe (or Wycliff), Ricardus de Assewell, Johannes Bridd, et Hugo de Felton, clerici Universitatis Oxon'. Eboracensis, Lincoln'. London'. Dunelm'. dioc." who appointed "dilectum sibi in Christo *Magistrum* Johannem de Wykclyffe magistrum sive custodem Collegii predicti" as "procuratorem suum verum et legitimum," to take possession of Abbotsley in the name of the College, April 7th, 1361 (Wednesday); and that he did take possession of it, as vacant "per mortem Willielmi de Kyngeston ultimi rectoris," April 8th and 9th.

3. The distinction between *Magister* and *Dominus* in the above extract refers to the M.A. and B.A. degrees; and suggests a pretty decisive proof, hitherto unnoticed, that the Warden of Canterbury Hall was a different individual from the vicar of Mayfield. For the Warden in his appointment by Islep, in his removal by Langham, and in the Papal Process, is always styled *Magister*, save that his opponents in the suit cunningly drop the prefix, knowing that friar Wodehull's want of the M.A. degree disqualified him for the Wardenship according to the University Statutes. Whereas, Johannes de Whyteclyve, vicar of Mayfield, in all the four archiepiscopal Registers in which he is mentioned, is invariably styled *dominus* to his dying day, and even in the probate of his will; which proves that he never attained the M.A. degree, if ever he took any academic degree at all. He was an ordinary man, who owed his promotion to some accident, as hinted at vol. ii. p. 943.

4. It seems, therefore, pretty certain that the Merton "Wyklif" was the Reformer, and not the vicar of Mayfield: the spelling of the name, and the connexion with Benger at Merton, point to this conclusion. Wood, Wharton, Tanner, and Barlow, all say that the Reformer began his studies at Merton. Having been a fellow of Islep's College, he would be well known to Islep, and his appointment to the archbishop's New Hall at once appears natural.

5. The suggestion at vol. ii. p. 944, of a *third* contemporary John Wycliffe, rector of Lekehamstede, in Bucks, in 1371, must be retracted; for the Bokyngham Register shows, that John de Barton was instituted rector of Lekehamstede, Oct. 1, 1361, on Hugh Chastillon's presentation, and exchanged it for Bernoldby, co. Lincoln, 1375: also that John D'Autre was instituted to the rectory of Lekehamstede, July 2d, 1375, on John Barton's resignation, on the presentation of Sir Hugh Chastillon, Knt. The archdeacon of Northampton,

(1) See the Inscription in Whitaker's Richmondshire.

(2) The same who as relict of Roger presented Robert de Wycliffe to the rectory, August 1362, and died soon after. (See vol. ii. p. 939.)

(3) The same who presented Dominus William de Wycliffe to the rectory, August 1363; and Dominus Henry Hugate, August 1369. (See vol. ii. p. 939.) This William de Wycliffe was no doubt the Scholar of Baliol when John de Wycliffe was Master. (See § 2.)

from whose testament the proof of John Wickliffe's rectorship is brought, seems, when he made it, to have been near his end; for he was then (Nov. 11th) in London, where the will was proved Dec. 20th; and we can easily imagine him to have dictated Lekehamstede by a momentary inadvertence or failure of memory. The party drawing the will wrote as he was instructed, without even a suspicion of error; but it is singular that there is a tick in the margin of the Lambeth Register against "Lekehamstede," apparently hinting some error. The will, however, in this state was sent to Stowe-park, and proved there Jan. 5th following, and is so entered in the Bokyngham Register, folio 101.

Page 54, line 7. "*As Æneas Sylvius writeth.*"]—Historia Bohemica, cap. 35.

Page 54, note (4).]—John Cochlæus, a native of Nuremberg, wrote, "Historiæ Hussitarum Libri Duodecim per Joannem Cochlæum, Artium ac sacræ theologiæ magistrum, canonicum Uratislaviensem: operosè collecti ex variis et antiquis tum Bohemorum tum aliorum codicibus, anteà nunquam excusis;" printed "apud S. Victorem prope Moguntiam MDXLIX." He died A.D. 1552. (Hoffman.) Like Walsingham, he entertained and expressed a bitter hatred towards John Wickliff and his followers, and says of his name, "quod est Anglicè interpretatum Joannes Impiæ Vitæ." (Hist. p. 7.) The passage here referred to is at p. 8 of the "Historia."

Page 56, note (1).]—Walden states, that the above question and reply were made in the first parliament of Richard II., which met October 13th, 1377; and they probably led to the renewal of the proceedings against Wickliff, as remarked in the note on page 4, last line but one. The last paragraph of the reply, "And moreover, as far as I remember," &c. is printed in all the English editions of Foxe in the large type of the text; which occasions Dr. Vaughan to complain, that the reader can scarcely make out where Wickliff ends and Foxe begins again. The Latin edition is not open to this objection, which after this last paragraph says, "Hæc Wiclevus, præter multa id genus similia, quæ hic brevitatis necessitate præcidimus." (Lat. ed. p. 18.)

Page 59, line 10 from the bottom. "*This seemeth also false,*" &c.]—This sentence appears in Foxe's text in large type, as if it were Foxe's remark; whereas it is a continuation of Huss's "Testimonial;" as well as the next sentence, which the Editor has put in from the original, but does not appear in Foxe at all.

Page 63, article 3.]—"Ego Berengarius" is the beginning of a Confession put into the hands of Berengarius by pope Nicholas II., at a council held at Rome A.D. 1059.

Page 64, note (1).]—In the "Fasciculus" of Orthuinus Gratius is a treatise by William Wideford, dedicated to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, written at his command, and intituled at its conclusion—"Tractatus Magistri Willielmi Widefordi, de Ordine Minorum, contra errores Wiclephi in Trialogo, qui damnatus est in concilio provinciali London. sub domino Thoma Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Anno Domini MCCCXCVI."—Its opening describes it to contain, "Causas condemnationis articulorum per vos nuper damnatorum, ac etiam responsiones adargumenta per ad versarium pro articulis facta." It is accompanied with a copy of these eighteen articles, whence a few corrections are introduced in this translation.

Page 64, line 5 from the bottom. "*The fourteenth article of Wickliff.*"]—This is numbered according to the original in "Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss," and as it stands among the 45 Articles of Wickliff suprà p. 22, and as Huss numbers it next page, and Foxe himself only eight lines above; here, however, he miscalls it the "thirteenth."

Page 65, line 34. "*Augustine, in his book 'De Baptismo contra Donatistas,'* lib. ii. cap. 3."]—Foxe and his authority both refer here erroneously to the "De Unico Baptismo," which consists of only *one* book, in which this passage does not occur.

Page 67, line 20 from the bottom.]—St. Rusticus, fifth archbishop of Narbonne, born in 394, embraced the monastic life about 411. St. Jerome wrote his 95th Epistle to him, to confirm him in his holy vows. He became archbishop of Narbonne 427 or 430, and died October 26th, 461.—*Gallia Christiana, on the Archbishops of Narbonne*

Page 81, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Beatus Gregorius in Registro, libro 7, cap. 9"—is the reading in "Hist. et Mon. J. Huss." But in a 3 vol. collection of Epistolæ Decretales, Romæ 1591, we find this letter (to Brunichilda, the French queen) as the 64th letter of the 9th book of Gregory's Register.

Page 84, line 16.]—The author here cited as "Hostiensis" is Henry de Susâ or Segusio, a celebrated canonist of the 13th century, of such repute as to have been called "the source and splendour of the law." He was first created archbishop of Embrun, then cardinal-bishop of Ostia in 1262, whence he is often called "Ostiensis," or "Hostiensis." Hostiensis is perpetually quoted in the Notes on the Decretals as a commentator; and in the 3d book of all Decretals this heading is to be found, "De Decimis, Primitiis, et Oblationibus." The author of Paraleipomena Urspergensis (p. 252) about the death of Frederic II. A.D. 1250, mentions "Compostellanus et Hostiensis, Decretalium illustratores," as then flourishing.

Page 85, line 3. "*Eighteen more.*"]—Foxe says "twenty:" but in "Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss" the reasons go on to the number of 43 in all; so that, as Foxe has given 25 of them, there remain but 18 more.—The rest of this paragraph needed much revision from the Latin.

Page 85, line 9. "Lincolniensis" means Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, of whom so interesting an account is given by Foxe suprà, vol. ii. pp. 523—534. He wrote 128 Epistles, which are collected into one volume, furnished with a good index: 101 of his Letters are printed in Browne's Appendix to the "Fasciculus" of Orth. Gratius. The reference here, in "Hist. et Mon." fol. 121, is to "Lincolnien. Epist. 71."

Page 85, line 5 from the bottom.]—This saying of pope Leo IV. is mentioned suprà, vol. i. p. 25.

Page 85, note (1).]—This 42d reason in the margin of "Hist. et Mon." is called "Optima ratio," which perhaps induced Foxe to give it.

Page 86, line 23.]—Eugene III. was pope A.D. 1145—1153, and this council of Treves was held A.D. 1147. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 88, line 14.]—Hugo de St. Victor, abbot of the Augustine monastery of St. Victor at Paris, flourished 1120, died February 11th, 1140, 44 years old. (Cave's Hist. Lit.)

Page 89, line 16. "*To redeem the captive.*"]—This sixth, though given in the original, Foxe has omitted.

Page 90, note (1).]—A Dominican friar, named Johannes Januenis, *i. e.* of Genoa, published a dictionary, called "*Summa* seu *Catholicon*," compiled from the two older dictionaries of Papias and Ugution, with additions of his own. He himself states at the conclusion, that he finished it on the Nones of March, 1286. Erasmus thought meanly of its Latinity. It has been several times printed; first at Mentz 1460, and afterwards, with successive additions, at Venice 1487, and Lyons 1514. See Preface to Ducange's Glossary, cap. 47.

Page 94, note (1).]—Wickliff died the last day of the year A.D. 1384, and this decree is dated May 4, 1415. There was, therefore, an interval of 30 years and 4 months. The decree, however, was not *executed* till 1424, by Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, by order of the council of Sienna. Richardson (in a note on Godwin de præsulibus) quotes the authority of Lyndwood, for its not having been done till 1428. Fleming was bishop from 1420 to 1430.

Page 96, line 12 from the bottom. "*Bedman.*"]—Foxe reads "Redman," but "Bednamus" in the Latin edition: see note on p. 28, line 6 from the bottom.

Page 97, line 8.]—Peter Paine was vice-principal of St. Edmund Hall from 1410 to 1415, as may be seen by reference to the list of vice-principals in the Oxford Calendar and Wood's History of Oxford. He was born at Haugh or Hough, three miles from Grantham. He was a delegate from the Bohemians to the council of Basil, 1433, and in that character we find him introduced at p. 679: he is supposed to have died at Prague in 1455. He is called Peter Clerk at p. 538.

Page 97, line 35. "*There chanced at that time a certain student of the*

country of Bohemia to be at Oxford, of a wealthy house, and also of a noble stock."]—Foxe probably had the following passage of Cochlæus before him:—"Quidam ex discipulis ejus, nomine Petrus Payne, Anglus, Pragam cum libris illius profugit, regnante Wenceslao: ea forsitan occasione permotus, quòd ante eum Bohemus quidam genere nobilis, ex domo quam 'Putridi Piscis' vocant, apud Oxonium in literari studio constitutus, libros Wiclevi quibus titulus est 'de Universalibus realibus' inde in patriam secum retulit, velut pretiosum thesaurum. Commodavit verò libros illos iis potissimùm qui Teutonicorum (uti refert Æneas) odio tenebantur, ut illi, per nova dogmata vexati, Academiam Pragensem in qua prævalebant Bohemis regendam discedentes relinquerent." (Cochlæi Hist. p. 8). L'Enfant, "Hist. Hussit. et Concilii Basil," says that "Faulfish" was the surname of the Bohemian nobleman.

Page 97, line 10 from the bottom. "*Finding.*"]—*I.e.* maintaining: so infrà, vol. iv. p. 660, line 17.

Page 99, line 5. "*Improved.*"]—*I.e.* disproved. See Horne Tooke's "Diversions of Purley." (P. 86, edit. 1840.)

Page 105, line 11 from the bottom. "*Prophecy of Jerome Savonarola.*"]—He is out of his place in this part of the history, having flourished about 1490. A number of his sermons, which were printed in the earlier part of the 16th century, both in Latin and in his own language, Italian, are included in the Trent Index of Prohibited Books, till expurgated. His prophecies and their supposed fulfilment will be found in *Flacius Illyr. Cat. Testium Veritatis*, col. 1914, edit. folio, 1608. See more in Dupin's Ecclesiastical History, cent. 15, ch. 4, p. 102.—It is rather singular that John Huss, on the contrary, at pp. 72—75, has been arguing that miracles were a sign of Antichrist.

Page 105, note (3). "*Fluentius Antistes.*" (Lat. ed. p. 57).]—"Fluentius" is probably only another form for Florentinus, the title, not the name, of the bishop: see Hoffman, v. Fluentius, and the Index to Carolus Molinæus's Works.

Page 106, note (4).]—Guy of Perpignan was bishop of Elne in Roussillon, and inquisitor against the Waldenses. He flourished, and some say died, A.D. 1330. A portion of the prophecies of the *Abbot Joachim* is quoted at the end of Bale's "Brefe Chronycle," "Ex Compendiario Guidonis Perpiniani de Heresibus," the first sentence of which is, "In the latter days shall appear a law of liberty."

Page 107.]—One *Robert* Swinderby was known as a preacher of Wickliff's doctrines in the diocese of Worcester, in the year 1387. (See the note in this Appendix on p. 49, line 12.) The present account of William Swinderby is first introduced into the edition of 1570, the notices of him in the previous Latin and English editions being very short. Several corrections of the punctuation and references have been made.

Page 108, line 20. "*The church of St. Mary, Newarks.*"]—A church so called at Leicester; of which the following account is taken from Tanner's "Notitia Monastica:"—"There was a district in Leicester, near the castle, called the 'Liberty of Newark' or 'the Newarks;' in which a hospital was founded, 1330, by Henry earl of Leicester and Lancaster, to the honour of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; this was so enlarged by his son, Henry duke of Lancaster, that about 1355 it was turned into a noble college, called the 'New Work' or 'Newark' or 'Collegium Novi Operis,' or St. Mary's the Greater. It was finished by the son of the last named Henry, viz. John of Gaunt." Foxe both here and at p. 200 reads, "Our Lady's churches at Newark."—The three places presently mentioned, "Helhoughton," &c. are, Houghton-on-the-Hill, 6 miles S.E. of Leicester, Market Harborough, and Loughborough.

Page 109.]—The bishop of Hereford's name is "Tresnant" in Foxe: "Trefnant" is put in on the authority of Godwin's "De Præsulibus," which says that Johannes Trevenant, al. Trefant, was "in Romana Curia Auditor Rotæ," and instituted to the bishopric of Hereford October 9th, 1389. Henry IV. sent him as his ambassador to Boniface IX. He sat fourteen years and a half, and died about April, 1404.

Page 111, note (1). "*Concomitanter.*"]—Foxe reads "communicant:" the

other is put in as the true reading on the authority of Art. IX. p. 134, with which this article is identical.

Page 112, line 7. "*Have not their power of binding and loosing mediately from the pope,*" &c.]—The reading "mediately" of the editions of 1570 and 1576, is corrupted into "immediately" in that of 1583 and all subsequent editions. In Article XIII. p. 134, which is identical with this, all the editions correctly read "mediately," and refer to this passage.

Page 114, line 20. "*That it were medefull and leefull,*" &c.]—This sentence has been made more intelligible than in Foxe, by a better punctuation.

Page 119, line 13 from the bottom. "*Maumetrie.*"]—"We charge the prelatical clergy with popery to make them odious, though we know they are guilty of no such thing; just as heretofore they called images 'Mammets,' and the adoration of images 'Mammetry,' *i.e.* Mahomets and Mahometry: odious names, when all the world knows that Turks are forbidden images by their religion." Selden's Table Talk, article *Popery.* (Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. vol. i. p. 368.) See p. 327, line 18.

Page 119, line 12 from the bottom.]—Wickliff and his followers did not oppose the setting up of images in churches as *laymen's books.* See p. 327, line 14.

Page 120.]—The names of places in this Process all appear in Carlisle's Topographical Dictionary, whence one or two corrections are made; thus Foxe reads (line 17), "and Monmouth Clifford," whereas these are two places.

Page 122, line 23. "*It were medefull and leefull,*" &c.]—See this sentence better punctuated at p. 114.

Page 128, line 30.]—On "to," for "till," see Appendix to vol. viii. note on p. 304.

Page 130, note (1).]—The edition of 1583 alters "disperple" into "disperkle," but retains "disperpel." According to Phillips's Dictionary of New Words, "Disperpled" or "Disparpled" (in Heraldry) means loosely scattered, or shooting itself into several parts. In Wimbledon's Sermon, at p. 304, we have "disparkled into all the world." "Disperple" is used by Rogers infrà, vol. vi. p. 609, line 10.

Page 130, note (2).]—There are some proceedings against "William Skinderby" in Wilkins's Concilia, sub anno 1391.

Page 130, note (3).]—The Latin edition here says: "Exacto itaque anno Domini supra millesimum quadringentesimo primo, post Wiclevi verò obitum 13, principante apud Anglos Henrico 4, cum jam Richardus e fastigio regiæ sublimitatis in turrim abreptus occubuisset, factum est Londini parliamentum, in quo edictum est ut manibus injectis prehenderentur," &c. (Lat. ed. p. 59.) Richard resigned the crown September 29th, A.D. 1399, but he lived till the following year (as Foxe states at p. 221), and died February 1400. (Rapin.) The person who translated the above passage from Foxe's Latin (and the first English edition of Foxe, 1563, was little else but a translation of the Latin by other hands), not aware, perhaps, of these facts, introduced into the text the inaccuracy of making Henry IV. to "invade the kingdom of England" first in 1401: this date indeed might be retained, if we were to say "at which time, king Richard, *having been* wrongfully deposed, Henry IV. *had* invaded the kingdom of England;" and to omit the clause "during the time of king Richard II.," because Richard's influence in this, as in every other matter, of course ceased when he resigned the crown in 1399. This, on the whole, would be the preferable way of amending the text, because Foxe in his Latin evidently meant to direct attention to the statute of 2 Henry IV., as the limit to Swinderby's safety.

Page 131, line 3. "*This law (saith the story) brought a certain priest to punishment the same year .... it appeareth unto me that his name was Swinderby.*"]—No doubt the "piece of an old story," whence Foxe says he derived this account, meant William Sautre by the nameless priest; for Walsingham in the following passage states the same fact, and names Sautre as the sufferer. "Anno Domini MCCCCI. (qui est annus regni regis Henrici a conquestu quarti secundus) post Epiphaniam factum est parliamentum Londoniis, in quo statutum

fuit editum de Lollardis, ut ubicunque deprehenderentur suam pravam doctrinam amplexantes caperentur et diocesano episcopo traderentur. Qui si perseverarent pertinaciter opiniones suas defendere, degradarentur, et jurisdictioni seculari committerentur: practizataque fuit hæc lex in pseudo-presbyterum, qui apud Smithfeld (multis aspectantibus) est combustus." (Hist. p. 405.) It is a mistake, however, to represent Sautre as at all the victim of the statute "Ex Officio," for he was burnt under the king's writ. Foxe being aware of this, for this very reason suggests that the nameless priest was Swinderby. It is most probable, however, that both the "old story" and Walsingham were mistaken; and that neither Swinderby nor any other person was burnt after Sautre till Badby suffered nine years later, and even he not by this statute. (See the notes on pp. 234, 239.)

Page 131. "*The story and process against Walter Brute.*"]—Contemporary references (or anything approaching it) to such characters are so rare, that it may be worth noticing the mention of this man in the Creed of Piers Plowman, v. 1305; in Mr. Wright's edition, p. 489. Lond. 1842.

"Byhold upon Walter Brut
Whom bisiliche thei pursueden,
For he seid hem the sothe."

Page 132, line 25.]—According to Godwin (edit. Richardson), John Gilbert was made bishop of Hereford A.D. 1375, and translated from Hereford to *St. David's* by a bull dated May 5th, 12th of Urban VI. A.D. 1389, and was succeeded at Hereford by John Trefnant, who held this Process.

Page 132, line 10 from bottom. "*Whereas of late,*" &c.]—Swinderby was condemned October 3d, 1391 (p. 126), and this appearance is October 15th following.

Page 135, line 1. "1391, *the indiction* 14."]—Foxe's text has here "the indiction fifteen," which must be incorrect; for the indiction is found by adding 3 to the year and dividing the sum by 15, the remainder is the indiction, which in this case would be 14: the indiction of 1391 is again, lower in the page, said to be "fifteen;" but in that instance 1391 means 1392: see note (2). The year of indiction was reckoned from January 1st, as appears from p. 235, where 1408 [*i.e.* 1409] is said to be the second indiction, which suits 1409, not 1408.

Page 173, line 6.]—Foxe's text has here "Gregory IX." and 3 lines lower "Honorius III.;" but these two popes should change places, and the text has been corrected accordingly. The allusions in this paragraph have been supported by references in the foot of the page to the foregoing history.

Page 177, line 29. "*But 'Sermo' (that is the word),*" &c.]—The translator has no doubt bungled here; the whole paragraph is evidently a citation of Heb. vii. 25—28.

Page 181, line 29. "*With which agreeth that of Jerome in the Decretum.*"]—Foxe's text reads absurdly, "With which agreeth the writing of Jerome upon the decretals."

Page 187, line 1.]—To this place belongs the letter of king Richard II., dated September 22d, A.D. 1393, given at pp. 196, 197.

Page 187, last paragraph.]—The treatise of W. Wideford against Wickliff's articles is mentioned in the note on p. 63, as published in the "Fasciculus" of Orthuinus Gratius. In that treatise, under Art. 11, he uses this expression: "Ut diffusè aliàs declaravi in epistolâ missâ domino Erfordensi contrà libellum Waltheri Brittæ:" and again, under Art. 12, he speaks of "historia directa domino episcopo Erfordensi contra Walterum Britte."

Page 189, line 23 from bottom. "*The four chief doctors.*"]—These were Austin, Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory.

Page 190, note (1).]—Wolfius, in his "Lectiones Memorabiles," tom. i. p. 654 [or 540], has published a copy of the Latin Letter, ascribing it to Nicholas Orem, whose sermon before pope Urban (translated by Foxe suprà, vol. ii. p. 767) he had just given. Fabricius, "De Scriptoribus Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis,"

ascribes a letter opening with the very same words to Henry of Hesse, and cites Bernard Pezius (p. 79) for his authority. A different letter by Henry of Hesse is mentioned by Foxe from Illyricus at p. 193. Toward the end, Foxe's version is slightly amplified from the Latin copy in Wolfius.

Page 192, last line. "*The foregoing letter.*"]—Foxe says, "Divers other writings of like argument, both before and since, have been devised; as one bearing the title 'Luciferi,'" &c. He is evidently translating Illyricus in the whole of the ensuing page, and Illyricus makes the said letter "Luciferi," &c. *the same* with that of which Foxe has just given the translation. Illyricus says that he printed this letter himself at Magdeburg in the year 1549, and that he afterwards met with a copy of it printed at Paris in 1507, with the "De Collatione Beneficiorum" of William bishop of Paris, and that a still older impression of it had been published about 1490. The error in Foxe's text has been corrected.

Page 195. "*The king's commission.*"]—This commission is erroneously represented by its position as the effect of the preceding papal bull, whereas it is dated three and a half years earlier. It belongs to p. 130 suprà, where see note (2). This is a specimen of the commissions referred to suprà p. 39, line 6. The general commission spoken of in the beginning of this document is given at p. 39.

Page 196.]—This letter of the king against Brute belongs to p. 187 suprà; the feast of St. Thomas of Hereford (bottom of this page) was October 2d; the day of appearance was therefore October 3d, which was a Friday, and this agrees with the dates in p. 187.

Page 197, note (1).]—This account of the visitation at Leicester is given in Wilkins, iii. p. 208, A.D. 1389, where it begins thus:—"In quo quidem monasterio præfato, ultimo die dicti mensis Octobris. . . ." No monastery, however, is mentioned till toward the end (see p. 199), where the register says, "Injungens abbati monasterii de Pratis prædicti." The house referred to is the nunnery of St. Mary Prè—or "de Pratis juxta Leicester, extra portam aquilonarem Legecestriæ"—founded in the reign of Stephen for nuns of the Cluniac order (Tanner, Dugdale). Wilkins reads, "Dominus Waytstach capellanus"—"Harry"—and "Parchmener."

Page 198, line 26. "*The said monastery.*"]—None has been mentioned, but see the ensuing page, line 9, and the note preceding this.

Page 198, note (1).]—The second article in Wilkins is as follows:—"Item, quòd decimæ non debent solvi rectoribus vel vicariis quamdiu sunt in peccato mortali." This is omitted by Foxe.

Page 198, note (2).]—"Quod quædam mulier Mathildis anchorita in quodam inclusorio infra cœmeterium St. Petri . . . . reclusa, &c."—*Wilkins.*

Page 199, line 6. "*The monastery of St. James at Northampton.*"—The Austin abbey of St. James was an abbey of black canons in the extreme part of the west suburb of Northampton, founded in the year 1112 to the honour of St. James.—*Tanner's Not. Mon.*

Page 199, note (1).]—The original Latin of the text is as follows:—"Quòd ostium, in quo ipsa Mathildis reclusa fuerit, aperiri et usque ad ejus reditum honestè et securè faceret custodiri." (Wilkins, ut suprà.) After this passage, Wilkins gives an edict of the archbishop concerning the Lollards, dated Towcester, Nov. 7th, A.D. 1389, "translationis nostræ 9:" and next to that the king's Process ensuing. William Courtney was translated July 1381. (See p. 579.) Nov. 7th in 1389 was a Sunday. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 199, note (2).]—The Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary and St. Radegund was founded in 1130 or 1160, and converted into Jesus College in 1497. (Tanner.) John Fordham was bishop of Ely A.D. 1388—1426.—*Godwin.*

Page 200, line 5. "*The collegiate church of St. Mary Newarks.*"]—"Decano ecclesiæ collegiatæ B. Mariæ Novi Operis Leycestr." (Wilkins, iii p. 217.) "The cathedral church of our Lady of Leicester," says Foxe. Fo an explanation of what is meant by St. Mary Newarks, Leicester, see th note in this Appendix on p. 108. The ensuing letter of the archbishop is retranslated.

Page 202, line 27. "*Who was married to king Richard about the fifth, some say the sixth, year of his reign.*"]—They were married at the Chapel Royal, Westminster, January 14th, A.D. 1382 (Tyrrel, Rymer's Fœd.), and, consequently, in the fifth year of Richard II. (Nicolas's Tables.) The queen died at Shene, in Surrey, June 7th, A.D. 1394, and was buried at Westminster August 3d (Rymer), *i.e.* she lived nearly twelve years and a half with her husband.

Page 203, line 15. "*The next year.*"]—Foxe says "the same year" [*i. e.* 1394]: the king, no doubt, went over to Ireland in September of that year; but it was the *next* year (1395) that he was fetched as described, *in consequence* of the proceedings in parliament presently detailed. Hence another alteration is made in Foxe's text, 12 lines lower. "The occasion of which complaint was," is put in by the Editor for Foxe's "In the meantime, in the beginning of the year following." (See Rapin, Henry, &c.)

Page 203, note (3).]—Bale says that these "Conclusions" were drawn up by Lord Cobham (Preface to the "Brefe Chronicle," &c. fol. 7, and Conclusion, fol. 50, edition 1544): they are found in Latin in Foxe's Latin edition, p. 76; in Wilkins's Concilia, tom. iii. p. 221, ex MSS. Cotton. Cleopatra. E. 2, fol. 210; and in Lewis's Life of Wicliff, p. 298. These different copies slightly vary in a few passages. They were exhibited by Sir Thomas Latimer and Sir Richard Stury to the parliament which was held at Westminster Jan. 29th, A.D. 1394-5, by Edward Duke of York, who was left Regent when the king went to Ireland. (Rapin.)

Page 204, note (1).]—The following are the words of Foxe's Latin Edition (p. 76): "Quia ipsi dant coronas in characteribus loco alborum cervorum; et hic character est Antichristi introductum in sanctam ecclesiam ad coloranda ociositatem." The copies in Wilkins and in Lewis both read "corvorum" instead of "cervorum;" Foxe's, however, is probably the true reading. The "hart" was often used as a figure of spiritual persons by the divines of the middle ages. The index to tom. v. of Bernard Pezius's "Thesaurus Anecdotorum," v. "Cervus," will show that it is used as a figure of Christ, of the patriarchs and prophets, the apostles, the devout soul, the sinner, and of spiritual persons.

Page 205, note (1).]—Foxe reads "spiritual," and all the Latin copies "spiritualis." The argument, however, and the context, which uses "specialis" three times, require that we here also read "special."

Page 205, note (2).]—"Qui sunt populus strenuus ad operandum et inserviendum toti regno, jam retentus in otio," is Foxe's Latin: the other copies read, "Qui sunt populo magni operis toti regno manutentus in ociositate," which Lewis judges to be corrupt.

Page 206. "*Certain verses.*"]—Bale gives an inferior translation of these verses in the Conclusion of his "Brefe Chronicle," fol. 50, ed. 1544; and adds, that "when the Conclusions themselves would not help towards any reformation, but were laughed to scorn of the bishops, then were these verses copied out by divers men, and set upon their windows, gates, and doors, which were then known for obstinate hypocrites and fleshly livers, and this made the prelates mad. And this is the great insurrection that Walden, then the king's confessor, complaineth of to Pope Martin V., and afterwards Polydorus, the pope's collector, and other papists more, wherein never a one man was hurt."

Page 206, note (1).]—The following corollary, wanting in Foxe, is given in the other Latin copies. "Corelarium est, quòd ex quo Sanctus Paulus dicit, *Habentes victum et vestitum his contenti simus*, videtur nobis quòd aurifabri et armatores et omnimodæ artes non necessariæ homini secundum Apostolum destruerentur pro incremento virtutis; quia licet istæ duæ artes nominatæ erant multum necessariæ in antiqua lege, Novum Testamentum evacuat istas et multas alias."

Page 213, line 17.]—The words—"consecrated bishop of Durham . . . the miracle of St. Cuthbert was"—have dropped out of edition 1583 and those which follow: the particulars here restored to the text are not mentioned in Malmesbury or M. Paris, but are in the Chronicle of Simeon of Durham.

Page 213.]—Foxe's "Notes of certain Parliaments" have, like those at the close of vol. ii., been collated with the originals printed in Cotton's Abridgement, and many inaccuracies corrected.

Page 214, line 1.]—It was this enactment which occasioned the valuation of benefices mentioned vol. ii. p. 809. See the note in the Appendix on that passage.

Page 214, line 9. "*A certain new grant.*"]—The grant was, for justices of the peace to be competent to see the execution of the statute of provisors, and to inquire into cases of clerical extortion, without waiting for the justices of assize. See the Records.

Page 215, line 9. "*Then termed shifts.*"]—"Et l'appellent chevance."—*Records.* See explanation of *Chevantia* by Corrie, Latimer's Works, Vol. II., p. 400, P. S.

Page 216, line 11. "*Within six weeks,*" &c.]—"De la Vendredi en la Veille del Fest de Saint Michel a sys semaines prochein ensuites."—*Records.*

Page 217, line 32.]—This parliament, called the Merciless, sat from February 3d, 1388, to June 4th.

Page 218, note (3).]—Maitland's History of London gives

John Hynde . . . Mayor, Nov. 1391—Nov. 1392.
John Shadworth, Henry Vamere } Sheriffs, Oct. 1391—Oct. 1392.

and all these displaced by a decree of Richard II. in Rymer, dated Nottingham Castle, June 25th, 1392, and appointing Edward Dalyngrugge *Custos.* Another decree of Richard in Rymer, dated Windsor Castle, July 22nd, appoints Sir Baldwin de Radyngton *Custos.* (See the note in the Appendix on vol. ii. p. 342, note (3).) In Rymer, there is an act of pardon for the city functionaries, dated Woodstock, September 19th, 1392. The decree for removing the courts to York is given in Rymer, dated Stamford, March 30th, to take effect the morrow after St. John Baptist's day, *i. e.* June 25th.

Page 219, line 6.]—Froissart states that it was the castle of Pleshey where the duke of Gloucester lay. He was strangled in September. His body was brought over from Calais by an order of the king's, dated October 4th. (Rym. Fœd.) John Hall, servant of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, captain of Calais, confessed his share in the murder, and was executed for it in 1400.—See *Cotton.*

Page 219, note (1).]—These Cartes-Blanches or Ragmans (as they were called) were demanded of the richer gentlemen and burgesses by the king as a penalty for joining the rebellion of the duke of Gloucester, and were peculiarly unjust and hateful, because the parliament of 1388 had pardoned all his adherents. They were afterwards burnt by order of Henry IV. (Rymer.) John of Gaunt died about Feb. 2d, 1399.

Page 221, note (3).]—The following process against William Sautre is taken from the archbishop's Registers, and is printed in Wilkins's Conc. iii. pp. 254—260, where it is stated that the convocation met "in Crastino Conversionis S. Pauli," *i. e.* Jan. 26th, and adjourned "in *diem Sabbati* post festum S. Scholasticæ virginis" (which feast is on Feb. 10th) "proximè futurum, viz. 12 Feb." The year mentioned in the Register (as in Foxe) is A D. 1400; but that is "juxta supputationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," which made the year commence at March 25th. Hence it was really A.D. 1401, in which year Feb. 12th fell on a Saturday; and all the subsequent notes of time concur to prove that it was A.D. 1401.

Page 224, line 6 from the bottom.]—Foxe says "the twenty-fourth." But the Register, as quoted in Wilkins, says "23 Feb.," which fell on a Wednesday in the year 1401.

Page 225, line 6.]—Both North and South Elmham were formerly manorial residences of the bishops of Norwich. "And of Tilney" (line 10) is put in from the Register. Tilney is between five and six miles south-west of Lynn.

Page 226, line 17.]—Foxe says "the 22d of February:" but the Register, as

printed in Wilkins, says "Et subsequenter, dicto 23 die mensis Feb. A.D. 1400," which is correct, and "23rd" is put into the text.

Page 227, line 6. "*Upon Saturday, being the 26th of February.*"]—Wilkins says "24 die Feb." which must be a mistake.

Page 228. "*Thus William Sautre.*"]—In Wilkins it is stated, that after the "degradation" the council adjourned "in diem lunæ proximè sequentem [which would be Feb. 28th] viz. ejusdem mensis *Feb. ultimo die:*" another proof that this was A.D. 1401 according to modern computation, for A.D. 1400 was a leap year, and Feb. 28 would not be the *last* day of February in that year. (See Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 229, note (3). "*Roger Clarendon.*"]—Foxe says "John," but Walsingham says "Roger," also Foxe at p. 232.—There was a priory of Augustine canons at Launde, or Lodington, in Leicestershire, founded in the time of Henry I.—*Tanner.*

Page 234, note (1).]—In the Latin and first English editions this part of the history, though more scanty, was more chronologically arranged; there was Sautre's martyrdom, *immediately* followed by the statute "Ex Officio;" then a nameless priest, supposed by Foxe to be Swinderby, a victim thereof; then mention of Crompe and others; then the History and Testament of Thorpe; and *lastly*, Badby's martyrdom. In the edition of 1570 and all subsequent, Foxe has brought back the martyrdom of Badby to stand next after that of Sautre and next before the statute "Ex Officio." Foxe might wish to make it clearer (what was really the fact) that Badby was no more a victim of the statute "Ex Officio" than Sautre had been, for, like Sautre, he was burnt under a king's writ. (See the note on p. 239.)

Page 235, line 1.]—The ensuing process against John Badby is printed from the archbishop's Registers (see Wilkins's Concilia, iii. p. 324), with which Foxe's text has been collated. Several errors have been thence corrected in this paragraph. Foxe says, "In the year of our Lord 1409, on Sunday, being the first day of March, &c." The ecclesiastical year then commenced at March 25th, consequently this was A.D. 1410 according to modern computation. The Register also says, "in die Sabbati," which means Saturday, and would be March 1st in A.D. 1410, by Nicolas's Tables; see also the course of the dates in Wilkins's Concilia, iii. pp. 324, 325. A few lines lower, Foxe says, that the bishop of "Oxford" was one of the assessors on the trial: the Register says "Exon." not "Oxon.": the bishopric of Oxford was not created till the reign of Henry VIII. The Register calls Badby "scissor," which Foxe sometimes renders "shearman:" Collier calls him "a smith," on the authority of Walsingham's "Faber." In the writ for his burning he is called "Johannes Badby de Evesham in comitatu Wigorniæ." In the document below, Foxe mis-numbers the pope "Gregory XI.," though at p. 308 he calls him correctly "Gregory XII.:" he was elected Nov. 30th, A.D. 1406, and deposed June 5th, A.D. 1409. Lower down, Foxe says, "In the chapel Caruariæ of St. Thomas the Martyr;" the Register says, "In capella carnariæ S. Thomæ Martyris;" *i.e.* "The chapel of the Carnaria or charnel-house, dedicated to St. Thomas Becket." There were several chapels in the cathedral of Worcester, as in most cathedrals, and this was one of them. See Green's History of Worcester Cathedral, vol. i. p. 96.

Page 236, line 24.]—The names in this paragraph slightly vary from those in Wilkins, who reads "Malverne," "Dudeley," "monk and sub-prior," "Hawley," "Pentyngs," "Swippeden," "Gerbryg," "Wyche," "Wyble," "Peverell," "Wolstan," and "Wesseborne."

Page 237, line 12 from the bottom. "*Wednesday arrived, being the fifth day of May.*"]—Foxe says the "fifteenth;" but Wilkins, "Adveniente præfato die Mercurii viz. dicti mensis Martii die 5;" which is correct.

Page 238, note (1).]—Edition 1563, p. 172, says, "for so muche as Cherillus Bul was not then in ure:" the Latin also has "Cherillus," which is not altered into "Perillus" till edition 1596. "Ure" was an old form, or rather a corruption, of "use." "Sustentation" (last line) is corrupted in all editions after the first (1563) into "contentation."

Page 239, line 17. "*This godly martyr Badby,*" &c.]—The parliament of 11 Hen. IV., referred to in this paragraph, met in January 1410, and the Commons then presented two petitions: 1. That given at p. 318; 2. For the repeal of the statute of 2 Hen. IV. against heretics. The king rejected both these petitions (see Cotton's Abridgement), and so virtually (as Foxe here says) "granted to the said parliament a statute called 'Ex Officio' to be observed." Foxe has reserved his description of the statute till the time was arrived for its becoming operative: previously it was a dead letter. The archbishop's Register takes the same course; for under the year 1410 it gives the statute, but in a very brief and imperfect form (Wilkins, iii. p. 252); but *after relating Badby's martyrdom* the Register says: "Et interim à dicto die Lunæ usque in diem Martis et deinde de die in diem usque ad diem Lunæ 10 diem ejusdem mensis Martii in domo capitulari, qua supra, continuata fuit convocatio. Quo die adveniente exhibitum fuit quoddam statutum regium," &c. (Wilkins, iii. p. 328.) Then follows the statute, in the same form as that which Foxe has given. The reader, then, is only to bear in mind that he is not here reading the *first enactment* of the statute in the 2d year of Hen. IV., but its *confirmation* in the 11th year of Hen. IV., previous to which it had never been operative. (See above, p. 130, last five lines.)

Page 241, line 25. "*Furthermore, for the more fortification of this statute of the king aforesaid, concurreth also another constitution of archbishop Arundel.*"]—The reader must here forget the concluding sentence of the last note, and suppose he had been reading a history of the first enactment of the statute "Ex Officio," in 2 Hen. IV. or A.D. 1401. The "Constitution," or "Constitutions," of archbishop Arundel are given in Wilkins, iii. pp. 314—319: who also adds (p. 320) a mandate from the archbishop to the bishop of London for the publication thereof, dated the castle of Queenborough, Ap. 13th, A.D. 1409, the thirteenth year of his translation. From this mandate we learn, that the "Constitutions" were first agreed on at a provincial synod held at Oxford, and afterwards confirmed at a full convocation of the province of Canterbury, held at St. Paul's, Jan. 14th, A.D. 1408, the thirteenth of his translation, a full year before the martyrdom of John Badby.

Page 244, note (1).]—The original says:—"Prætereà nullus clericus aut populus cujuscunque parochiæ aut loci nostræ Cantuariensis provinciæ."

Page 248, line 26. "*Albeit, some there were that did shrink,*" &c.]—And then Foxe proceeds to specify divers persons who were induced to recant by the "laws and constitutions" just described; and yet, with only one exception, that of Purvey, the instances which he gives all occurred previous to the "law" of 1401 and the "constitutions" of 1409.

Page 248, line 28. "*John Purvey.*"]—Purvey evidently recanted twice: 1st, at Paul's Cross, June 1st, A.D. 1401; 2dly, at Saltwood, before archbishop Arundel, A.D. 1421. (See pp. 248, 257, 285, 292.) Foxe says, "of whom more followeth (the Lord willing) to be said in 1421;" but nothing is said of Purvey under that year: what is told at p. 285, &c. relates to his recantation in 1401. By enlarging the parenthesis, and changing 1421 into 1401, the difficulty is obviated.

Page 248, line 3 from the bottom. "*To change the purpose.*"]—"Ad mutandum propositum dicti Johannis, substantiam . . . esse . . ."—*Wilkins.*

Page 248, note (2).]—*John Purvey* recanted at Paul's Cross, Sunday, March 6th, A.D. 1401, (Wilkins, iii. p. 262): *John Edward* recanted at Norwich Palm Sunday, April 12th, A.D. 1405, (Ib. p. 282): *John Becket*, of Padswick in the diocese of London, recanted at Sleyden June 10th, A.D. 1400, (Ib. p. 247): *John Seynons*, parish priest of Dounton, Lincolnshire, recanted at Christ Church Canterbury, April 19th, A.D. 1401.

Page 248, note (3).]—The articles on this page are given in the singular number by Wilkins, iii. p. 249, and as those recanted by John Seynons, who is meant by "John" in article 6. Wilkins improperly places them under the year A.D. 1400, as they refer to Sautre's martyrdom.

Page 249, line 1.]—The *whole* of the ensuing batch of articles is given by Wilkins, iii. p. 282, as recanted by John Edward de Bryngton, chaplain, of the

diocese of Lincoln, at Norwich, Palm Sunday, April 12th, A.D. 1405, William Appelby, mayor, and John Skye, John Sampson, sheriffs, in a garden contiguous to the north side of the cathedral called the Greneyard. The five first of them are also given by Wilkins, iii. p. 208, A.D. 1389, as a part of the errors of the Leicester Lollards, Dexter, Tailor, Parchmenear, &c. (See p. 198.)

Page 249, line 10 from the bottom.]—Whitehead was in 1552 recommended by Cranmer for "his good knowledge, special honestie, fervent zeal, and politick wisdom," to the archbishopric of Armagh. It is said that on the accession of Elizabeth he was solicited to accept of the see of Canterbury. George Constantine is supposed by Sir Thomas More to have been the first editor of Thorpe's Examinations. Foxe's text of the first Edition has been followed, and many valuable readings have thus been restored, which were corrupted in subsequent Editions. There is a contemporary MS. in the Bodleian of great value. (Bodl. MS. Recent. 1030.) It once belonged to the Cottonian Collection.

Page 252, line 21.]—Lammas-Day, or the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, was August 1st, which in 1407 fell on a Monday; so that this examination took place August 7th.

Page 253, line 13. "*Concluded the feend.*"]—i. e. silenced. Pierce Ploughman thus versifies a part of our Saviour's promises to his apostles:

> "Though ye come before kings and clarkes of the law,
> Be not abashed, for I shall be in your mouthes,
> And gyve you wytte & will, & conning to conclud
> Them all that agaynst you of Christendom disputen."

Dr. Wordsworth gives this and other examples of the use of the word. Eccl. Biog. i. p. 266, edit. 1839.

Page 253, line 25.]—"Comone forth," *i. e.* communicate: very often used of the sacrament, as in Thorpe's Testament, at p. 284, line 19 from the bottom.

Page 253, line 33.]—"Blow," to discolour and disfigure. "File" for defile, or make vile. "The visage which was moost fayre of all other membres is *fyled*, bespytte, and mute with the thornes of the Jewes." "The vysage which aungels desyre to se, the Jewes with theyr spyttyng have *defyled;* with theyr handes have smytten."—*Golden Legend*, fol. 16, b, cited by Dr. Wordsworth.

Page 253, line 35.]—"To dinge," to beat or knock.

Page 253, line 15 from the bottom. "*To make a blind knight.*"]—According to some of the old writers, the soldier who pierced the side of Christ with his spear on Calvary was physically blind when he did it; and touching his eyes afterwards with his own bloody hands, he instantly recovered his sight. Hence he was canonized as St. Longius (Λόγχη).—See Golden Legend, fol. 98, b. and Pierce Ploughman's Vision, fol. 98.

Page 254, line 15.]—"Buxome," obedient. (Johnson's Dict.) See vol. ii. p. 747, line 8, for this use of it in the "Ploughman's Complaint."

Page 254, line 13 from the bottom. "*To what entent? to swear thereby?*"]—A note of interrogation should be inserted after "entent." The Latin edition (p. 81) puts this matter thus: "Sed unum hoc abs te, Domine Archipræsul, scire expeto, cur manum libro apponerem? Archepiscopus. Ut fidei juramentum præstes."

Page 255, line 17. "*How Susan saide,*" &c.]—See the Hist. of Susanna, v. 22.

Page 255, line 20.]—An "appealer," according to Foxe, was a name given to thieves, who, to screen themselves, accused innocent persons (suprà, p. 56, line 28); but according to Blount's Law Dictionary, it means one who impeaches and betrays an accomplice, and this seems to be its meaning here: the Latin edition (p. 81) says, "Meritò totius Angliæ exp orator proditorque videri possem, quovis Juda sceleratior."

Page 255, line 33. "*This office* [i. e. *of appealer or spy*] *that ye would now infeaffe me with.*"]—It was perpetually enjoined on Lollards in the edicts against

them, that they should turn informers against their party. See the dreadful effects of this injunction in the diocese of Lincoln, infrà, vol. iv. pp. 221—240.

Page 255, line 4 from the bottom. "*And as I considered.*"]—Dr. Wordsworth suggests "*als*," i.e. *also*, for "as."

Page 256, line 2. "*For that there was no audience of secular men by.*"]—See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 256, line 25.]—"Or" for "ere," *i. e.* before. So at p. 257, line 11 from bottom, "or we depart;" p. 264, line 8 from the bottom, "or that I leave thee;" and p. 293, note (9). So in Daniel, vi. 24: "Or ever they came at the bottom of the den."

Page 256, line 44.]—The words "or displeasure" are restored from the first Edition.

Page 257, line 7. "*H., I. P., and B.*"]—Dr. Wordsworth conjectures these initials to denote Hereford, John Purvey, and Becket. On the recantation of these three individuals, see pp. 27, 49, 248, and the notes. The adversary alludes to the first two by name at p. 279, still disguising the third under his initial "B." But both in this and that passage the Latin edition names "Brightwell" (see suprà, p. 27) as the person indicated by "B——." "Satis me exempla imbecillium quorundam docent, præcipuè N. Herfordi, I. Purvei, Tho. Brightwelli, ac hujus potissimùm Repingtoni, quid mihi hìc multisque aliis metuendum" (Lat. Ed. p. 82): "Simulque tecum cogita, quam eruditi fuerint Lincolniensis jam præsul, Herfordus, et Purveus: Brituellus quoque, vir haud vulgariter peritus." (Ibid. p. 95.) One Stephen Bell is mentioned at p. 195. The Bodleian MS. reads here: "But, Syr, bi ensaumple chiefli of Nycol Herforde, of Joon Purveye, of *Robert Bowland*, and also bi the present doynge of Filip Repingtoun, that is now bicome bischop of Lyncolne, I am now lerned as many other ben," &c. And at p 279; "for the sclaundres revoking at the cros of Poulis of Hertforde (*sic*), Purveye and of *Bowland*, and how Filip of Repinton pursueth now cristen peple," &c.

Page 257, line 12 from the bottom. "*A false harlot.*"]—A very common expression in the old writers: see Foxe's account of the origin of the word 'harlot' suprà, vol. ii. pp. 559, 560. The Latin Edition (p. 82) says, "Si Purveus versipellis ac callidus fuerit."

Page 258, line 7. "*Dan Geffrey of Pickering, monke of Byland,*" &c.]—Foxe says "David Cotraie of Pakring:" but the Latin Edition (p. 83) makes "Packring" the name of a person; "David Gottræus, et Pakryngus monachus Bylandensis ac theologiæ candidatus, et Joannes Purveius, cum aliis quàm plurimis." The true reading is no doubt that furnished by the contemporary Bodleian MS. above referred to: "Also Filip of Repintone, whilis he was a Chanoun of Leycetre, Nycol Herforde, Dane Geffrey of Pikeringe, monke of Biland and a maistir of dyvynyte, and Joon Purveye, and many other," &c. *Dane* or *Dan* was a term peculiarly applied to monks. (See Nares's Glossary.) Foxe seems to have misread "Dane" for "Davie," and his printer mistook "Goffræus" for "Gottræus," whence was hatched "*Cotraie.*"

Page 258, line 34.]—"Philippo Repyngtono, Leicestriensi olim canonico et abbati, accessit dies ille festivus, cujus tam diu jejunavit vigiliam." (Lat. Ed. p. 83.) See the note on p. 46.

Page 258, line 22 from the bottom. "*Wherefore tariest thou me thus here with such fables?*"]—"Tarry" here means "delay," transitively: the Latin edition (p. 83) says, "Quare his nugis tam diu nos *detines?*" Another example occurs at p. 274, line 15 from the bottom: "Wilt thou tarrie my lord no lenger?" where the Latin edition (p. 92) says, "Quin age: ne quid amplius *moreris* dominum Archiepiscopum, apposita libro manu, spondeas te illius et ecclesiæ ordinationibus assensurum." Another example occurs p. 278, last line but one: "Tarrie thou me no lenger."

Page 259, line 8. "*To suffer open jouresse.*"]—The Latin edition (p. 84) says, *πρὸς τὸ παλινῳδεῖν*: to abjuration.

Page 260, line 4.]—See the note in this Appendix, on p. 22, note (1).

Page 260, line 35.]—"Subiect" and "sovereign," were often used of *inferior*

minister and *prelate*, or of *layman* and *clerk*: in this *ecclesiastical* sense (as Dr. Wordsworth remarks) Thorpe here applies St. Paul's words.

Page 261, line 23 from the bottom. "*Deserveth meed.*"]—On the doctrine of unqualified submission to the church here, and generally to this day, taught by the Roman church, and the awful consequences to which it leads, see Dr. Wordsworth's valuable note on this passage.

Page 261, line 17 from the bottom. "*In the decrees.*"]—See Corpus Juris Canon. i. 2 306.

Page 261, line 15 from the bottom. "*Lefull and lawfull.*"]—The former of these two words, which are used together at page 273, line 25, Dr. Wordsworth interprets as quasi "*leave-full*," i. e. allowable, permissible; and cites "*leve-full*" from a passage of Wickliff's works. The Latin edition (p. 85) says, "Præterquam in honestis et licitis."

Page 262, line 22. "*Saith Lincolne.*"]—*i. e.* Robert Grostead, bishop of Lincoln: see the note on p. 85, line 9.

Page 263, line 1. "*Therefore, sir, appose you him now,*" &c.]—"*Interrogetur*, itaque, quid de objectis articulis sentiat." (Latin edit. p. 86.) See the note on p. 273, line 8.

Page 263, line 25.]—See the note on p. 36, note (1).

Page 263, line 12 from the bottom. "*The houres of the moste blessed Virgin.*"]—The Latin edition (p. 86) gives the words, thus:—

"Memento, salutis auctor,
Quod nostri quondam corporis
Ex illibata virgine
Nascendo *formam* sumpseris."

Page 263, last line but one. "*That the ordinance of men,*" &c.]— *i. e.* that the determinations of men living under obligations of obedience to the articles of the Christian faith, should be elevated to equal authority with those articles. The Latin edition (p. 86) says, "Antehac non audivi humanas traditiones sub fidei vocabulo venire."

Page 264, line 15. "*An ententife doctor.*"]—*i. e.* "busie, earnest, intentive," Cotgrave, cited by Dr. Wordsworth. The Latin edition (p. 86) says, "Et hujus opinionis est Fulgentius, doctor non aspernandus."

Page 264, line 19. "*Secret of the mid masse on Christmase daies.*"]—The Latin edition (p. 87) says, "In secreto missæ Christi nativitatis in Aurorâ."

Page 264, line 21. "*The fourth ferie 'quatuor temporum Septembris.'*"]—The "quatuor tempora," or four quarter fasts, called now *Ember* weeks: the service in the Breviary for the *Wednesday* next after September 14th is here denoted.

Page 264, line 12 from the bottom. See the note on p. 263, line 25.

Page 264, note (2).]—The text says "friar Thomas againe" in every one of the English editions of Foxe: "Aquine" is put in on Dr. Wordsworth's suggestion. The place cited is in "Summa Theolog." part. 3, quest. 75, art. 5: The Latin edition (p. 87) says here, "Quæ vero deinceps, post Satanam ab angelo solutum, per fratrem Thomam ejusque farinæ sophistas invecta sunt in ecclesiam (veluti accidens sine subjecto, atque id genus nugæ), his ego neutiquam assentiendum arbitror: ex hujus fratris emendicata aliunde sententia fidei articulum non constituam. De me videat agatque Dominus pro sancto arbritratu suo."

Page 265, line 4. "*God worshippeth.*"] *i. e.* honoureth: "With my body I thee worship." (Marriage Service.)

Page 265, line 16.]—See Dr. Wordsworth's note on the worshipping of images.

Page 265, line 25. "*Do off their caps to these letters.*"]—See Dr. Wordsworth's note for illustrations of this passage.

Page 266, line 5. "*Bookes and calenders.*"]—See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 266, line 17 from the bottom.]—Towards the great north door of St. Paul's was a crucifix, to which pilgrimages and offerings were often made, of which the dean and canons had the benefit. (Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's.) The Latin edition (p. 88) says, "Londini apud Sanctum Paulūm ad valvas aquilonares," and "de diva virgine Parathalassia."

Page 267, line 3. "*The fiend hath great power*," &c.]—See the dialogue between Bilney and friar Brusierd infrà, vol. iv. bottom of p. 630.

Page 267, line 14.]—On these representations of the Deity, Dr. Wordsworth refers to Lewis's Life of Bishop Peacock, p. 85, and Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery.

Page 267, line 25 from the bottom.]—"The seven deadly sins" were pride, envy, wrath, sloth, covetousness, gluttony, and lewdness. See Lewis, p. 136. (Ed. 1820.)

Page 268, line 12.]—On the gross ignorance of the people in religion at this period, see Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 268, line 17 from the bottom. "*Sing wanton songs.*"]—See Dr. Wordsworth's notes.

Page 269, line 20.]—On the corruptions in church music, and the scandal which this subject occasioned, not only to Lollards, but Romanists, and Erasmus himself, see Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 269, line 22 from the bottom. "*No title to tithes.*"]—See the note on p. 22, Art. xviii.

Page 269, line 15 from the bottom. "*And that they are accursed.*"]—Alluding to a general sentence pronounced four times a year. See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 270, line 24.]—This is an error of Thorpe and the old writers, for Gregory's ordinance only respected tithes which had not been *previously* conveyed. The payment of tithes to the parish priest was fully settled in the Saxon times.

Page 271, line 12. "*To depart.*"]—To divide. See Nares's Glossary; also the Ploughman's Complaint suprà, vol. ii. p. 746, line 6 from the bottom. Originally our Marriage Service read, "till death us depart;" altered at the Savoy Conference in 1661 to "do part."—On the doctrine of poverty of ministers here advocated, see the opinion of Nicholas Orem suprà, vol. ii. p. 771, line 7 from the bottom. The same doctrine has been sometimes alleged to have been held by Wickliff, but both his practice and writings show that he was in favour of a more generous mode of living among clergymen than Thorpe here seems to advocate.

Page 273, line 8. "*The lenger that ye appose him.*"]—"Quo magis *interrogas*, hoc videtur præfractior." (Lat. ed. p. 91.) See note on p. 263, line 1.

Page 273, line 16.] It seems doubtful whether the Lollards held this doctrine absolutely. Dr. Wordworth observes, that the statement that they did so may have originated from two causes: 1st, their protesting against the profane swearing then so common; and, 2dly, a scruple as to the mode of taking an oath. See Swinderby's view of this subject suprà, p. 119, art. 14.

Page 274, line 15 from the bottom.]—See on "tarrie," the note on p. 258, line 22 from the bottom.

Page 276, line 20 from the bottom. "*Evil apayd.*"]—Ill-satisfied, ill-contented. See the word suprà, vol. ii. p. 359, line 9; and "apayd," ib. p. 360, line 21 from the bottom.

Page 278, last line but one. "*Tarrie.*"]—See the note on p. 274.

Page 279, line 11 from the bottom. "*Bethinke thee, how great clerkes*," &c.]—See the note on p. 257, line 7.

Page 280, line 3 from the bottom. "*Thomas Purvey.*"]—No doubt "Thomas" is a mistake for "John." The Latin edition (p. 95) only says "Purveus," omitting the Christian name, and therefore clearly referring to the *same* Purvey elsewhere mentioned in this Examination as "John."

Page 281, line 1.]—Archbishop Arundel was tried on a charge of treason in 1397, and banished; but in about two years was restored.

Page 281, line 23. "*Rowned with him.*"]—To *rowne* or *round* a person in the ear, is to whisper to him. See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 285, line 16. "*Again, neither is it found that he was burned.*"]—The Latin edition, however, says (p. 96), "Sunt qui testantur eum eodem anno Domini 1407 in Augusto exustum: sed locum non designant: ex quo atque aliis colligendum," &c.

Page 285, line 27. "1382."]—On the error in this date, see the note on p. 47.

Page 286. "*Articles of John Purvey.*"]—These articles, with Purvey's recantation of each seriatim, are given by Wilkins, from the archbishop's Register. (Conc. iii. pp. 260—262.) The first appearance of Purvey before the council is there dated "die Lunæ: viz. ultimo die ejusdem mensis Feb. in domo capitulari;" *i. e.* Feb. 28th, A. D. 1401, the next meeting after the degradation of Sautre. He is called *Purney* in Wilkins; and "capellanus Lincoln. diœcesis." The recantation is dated at "Paul's Cross, Sunday, March 6th, 1401."

Page 286, line 13. "*A certain whispering.*"]—"Quædam auriculatio." (Wilkins.)

Page 286, Art. 3. "*Yet is he a true priest before God.*"]—The Register says here, "Est verus presbyter et sacerdos, ordinatus a Deo ad ministrandum omnia sacramenta necessaria hominibus ad salutem;" adding, as the first-born were natural priests, and Moses before Aaron. (Wilkins.) See Purvey's doctrine more fully drawn out by Foxe at the middle of p. 288.

Page 286, Art. 4. "*Have not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but rather of hell.*"]—Foxe translates erroneously, "Either of the kingdom of heaven, or yet of hell:" "sed claves inferni" (Wilkins). The sense is correctly given by Foxe at p. 289, line 18, and margin.

Page 286.]—Articles 5 and 6 change places with each other in Wilkins.

Page 286, Art. 7.]—"In the general council of Lyons" is put in from Wilkins. "A proper priest" (proprio sacerdoti) means "their own parish-priest."

Page 287, line 36. "*Therefore when Antichrist, or any of his shavelings,*" &c.]—This maxim of Purvey's seems to have been pretty generally acted upon by the Lollards: see the examples of Reppyngdon, p. 25; Hereford and Reppyngdon, p. 34; Ashton, p. 36; Swinderby, pp. 117, 124; Thorpe, p. 263; lord Cobham, p. 328. Walter Brute is explicit, p. 173, &c. William Sautre attempted to evade the question, but was forced honestly to avow his opinion, p. 224. This prudent reserve or evasion is ridiculed in Barlowe's "Dialogue concerning Lutheran Factions," signat. I 1, I 2, Edition 1553. Wickliff also seems to have disapproved of it: see the note on p. 49, note (1).

Page 288, line 9. "*To remain continuing his life in the wars.*"]—The original imports just the contrary—"militiæ cingulo careat."

Page 292, line 34. "*At Saltwood.*"]—The recantation before archbishop Arundel was at *St. Paul's;* and that at Saltwood was before Archbishop Chichesley. See pp. 248, 285, 286, and the notes.

Page 292, line 9 from the bottom. "*Being then, as it seemeth, William Courtenay.*"]—See the table of archbishops given at p. 579.

Page 292, line 6 from the bottom.]—Foxe here reads "anno 1389," though in his text, a few lines above, he says 1388. This must be the true year, if the statement be correct at p. 304, that when this sermon was preached, there wanted "not fully twelve years and a halfe" of the year 1400, for $1387\frac{1}{2} + 12\frac{1}{2} = 1400$, so that this would make the sermon preached a little after Midsummer 1388. In accordance with this, it may be remarked, that the text is in the Gospel for the 9th Sunday after Trinity, which in the year 1388 fell on July 26th. On the other hand, this does not well accord with the statement

that it was preached on Quinquagesima Sunday, which in 1388 fell on Feb. 9th, and in 1389 on Feb. 28th (see Nicolas's Tables). It is remarkable, that in the edition of 1563 the words "and a halfe" are wanting; "not fully twelve yeares" were "lacking" of 1400: this would suit Quinquagesima, but would make the year 1389. Perhaps the sermon was first composed or preached July 26th, 1388, ("*made* in the year of our Lord M.CCCLXXXVIII.:" Edition of 1563), and re-preached Quinquagesima 1389; and so the words "and a halfe" are retained or omitted accordingly.

Page 293, line 22. "*Priesthood, knythode, and laborers.*"]—See the note on p. 324, line 13 from the bottom.

Page 304, line 36. "*Disparkled.*"]—See note on p. 130, note (1).

Page 307, note (4).]—Foxe's text reads, "which was about the year 1409;" this for the sake of precision is altered into, "which last was in the year 1410."—Four lines lower, Foxe says in all the old editions, the schism endured "this space of XXIX. years;" at the same time referring to the passage at p. 17, where they all read plainly and properly "XXXIX.:" "thirty-nine" is therefore put into the text here.—He also mis-numbers the pope "Urban V."

Page 307, note (5).—Boniface IX. was elected Nov. 2d, and crowned Nov. 9th, A.D. 1389: died Oct. 1st, A.D. 1404.

Page 308, line 11.]—The process of Gregory's election is given, confirming Foxe's account of it, in Wilkins's Concilia, iii. p. 286—288, from archbishop Arundel's Register. He was elected unanimously Nov. 30th, A.D. 1406. (Nicolas.)

Page 308, line 22.]—There is a letter in Wilkins from Benedict XIII. to Gregory, dated 11 Cal. Feb. in the 13th year of his pontificate, *i.e.* January 22, A.D. 1407.

Page 308, line 29. "*The Cardinal of Bordeaux.*"]—Foxe, following Walsingham, says, "the Cardinal Bituriensis" (of Bourges): we should here read "Burdegalensis:" the individual meant was Francesco Hugociono, a very able canonist, who was made archbishop of Bourdeaux in 1389, and cardinal Quatuor Sanctorum Coronatorum by Innocent VII. in 1405; he died at Florence, Aug. 14th, 1412. He was very zealous in striving to persuade Gregory to fulfil his engagements (Gallia Christiana. tom. ii. p. 839). He is mentioned in a public document of archbishop Arundel given in Wilkins's Conc. iii. p. 311, as having come over to England between July 23d and Nov. 30th, A.D. 1408. He is also mentioned in a letter of the cardinal's to Henry IV., given in Wilkins, as a particular favourite of the king's. It seems from Moreri's Dict. v. *Cardinal*, that there was not a cardinal of *Bourges* at this time.—Foxe misdates the letters ensuing A.D. 1409, as he had the election of pope Gregory XII. above, A.D. 1407.

Page 309, line 19.]—The council of Pisa sat March 25th to August 7th, A.D. 1409.

Page 309, line 34.]—"Within the twelvemonth" is more correct than Foxe's "within the same year;" for Alexander V. was elected in June, A.D. 1409, and crowned soon after: he died May 3d, A.D. 1410. (Nicolas.)

Page 309, note (4).]—Foxe's narrative, from hence to the top of p. 311, is taken accurately from Cochlæus: Foxe repeats a portion of it at p. 405, professedly from the same authority, but not so accurately. (See the note on p. 405.) Foxe (after Cochlæus) calls the archbishop "Swinco;" and sometimes strangely confounds his name and his title, calling him archbishop of "Swinco" instead of "Prague;" for which Cochlæus gives no foundation. He has already been mentioned suprà, at p. 54.

Page 311. "*A Mandate of Thomas Arundel.*"]—This is given in Wilkins's Conc. iii. p. 246, from the Register of Braybrooke, bishop of London. It is headed "Mandatum Arundelli . . . pro veneratione Sanctæ Dei genetricis ad pulsationem in Aurorâ sicut ad pulsationem ignitegii." Foxe heads it, "A Mandate of Thomas Arundel, directed to the bishop of London, to warn men to say certain prayers at the tolling of the 'Aves' or ringing of Curfew;" which is a very vague description of it. Several expressions of the original, badly translated by Foxe, have been better rendered—"mystico inspiramine," "inter

cultores vineæ," "ad ipsius domini nostri regis specialem rogatum." The concluding sentence, "and when before day," &c. is rather obscurely expressed in the original: but the heading of the letter explains it.

Page 312, note (5).]—Foxe misdates the mandate "anno transl. 9, A.D. 1405," when no "Robert" was bishop of London. The date in Wilkins is "Anno Domini MCCCXCIX., et nostræ translationis anno quarto," which is inserted in the text: Robert Braybrooke was bishop of London January 5th, A.D. 1381 to August 27th, A.D. 1404 (Godwin, edit. Richardson); and as Arundel became archbishop towards the close of 1396, his fourth year would begin toward the close of A.D. 1399: it is evident, therefore, that the 1399 of Wilkins here means the 1400 of modern computation.

Page 313. "*A commission directed to the Somner,*" &c.]—On the subject of ringing bells, see Brand's Pop. Ant. vol. ii. p. 135, note, and infrà, vol. vi. p. 562. Latimer, in his Sixth Sermon before Edward VI., alludes to these interdicts for not ringing the bells.

Page 315.]—As Chichesley became archbishop A.D. 1414, his twelfth year would end in A.D. 1426, which year is clearly meant by the "1425" of the Register.

Page 316.]—These "parliamentary notes," and the references in the notes, are revised from the original printed in Cotton's Abridgement, as in similar cases at p. 213, and vol. ii. p. 783. The note relating to the "eleventh" year of the reign, at the bottom of p. 317, Foxe places, in p. 316, to the "second year of the said king," no doubt owing to his having misunderstood "11" for ii. instead of xi.

Page 316, note (1).]—This Latin penance is corrected by the Register.

Page 318, last line but one.]—Foxe, by mistake, reads "thirteenth" instead of "fourteenth"

Page 318, note (1).]—The whole of this page has been collated with Walsingham and Fabian, where the matter will be found; some corrections have thence been made: in the list of abbeys, "Osiis" (Fabian) is for "Osyth's:" in this form we trace the origin of "Size Lane" in London, where formerly stood St. Osyth's Church. The clause "in the see of Durham," &c. omitted by Foxe, is put in from Fabian: without it the calculation at the end would not be correct.

Page 319, line 17 from the bottom. "*Then called Passion Sunday.*"]—The fifth Sunday of Lent is so called, because the Gospel for the day is John viii. 46, &c., where the Jews take up stones to cast at Jesus, and this the Festival (fol. 25) says, was the beginning of Christ's passion.

Page 319, line 8 from the bottom. "*In holy kitchen—in holy church, I would say.*"]—This is a species of wit common (as Dr. Maitland remarks) among the writers of that age, when, having said a saucy thing, they affect to catch themselves up and correct a pretended mistake.

Page 320. "*The trouble and persecution of Sir John Oldcastle, knight, lord Cobham.*"]—Most of the ensuing narrative is taken from John Bale's "Brefe Chronycle concernyng the Examinacyon and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ Sir Johan Oldecastell the Lorde Cobham:" first printed August 16th, A.D. 1544. The source from which Bale derived it (as he informs us in his preface) was chiefly the account drawn up at archbishop Arundel's command expressly for distribution through the realm, and now extant in his Register. This is called "The Great Process of Thomas Arundell," &c. Walden's "Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevi" embodies this Process, together with some other matters relating to the subject: Walden's first epistle to Martin V., his "Sermo de funere regis," and his first and second books "adversus Wiclevistas," have also contributed something. Several important passages which were omitted by Foxe after the edition of 1563 are here retained, especially the account of lord Cobham's death.

Page 320, line 3 from the bottom.]—Foxe, from Walden, reads inaccurately 1387 for 1384.

Page 321, line 26. "*There resorted unto them the twelve inquisitors of*

heresies; whom they had appointed at Oxford the year before," &c.]—Foxe is here strictly following Walden and Bale; the accuracy of the statement, however, seems doubtful, for Wilkins (iii. p. 339, sub anno 1412, "the year before" this process) gives—"Ex MSS. Cotton, Faustina C. 7"—*An Epistle of the University of Oxford*, reporting the opinion of the xii. judges appointed to examine Wickliff's writings, and giving 267 conclusions which they had picked out of his works and pronounced heretical: but the names of the xii. judges are not mentioned. Wilkins afterwards (p. 350) gives a letter (ex eodem MS.) of archbishop Arundel to pope John. But Wilkins had before (at p. 171) given *precisely the same epistle* of the university of Oxford, sub anno 1381, "ex Registro Sudbury, fol 76." This early copy of the Epistle of the University has the names of the xii. judges appended to their opinion, and they are the *very same* as those given here; but no conclusions are there specified as heretical. Now, it seems rather improbable that the very same xii. judges should have been appointed in 1381 and 1412, to make the same investigation, and report afresh in the very same words: it is most likely, that that epistle and decision of 1381 were reproduced before the council of 1412, not the judges themselves.

Page 321, note (3). "*Two hundred and sixty-six conclusions.*"]—The edition of 1563, p. 261, says "two hundreth and lxvi.," which is corrupted in the next edition of 1570, p. 664, into two hundreth and xlvi." Walden and Bale both say "two hundred and lxvi.," and they are printed in Wilkins (iii. p. 339) to the number of 267.

Page 322, line 1. "*Proctors of the clergy*" is put in from Wilkins; both Foxe and Bale read "general proctors," and Foxe in his edition of 1563 adds from Bale, "yea rather betrayers of Christ in his faithful members."

Page 322, line 22. "*At Kennington.*"]—Both Bale and Foxe omit to mention what the Register states (Wilkins, iii. p. 357) to have been the immediate matter of complaint against lord Cobham. A volume in quires ("in quaternis") tending, as the Register states, to the subversion of the faith and of holy church, was discovered at a limner's in Paternoster Row, where it was awaiting the process of illumination. The artist, being apprehended, confessed that the book was lord Cobham's. Certain extracts from it were read at Kennington, before the king, who is said to have expressed his abhorrence of them. Lord Cobham, being questioned by the king, allowed that this and similar books had been condemned justly, and denied that he had read more than two or three leaves.

Page 322, line 25.]—For "prelates," the edition of 1563, copying Bale, reads "ravenours."

Page 322, line 30.]—"Not" is improperly foisted in before "contended" in all the editions till 1583.

Page 323, line 7.]—Cowling Castle is said, at p. 343, to have been a little more than three miles from Rochester Cathedral.

Page 323, line 27.]—Ledes Castle is five miles south-east from Maidstone. (Carlisle's Top. Dic.)

Page 323, line 9 from the bottom.]—St. Matthew's day is Sept. 21st, which in A.D. 1413 (by Nicolas's Tables) fell on a Thursday; the Saturday following would be Sept. 23d. Both Bale and Foxe, here and at p. 326, say erroneously, "the Saturday *before* the feast of St. Matthew." The Register is correct. (Wilkins, iii. p. 354.) See also p. 344, line 5.

Page 324, line 13 from the bottom. "*This latter congregation,*" &c.]—The reader will find a similar triple division of the church militant into "priesthood, knythode, and laborers," in Wimbledon's Sermon suprà, p. 293. Lewis also (p. 125) cities a similar division from one of Wickliff's writings.

Page 324, line 4 from the bottom. "*In knighthood.*"]—It was the custom in some countries for the nobles to draw their swords at the recital of the Creed or the Gospel. See Archbishop Grindall's works (Parker Soc. p. 56), and Dr. Wordsworth's note on this place.

Page 325, line 8 from the bottom. "*He offered himself, after the law of*

arms, to fight."]—This was according to the notions of the times. The trial by battle, in cases where the question could not be determined by legal proof or testimony, continued to disgrace the law of England till June 22d, 1819, when an Act was passed to abolish the practice. See Dr. Wordsworth's note on this place, which states that in 1352 the bishop of Bath and Wells ordered his clergy to exhort their people to pray for the success of Henry duke of Lancaster, in an intended trial by battle with the duke of Brunswick for some reproachful words.

Page 326, line 8.]—"Nild" is a contraction of "ne willed," which occurs uncontracted in the Ploughman's Complaint suprà, vol. ii. p. 732: "God that is endlesse in mercy saith, that he ne will not a sinfull man's death, but that he be turned from his sin and liven." In Wimbledon's Sermon suprà, p. 295, we find "nis" for "ne is:" "What sinne, I pray you, will the fiend have now on men, that nis now used?" "Nought" and "never" for "ne ought" and "ne ever," are familiar to us. (Wordsworth.)

Page 326, line 24. "*The Saturday after,*" &c.]—See the note on p. 323, line 9 from the bottom.

Page 327, line 14. "*Calenders to lewd men* [*laymen*]."]—See the note on p. 119, line 12 from the bottom.

Page 327, line 18.]—See the note on p. 119, line 13 from the bottom.

Page 327, line 25. "*To Canterbury.*"]—See Dr. Wordsworth's note on this shrine.

Page 327, line 16 from the bottom. "*Remaineth material bread, or not?*"]—See the note on p. 287.

Page 331, line 14 from the bottom. "*If he believed not in the determination of the church?*"]—See Dr. Wordsworth's note on the distinction between "*believing*" and "believing *in.*" Bishop Bonner himself held, "Concerning the Catholique churche, we must *believe it*, that is to say, geve credite to it, but not beleve *in* it, for to beleve *in* it, were to make it God."—Profitable and Necessary Doctrine, signat. I. 46, A D. 1555.

Page 333, line 7. "*For then cried an angell.*"]—Bale in his margin refers to Ranulphus Cestrensis in Polychron. lib. iv. cap. 26. The endowment of the church by Constantine is the event referred to.—See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 333, line 18.]—"Pilled," shaven, "pilis defectus, pilatus."

Page 334, last line but one.]—Antiochus, a monk of Saba, in Palestine, who wrote in the seventh century, deplores the loss of the real cross, which he says was carried away into Persia after the defeat of the emperor Heraclius by Chosroes in the year 614.—See Fabricius, Bibl. Græca. (Wordsworth.)

Page 335, line 6. "*This is a very cross.*"]—See what Thorpe says at the top of p. 265. Also the language of Margery Backster, at p. 594, and John Edmunds infrà, vol. iv. p. 238, cited by Dr. Wordsworth, with a passage from Dr. Barnes's works.

Page 335, line 15. "*Honour to the holy cross.*"]—See Dr. Wordsworth's note.

Page 336, last line. "*Do him thereupon to death.*"]—These words not being in the original, but Bale's exposition of the undoubted meaning of "delivery to the secular power," are put in brackets. See Dr. Wordsworth's note. This writ is dated in Wilkins (iii. p. 357) Oct. 10th, 1413.

Page 337, line 13.]—"Process" is corrupted into "excess," after the edition of 1570.

Page 341, line 11.]—This parliament was called at Leicester, April 30th, A.D. 1414. 1 Parl. Hist. 324.

Page 341, line 16. "*A bill was put in there,*" &c.]—Fabian, sub an. 2 Hen. V. speaks of this bill, as the revival of the former one of 11 Hen. IV., which he mentions in its place, but makes no specific allusion to that in 18 Ric. II. Shakespeare opens his Henry V. with allusion to the two bills of 11 Hen. IV. and 2 Hen. V.

Lord Cobham was banished soon after the first bill of 11 Hen. IV., and pre-

sented a remonstrance in his own name alone with the second in 2 Hen. V. See Rapin, vol. iv. pp. 59, 176, notes.

Page 341, line 17. "*Twice before*," &c.]—Foxe mentions the bill presented by the Commons in 11 Hen. IV. (or A.D. 1410) suprà, p. 318, and the other in 18 Ric. II. at p. 203.

Page 341, line 18. "*By the procurement of the said lord Cobham.*"]—This is from Bale; who likewise attributes (Brefe Chron. Ed. 1544, folios 7, 51) to Cobham the Articles at p. 203, &c.

Page 341, note (4).]—Foxe reads "synod," in this reference: Bale, fol. 47, reads "sy-done," divided between two lines. This is probably a misprint for "sermone," for Bale in his Preface to the Chron. fol. 6, mentioning *this same matter*, refers in his margin to "Waldenus in ser-mone de funere regis," "sermone" being similarly divided; and at the end of the Preface refers to the same work thus, "Waldenus in Sermone."

Page 344, line 13. "*The twenty-third day of September.*"]—Wilkins (iii. p. 354) reads correctly "23," and so do the editions of 1563 and 1570. See notes above on pp. 323, 326.

Page 353. "*The words and content of the statute*," &c.]—The original French is in Wilkins (iii. p. 358), with which Foxe's translation has been collated, and the first 33 lines much improved.

Page 356, note (1).]—The extracts from the statute 2 Hen. IV., given in the text, have been strictly conformed to the original.

Page 357, note (1).]—The reader will find some remarks by the Rev. Dr. Maitland, in his volume on the Dark Ages, tending to correct the representations of some writers respecting "the feast of the ass." Professor Edgar is not quite exact in representing the *ass* as "taught to kneel;" he derived this notion from a stage-direction in the margin.

Page 361, line 6. "*In the time of king Henry III.*"]—This passage as it stands in Foxe is most incorrect: "In the time of king Henry III., Simon Montfort earl of Gloucester, Gilbert Clare earl of Leicester, Humfrey Rone earl of Ferrence," &c.; the alterations made in the text will be borne out by the references at the foot of the page. The large portions of English history given by Foxe in vol. ii. are here turned to account.

Page 375, note (2).]—The incorrectness of Polydore appears thus: Henry IV. became king Sept. 30th, 1399, and died March 20th, 1413, so that he reigned 13 years 6 months, minus 10 days. (Nicolas.)

Page 376, note (4).]—Foxe alludes to Psalm li. 7; "Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean, wash me and I shall be whiter than snow;" which stands in the Vulgate, "*Asperges* me hyssopo, et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem *dealbabor*."

Page 381.]—The numerous references at the foot of this and several following pages are added by the present Editor.

Page 381, line 19. "*As Hieronymus Marius doth credibly witness.*"]—Eusebius Captivus, pp. 43—46. But a much better reference may be made to Georgi's Imperatorum totiusque Nationis Germanicæ Gravamina adv. sedem Romanam, &c. (Francof. 1725, pp. 180—188); who takes his account from Aventinus, Cuspinian, and others. He concludes the chapter with,—"Tandem A. 1347, v. Id. Octobr. cum venatum exivisset [Ludovicus] de equo præcipitatus, apoplexia, vel veneno periit. Avent. p. 182, Edit. Fr. et p. 628, edit. Basil. Cuspinianus, p. 378, imprimis p. 380, ubi affirmat venenum accepisse, neque ulla alia de causa venatum exiisse, quam ut motu atque labore sibi consuleret, quæ spes hac vice illum fefellit. Contrarium tamen defendit Burgundus, p. 180."

Page 393, line 12 from the bottom. "*In canons of the Apostles*," &c.]—"Daillé affirms that the canons claim for themselves an apostolic origin. De la Roque is of the same opinion, and Gibert reasons in a similar manner: but bishop Beveridge has demonstrated that in each of four instances which may be adduced, interpolation has taken place. In the xxix Canon (according to Beveridge) we find ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου, a *me* Petro; whereas the version by

Dionysius Exiguus, and after him the *Excerptions* from Egbert, contain only *a Petro*. Again, in Canon I. Dionysius has *non enim dixit* nobis *Dominus;* but this important word is either spurious, or rather has arisen from reading ἡμῖν for ἡμῶν. Moreover, in Canons 82 and 85 the pronouns ἡμέτερος and ἡμῶν have been introduced by some unknown falsifier." Gibbings' Roman Forgeries and Falsifications (Dublin, 1842), pp. 85, 86.

Page 393, line 10 from the bottom. "*Cogging in a false canon to the council of Nice.*"]—See vol. i. of Foxe, p. 32, and Appendix, p. 392, for an account of this "cogging in." "To wipe off this scandal, Binius and Baronius stickle vehemently, and try all their art to get St. Peter's ship off from these rocks. The former publishes long notes (in Labbe, tom. ii. col. 1599); the latter falls from writing to disputing (Annal. ad an. 419): but all in vain; for Binius, after he had falsely told us that it was the ancient custom for bishops and priests to appeal to Rome, and for the Africans to desire their sentences to be confirmed by the pope, confesses that the pope's legates cited the canons of *Sardica* under the name of those of Nice, and that they were not to be found in the originals of the council of Nice, kept in the other patriarchal sees." Comber's Roman Forgeries in Councils, part iii. p. 36. See also Richier's Historia Concill. Generall. (edit. Colon. 1683, tom. i. pp. 114—121) for a detailed reply to Bellarmine's arguments on this matter of appeals.

Page 404, line 31. "*Nine and twenty years.*"]—Foxe says "five and twenty," both here and at p. 530; but see the table at p. 579, note. From hence to p. 416 Foxe follows Cochlæus, pp. 19—68; whence Foxe's text is considerably corrected.

Page 405, line 31. "*Meaux.*"]—Foxe, from Fabian, reads "Meldune or Melione:" "de Vincennes" has been added to Foxe's "Bois," as the more usual mode of designating the place.

Page 406, line 22.]—The cardinal Colonna here mentioned was Otho de Colonna, a Roman, created cardinal-deacon of St. George in Velabro in 1405: afterward pope Martin V. (Moreri, v. Cardinal.)

Page 406, last line but one.]—The cardinal of Aquileia was Antoine Pancerino, a native of Friuli, patriarch of Aquileia, made cardinal-priest of St. Susanna and bishop of Frascati by pope John XXIII. in 1411; died 1431. The cardinal of Venice was Francis Lando, a Venetian, made patriarch of Grado in 1408, and afterward of Constantinople: created cardinal of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem in 1411, and died 1427. (Moreri, Dict. v. Cardinal.)

Page 406, note (1).]—The sentence in the text is not exactly according to Cochlæus, the author to whom Foxe here refers us: thus, the pope's citation of John Huss is put too late, for Cochlæus (Hist. p. 19) says, that when he was cited, he refused to obey the summons; *whereupon* the pope wrote to archbishop Sbinco, &c. "Scripsit *itaque* Alexander Papa V. Suinconi Archiepiscopo, ut autoritate Apostolica prohiberet, ne per aliquos (etiamsi essent super hoc Apostolico seu quovis alio indulto muniti) prædicationes aut sermones ad populum fierent, nisi in cathedralibus, collegiatis, parochialibus, aut monasteriorum ecclesiis, seu earum cimiteriis," &c. The foregoing extract also shows, that the object of the papal letters is not quite correctly stated by Foxe. He has stated the whole matter more correctly from the same passage of Cochlæus at pp. 309, 310 of this volume.

Page 407, line 27.]—See Cochlæus, pp. 24, 25, where the document is said to have been dated Bethlehem Chapel, Prague, A.D. 1412, March 3d, second year of the Pontificate of John XXIII. The treatise "De tribus dubiis" is printed in the "Historia et Monumenta Johan. Huss," fol. 169.

Page 407, line 3 from the bottom. "*Of the human race destroyed by the deluge.*"]—This clause is put in from Cochlæus.

Page 408, line 9. "*Conrad bishop of Olmutz,*" &c.]—This sentence is considerably modified from Cochlæus, p. 29. Foxe reads thus:—

"It followeth, moreover, after the death of the archbishop Swinco abovementioned, that one named Conrad was placed by the pope there to be chief general, which Conrad, conferring with the divines and doctors of the university

of Prague, required their advices and counsels, what way they might best take to assuage the dissensions and discords between the clergy and the people; whereupon a certain council was devised to be holden after this sort and manner, as followeth." The words of Cochlæus (p. 29) are these:—"Ne autem Ecclesia illa Metropolitana, rectore legitimo carens, orphana atque omnino Acephala videretur, datus est ei a sede Apostolica Administrator Conradus Episcopus Olomucensis, Qui a theologis studii Pragensis petiit exemplum illius Consilii quod Swinconi scriptum dederunt, ab eo requisiti, quonam pacto possint hæc mala, discordia cleri, plebisque motus ac varia in fide et religione populorum dissidia et scandala, de medio tolli, atque redintegrata pace sedari. Cujus sane Consilii hæc quæ sequuntur, fuere capitula."

Foxe correctly, in the very next page, calls Conrad "administrator," and even "the *aforesaid* administrator," which renders the change made in his text necessary. Cochlæus intitules the ensuing document, "Consilium facultatis theologicæ studii Pragensis." Foxe miscalls it the "Council of the Prelates of Prague against the Gospellers."

Page 408, Art. VIII.]—This Article is explained by what Cochlæus says (Hist. p. 18), viz.—"Libris vero combustis, Joannes Hus, ut Archiepiscopo injuriam rependeret, ita et odiosum et contemptibilem eum suis detractionibus populo reddidit, ut plerique partium suarum Laici vulgares et ironicas in optimum patrem cantiones confingerent ac decantarent in publico, Suinick Kraschy spalil, propter eam librorum combustionem."

Page 409, line 10.]—In Cochlæus (p. 32) is a 12th article added, as follows: "XII. Item ex istis omnibus claret, quòd in nobis non deficit inire concordiam, sed in eis; ex quo nolunt ad ista rationabilia et prætacta consentire. Quilibet enim compos rationis intelligere potest ex hoc consilio, quòd non propriam laudem nec aliquorum confusionem, sed gloriam Dei, honorem domini regis et sui regni, vellemus libenter procurare. Quia ad omnia suprascripta nos ipsos subjicimus, et parati sumus hæc eadem facere inchoando. Ipsi autem, nolentes ad ista particularia descendere, nimis reddunt in materiâ fidei se suspectos."

Page 409, line 15.]—Cochlæus (p. 32) says, that this "Consilium" was "datum et exhibitum in congregatione cleri in die S. Dorotheæ A.D. 1413." St. Dorothea's day was Feb. 6th or March 28th. (Nicolas's Chronology of History.) The first three of the ensuing Articles are revised from the original in Cochlæus.

Page 410, line 11. "*Was ravaging.*"]—"Infestabat," Cochlæus; "had besieged," Foxe.

Page 410, line 27. "Artisans" is put here for Foxe's word "Captains."

Page 410, line 28.]—"Johanne, Martino, et Stascone," Cochlæus (p. 38). In "Histor. et Mon. Joh. Huss," &c. fol. 245 (*margin*), it is stated, that at the chapel of Bethlehem a parchment book, called "Passionale," was preserved, in the margin of which (at the chap. de Adriano sub Maximiniano passo) was written with John Huss's own hand: "A.D. 1412, feriâ ante festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli sic voluerunt multi decollari, flectentes sub gladio tortoris; quando decollabantur Martinus, et Johannes, et Stassek, ex eo quòd contradixerunt prædicantibus quòd licitum est bellare, et quòd in papam credendum, et quòd quicunque dederint papæ pecuniam ad bellum est absolutus à pœnâ et à culpâ." This shows that John is a distinct individual from Martin. See note infrà, on p. 483, note (2), where it appears that Huss in his *text*, at the place just referred to, calls the three martyrs by the same names as Cochlæus and Foxe.

Page 410, last line. "*The sum of eighteen articles.*"]—This does not appear from Cochlæus, p. 44, where the "Consilium doctorum contra hæresim Pragæ exortam" is not given in the form of Articles. Foxe probably inferred what he says, from the Objections in reply being eighteen in number.

Page 410, note (1).]—Foxe, in stating that "John Huss preached at the funeral" of the three artisans of Prague, states that with which Huss was undoubtedly charged by his enemies at his trial; but he as undoubtedly denied that he was even present at the funeral (see p. 483, line 12, of this volume,

and the note thereon in this Appendix). Cochlæus himself, whom Foxe professes here to follow, does not say that Huss did *preach* at the funeral: the following are Cochlæus's words:—"At Hus cum suis occurrens interemptorum corpora rapuit, et aureo circumvoluta panno per omnes (ut ait Æneas) urbis ecclesias detulit, cantantibus sectæ suæ sacerdotibus, 'Isti sunt sancti qui pro testamento Dei sua corpora tradiderunt,' &c. Exin cadavera in sacrario Bethlehem reposita, quasi martyrum reliquiæ aromatibus condita fuerunt. De quibus ipse Hus in libro suo 'de Ecclesia' inscripto sic habet et gloriatur (cap. 21), &c." Cochlæus then quotes an account of the affair by Stephen Paletz, in which these words occur: "Accessisti siquidem, et jacentium rebellium corpora sub Mediastino sustilisti, et cum ea quæ tibi videbatur summa reverentia ad cathedram tuæ superbiæ capellam dictam Bethlehem detulisti, tui ipsius et scholarium tuæ societatis, sanctæ obedientiæ contrariis, clamorosis et altissimis vocibus usque ad inferni novissima concrepantibus, Isti sunt sancti, &c. Quibus sic inductis per te in Capellam illam, tantum fecisti popularis tui favoris concursum, ut non solum illorum sic justè decollatorum sanguinem linteis maximè Beginæ tuæ et quidam alii abstergerent, sed quasi præ illorum sanctitate et potius pertusa saccitate lamberent. Ita ut te largiente et te donante locus ille tuæ cathedræ summus, non tam Bethlehem, sed ad Tres Sanctos per te et tuos complices vocaretur." (Cochlæi Hist. pp. 38, 40.) Dubravius says expressly that Huss *did not preach;* but only that some of the clergy of their party followed their corpses, singing the words just recorded, "ad templum Bethlehem, ubi Hus concionatorem agebat [*i.e.* was the stated and habitual preacher]. Ac illo quidem die *Huss concione abstinuit*, sed *postea* non cessavit mortem illorum deplorare, invidia majori quàm ut illam sedare possent senatores" (Hist. Boiem. lib. xxiii. Hanov. 1602, p. 194). It is clear, therefore, that Foxe has not correctly gathered the import of Cochlæus's words, and that what he represents Huss as doing at the funeral, Huss really did afterwards, especially in his treatise "De Ecclesia," cap. 21. (See Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss. tom. i. fol. 245.)

Page 411, line 3.]—Cochlæus, in his margin, says that Stanislaus de Znoyma was a Moravian, and a chief doctor at Prague. Cochlæus (p. 50) gives this list of names from Huss's "Liber de Ecclesiâ," cap. 11. The concluding sentence of the paragraph—"John Huss," &c.—is from p. 62 of Cochlæus. Who is meant by "the lord of the soil" appears at p. 548 of this volume.

Page 411, line 15.]—The ensuing Articles are revised from Cochlæus, p. 50.

Page 411, Art. IV. "*Whereas no man knoweth,*" &c.]—Huss here refers to some of the opinions attributed to Wickliff: see Art. IV. VIII. XVI. at pp. 21, 22, of this volume.

Page 412, Art. X. "*Written under the name and authority of Jerome, in Causa* 24, q. 1, cap. 14, '*Hæc est fides, Papa beatissime.*'"]—Cochlæus (p. 51) says in his margin at this Article, "Verba Hieron. non ad August. sed ad Damasum scripta sunt." The same remark is made by the Romish Doctors in their reply to these objections of Huss. (Cochl. pp. 50, 51.) The editor of the Decretals of Gregory IX. held the same opinion. And Huss was not ignorant of this circumstance; for in his "De Ecclesiâ," cap. 16, he argues against the inference which the papists draw from the passage, on the supposition of its being written (as the canon law represents) to pope Damasus: at cap. 21, however, of the same treatise he says, "Ad dictum beati Hieronymi de explanatione fidei dictum est cap. 16, supponendo quòd fuisset locutus ad Damasum Papam; sed multis libris antiquis conspectis comperimus, quòd scripsit ad beatum Augustinum, quem sæpius vocat Papam in suis Epistolis." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 243.)

Subsequent critics, however, have decided that the letter here quoted is incorrectly assigned to Jerome, and belongs really to Pelagius; who wrote "Libellus fidei ejus Romam missus ad Innocentium, de quo Augus. de Gratia Christi, cap. 30, 32, et 33." (Riveti Crit. Sac. lib. iv. cap. 7.) "Pelagio hæresiarchæ velut legitimo parenti omnium virorum erud. suffragio jam adjudicatur: cui deserte illam tribuunt S. Aug. *de peccato orig.* c. 21, et Zosimus, epist. 2 ad Africanos Episc. in causa Pelagii." (Natalis Alexandri Hist. Eccles. sæc. iv. tom. vii. p. 327, edit. Bingæ, 1787.) The objection of Huss, though thus losing its strength in this instance, may however be supported from other cases:

see Archbp. Usher's "Religion of the Ancient Irish," chap. 7, end; and more especially Bingham's "Christian Antiquities," book xi. chap. 2, § 7.

Page 414, line 20.]—Cochlæus (Hist. p. 63) says: "At omnium miserrime vexabatur clerus Catholicus, intus et foris, a laicis et a clericis, qui evangelicos sese vocabant: quin etiam a mulierculis et a pueris, ex obedientiæ enim lege cogebantur servare interdictum, ubicunque præsens erat Hus."

Page 415, line 1.]—This letter of pope John is in Cochlæus, pp. 22, 23, whence some corrections have been made in the translation.

Page 415, last paragraph.]—This story is found in Nicholas de Clemangis, "Disputatio super materia Concilii Generalis," and is printed in the "Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum," fol. 201, whence Foxe no doubt took it.

Page 416, line 30. "*The space, already, of thirty-six years.*"]—Foxe says, "The space, as I said, of twenty-nine years," and refers to the passage at p. 17 of this volume; where, however, all the editions read correctly "xxxix:" see also p. 778 of vol. iii. Cochlæus (whom Foxe seems still to have before him, p. 68) says, that the schism already "xxx annis pias fidelium mentes male vexaverat," when the council of Pisa was called to put an end to it: the council of Constance came six years later, whence the emendation of Foxe's text.

Page 416, line 38. "*Three years and five months*"—is put in for Foxe's "four years:" the council opened Nov. 16th, 1414, and ended April 22d, 1418.

Page 416, line 43.]—It is a mistake of Foxe to represent the *same* four presidents as acting during the whole council: the list here given will be found in Labbe's Concilia, tom. xii. col. 61, as presiding over the tenth session.

Page 416, note (2).]—The edition of 1563, p. 183, reads 3940, and "Philip and Cheiny," &c. This last expression seems a satirical allusion to the motley assemblage represented as having resorted to the council; see p. 423, and the note thereon in this Appendix. The phrase is used by Becon (vol. iii. p. 276, Parker Society Ed.):—

"They pray for Philippe and Chenye
More than a good meany [sort]."

The phrase seems equivalent to "Tag, Rag, and Bobtail:" Philip was a pet name for a sparrow, and Cheiny, perhaps, for a dog. See Nares's Glossary.

Page 418, line 6.]—Foxe reads "four years:" see the note on p. 416, line 38.

Page 418, note (1).]—A similar recapitulation by Binius is printed in Labbe's Concilia, xii. cols. 289—294, with the dates of the different sessions: some very important corrections are thence made in Foxe's text.

Page 419, note (1).]—A very large collection of documents relative to the Council of Constance was made by Hermann Von Der Hardt, professor of Oriental Languages at Helmstadt, and printed at Frankfort, 1697, 6 tom. in 3 vols. fol., intituled "Historia Œcumenici Concilii Constantiensis, de Universali Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ Reformatione:" several useful hints are introduced from Hardt's work in the ensuing notes. The Decree referred to in the note is in Hardt, tom. iii. p. 522, and Labbe xii. sess. 19:—"Præsens sancta synodus ex quovis salvoconductu per imperatorem, reges, et alios sæculi principes, hæreticis vel de hæresi diffamatis, putantes eosdem sic à suis erroribus revocare (quocunque vinculo se adstrinxerint), concesso nullum fidei catholicæ vel jurisdictioni ecclesiasticæ præjudicium generari vel impedimentum præstari posse seu debere declarat; quò minùs (dicto salvoconductu non obstante) liceat judici competenti ecclesiastico de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere et aliàs contra eos debitè procedere, eosdemque punire quantum justitia suadebit, si suos errores revocare pertinaciter recusaverint, etiamsi de salvoconductu confisi ad locum venerint judicii (aliàs non venturi), [Lips. et Goth. add] nec sic promittentem, cùm aliàs fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum."

Page 419, note (2).]—See Labbe xii. col. 273.

Page 420. "*The twenty-fifth session.*"—John bishop of Lithomyssel was put in commendam of the diocese of Olmutz, vacant by the death of Wences-

laus, patriarch of Antioch, till the appointment of a new pope. This Wenceslaus is mentioned by Huss at p. 445.

Page 422, line 11. "*These things thus prepared,*" &c.]—This paragraph is very inaccurate as it stands in Foxe: it is corrected from Labbe's Concilia, xii. cols. 251, 252. The emperor is said to have walked "in magno-luto." (MS. Vindobonense, cited by Von der Hardt, tom. iii. p. 1490.)

Page 422, line 3 from the bottom. "*John, bishop of Catania.*"]—In Von der Hardt this person is called "Johannes de Podiomiris, Episcopus Cathamensis, frater ordinis Prædicatorum, sacræ theologiæ professor."

Page 423, note (2).]—The account in the text of the motley assemblage at the council of Constance will be found in the Paralipomena Urspergensis Chronici, p. 291. Cochlæus, p. 69, says that there were 30,000 horses at Constance at one time, 4 patriarchs, 29 cardinals, 47 archbishops, 160 bishops, and a vast number of abbots, priors, and clergy; besides secular princes in crowds.

Page 423, note (3).]—From this place to p. 530 Foxe follows the "Historia et Monumenta Johannis Huss," &c.

Page 424, note (1).]—This safe-conduct is so often referred to, that a copy of the original is given: it may be well to mention, that in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. v. pp. 352, 392, will be found two papal bulls, directing that faith was not to be kept with heretics, dated A.D. 1378, 3 and 4 Rich. II.

The following is the Latin safe-conduct given to Huss:—"Sigismundus Dei gratia Romanorum Rex, semper Augustus, et Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, &c. Rex, universis et singulis Principibus ecclesiasticis et secularibus, Ducibus et Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus, Proceribus, Militaribus, Militibus, Clientibus, Capitaneis, Potestatibus, Gubernatoribus, Præsidibus, Publicanis, Officialibus quibuscunque Civitatum, Oppidorum, villarum, et locorum communitatibus, ac Rectoribus eorundem, cæterisque nostris et sacri Imperii subditis et fidelibus, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, gratiam Regiam et omne bonum.

"Venerabiles, Illustres, nobiles et fideles dilecti, honorabilem Magistrum Joannem Hus, Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaureum et Artium Magistrum, præsentium ostensorem, de regno Bohemiæ ad Concilium generale in civitate Constantiensi celebrandum in proximo transeuntem, quem etiam in nostram et sacri Imperii protectionem recepimus et tutelam, vobis omnibus et vestrum cuilibet pleno recommendamus affectu; desiderantes quatenus ipsum, cum ad vos pervenerit, grate suscipere, favorabiliter tractare, atque in his quæ ad celeritatem et securitatem itineris ipsius pertinent, tam per terram, quàm per aquam, promotivam sibi velitis et debeatis ostendere voluntatem, nec non ipsum cum famulis, equis, et aliis rebus suis singulis, per quoscunque passus, portus, ponteis, terras, dominia, jurisdictiones, civitates, oppida, castra, villas, et quælibet alia loca vestra, sine ulla solutione tributi, telonii, aut alio quovis solutionis onere, omnique prorsus impedimento remoto, transire, stare, morari, et redire libere permittatis, sibique et suis, cum opus fuerit, de securo et salvo velitis et debeatis providere conductu, ad honorem et reverentiam nostræ Majestatis. Datum Spiræ, anno Domini M.CCCCXIV. die Octobris 18, Regnorum nostrorum Anno Hungariæ, &c. 33, Romanorum verò Quinto.

"*Ad mandatum Domini Regis, Michael de Pacest, Canonicus Uratislaviensis.*"

Page 426, line 32.]—"Fama hujusmodi"—"Sine meâ culpâ," Latin.

Page 427, line 9. "*Approved.*"]—"Comprobavit," Latin; *i. e.* "certified."

Page 427, line 33.]—"Quæ sunt in eo," Latin.

Page 427, line 11 from the bottom.]—The corrections of names and dates in this paragraph and in the ensuing document are derived from the "Hist. et Mon." tom. i. fol. 4.

Page 428, line 5.]—"Baccalaurei formati in sacrâ theologiâ," Latin.

Page 430, line 6. "*The public Procuration.*"]—See Hist. et Mon. fol. 3, 4; where it is "procuratione" in the original; but this is an evident mistake for "congregatione," which occurs a few lines below in the instrument. It is

called "convocation," next page, in the "letter which Huss fixed on the public places of the cities on his way to Constance:" the Latin there is "conventu," which would be better rendered by "congregation."

Page 431, top.]—The list of names is revised from the original, in "Hist. et Mon."

Page 431, last paragraph. "*In all cities as he passed by,*" &c.]—"In omnibus itaque civitatibus, maxime verò cum in Germaniam venisset, ingens ad eum multitudo confluxit. Ab ipsis verò hospitibus per omneis Germaniæ civitates, à civibus, et nonnunquam ab ipsis etiam Parochis summa humanitate et liberalitate acceptus est, adeò ut ipse Joannes Hus in quadam epistola fateatur, se nusquam majores inimicitias quàm in Bohemia expertum esse." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 4.)

Page 432, note (4). "*The mines of gold in Gilowy, which were perished and lost.*"]—Foxe says "Gilory," following the Latin, which says, "Aurifodinæ in Giloroy, quæ perierant." Busching, however, in his Geography, iv. p. 80, says: "Gilowey, Eylau, Eule, or Gilovia, a royal mine-town, near which gold was formerly dug, in the circle of Kaurzim, Bohemia."

Page 432, line 11. "*The twentieth day after,*" &c.]—Cochlæus (Hist. lib. ii. p. 84) says that Huss left Prague the Thursday before St. Gall's Day (which feast was October 16th, and fell on a Tuesday in 1414); and that he arrived at Constance the Saturday after the feast of All Saints (which feast was November 1, and fell on a Thursday, in 1414); and that he lodged "in Platea S. Pauli:" all this agrees with Foxe's text, except the place of residence.

Page 432, line 31. "*Who was the first and bitterest accuser of the said John Huss.*"]—"Michaele de Causis, primo Joannis Hus et acerrimo accusatore." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 4.) Foxe merely says: "Who had before falsely accused and blamed the said John Huss."

Page 432, note (2).—"Ex apostematis dolore mortuus est." (Hist. et Mon.)

Page 433, line 29. "*The borough-master of the town of Constance,*" &c.]—"Cum consule Constantiensi Henrico de Ulm, et quodam nobili viro," Von der Hardt, iii. p. 22; who also, at p. 11, mentions Fredericus Grafeneck as bishop of Augsburg.

Page 435, line 16.]—"Didacus" is the Latin for the Spanish name "Diego."

Page 435, line 33. "*Provost of the Roman court.*"]—He is called by Hardt, tom. iii. p. 22, "Episcopus Lausanensis Cameræ Apostolicæ regens."

Page 436, line 2. "*After this, the said John Huss,*" &c.]—"Qui postea in Cantoris Constantiensis Ecclesiæ domum ductus, per satellites in octavum usque diem ibi sub custodia fuit, inde in monasterium Prædicatorum ad Rhenum perductus, et carceri ejus monasterii, ipsi latrinæ proximo, mandatus est." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 5.) "Jacobites" was one term for the Preaching or Dominican friars: friar Wideford (Gratius's "Fasciculus," fol. 133) says: "Fratres Prædicatores non dicebantur Jacobitæ in principio sed posterius valde casualiter: quia Parisiis morabantur juxta portam Sancti Jacobi." But Matth. Westm., sub anno 1198, speaking of Innocent III., says: "Ejus favore exortum est in Italia novum genus ordinis Prædicatorum qui Jacobitæ voluerunt appellari, quia vitam apostolicam videbantur imitari."

Page 436, line 4.]—Von der Hardt says (iii. p. 22), that Huss was taken to the house of the præcentor of Constance November 28th: he also, at p. 32, gives a letter of the Bohemians to the Council, reproaching them for the first imprisonment of Huss; he adds, that Paletz made a handle of this letter for getting Huss removed to worse and severer confinement in the Dominican monastery, January 3d, 1415. Hardt adds, at p. 33, another letter of the Bohemian lords, in consequence of this removal. Either Foxe and his author are wrong as to the "8 *days*," or they omit the first prison.

Page 436, line 15. "*These articles here under written.*"]—The original is in Hist. et Mon. fol. 6, whence considerable improvements have been introduced into Foxe's translation.

Page 438, last line.]—"Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, Episcopus Castellæ, et Episcopus à Libuss." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 7.) Lebus is mentioned

supra, vol. ii. pp. 488, 492. Darcher, in his list of those present at the council of Constance, includes "Johannes episcopus de Lebus in Marchia." The bishop of Castel-a-Mare was "Marinus de Sancta Agatha, canon de Ferma;" he was bishop A.D. 1402—1421 (Richard and Giraud, Bibliothèque Sacrée). In Von der Hardt (tom. iii. p. 33) we read, that on Friday, January 4th, 1415, a general congregation was held, where John Dominici, cardinal of Ragusa, and John, patriarch of Constantinople, were admitted to the council as ambassadors of pope Gregory XII.; p. 37, we read at January 22 of Dominus Johannes Electus Constantinopolitanus. It is curious that Hardt, at tom. iv. p. 1474, mentions John as Pat. Const.; but at the election of Martin V. (p. 1479) names Francis Lando, Venetus, as patriarch of Constantinople. Moreri says Lando was patriarch of Grado, and afterwards of Constantinople.

Page 439, line 25.]—Foxe does not mention the removal of Huss to this third prison; but Von der Hardt says he was removed from the Dominican to the Franciscan convent "Dominica Oculi," *i. e.* the third Sunday in Lent, March 3d, 1415. Nicolas's Tables show that Palm Sunday in 1415 fell on March 24th, and Von der Hardt shows that John XXIII. fled March 21st.

Page 439, line 18 from the bottom. "*Abominable forfeits.*"]—Chaucer, Gower, and the early writers generally, use the verb *to forfeit* in its primary sense of committing a transgression: in French, *forfaire* has the same signification. See Mr. Way's note in Promp. Parv. 172.

Page 439, line 12 from the bottom.]—Darcher's list gives "Marchio Comes Otto de Hochberg," and Gallia Christiana "Otho de Hochber et Rottel," as bishop of Constance from 1411 to about 1433.

Page 440, line 4. "*The deputies of the four nations,*" &c.]—"Quatuor nationum, . . . deputatis." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 7.)

Page 440, line 30.]—For "1409," Foxe has "1410;" wherein, however, he follows his author; for the "Hist. et Mon." reads "MCCCC.X," where an I has clearly dropped out before X; the council of Pisa sat March 25th—August 7th, 1409. (Nicolas.)

Page 441, line 21.]—"John of Prague" was bishop of Lythomysl in Moravia.

Page 441, lines 27, 31. "*The sixteenth day of May.*"]—Foxe says "the seventeenth." Whitsunday, 1415, fell on May 19th; and the fourth day before would be May 16th, which was Thursday, and the reply of the Bohemian lords made on Saturday 'pridie Pent.' (p. 442) is said to be *two days* after *this* meeting, and refers to *this* as held on *Thursday*. Foxe has, however, followed his copy in his false date; for Von der Hardt, iii. p. 188 and 208, has several times to correct this error in Crispin, Theobald, and some very old writers whom he cites.

Page 441, last paragraph.]—From hence to p. 449 Foxe's translations of the documents have been considerably corrected from the original Latin in "Historia et Monumenta Joh. Huss," &c.

Page 444, line 13. "*The rival popes.*"]—"Colludentes de papatu" (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 9), meaning Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., who were declared schismatics, heretics, and perjurers, by the council of Pisa, June 5th, 1409, and deposed. (See Nicolas's Chron. of History.)

Page 448, last line but two.]—One John Vitalis was patriarch of Antioch.

Page 450, line 4. "*The fifth day of June.*"]—This day Huss was brought up from the prison at Gottlieben, and lodged again for his last month in the Franciscan convent. (Hardt, tom. iii. p. 306.)

Page 451, line 15. "*Through their advice,*" &c.]—This and the following sentences are corrected from the Latin original, which says:—"Ex istorum itaque consilio senatus dimissus, et judicium in perendianum diem iterum est constitutum. Eo igitur die, qui erat septimus Junii, horam circiter septimam, cum paulò ante totalis penè Solis Eclypsis visa esset, iterum in refectorium fratrum minorum iidem qui antea convenerunt, et Joannem Hus magna turba armatorum militum cinctum coram eis sisti mandarunt." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. xii.) The table of eclipses in L'Art de Vér. des Dates states this eclipse to have happened at 7 A.M. June 7th, A.D. 1415.

Page 451, line 6 from the bottom. "*The cardinal of Cambray*"]—was Peter d'Ailly, formerly bishop of Cambray, created presbyter-cardinal of St. Chrysogon by John XXIII. in 1411; he died in 1425. (Moreri's Dict. v. Cardinal.)

Page 451, line 4 from the bottom. "*Do you prove*," &c.]—See Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 12.

Page 453, line 4. "*The cardinal of Florence*"]—was Francesco Zabarella, a Paduan, archbishop of Florence, created presbyter-cardinal of St. Cosmo and St. Damian by John XXIII.; he died in 1417. (Moreri's Dict. v. Cardinal.)

Page 453, line 23. "*Then said the cardinal again unto him.*"]—This would imply the cardinal of Florence: the Latin (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 13) says "Tum cardinalis;" and the margin adds "Cameracen."

Page 453, line 31. "*Hath craftily and deceitfully drawn*," &c.]—"Eumque insidiose articulos quosdam ex libris tuis, qui post proferentur, excerpsisse." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 13.)

Page 453, line 6 from the bottom. "*Did withstand*," &c.]—"Restitisse condemnationi articulorum Wicleff, quæ primum in Romano concilio facta est." (Hist et Mon. tom. i. fol. 13.)

Page 454, line 6. "*This article*," said Huss, "*I have thus limited*," &c.]—"Hunc articulum, inquit, limitavi, ita ut dicerem, eum indigne consecrare et baptizare, quia tunc, cum est in peccato mortali, sit indignus minister sacramentorum Dei," &c. (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 13.)

Page 454, line 25. "*An archbishop of England.*"]—As neither Canterbury nor York was there, this, most probably, was the bishop of Salisbury, who is mentioned perpetually in Von der Hardt's vol. iii. and iv., and always as "archiepiscopus Salisburiensis." Thus his arrival at the council is announced, vol. iii. January 31, and his death toward the end of the council, tom. iv. See the note in this Appendix on p. 515, line 6 from the bottom.

Page 456, line 11 from the bottom. "*Neither take part*," &c.]—"Ut neque Gregorio Romano pontifici adhæreret, neque Benedicto XII., Avincensi pontifici, qui etiam papæ titulum habebat, ut in Chronicis videre licet." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 14.)

Page 456, line 5 from the bottom. "*Saint Wenceslaus.*"]—"Divi Wenceslai," Latin; "the lord Wenceslaus," Foxe.

Page 457, line 2.]—In Darcher's list we have among the auditors of the Rota, "Nicholas Naso, decretorum doctor."

Page 457, line 20. "*Deprived of part*," &c.]—"Ibi Germani indignè ferentes se parte suffragiorum, quæ tria habuerant, fraudatos esse." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 14.)

Page 457, line 28. "*Dean of the faculty of arts.*"]—"Deacon of the faculties," Foxe; "Albertus Warentrapius, qui tum erat decanus facultatis artium." (Hist. et Mon. i. fol. 14.)

Page 458, line 10. "*Rigensis.*"]—This person is called by Von der Hardt "Johannes à Wallenrod" (vol. iii. p. 23), and by Darcher, in his list of prelates at the council, "Johannes Waldrod."

Page 459, line 14. "*Unto whom John Huss*," &c.]—"Ad quem Joannes Hus: Primum, inquit, Clementiæ tuæ, rex serenissime, de literis publicæ fidei ago gratias immortales. Atque hic interpellatus cum non excusaret se de crimine pertinaciæ, admonitus à domino Joanne de Chlum." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 15.)

Page 464, note (1).]—Foxe erroneously says, "this *bishop* of Cambray." The *cardinal* of Cambray, Peter d'Ailly, resigned his *bishopric* when he became cardinal; and we find, accordingly, in Darcher's list of the prelates at the council (in Von der Hardt), "*Johannes Lidberkken*, episcopus Cameracensis in Francia."

Page 466, line 39. "*The audience;*"]—*i. e.* some of Huss's hearers at his public lectures and sermons. In explanation of this it is to be observed, that Cochlæus (Hist. Hussit. p. 116) states, that Vitalis Valentini, bishop of Toulon, in Provence, and Alan, bishop of Leon, in France, were sent to Prague by the Fathers of the Council, to collect evidence against John Huss on the spot, from those who had heard his lectures and sermons.

Page 472, middle. "*In the time of Agnes . . . lived*"]—"without a head" is added from the Latin, and as needed for the argument. By "Agnes," is intended Pope Joan. See Huss's own treatise *De Ecclesia*, cap. 7; and L'Enfant's *Hist. de la Popesse Jeane*, tom. i. 288, Edit. 1758.

Page 477. lines 1, 11.]—Foxe, misled by the Latin (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 22), reads "Canonicals" for "Canticles."

Page 480, line 2.]—Huss, in his "De ecclesia" cap. 21, observes, that eight circumstances were held to be necessary to make an action virtuous, which were comprised in this verse:—

"Quis, quid, ubi, quantum, quot, cur, quomodo, quando;"

where for "cur" we should, probably, read "quare." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i fol. 246.)

Page 483, line 12. "*Whereas I was not even present.*"]—It is remarkable that Foxe omits this clause, though the original is quite distinct; "Cum ego ne adfuerim quidem." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 24.) See the note on p. 410, note (1).

Page 483, line 24. "*In those three laymen.*"]—"In illis tribus laicis." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 25.) Foxe erroneously reads "two."

Page 483, line 38. "*The copy of à certain epistle*"]—This testimonial is given in Wilkins (vol. iii. p. 302), dated "Oxonii, in domo nostræ congregationis, quinto die mensis Octobris 1406:" ex MS. Cotton. Faust. c. 7. See the translation of it by Foxe, sup. pp. 57, 58, and a note upon it.

Page 483, note (2).]—In the passage in question Huss is expounding Daniel xi. 31—33, and applies it thus: "Illius textûs intelligentiam exponit facti experientia, quia docti per gratiam Dei simplices laici et sacerdotes docent plurimos vitæ bonæ exemplo, et contradicentes publice Antichristi mendaci verbo ruunt in gladio. Ut patet de laicis, Joanne, Martino et Stascone, qui contradicentes Antichristi discipulis mendacibus in gladio corruerunt." (Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 245.) See the note suprà, on p. 410, line 28.

Page 486, line 12. "*The bishop of Lodi.*"]—The same person as is mentioned at p. 419. Foxe here calls his title "Londe;" Cochlæus says, "episcopus Londoniensis:" L'Enfant, in his History of the council of Constance, calls him the bishop of "London." The bishop of London at this time was Richard Clifford, whom Godwin (de Præs.), on L'Enfant's authority, states to have been at Constance, and to have preached before the emperor and council. The above statement, however, does not seem correct; for in the recapitulation of the acts of the council (suprà, p. 419), which is given by Labbe, vol. xii. col. 289, he is distinctly called "Jacobus Laudensis episcopus," *i.e.* of Lodi. The historical narrative near the end of "Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss," &c. fol. 345, says that the surname of this bishop of Lodi was Monachus, or Monk. See the note on p. 523.

Page 489, line 23. "*Quòd sit quarta persona Divinitatis futurus.*"]—(Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 27.) Milner takes this to mean, that Huss thought "he himself should become a fourth person in the Deity."

Page 491, line 4 from the bottom.]—The "seven bishops" were, the archbishop of Milan, and the bishops of Feltri, Asti, Alexandria, Bangor, and Lavaur (Cochlæus, p. 111); and a Leipsic MS. adds, the two suffragans of the bishops of Constance and Bangor. (Hardt, tom. iii. p. 437.)

Page 495, line 14.]—Concerning John Przibram, see Cochlæus, lib. ii. pp. 74, 75; whence it appears as if this account of Huss were taken out of the treatise of Przibram "De non remanentia panis, contra Wiclevistas."

Page 501, note (1).]—Von der Hardt interprets "supreme cardinal" to mean the bishop of Ostia, who presided (iii. p. 307).

Page 511, line 5 from the bottom. "*The tragical . . . history of . . . Master Jerome of Prague.*"]—The ensuing narrative Foxe has derived from the same work as that which furnished the account of John Huss: "Johannis Huss et Hieronymi Pragensis, confessorum Christi, Historia et Monumenta: Noribergæ, 1558." Two accounts of Jerome are given in this work, the first at tom. ii. fol. 349, and another at folio 354. Foxe has chiefly made use of the first of

these accounts; some corrections of the text, and additional notices of events, have been derived from thence by the Editor.

Page 511, last line but one.]—This preamble from the edition of 1563 is a translation of the first Latin account, Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 349.

Page 512, line 19. "*The memory of this most worthy man may, by favour of the author of truth,*" &c.]—"Acta ipsius Magistri Hieronymi decrevi . . . in unum redigere, pro ipsius venerandi magistri vivaci memoria, veritatis authore et ejus confessorum præmiatore donante" (Latin). Foxe's text absurdly says, "That the memory of this most worthy man, being the author of truth, may hereafter be the more famously celebrate and remembered."

Page 512, line 31. "*On the fourth day of April.*"]—Cochlæus (Hist. p. 71) says, on the authority of Ulricus Reichental, a professed eye-witness, that Jerome came to Constance "feria secunda post festum Paschæ," *i. e.* Monday, April 1st: but both accounts in "Hist. et Mon." say, that it was on the feast of St. Ambrose, and the first adds "feria quinta [*i. e.* Thursday], quarta die Aprilis."

Page 513, line 4. "*The intimation,*" &c.]—This is given in Von der Hardt, under Session 5, dated April 7th, A.D. 1415.

Page 513, line 16 from the bottom. "*Jerome returned again into Bohemia.*"]—Von der Hardt (tom. iii. p. 103) states, that Jerome adopted the resolution of returning on Tuesday, April 9th; and (at p. 685) he gives a copy of the Testimonial of the Bohemian nobles, dated "feria tertia post octavas Paschæ, A.D. 1415," *i. e.* Tuesday, April 9th.

Page 514, line 20 from the bottom. "*Sent Master Jerome bound unto the Council.*"]—Foxe reads "brought;" but the Latin (folio 350) has "destinavit" and "misit" (folio 355). See also the context. Jerome reached Constance again May 23d. (Von der Hardt, iii. p. 481.)

Page 514, last line.]—Von der Hardt states, that what follows occurred in the 17th Session, Friday, July 19th. (iii. p. 481.)

Page 514, note (1).]—This "duke John, son of Clement" (as he is called in both the accounts in "Hist. et Mon.") is by Cochlæus (p. 71) called "Præfectus Vici." Foxe a few lines later calls him brother to duke Louis, who is called by his authority "alter filius Clementis." (Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 355.)

Page 515, line 28. "*The master of the university of Cologne.*"]—The second account says merely "Magister Coloniensis, nescio quis." (Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 355.)

Page 515, line 6 from the bottom. "*The archbishop of Saltzburg.*"]—We should probably read "*Salisbury;*" for the first account (folio 350) says, "archiepiscopus Salisburgensis;" and the second (folio 355) says, "archiepiscopus Angliæ:" this confirms, and is confirmed by, the conjecture thrown out in the note on p. 454, line 25.

Page 516, line 3. "*Looking in at a window of the refectory.*"]—"Circa fenestram refectorii foris dixit." ("Hist. et Mon." tom. ii. fol. 350.) The "refectorium fratrum minorum in Constantia" had been previously mentioned as the place where the council assembled to see Jerome on his return to Constance, and where the foregoing proceedings had been going on: he is stated to have been hitherto lodging with the duke Louis "filius Clementis." (Lat. fol. 355.) This Hussite came to the window of the refectory, while Jerome was waiting after the proceedings were over "ut de vespere in captivitatem ducatur."

Page 516, line 13 from the bottom. "*Then Master Peter asked,*" &c.]—"Et Petrus rogabat, quatenus eidem [*i. e.* Hieronymo] cibaria permittant dari, quia copiam illorum M. Hieronymo vellet procurare." (Latin, folio 351.)

Page 516, line 3 from the bottom. "*About the feast of Mary the Virgin.*"]—That feast was Sept. 8th, and Jerome was brought forward both on the 8th and the 11th of September. (Von der Hardt.)

Page 517, line 1. "*They forced him to abjure.*"]—According to Von der Hardt (iii. pp. 497, 499) Jerome recanted twice: first, Sept. 11th; secondly,

on Monday, Sept. 23d. He says that the abjuration presently given by Foxe was the second, and contains in its last paragraph but one a reference to the first abjuration.

Page 517, line 9. "*The forced abjuration,*" &c.]—This is printed in Labbe's Concilia, xii. col. 164.

Page 517, line 32. "*And I, the said Jerome,*" &c.]—Two or three changes in this paragraph are made on the authority of the Latin account.

Page 518, line 8 from the bottom. "*The cardinal de Ursinis.*"]—Jourdain des Ursins, a Roman, archbishop of Naples, presbyter-cardinal of St. Martin of the Mountains, bishop of Albano and Sabine, grand penitentiary of the Roman church, and legate in Spain, France, Hungary, Bohemia, and to the Council of Basil; created cardinal by Innocent VII. in 1405, died 1439. (Moreri's Dict. v. Cardinal.)

Page 519, line 12. "*The patriarch of Constantinople and a German doctor.*"]—"Johannes patriarcha Constantinop. et venerabilis vir, Nicholaus de Dinckelsphuel, doctor in sacrâ paginâ," had been previously appointed at a general session "commissarii in re fidei" to examine into Jerome's cause; and on Monday, April 27th, A.D. 1416, produced their articles against him, and were directed to communicate them to him in prison. (Von der Hardt, iii. p. 751.)

Page 519, line 15.]—The connexion between the patriarch of Constantinople and Huss may be seen suprà, pp. 438, 460.

Page 519, line 22. "*The twenty-third day of May.*"]—Foxe says "twenty-fifth," following the Latin "die xxv. mensis Maii" (fol. 352): it is plain, however, from Nicolas's Tables that Saturday fell on the 23d May, in 1416: see also Von der Hardt, tom. iii. p. 748. See the note next following this.

Page 519, line 12 from the bottom. "*The Tuesday after.*"]—Foxe says "the third day after," mis-translating "*feriam tertiam* ante Ascensionem Domini, post dictum Sabbathum immediate sequentem." This incidentally proves that the Saturday preceding was the 23d of May (see the last note); for, by Nicolas's Tables, Ascension day in 1416 fell on May 28th.

Page 519, last line but one. "*As when one of them had demanded,*" &c.]—Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 356.

Page 520, line 17. "*Another then was,*" &c.]—From hence to "inhumanity towards him" (p. 522) is taken by Foxe from the letter of Poggius to Aretin. (Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 358.)

Page 520, line 18 from the bottom. "*Socrates, Boethius, Maro, Seneca, Plato; et multi alii.*"]—(Von der Hardt, p. 758.)

Page 522, line 12 from the bottom. "*Their inhumanity towards him.*"]—"Adversus se inhumanitatem" (Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 358), which Foxe's text uncouthly renders "their unkind humanity towards him."

Page 522, line 11 from the bottom. "*When he had spoken these,*" &c.]—(Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 352.)

Page 522, line 5 from the bottom. "*The Saturday next after the Ascension day.*"]—"Sabbatho autem post Ascensionem Domini" (Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 352); Foxe says, "The Saturday next *before* the Ascension day," in which he is borne out by the other Latin account, "Tandem die Saturni *ante* ferias Ascensionis" (Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 356); but this is wrong: see Von der Hardt, tom. iii. p. 768. Ascension day fell on May 28th, and Jerome was martyred "3 Cal. Junias," *i.e.* May 30th (see the letter of Poggius to Aretin. Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 359).

Page 523, line 16. "*The bishop of Lodi.*"]—The same person as preached at Huss's condemnation: he is rightly called "Laudensis episcopus" (Hist. et Mon. tom. ii. fol. 352), but incorrectly "Lugdunensis," at fol. 356: he is termed "Jacobus episcopus Laudensis" by Cochlæus (p. 132), who gives the sermon itself. See the note, suprà, on p. 486.

Page 530, line 11 from the bottom. "*Twenty-nine years.*"]—Foxe says, "twenty-five:" see note on p. 404.

Page 531, note.]—This history of Claydon is in Wilkins's Concilia, iii. pp. 371—375. Thomas Fauconer is there mentioned as the mayor of London at the time.

Page 532, line 22. "*David Beard*," &c.]—are mentioned in Wilkins as three of Claydon's servants.

Page 532, line 27.]—"Quo die Lunæ, videlicet decimo nono die dicti mensis" (Wilkins). Foxe wrongly calls it "the twentieth."

Page 536, line 7.]—In Wilkins, iii. 377, is an account of a convocation which met April 1st, 1416, and was afterward adjourned to November 9th; and on November 23d, John Barton, who had been defamed of heresy, "juramento se purgavit."

Page 537, line 15 from the bottom.]—The submission of William James is given in Wilkins, iii. p. 397, and stated to have been made on Palm Sunday, "ultimo die Martii, 1420, indictione decima tertia, pontif. Martini tertio."

Page 537, line 8 from the bottom.]—The process against Jourdelay and Dertford is in Wilkins, iii. p. 493, "die Jovis, 15 Julii, 1428."

Page 538, line 6. "*At the same sitting . . . Master Robert.*"]—See Wilkins, iii. p. 493, July 20th.

Page 538, line 16. "*Richard, bishop of Lincoln.*"]—This was Richard Fleming, bishop from May 24th, A.D. 1420, to January 25th, A.D. 1430. (Richardson's Godwin.)

Page 538, line 18. "*William Hervey.*"]—Foxe miscalls him "William Henry." His appearance on Wednesday, July 21st, 1420, and of "Johannes Calle" with him, is mentioned in Wilkins, iii. p. 494.

Page 538, line 30. "*One Radulph Mungin.*"]—Wilkins introduces Radulphus Mungyn, tom. iii. p. 497, November 26th, 1428: he is again examined Die Jovis, December 2d; again next day, December 3d. In the course of this last day's examination it appears that he was a friend of Monk, Cornmonger, Hooper, Garenter, and one Shadworth. December 4th, the proceedings against him are reviewed, from whence it seems that he was first cited before a court which sat at St. Michael Bassishaw, July 27th, 1428, and next day at St. Paul's chapter-house, when he refused to own himself a heretic, and was committed to prison till he was produced again November 26th, four months after. On this December 4th he was once more offered to abjure, but refused, and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. He is now introduced November 26th.

Page 538, line 36.]—The convocation at which the application was first made for these subsidies, met July 5th: the pope's nuncio was named Conzo de Zwola: the subject was renewed in November. (See Wilkins) Meanwhile Mungin had spoken against them, and was summoned July 27th, as above stated.

Page 538, line 41. "*Peter Clerk*"]—is the same person who is before in this volume called "Peter Paine" (see p. 97). For his disputation at the council of Basil, see pp. 577, 679, of this volume.

Page 538, line 44.]—The process against William Russel is in Wilkins, iii. pp. 438—459; it began on Tuesday, May 15th, 1425, and closed March 21st, 1427.

Page 538, last line but one.]—This appearance of Mungin was on Dec. 2d.

Page 539, line 1.]—Mungin positively denied that he held this or the next article.

Page 539, line 10. "*Moreover*," &c.]—This was Mungin's appearance on December 3d. (Wilkins, iii. pp. 408—500.)

Page 539, line 17.]—This was the next day, Saturday, December 4th. (Wilkins, iii. pp. 500—502.)

Page 539, line 21. "*The next sitting . . . divers and sundry times afterwards*," &c.]—Foxe has quite mistaken the drift of the Register, which here introduces a *review* of all the *previous* examinations of Mungin from July 27th, and then adds *one more* for *this present* day (December 4th), which was his final appearance.

Page 539, line 29.]—The bishop of Rochester, in 1428, was John Langdon.

Page 539, line 9 from the bottom. "*I held no scripture catholic or holy, but only what is contained in the Bible.*"]—The Rev. Dr. Maitland, in his volume on the "Dark Ages," observes, that the term "Scripturæ," and even "Sacræ Scripturæ," was applied to all kinds of religious compositions, and whatever was read in churches. See another example of this use of the term in p. 672 (see the note in this Appendix): also in the life of Cardinal Wolsey (Wordsworth's Eccl. Biogr. vol. i. p. 619, Ed. 1839), "And at the last he fetched a great sighe, and saide this texte of scripture in this wise, 'O Constantia Martyrum laudabilis!' &c." which Dr. Wordsworth supposes to be part of some ecclesiastical hymn.

Page 540, line 31.]—These two recantations of Monk and Frith are given in Wilkins, vol. iii. pp. 502, 503.

Page 545. "*Articles decreed in the Council of Constance*," &c.]—Foxe's translation of the ensuing Articles has been revised from the Latin in Cochlæus (Hist. Hussitarum, lib. iv. p. 165).

Page 546, line 14. "*Christianus de Prachatitz*" has been already mentioned in this History: he is mentioned in Cochlæus, lib. viii. p. 306, with his full titles, as canon of All Saints' church in Prague castle, and rector of the parish of St. Michael's in Greater Prague, and of the university of Prague.

Page 547.]—The first half of this page, as far as "the pope's horse by the bridle," has been, in some particulars, improved from Walsingham's History (pp. 442, 443), which contains most of what Foxe cites from the monk of St. Alban's: thus, at line 5, "six" is put in for Foxe's "five:" for Walsingham says: "Sex prelati vel aliæ honorabiles personæ ecclesiasticæ in sacris ordinibus constitutæ .... sex personæ, sicut superiùs est expressum:" then he mentions, as representatives of the English nation, four bishops and the abbot and the dean of York. Labbe, also (xii. col. 244), sess. 40, Sat. Oct. 30th, 1417, mentions *six* as the number.

Page 547, line 11 from the bottom. "*The pope beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemians.*"]—Cochlæus (p. 175) gives the letter, dated Constance, "8 Cal. April. pontif. nostri anno primo" [March 25th, A. D. 1418].

Page 548, line 4.]—The ensuing history of the religious war in Bohemia, as far as p. 557, is drawn from Æneas Sylvius's Historia Bohemica, cap. 36, &c. Foxe's text has been collated with the original, and thoroughly revised. This will account for many deviations from his text, which is full of inaccuracies. L'Enfant's "Histoire des Hussites et du Concile de Basle" has been consulted. The modern names of places have been sought out with much labour, chiefly through Martinière's and Busching's Geographies.

Page 548, line 13. "*The town of Glattau.*"]—Æneas Sylvius reads "nobile monasterium fratrum prædicatorum apud *Sclavoniam*, extra mœnia oppidi situm." Freherus, in his edition of Sylvius's Hist. Bohem. (Germ. Script. tom i.) puts in his margin conjecturally, *Glacoviam, Opatoviam;* but Opataw was distinguished for a Benedictine monastery. Glattau, Klatowy, or Klattau, in the circle of Pilsen, had a famous Dominican monastery (see Busching and Martinière), and *Glattovia* might, in MS., easily be taken for *Sclavonia*. Cochlæus (p. 172) quotes the words of Sylvius, without changing "*Sclavoniam.*" He afterwards (p. 197) mentions "*Slatovia*" as one of the towns of the Taborites, and probably means the same place, when he speaks, at p. 306, of "Augustinus de Slatonia:" where "G" in the MS. might easily have been mistaken by the printer for "S." Cochlæus adds the following reason why the Dominicans were the first objects of assault: "Fratres ordinis prædicatorum, qui per solidam Sti. Thomæ Aquinatis theologiam hæreticis acerrimè resistere solent, præ ceteris invisi erant Hussitis: cumque apud Sclavoniam (uti refert Æn. Sylvius) nobile haberent monasterium, extra mœnia oppidi situm, primum illi fecerunt in illud impetum."

Page 548, line 16. "*Under the conduct of Nicholas de Hussinetz.*"]—"Ductore Nicolao," Æn. Sylvius, cap. 36; who adds, that he was lord of the village which gave John Huss his birth and cognomen. He has been mentioned already as Huss's patron, p. 411.

Page 548, last line.]—Trosnovia or Trocksnow was near Borovania in the circle of Brechin. (L'Enfant, p. 100.)

Page 549, line 13.]—Coranda was a priest, who had joined the Hussites, and is mentioned before by Sylvius, cap. 36, as having been useful to Wenceslaus by his disposition to restrain the Hussites from rebellion and violence.

Page 549, line 21. "*Zenko de Wartenberg.*"]—Æneas Sylvius calls him "Cenko Wartenbergensis;" Dubravius "Vartembergus;" L'Enfant (p. 134), "Wartemberg." Cochlæus (p. 84) uses both forms; the modern maps read "Wartenberg;" it is in the circle of Bunzlau in Bohemia.

Page 550, line 17.]—Cochlæus says (p. 180), that Zencho betrayed the citadel of Prague soon after Easter [which was April 7th, in 1420], about the feast of St. George [April 23d].

Page 550, line 21.]—"Qui antiquam Prutenorum civitatem ordini jure pignoris obligasset, Brandeburgenses autem a coronâ Bohemicâ alienasset." (Æn. Syl.) See L'Art de Vér. des Dates, Hist. des Margraves de Brandenburg, articles Wenceslaus, Sigismund, Josse, Sigismund de Nouveau. "Pruteni" means the "New Mark," or the eastern part of Brandenburg, about the Oder.

Page 550, line 5 from the bottom.]—Æneas Sylvius (cap. 40) thus explains the appellation of Taborites: "Tanquam cum tribus Apostolis Salvatoris Christi transfigurationem in Monte vidissent, indeque suas opiniones mutuati essent, quas 'fidei veritates' appellant." [As if equal to the three Apostles on the Mount of Transfiguration.] But "Tabor," in Bohemian, means *a tent*.

Page 551, line 15.]—Voticz is between Tabor and Prague. (L'Enfant, p. 134.)

Page 551, line 28.]—"Nilco Crussina Litubergensis, et Nilco Valdesteinensis." (Æn. Sylv.) In Cochlæus, p. 201, we find in a list of Bohemian nobles Hyneck Crussina de Lichtenberg, and Nicolaus de Valstein.

Page 551, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Reguli Rosenses et Chrageri" (Æn. Sylv.): *i. e.* Rosenberg and Gradtzy. (L'Enfant, p. 142.)

Page 551, line 4 from the bottom.]—Wiclechon means the White Mountain. (Busching.)

Page 555, line 6.]—Cochlæus, p. 214, says: "Comites Kirchburgenses et Gleicenses."

Page 556, line 29. "*Brisau.*"]—Foxe, from Æneas Sylvius, reads "Priscovia;" but L'Enfant (p. 231) has "Przibislaw." Brisau is on the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia.

Page 561, Article I.]—This is divided into two by Foxe, improperly (see Labbe and Cherubini); and Articles V. VI. he makes one: he does the same by Articles XV. XVI. and by Articles XVII. XVIII., and by Articles XXVII. XXVIII.; and Article XXX. he wholly omits. The effect of all which is to reduce the number of Articles to XXVI.; whereas the text at p. 564, line 7, alludes to them as "the *thirty* Articles of John Huss above-written." The Articles of Huss were condemned by the council of Constance in the 15th Session, Saturday, July 6th, A.D. 1415. (Labbe, xii. col. 129.)

Page 561, note (1).]—In the original bull, the articles of Wickliff are inserted at full length: they are omitted here, as having been given before; but Foxe gives no notice whatever of them here, which makes the allusion at p. 564, line 7, unintelligible; the line, "The Articles of John Wickliff to be enquired upon," is therefore put in. The Articles of Wickliff were condemned by the council of Constance in the 8th Session, Saturday, May 4th, A.D. 1415. (Labbe, xii. col. 45.)

Page 564, note (1). "*Above-written.*"]—The articles of Wickliff are "above-written" in the Latin bull, as well as those of Huss: see the notes, suprà, on p. 561. The word "above-written" is not in Foxe, but is put in from the Latin.

Page 567, note (1).]—The last long sentence of the bull is re-translated from the original. The Constitutions of Boniface VIII. and "De duabus diætis" are also referred to in pope Innocent's bull suprà, vol. ii. p. 524 (see the

note there). The decree "De duabus diætis" runs thus: "Nonnulli, gratia sedis apostolicæ abutentes, literas ejus ad remotos judices impetrare nituntur, ut reus fatigatus laboribus et expensis liti cedere vel importunitatem actoris redimere compellatur. Cum autem per judicium injuriis aditus patere non debeat, quas juris observantia interdicit; statuimus ne quis ultra duas diætas extra suam diœcesim trahi possit, nisi de assensu partium literæ fuerint impetratæ, vel expressam de hâc constitutione fecerint mentionem."

Page 567, note (2).]—This bull of pope Martin is given in Labbe, tom. xii., and in Cherubini's Bullarium; also by Von der Hardt (tom. iv. p. 1518), who remarks, that it is to be found in many Roman Catholic MSS. with different prefaces, suited to the nations addressed. He gives the preface to that for England, addressed to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of London, Rochester, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Salisbury, Worcester, Hereford, Coventry, Lichfield, Norwich, Ely, St. David's, Asaph, Llandaff, Bangor, Durham, Carlisle, and Candida Casa, *i. e.* Galloway or Whithern. He says that it was first printed at the end of the first edition of the Acts of the Council, published at Haguenau in 1500.

Page 572, last line but one.]—Foxe here resumes his quotation of Æneas Sylvius's Historia Bohemica, and the same process of collation and correction has been pursued as before.

Page 573, line 15. "*They had amongst them many cars,*" &c.]—Æneas Sylvius here says that the Taborites—Carros quamplurimos habere, his pro vallo uti. Procedentes ad pugnam, dua ex his cornua facere, in medio peditatum claudere: alæ equitum extra munitiones prope adesse. Ubi congredi tempus visum, aurigæ qui cornua duxerunt, ad imperatoris signum, comprehensâ sensim qua voluerunt hostium parte, ordines quadrigarum contrahere: intercepti hostes, quibus sui subvenire non possent, partim gladio à peditatu, partim à missilibus ab his qui erant in carris, viris ac mulieribus necari."

Page 574, line 20. "*The Hanseatic towns.*"]—"Stagnales civitates." (Æn. Sylvius.) "The lower cities," Foxe.

Page 574, line 27. "*Meiss*" (in Bohemia).]—"Missam," Æn. Sylvius; who calls the *region* (some lines lower) "Misnam," showing that two different places are meant: Foxe, however, calls both "Misnia."

Page 575, line 10. "*Tœpl.*"]—One edition of Æn. Sylvius here reads "Thopam," another "Teplam;" Tœpl, being more in the line of march than Teplitz, has been put into the text.

Page 575, line 24. "*Earl of Vaudemont.*"]—"*Comes Videmontensis*" (Æn. Syl.), which Foxe renders "earl of Vandome." This dispute lay between René, brother-in-law to Charles the French king, and Anthony, earl of Vaudemont, about the succession to the vacant dukedom of Lorraine.

Page 576, line 9. "*Metus pudorem evicerat.*"]—(Æn. Sylvius.)

Page 576, line 21. "*Przibislau.*"]—Æn. Sylvius reads "Prærozovia," Foxe "Prezorabia:" the text is according to L'Enfant.

Page 576, line 23.]—"*Quingentas,*" Æn. Sylvius: "fifty towns," Foxe.

Page 576, line 30.]—Æn. Sylvius says, "Exactus legatus ex Bohemia Basileam se contulit, ibique concilium celebravit Sigismundus;" which Foxe's text absurdly renders, "Then was there an ambassage out of Bohemia unto Basil, where Sigismund held the council."

Page 577, line 12.]—A fuller account of this matter is given at pp. 678—680, where Nicolas Gallecus is called simply "a Taborite."

Page 577, line 13. "*Procopius, cognomen Rasus.*"]—He received this surname from his having formerly been a priest, and having taken the *tonsure*.

Page 577, last line but one. "*That she is the enclosed garden, and the sealed fountain.*"]—Alluding to Canticles iv. 12: "A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed."

Page 579, line 10. "*Bois de Vincennes.*"]—See the note on p. 405.

Page 581, line 10.]—The accession of Henry VI. was Sept. 1st, 1422; his coronation was at London, Nov. 6th, 1429, at Paris, Dec. 17th, 1430. (Rapin.)

Page 581, line 32.]—The account of William Tailor is printed from the Register in Wilkins's Concilia, iii. pp. 404—413; Foxe's narrative has been carefully collated with the Latin, and cleared of some inaccuracies.

Page 581, line 10 from the bottom. "*And thus the said William Tailor,*" &c.]—From hence to the end of this paragraph would come, according to Foxe's arrangement, in the centre of the short paragraph in next page, beginning, "Notwithstanding, on his showing signs of penitence," &c. But Wilkins (p. 404) places it all to the examination of Tailor, "A.D. M.CCCCXIX [*i. e.* 1420], Martini V. pontificatûs anno tertio." Feb. 12th, also, fell on a Monday in 1420, by Nicolas's Tables. The Register calls this Wednesday "14 dicti mensis Februarii," which fits the year 1420, by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 581, line 6 from the bottom. "*Armilausa* (*that is, his cloak*)."]—Foxe reads "arunlousa;" Wilkins (p. 405) "armilausa (Anglicè dictum, 'a cloak')." See Adelung's Glossarium Manuale, vol. i. p. 378 (Halæ, 1772), and Carpentier's Supplement to Ducange, in voc.

Page 582, line 4.]—The ensuing examination of Tailor is distinctly dated by the Register (Wilkins, p. 406) "A.D. M.CCCCXXI., Martini V. pontificatûs anno quarto."

Page 582, line 13 from the bottom. "*In the meantime,*" &c.]—Foxe adds, "while William Tailor was thus in the custody of the bishop of Worcester;" but the Register says, "sub custodia carcerali iterum arrestatus," which implies that he had been at large.

Page 582, line 6 from the bottom.]—Foxe says "this was A.D. 1422;" the Register, "die Jovis, 11 Februarii, A.D. 1422 indictione I., pontificatus anno sexto;" which proves the year to have been 1423, according to modern computation. The subsequent notes of time only suit 1423.

Page 583, line 14.]—Foxe has incorrectly attributed this remark upon St. Stephen to Tailor, though Tailor, in the Register, gives it to Augustin, "tertia parte Sermonum," or in Natali S. Stephani VI. (tom. v. edit. Benedict.); where it occurs among the "Sermones Supposititii," Append. Sermo. 215, col. 358.

Page 583, Article IV.]—This Article is not distinctly stated by Foxe, who merely says "it was much like to the other."

Page 583, line 4 from the bottom.]—Foxe says, "when the Saturday was come, which was the twentieth day of February;" which is corrected from Wilkins.

Page 584, line 17.]—The description of Tailor's degradation is made closer to the Register, as printed in Wilkins; see other examples of degradation infrà vol. v. p. 191, vol. vi. p. 652, and vol. viii. p. 77.

Page 584, note (2).]—*John* Wakering was bishop of Norwich from May 31st, 1416, to his death, April 9th, 1425 (Richardson's Godwin), and is alluded to at the bottom of next page, 585: *William* Alnwick succeeded him, and was translated to Lincoln, September 19th, 1436. (*Ibid.*) From p. 587 it appears that Foxe culled from the years 1428 to 1431 of Alnwick's episcopate. But it is clear that we should here read "John" instead of "William."

Page 586, bottom.] This letter is given in Latin in Edition 1563, p. 349.

Page 591, line 14 from the bottom.]—Blomfield (Hist. of Norwich, p. 101) refers to Atlas, p. 421, as giving this account; he says that "Ludham" is the true reading.

Page 592, line 16.] Part of this letter is given in Latin in Edition 1563, p. 353. At line 26, after "catholic faith" restore "as either of them hath so holden and affirmed:" the Latin is, "prout ipsorum uterque sic tenuit et affirmavit."

Page 593, line 23.]—Blomfield (p. 102) calls these places "Tombland," "St. Michael's at Plea Church," and "Cutler-row."

Page 601. "*The story of Thomas of Rennes,*" &c.]—Foxe has taken the ensuing account from Crispin's "Actiones."

Page 601, note (4).]—The allusion in the text is to the phrase in Phædrus's Fable "pro thesauro carbonem," which Foxe refers to in the margin of p. 205

of this volume; where the Latin edition (p. 78) says, "Papa thesaurarius ecclesiæ. Pro thesauro carbones."

Page 604, note (1).]—The following are the Latin verses referred to in the note:—

"*Carmina quædam in ejus laudem reperta apud Nicolaum Harlamensem.*

"Claustra Thomas Gallus primus qui lapsa reformat
Carmeli gregis, heu cadit immeritò.
Compulit hunc fervor Domini conspargere semen;
Exilium vitiis vita modesta dabat.
Dogmata præconis miracula concomitantur,
Illum quæ doceant pectus habere pium.
Quantum sic populum Zabuli de dentibus egit
Et vita et verbo, credere nemo potest.
Lippis lux oculis nocuit, non sustinuere
Vivere tam sanctam fœda Romana cohors.
Sistitur hæreseos, fictus quòd sitque sacerdos,
Eugenio papæ, et frivola quæque patent.
Instituit sacris antistes hunc Rhedonensis:
Testis apud Gallos publica fama volat.
Sordida Roma Thomam, papa sordente, petebat
Flamma sorbendum, namque tyrannus alit.
Urget ad hoc primus Gulielmus Rothomagensis
Cardinei cœtus. Sic perit innocuus.
Perstitit igne Thomas constanti pectore firmus,
Quòd Christi exemplo vivere clerus habet.
Eugenius memorans tandem quòd insidiosa
Morte viri fuerit credulus ipse malis;
Ingemuit crebrò vir quòd tam sanctus obîsset;
Hoc quoque præ cunctis conqueritur abiens.
Non nocuit flamma ista Thomæ sed martyrium dat,
Immortalis ei parta corona manet.
Post tormenta pius, sibi dant quæ carcer et ignis,
Martyr ad æthereas convolat iste domos."

Page 605. "*The order and manner of the council of Basil.*"]—The ensuing account is taken from Æneas Sylvius's (afterward pope Pius II.) "Commentariorum de actis et gestis in concilio Basileæ celebrato libri duo;" printed at the beginning of Orthuinus Gratius's "Fasciculus," and in Æn. Sylvii Opera, Basil. 1571. Foxe states, at p. 658, note (1), that his account is faithfully translated from the Latin by "F. W." who is also mentioned again at p. 699, as one of Foxe's helpers in this line. Who is meant by "F. W." it is now hopeless to inquire; but we may suppose him to have been the same person, who "translated faithfully" the account of the emperor Frederic II. by Nicholas Cisner, suprà, vol. ii. pp. 455—509; for the present performance is as inaccurate as that, and has therefore been subjected to the same process of collation with the Latin, and correction. Much pains have been bestowed on the names and titles of persons and places; see, for example, pp. 665, 666.

One might easily imagine Foxe to have been instigated to insert this and several other translations of Latin works in his "Acts and Monuments" by the perusal of the following passage in one of Ridley's Letters (Parker Soc. Ed. pp. 373, 374, Tract Soc. p. 200:)—"And when he [Grimbold] hath done that, let him translate a work of Æneas Sylvius, of the Acts of the Council of Basil. In the which, although there are many things that savour of the pan, and also he himself was afterwards a bishop of Rome; yet I dare say the papists would glory but little to see such books go forth in English." He then recommends Orthuinus Gratius's "Fasciculus;" and says, "I have also many things, but as yet confusedly set together, of the abominable usurpation, pride, arrogance, and wickedness, of the see and bishop of Rome, and altogether in Latin.... If such things had been set forth in our English tongue heretofore, I suppose surely great good might have come to Christ's church thereby."

Page 605, line 25. "*This council continued almost the space of twelve years.*"]—The council was opened July 23d, A.D. 1431, and the first session

was held Dec. 14th, A.D. 1431; the 45th and last was held May 16th, A.D. 1443. Foxe, however, both here and at p. 673, states, that the council endured the space of "seventeen" years: in both places "twelve" has been substituted. There is an epitome of the different sessions of this council, with their respective dates, by Binius, printed in Labbe's Concilia, xii. col. 1421.

Page 605, line 40. "*Would transfer the council.*"]—This was at the 25th session, held March 7th, A.D. 1437.

Page 606, note (1). "*The Bishop of Argos.*"]—The individual meant is John de Ragusa, mentioned at p. 679 of this volume. He was a Dalmatian, and an acute and learned man: he was particularly well read in the Greek writers. He became general of the order of Preaching Friars. He presided with John Polemar at the opening of the council of Basil, in the absence of cardinal Julian. He was sent thrice as ambassador by the council to Constantinople. Authors differ as to whether it was Eugene IV. or Martin V. who made him titular bishop of Argos in Peloponnesus; in Moreri, v. Cardinal, he is put down as promoted by the latter in 1444; but this very history seems to imply that he was promoted much earlier.

Page 607, line 25.]—The "Scotch abbot" is again referred to at p. 611, and was probably Thomas, abbot of Dundrain, mentioned at p. 662.

Page 607, last line but one. "*Proctor of the faith.*"]—Labbe (xii. col. 794) gives the mode of proceeding in the council of Basil, as settled on Friday, Sept. 26th, 1430; whence it appears that there were four distinct deputations or committees, denominated "Fidei," "Pacis," "Reformationis," "Communium." These deputations, or committees, are repeatedly referred to in the ensuing narrative.

Page 607, note (1).]—Sponde (Contin. of Baronius) thus explains "*Grisea Secta:*" "Allusione ut putamus ad Ligas (ut vocant) seu factiones Griseas Rhætorum: vel quòd is color leucophæus sit nec ater nec albus, sed medium quid," *i. e.* "the Grisled sect."

Page 607, note (2).]—Who and what title are meant by "Episcopus Ebrunensis," the Editor has in vain attempted to discover. Ferreras, in his History of Spain, gives the following as the ambassadors of the king of Castile to the council, as sent at first: Don Alva Isorna, bishop of Cuença; Juan de Silva, Seigneur de Cifnuentes; Don Alfonse de Cartagéne, dean of Santiago; le docteur Louis Alvarez de Paz, privy counsellor; Loup de Galdo, or Delgado, provincial of the Order of St. Dominique; and Juan d'el Corral, another Dominican. Of these, Don Alfonse became bishop of Burgos, anno 1435, on the death of his father Paul de Carthagena, who was a converted Jew, and died bishop of Burgos. (See Cave's Hist. Litt., and Du Pin's Eccl. Hist.) Johannes Corral is mentioned in Rymer's Fœdera, as ambassador to England from the king of Castile, under date of March 8th, March 12th, June 3d, November 8th, A.D. 1430, as "Frater Johannes de Corral," "honestus et religiosus frater Johannes de Corral, sanctæ theologiæ professor:" he is not improbably the same with "Johannes de Rupeflore," mentioned in Labbe as one of the Castilian ambassadors at the council of Constance.

It seems most probable that "le docteur Louis Alvarez de Paz" was the person meant by "Ebrunensis," for a divine is certainly intended. It appears from the Theatrum Ecclesiasticum of Alphonse Garcia that he was dean of Salamanca, the University of which was represented at the council by John de Segovia, a divine on the same side of the question in this dispute. "Ebrunensis" may mean titular bishop of Hebron. This same individual is mentioned again at p. 630, line 8 from the bottom. Sponde, in his Cont. of Baronius, calls him "Ebrenensis." An "Episcopus Ebronensis" is mentioned at p. 660; but that seems to be a mistake for "Ebroicensis," *i. e.* Evreux. See the note in this Appendix on that place.

Page 613, note (1). "*He meaneth Sylvester II.*"]—The opportunity may be taken of the allusion to this occupant of the see of Rome, to state, that many modern writers have supposed that the charges of magic, intercourse with Satan, &c. though entertained by adherents also of the church of Rome, have arisen merely from that pontiff's superior acquaintance with some of the arts

and sciences, now more generally understood. Anyhow, we are willing to quote, in favour of that view, the following passage from the annotator of Gerhard's *Loci Theologici* (vol. xi.):—

"Non tantum B. *Platina*, sed et *Benno*, ecclesiæ Romanæ cardinalis, *Sigebertus* Monachus Gemblacensis, Martinus gente Polonus, itemque *Leo Urbevitanus*, P. M. Sylvestrum II. Gerbertum antea dictum, atque exeunte seculo decimo clarum, magiæ criminis commerciique cum dæmonibus adcusare haud dubitarunt. Verum pudenda hæc fabula, qua viri hujus sua ætate doctissimi memoriam invidia atque ignorantia conspurcarunt, digna omnino, quæ ex historiæ sacræ annalibus prorsus eliminetur. Nec improbabilis nobis videtur ea virorum quorundam doctissimorum conjectura, qui aiunt, ipsam eruditionem, quâ olim eminuit *Sylvester*, fabulæ huic occasionem subministrare. Erat enim is vir magno excelsoque ingenio præditus, in astronomia, astrologia, reliquisque artibus mathematicis, mechanica imprimis, pro ratione istius ævi, quo florebat, egregiè versatus. Quum itaque artibus hisce instructus ea subinde præstaret, quæ alios in stuporem raperent, quin et, ut non sine veri specie conjicere licet, ea, quæ præstitit, subinde ambitiosius jactaret, fieri facile potuit, ut alii harum rerum imperiti eundem magiæ insimularent, et commercii alicujus cum maligno spiritu suspectum redderent. Certe idem præstantissimis olim philosophis accidisse, variis exemplis uberius demonstravit *G. Naudæus* in *Apologie des grands hommes faussement sonpconnes de Magie*, cap. xix. Conf. *Hist. Littéraire de France*, tom. vi. p. 156; *Jo. D. Koelerus* in Diss. Altdorfi 1720 edita, sub tit. *Eximius in medio ævo philosophus, Gerbertus postea R. P. Sylvester II. injuriis tam veterum, quam recentiorum Scriptorum liberatus;* J. Brackerus in *Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 649; Weismannus in *Hist. Sacrâ Novi Testamenti*, tom. i. p. 876, edit. nov.: ne alios jam nominemus." Jo. Gerhardi Loci Theologici, tom. xi. p. 309, edit. Tubing. 1772.

Page 614, note (1). "*Neither do I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers, who affirm that the Virgin Mary*," &c.]—This was the opinion of Durandus (*Ration.* lib. iv. cap. 1, § 32), Thomas Aquinas (*Opusc. quarto*), Bonaventure, Jacobus de Viragine, and several others, whose words are given in Paquot's notes to his edition of Ver Meulen's "Historia SS. Imaginum et Picturarum," (Lovan. 1771) pp. 463, 464. Turrecremata, he states, went so far as to affirm, "Esse contra fidem universalis ecclesiæ, asserere, non in solâ B. Virgine mansisse fidem in die Passionis Domini."

Page 615, line 3.]—"Macrobius," lib. iii. cap. 3. Line 22. St. Hilary, de Trin. lib. vii. cap. 4. Line 36. This is a sentiment of St. Cyprian de Unitate, cap. 2, not of St. Augustin. Calixtus's opinion, cited further on, is from Isidore's Collection of Decretal Epistles, and is cited by Gratian, Dist. xii. 1.

Page 622, note (3).]—Foxe reads, "As the ecclesiastical history affirmeth." The original, however, has "Historia Scholastica," a work written by Petrus Comestor. (See Cave's Hist. Litt.)

Page 626, line 6 from the bottom. "*The deputations.*"]—See the note on p. 607, last line but one.

Page 627, line 23.]—Dominique Ram, archbishop of Tarragona, was created cardinal of St. Sixt by Martin V. in 1426, and died in 1445. (Moreri, v. Cardinal.)

Page 629, line 15. "*And when he was arguing*," &c.]—Æneas Sylvius's words are: "Nec ut cæteri jurisconsulti principia legum in disputando allegabat, sed quasi codicem legeret sic textum memoriter referebat." Foxe says, "And in disputation he did not repeat the *principles of the law*, as other lawyers do, but rehearsed the text without the book, as if he had read it upon the book." The true meaning of "Principia legum" is well illustrated by the speeches of the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Autun, vol. ii. pp. 620—639, and many other parts of the foregoing History.

Page 629, line 7 from the bottom.]—"Faceret de necessitate virtutem." (Æn. Sylv.)

Page 630, line 17. "*Abbot elect of Mount Aragon.*"]—"Ac Segobricensis, electus abbas Montis Arragonum." (Æn. Sylv.) Hoffman, at the end of his

Lexicon, has "Aragon, oppidulum Aragoniæ, Latinè Mons Aragonum." "F. W." translates, "the elect abbot of Mount Segobria."

Page 633, line 12 from the bottom.]—"F. W." here reads, "the sixth council holden at Toulouse." But the original calls it, distinctly, "concilium Toletanum." The same misnomer is found next page, line 12, and p. 641: in these cases, therefore, "Toledo" is substituted for "Toulouse." In the present instance, the decree referred to will be found in Labbe's Conc. tom. v. col. 1704. capit. iv. This council is called in Æn. Sylv. the fifth council of Toledo; in Labbe it is printed as the fourth. It was held A.D. 633.

Page 634, note (1).]—Whatever be the exact etymology of the phrase "Benet and Collet," it frequently occurs in Foxe, as signifying the inferior orders of the Romish church. See the use of it in Tailor's degradation suprà, p. 584, Hooper's infrà, vol. vi. p. 652, and Cranmer's infrà, vol. viii. p. 78 (margin), and by John Lambert infrà, vol. v. p. 191.

Page 636, line 21. "*The Gauls.*"]—"Galli Senones," (Æn. Sylv.), which "F. W." amusingly translates "the Frenchmen."

Page 638, line 11.]—Theodore of Cyrene was a philosopher, disciple to Aristippus, and lived about B.C. 300. Lysimachus was one of Alexander's successors.

Page 638, last line. "*There was at first a dead silence,*" &c.]—The original here says: "Omnes in eum affixis vultibus admirationem stupore prodebant: deinde laudare hic memoriam ille doctrinam, hunc esse unum qui dignissimè præsideret, qui et confutare objecta nosset et (ut præsidentem decet) impenetrabilem se convitiis exhiberet." The first edition of Foxe, 1563, p. 308, renders this, "All men beholding him did greatly marvel and were amazed: some praised his memory, some his doctrine, other some saying that he alone did most worthily rule and govern, which knew how to confute objections, and as it becomed a president bare himself without all blame or reproach," &c. The subsequent editions (as the stars indicate) omit this whole passage, and at once proceed to mention the uproar produced by the opposition of the Catalonians, as if it were the *immediate* effect of the speech of Arelatensis. This is not the only instance in which the text of the first edition is more faithful to the original than the subsequent. All the editions strangely read "Castilians" instead of "Catalonians:" the error is repeated in p. 645 *bis*, p. 651, p. 655; in all which places the Latin says plainly "Cathelani:" in one instance (see p. 665), the Latin says "Castellani," where, probably, we should read "Cathelani."

Page 639, line 13 from the bottom.]—Diernstein, or Tyernstein, a market-town belonging to the count of Stahrenberg, situate on the Danube, in the circle of Austria, above Manhartz-berge. Near this our Richard I. was imprisoned. (Busching's Geography.)

Page 641, line 12.]—Nicholas Amici and Henry Anester were the "promoters." See Labbe, xii. col. 476.

Page 641, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Ubi nunc Toletani decretum concilii?" (Æn. Sylv.) The decree here referred to was passed at the eleventh council of Toledo, A.D. 675, and is in the Decretum of Gratian, Pars II. Causa v. Question 4, cap. 3: "In loco benedictionis." Among other preliminaries to the council of Basil, this decree was read at the first session, see Labbe, xii. col. 471; as it had been also at the opening of the council of Constance, see Labbe, xii. col. 14. "F. W." here repeats the misnomer of "Toulouse," instead of "Toledo." (See note on p. 633.)

Page 642, line 16.]—Vezelai was in the diocese of Autun, and Alexander will be found in the Catalogue of Abbots of this period, in Gallia Christiana.

Page 644, line 18. "*Andrew Escobar, commonly called 'the Spaniard.'*"]—Æneas Sylvius simply says, "Andreas Hispanus:" but Nicolaus Antonius Hispalensis in his Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, mentions him as Andreas de Escobar, commonly called "Hispanus," of the Benedictine order, and bishop of Megara. He wrote several works; among others, "Gubernaculum Conciliorum," dedicated to Cardinal Julian A.D. 1431, and "De Græcis Errantibus," printed at Bologna, December 15, 1437.

Page 644, line 31. "*When he saw he had free liberty to speak,*" &c.]—In Æneas Sylvius we read: "Atque liberum dicendi campum sibi patere vidit, sine fabula sine ulla historia fuit, literarum sibi missarum seriem reseravit," where "sine" is a corruption for "sive." "F. W.," however, follows his author to a fault; for he translates, "without either fable or history of any letters sent." For similar instances, see Appendix on vol. ii. p. 504.

Page 645, line 12. "*Neither ignorantly, neither willingly.*"]—"Ut qui nec ignorans nec volens veritatem oppugnasset" (Æn. Sylv.): "F. W." says "willingly," which the edition of 1570 corrupts into "unwillingly."

Page 645, line 17.]—"Ad duas diætas se sequestraverat" (Æn. Sylvius) "F. W." says, "sequestered himself to two diets."

Page 645, line 25. "*The twenty-fifth day of April.*"]—"Quæ fuit Aprilis quinta et vigesima." (Æn. Sylv.) "F. W." says correctly "the xxvth," but the edition of 1583 corrupts it into "15th." April 25th fell on a Saturday, by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 646, line 3.]—"Magis limandum censuit:" "to be more amplified," "F. W."

Page 647, line 15. "*Copistarum pædagogorumque gregem.*"]—"F. W." says, "sophisters and schoolmasters."

Page 650, line 12 from the bottom. "*As touching that Panormitane had extolled the authority of the council.*"]—"Le cardinal Bellarmin, dans son livre des écrivains ecclésiastiques, dit que ce traité de Panorme a été retranché du recueil des ouvrages de cet auteur, comme un ouvrage erroné, et fait pour la défense d'une mauvaise cause, et qu'il ne l'a jamais pu trouver dans les différentes éditions de cet archevêque de Palerme. Néanmoins il se trouve dans le dernier tome de celle de Lyon de 1547; on l'a aussi imprimé separément à Lyon d'une fort ancienne édition. Ce Panorme s'appelle Nicolas Tudesqué, et étoit Sicilien. Après avoir été abbé d'une abbaye de l'ordre de St. Benoit dans Palerme, il fut archevêque de cette ville: Amedée de Savoye ayant été élu Pape après la déposition d'Eugène, le nomma cardinal en 1440. Mais il fut obligé par les ordres du roi d'Arragon son maître de retourner dans son archevêqué, où il mourut de la peste l'an 1445." Fleury, liv. 109, § 72: see also L'Enfant's *Concile de Basle*, vol. ii. p. 117.

Page 651, line 2.]—"*That Arelatensis with a few,*" &c.]—"Solum Arelatensem cum paucis et titularibus episcopis rem concludere" (Æn. Sylv.); alluding by "the titulars" to such as "Ebrunensis," and "Argensis," (pp. 607, 608): "F. W." translates, "that Arelatensis with a few other bishops by name should conclude the matter."

Page 651, line 6 from the bottom.]—For "Castilians" we ought, probably, to read here "Catalonians;" but the original says "Castellani."

Page 652, line 12. "*At the request of the promoters.*"]—"F. W." says, "of the deputies:" but Æn. Sylv. says, "promotoribus:" these are represented as performing this same function at pp. 646, 650.

Page 655, note (1).]—The original text of Foxe is very defective in this sentence; it runs thus: "Arelatensis, considering beforehand what would come to pass, caused prayers to be made, and after their prayers made unto Almighty God, with tears and lamentations, that he would send them his Holy Spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous." The original Latin, however, runs thus: "Cogitarat Arelatensis quod erat futurum, plurimasque sanctorum reliquias totâ urbe perquiri jussit, ac per sacerdotum manus in sessione portatas absentium episcoporum locum tenere, quæ res maximè devotionem adauxit in tantum, ut vocato postmodum de more Spiritu Sancto, nemo lacrymas continuerit. Erat namque per totam ecclesiam tenerrimus ac suavis fletus bonorum virorum, qui lacrymantes divinum auxilium implorabant, quique, matri ecclesiæ ut opem ferret, magnum Deum deprecabantur. Inter alios quoque magnificus ille baro Imperialis Protector uberrimas ecclesiæ lacrymas præstabat, et inter flendum haud modicam tali actu consolationem recipiebat. Erat autem concio ipsa frequentissima." On this the amended text is founded.

Page 656, line 2. "*The twins.*"]—"Gemini." (Æn. Sylvius.)

Page 656, line 10 from the bottom. "*Also there are two kinds of unrighteousness,*" &c.]—"Duo quoque injustitiæ fore genera, quibus aut fienda non fierent, aut fierent non fienda" (Æn. Sylv.): this is thus rendered: "There are also ii kinds of injustice: whereby either things are done that should not be done, or things that should not be done are done." (Ed. 1563, p. 319). Foxe, or the editor of the edition of 1576 (p. 664), perceiving that these two kinds were in fact identically the same, altered it thus: "whereby either things are done that should not be done, or things that should be done are not done." This makes the proper distinction between the two kinds, but by inverting the order in which Æneas Sylvius had stated them, spoils the subsequent reasoning. This error has been obviated.

Page 658, line 28. "*The principal fathers of the council being called together,*" &c.]—This was the 35th session, held June 26th, A.D. 1439. (Labbe, xii. col. 621.) The decree speaks of Eugene as having been deposed "7 Cal. Julii" [June 25th], and mentions the law of sixty days' interval as passed at the 7th session, where it is found in Labbe, col. 496, Nov. 6th, 1432.

Page 659, line 34. "*A sudden fear came,*" &c.]—July 22d ("xi. Cal. Aug.") a congregation was held, in which it was proposed to suspend the proceedings of the council on account of the plague: but this was overruled. (Patricii Acta Conc. Bas.)

Page 660, line 9. "*The burial grounds,*" &c.]—"Quapropter exaratis omnibus cœmeteriis, foveas in parochiis peramplas fecerunt, ubi pluribus congestis cadaveribus, terram superinduxerunt." (Æn. Sylvius.)

Page 660, line 26. "*About the same time,*" &c.]—This short paragraph appears in the following form in Foxe:—"About the same time, also, died the king of Arragon's almoner, in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being bishop of Ebron. The abbot of Vergilia died at Spires, and John, the bishop of Lubeck, between Vienna and Buda." The edition of 1684 changes "Ebron" into "Liege." The words of Æneas Sylvius, however, are these:—"Per idem tempus diem clausit in terrâ Switzorum vir summâ doctrinâ eleemosynarius regis Aragonum; in Argentinâ paulò post episcopus Ebronensis." Ebronensis seems a mistake for *Ebroicensis;* for Gallia Christiana in the account of Martial Formier (who became bishop of *Evreux* Sept. 27th, 1427) states that he went to the council of Basil; and that he died at *Strasburgh*, in the house of the Templars, *of the plague*, on the ides of August, 1439. It is remarkable, however, that "Episcopus Ebronensis" was the title of the vicar-general of Martial's predecessor, and of several other vicars-general to the see of Evreux. (See Gallia Christiana.) That "Ebroicensis" was intended by Æneas Sylvius may be further concluded, from the circumstance that the original MS. Acts of the Council (as the Editor has learnt from Basle) call this individual "Eboracensis;" an easy corruption of "Ebroicensis," an example of which in the first edition of the "Quadrilogus" is given in the Appendix to vol. ii. p. 203. It is plain also from Gallia Christiana, that *no bishop of Liege* died at this time.

Page 662, line 9. "*And those also should be priests.*"]—The decree of the council, thirty-seventh session, 9 cal. Nov. (24th October) 1439, respecting the mode of choosing a new pope, is in Labbe, xii. col. 626; and, according to that, the electors were all to be at least in *priests'* orders: Æneas Sylvius here says, in *deacons'* orders.

Page 662, line 20. "*Thomas . . . commonly called the Scottish abbot.*"]—"F. W." makes strange work of this dignitary: "Thomas, abbot of Dunduno, of the diocese of Candiderace, commonly called of Greece." The words of Æneas Sylvius are as follows: "Thomam abbatem de Donduno, ordinis Cisterciensis, diœcesis Candidæ casæ, vulgo de Græcia nuncupatum." Æneas Sylvius seems wrong in calling him "de Græcia," or rather his text seems corrupt here, as in other cases; see the note following this. He is afterwards called, correctly, "de Scotia" (see p. 666, line 14).

Page 662, line 22. "*John de Segovia,*" &c.]—Æneas Sylvius's text gives, "Johannem de Segovia, archidiaconum de Villa Vissosa, in ecclesia Onetensi" ("Fasciculus," fol. 21). Foxe's copy evidently read "Metensi," a cor-

ruption of "Ovetensi:" Nicolas Antonio Hispalensis (Bibl. Hisp. Vetus, v. Johannes Segoviensis) observes that "Metensis" is corrected into "Ovetensis" in the edition of Sylvius by Gymnacus, Cologne, 1606.

Page 663, line 32. "*Born in the heart of Germany.*"]—"Born" is omitted by "F. W.:" the original is, "ex umbilico nationis Germanicæ oriundo."

Page 666, line 8. "*Plouneour.*"]—This parish is supplied from Labbe, who calls it "Pleneor;" but the maps call it "Plouneour:" it is on the coast of the province of Finisterre, near St. Pol de Leon.

Page 666, lines 22, 23. "*Barcelona,*" "*Elne.*"]—These two dioceses are supplied on the authority of Sponde.

Page 666, line 41. "*Peter de Atrio.*"]—"Atrio" is Labbe's reading. Æneas Sylvius reads "Atro," which perhaps is more akin to his office of "Soldan." This term, according to Adelung's "Glossarium Manuale ad Scriptores Mediæ Ætatis" is equivalent to "advocate." Æneas Sylvius says of him, "qui etiam ab initio nascentis concilii eo in officio laudabiliter se habuerat." Labbe, however, xii. col. 493, mentions "Titianus de Laude" as being elected Soldan at the fifth session, Aug. 13th, 1432.

Page 668, line 4. "*Performed divine service.*"]—"Divina officia celebravit," which "F. W." translates "sung mass:" it is afterwards called "missarum solemnia."

Page 668, line 16 from the bottom. "*Louis, bishop of Lausanne.*"]—He is surnamed "De Palude" in Labbe, xii. col. 480.

Page 669, line 18. "*Suscepto dominico corpore juramentum præstiterunt.*"]—(Æn. Sylv.) This may mean, that they swore holding the Sacrament in their hands.

Page 670, line 16. "*Nineteen voices:*"]—"Unam de viginti" (Æn. Sylv.), which "F. W." renders "twenty-one," as though it were "unam et viginti." There are other instances in Foxe of this same error; see two at p. 765, and vol. iv. p. 354, pointed out in the Appendix on those pages.

Page 671, line 39. "*There have been popes.*"]—Foxe inserts "many;" but the original only says "fuerunt."

Page 671, note (1).]—"*Read the fifth epistle of Ignatius.*"]—The portion intended to be referred to (p. 95, edit. Genevæ, 1623) in the epistle "ad Philadelphenos," will not be found in the more modern editions. The testimony of Hilary himself on his marriage (vol. ii. col. 415, edit. Venet. 1749) is, of course, the best, if the letter to his daughter Abra be genuine, as the Benedictine editors are inclined to believe it: on the other side, see Rivet. Crit. Sac. lib. iii. cap. 12; Walch. Bibl. Patrist. p. 273, edit. 1834.

Page 672, line 11 from the bottom. "*Scriptures.*"]—See the note on p. 539. What prophecies are here alluded to, does not appear.

Page 673, last line. "*The space of twelve years.*"]—Foxe says, "seventeen:" see the note on p. 605.

Page 675, line 1. "*Moreover . . . the worthy cardinal of Arles.*"]—"This cardinal of St. Cecilia, who was commonly called the cardinal of Arles, for his having thus adhered to the council to the last, is represented by the Papalin writers of the time, and by some moderns, as a monster made up of ambition and revenge; Ciaconius, in his Lives of the Cardinals, calls him the great reproach and blemish of his order. And yet, for all that, this monster of a cardinal was, for his extraordinary piety and miracles, beatified by Clement VII. in 1527, and has been ever since prayed to with authority in France: which was done by the pope without taking any notice of his ever having repented of his adhesion to the council of Basil; by which we may see what credit the characters given by the Papalin writers to their adversaries deserve." (Geddes's "Council of Trent no free Assembly," Lond. 1697, p. 55, Introduct.) The censure by Ciaconius seems to be omitted in the "Vitæ Pontiff. et Cardinalium," as edited by Oldoinus, Romæ, 1677, tom. ii. col. 841—844.

It appears from "Paralipomena Urspergensis," that on the occasion here referred to Arelatensis was captured a mile from Strasburg, when on an embassy from the council into Germany. The "Armagnacs" were the French troops employed by the Dauphin, at Eugene's instigation, to try and break up

the council, A.D. 1444. (See pp. 700, 735.) They were called Armeniaci, or Armagnacs, from the earl of Armagnac, their leader. See Carion's Chronicle, "Exauctum à Phil. Melancthone, et Casparo Peucero."

Page 675. "*A further continuation of the History of the Bohemians.*"]—Foxe here resumes his extracts from Æneas Sylvius's "Historica Bohemica," at cap. 50. This portion of Sylvius is printed in the "Fasciculus" of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Labbe, xii. col. 442. As before, Foxe's text has been much improved from the original.

Page 676, line 3.]—John Polemar, abbot of Mulbrun in Suabia, was also auditor of the sacred palace, proctor-general of the Dominicans, and archdeacon of Barcelona. (L'Enfant, Hist. des Hussites, &c. p. 377.) He and John Gethusius were "Cisterciensis ordinis." (Æn. Sylvius.)

Page 676, line 12.]—Feldkirch was in the Tyrol, and Sigismund was there on his way to Rome to be crowned: this occurred Oct. 15th, 1431. (L'Enfant, p. 364.)

Page 676, line 24. "*Our men*"]—is the literal rendering of Æn. Sylvius's "nostros," *i. e.* the papal allies.

Page 676, line 26.]—John Nider was a Suabian, an eminent divine of the order of Preachers, prior of their house at Basil, an inquisitor, and rector of the university of Vienna, which university he represented at the council. He died at Nuremberg, in 1438. (Cave's Lit. Hist., who gives a list of his writings.)

Page 677, line 29. "*Elnbogen.*"]—"Elenbogenses" (Æn. Sylv.); "Cubitenses" (Cochlæus, p. 246): Elnbogen is near Tauss, and its Latin name is "Cubitus." (Busching.)

Page 677, line 13 from the bottom. "*After this they conferred,*" &c.]—Labbe, xii. col. 485, gives a letter of the council to the Bohemians, dated Friday, June 20th, 1432; also a safe-conduct, dated 12 cal. Julii (June 20th), at col. 482.

Page 677, line 9 from the bottom. "*That it was long of the ecclesiastics,*" &c.]—"Quo minùs cum Bohemis procederet concordia, per ecclesiasticos stare et principes." (Æn. Sylv.) For another instance of the phrase "long of," see infrà, vol. v. p. 386.

Page 677, note (1).]—Æn. Sylvius says, "ferè cum ducentis et quinquaginta equis."

Page 678, line 6. "*Of Saatz.*"]—Saatz or Zatec was the capital of a Bohemian circle, called in Latin "Zatecensis provincia." (Busching.) Cochlæus calls this man "Johannes Zarzensis;" Foxe, "a Zaczen."

Page 678, line 9. "*Cadolzburg.*"]—Æn. Sylvius says, "Carelspurgum," which is printed "Catelspurgum" in the "Fasciculus," which probably means Cadolzburg, a considerable village in the margravate of Onolzbach or Anspach, in Bavaria: it was formerly a residence of the burgraves of Nuremberg. (Busching, vol. v. p. 442.) The text of Æn. Sylvius says, "Marchio Badensis;" the "Fasciculus," simply "Marchio," which would imply the marquis last mentioned.

Page 678, line 14 from the bottom. "*Came to Basil the 9th day of October.*"]—See above, p. 577.

Page 678, line 8 from the bottom.]—The replies of the four divines on behalf of the council were first printed by Henry Canisius, and thence in Labbe's Concilia, xii. cols. 1013—1419.

Page 678, last line but one. "*Nicolas, a Taborite.*"]—Foxe, following his authority, says "Wenceslaus;" but this is a slip, see p. 680, line 26: he is called Nicolas Gallecus suprà, p. 577; Nicolas Taborita, Labbe, xii. col. 1159. L'Enfant, p. 405, calls him Nicolas Peldrzimousky.

Page 679, line 4. "*Peter Paine.*"]—See what is said respecting him in this Appendix, on pp. 97, 538; he is the "Peter Clerk" mentioned at the latter place. See Lewis's Life of Wickliff, p. 184.

Page 679, line 9. "*John de Ragusa.*"]—This is the individual before mentioned as bishop of Argos. See the note in this Appendix on p. 606.

Page 679, line 32. "*Kalteisen.*"]—"Frigidum Ferrum" (Æn. Sylvius). It is "Kalteisen" in Labbe, xii. col. 1249.

Page 680, line 3 from the bottom.]—Trinity Sunday in A.D. 1433 fell on June 7th. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 684, line 2. "*Sanctified:*"]—"Certified," Foxe; "significavit," Æn. Sylvius; "sanctificavit," the Decrees.

Page 685, line 16. "*Masters and priests.*"]—"Magistri et sacerdotes" (Æn. Sylvius): the edition of 1583 alters "priests" into "prelates."

Page 686, line 3. "*Without any circumstances.*"]—"Sine ambagibus." (Æn. Sylvius.)

Page 686, line 23. "*Exigitur magna peritia.*"]—(Æn. Sylvius.) The author proceeds, "Quod sit tortuositas in regulato, sed non est; sed est defectus in applicando, quia non applicatur debito modo regula ad regulatum."

Page 686, line 34. "*In eorum partibus.*"]—(Ibid.)

Page 686, line 5 from the bottom. "*Fourth,*"]—"Quartum" (Æn. Sylv.); "third," Foxe.

Page 687, last line. "A.D. 1434,"]—Foxe reads "1438:" three ambassadors of the Bohemians and four of the council were despatched to Basil, and came back to Prague, where they remained from the feast of St. Martin to that of the Purification, *i.e.* from Nov. 11th to Feb. 2d: the formula of Concord was agreed on the last day of November. (Labbe.) Cochlæus gives the formula, dated Prague, A.D. 1433, Indictione XII, Eugen. anno quarto, on St. Andrew's day: the year must, according to this, be 1434 (St. Andrew's day was the last of November). This is further confirmed by what Cochlæus says, viz. that the treaty of Iglau (July 5th, 1438, next page) was three years after that of Prague; more correctly, three years and a half.

Page 688, line 4. "*Stuhl-weissenburg.*"]—("Alba Regalis" in Æn. Sylvius) was in the centre of Hungary, and there the kings of Hungary used to be crowned and buried.

Page 689, last paragraph. "*During the time,*" &c.]—The ensuing paragraph is much corrected from the decree of the council in Labbe, xii. col. 603.

Page 689, note (1).]—Foxe calls the above the thirty-seventh session: "thirty-sixth" is put in from Labbe, xii. col. 622.

Page 690, line 15 from the bottom.]—See Labbe, xii. col. 601, session 31, 9 cal. Feb. 1438.

Page 690, line 7 from the bottom.]—See Labbe, xii. col. 562, session 23, 8 cal. April, 1436. Foxe says, "Besides them that were already:" but the Latin says, "Sic tamen quòd numerum viginti quatuor inter hos qui nunc sunt et assumendos non excederet." (Æn. Sylvius.) See also Labbe, cols. 1425, 1431.

Page 690, last line.]—See Labbe, xii. cols. 552, 1425, session 21, Thursday, 9th June, 1435.

Page 691, line 4. "*Confirmed . . . at Bourges.*"]—on the nones of July, 1438. (Labbe, xii. col. 1429.)

Page 691, line 7.]—This Pragmatic Sanction was enacted nonis Julii, 1438. Labbe, xii. col. 1439.

Page 691, line 10. "*Amongst many decrees,*" &c.]—See Labbe, xii. col. 547, 7 id. Sept. 1434.

Page 691, line 21.]—"Non solum propalatione veritatis, sed et aliis humanis officiis ipsos Christo lucrifacient."

Page 691, line 31. "*Another decree, moreover.*"]—See Labbe, xii. col. 549, 11 cal. Feb. 1435.

Page 691, line 38. "*Furthermore,*" &c.]—See Labbe, xii. col. 550. The passage is given, to support Foxe's statement: "Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam habentes pecuniarios quæstus à concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, patiendo eos in tali fœditate sordescere; sub pœnâ maledictionis æternæ præcipit, ne deinceps sub pacto, compositione, aut spe alicujus quæstûs, talia quovis modo tolerent aut dissimulent: alioquin ultra

præmissam negligentiæ pœnam duplum ejus quod acceperint restituere ad pios usus omnino teneantur et compellantur."

Page 693.]—This epistle of cardinal Julian, with another of his, is printed in the "Fasciculus" of O. Gratius, whence probably Foxe derived his translation: it has been revised and corrected by the Latin.

Page 693, line 36. "*The captains of their armies.*"]—"Ductores exercituum illius gentis" (Æn. Sylvius): Foxe says "enemies."

Page 700, line 13. "*After this,*" &c.]—This sentence reads as follows in Foxe:—"After this, the French king being dead, who was Charles VII., about A.D. 1444, the pope beginneth a new practice, after the old guise of Rome, to excite, as is supposed, the dauphin of France, by force of arms, to dissipate that council collected against him." This must be wrong; because Charles VII. did not die till A.D. 1461. (L'Art de Vér. des Dates): the matter is more correctly stated at p. 735, whence this passage is amended.

Page 702, note (3).]—Nicholas Canon seems only to have been enjoined penance, suprà, p. 600.

Page 705, line 14.]—"For their fault" is substituted for Foxe's "for the fact," which seems a corruption.

Page 705, line 9 from the bottom.]—Foxe's text by mistake reads, "Have ye *not* then done well and properly?"

Page 706, line 29.]—This is thus badly exhibited in Foxe's text: "Nor did I mean of her now, but because I couple her in the same story, you say."

Page 706, line 39. "*And of the mother of lady Young.*"]—These words ought manifestly to be erased.

Page 719, line 6.]—These verses accompanied several of the early printed books at Rome. The four lines here quoted are followed by that in p. 721 (attributed by Foxe to Aprutinus), and of which numerous examples occur in the Catalogus Historico-criticus, Roman edit. sæculi xv. (Romæ, 1783), of Audiffredi, pp. 32—40. See the note following this.

Page 721, line 6 from the bottom. "*Campanus, bishop of Abruzzo.*"]—This is the same writer as appears in the foot-note to p. 719, under the name of *Campanus*. He became a bishop in the *Abruzzo*, and hence called himself *Episcopus Aprutinus*. (Bayle's Dictionary.) "Fernus qui hominem apprime vivens cognoverat, diserte in vitâ Campani fatetur ipsum fuisse *correctorem* typographiæ Romæ apud Uldaricum typographum, qui tanta artem suam diligentia urgebat, ut Campanum interquiescere non pateretur, ad majorem operis instantiam." Oudin. Comment. de Scripp. Eccles. tom. iii. col. 2681. It might seem strange that a bishop should be employed as a paid corrector of the press; but his biographer and other authorities signify that his love of luxurious living rendered some additional means necessary for his enjoyment of it: and for that purpose he was willing thus to increase his annual income.

Page 722, line 16. "*Cilicia.*"]—The edition of 1570, p. 838, reads "Cecilia," which subsequent editions alter into "Sicily."

Page 724, line 19.]—Foxe's text has here erroneously, "first, bishop of Chichester, and afterward by the title of St. Asaph, if there were any such saint." The order of his preferments is correctly stated by Foxe at pp. 96, 731: the Latin edition incorrectly calls him "Cisterciensis episcopus."

Page 726, line 13.]—"Somewhere" is substituted for Foxe's "nowhere."

Page 731, line 31. "*After the death,*" &c.]—For the reason of some corrections of dates in this paragraph, see p. 579, note.

Page 735, line 5. "*The Germans at that time,*" &c.]—This paragraph had been for substance already given by Foxe at p. 700, though not so accurately as here. See the note in this Appendix on that page.

Page 735, line 7 from the bottom.]—This cardinal was Peter Barbo, a Venetian, nephew of Eugene IV., bishop of Cervia, afterward pope Paul II. He was by his uncle created in 1440 cardinal of St. Mary la Neuve, and afterwards of St. Mark.

Page 738, line 12. "*After this Pius II. succeeded Paul II.*"]—This

pontiff, according to the accounts given by Tursellinus, attributed a recovery from fever and his elevation to the popedom to the assistance of *our lady of Loretto*, and built for her, in consequence, a noble temple. "At ille (Paulus) Beatæ Mariæ promisso ad summi sacerdotii spem erectus, et simul beneficii accepti satis memor, Lauretanæ Ædis Præsidem protinus accersi jubet. Huic propalam enunciat sibi esse in animo magnificentissimum S. Mariæ Lauretanæ templum condere."

To this indulgences were afterwards attached:—"Pontifex non ædificiis solum, sed litteris quoque ac muneribus Pontificiis Deiparæ domum adornavit. Nam visentibus Ædem Lauretanam diebus omnibus Beatæ Mariæ sacris ac præterea Dominicis diebus peccatorum omnium veniam indulsit."—*Hor. Tursellini e Soc. Jesu Lauretanæ Historiæ*, libri v. (Leodii, 1621) pp. 92, 93.

Page 738, line 19. "*Sixtus IV. who builded up in Rome stews.*"]—See Corn. Agrippa "De Vanit. Scient." § 64. Schelhornii "De Consilio de emendanda Ecclesia ad Card. Quirinum Epistola," Tiguri, 1748, p. 40.

Page 738, line 9 from the bottom. "*Innocent VIII.*"]—John Michiele, a Venetian, nephew to Paul II. He was made cardinal of St. Lucy by his uncle, 1468; he was afterwards made cardinal of St. Angelo, bishop of Albano, Porto, and Padua. (Moreri's Dict. v. Cardinal.)

Page 738, line 8 from the bottom. "*Amony the noble facts of this pope (Innocent VIII.) this was one*," &c.]—Both the "facts" here ranged under the pontificate of Innocent, belong properly to that of Paul II. This will be plain from the Vita Pauli II. first printed by cardinal Quirini:—"Vanam ac scelestam Fratricellorum sectam, quæ in agro Piceno, Assisiatensi, atque in oppido Poli flagitiossimo ritu pullulare jam occœperat, diligenter insectatus est, eorumque plerosque captos coram judicibus in ea causa deputatis aperta ratione convinci voluit, et quamquam ob eorum gravissima scelera ignis supplicio digni judicati essent, nihilominus Pontifex satis habuit, nonnullos eorum ab oppido Poli eorumque patria septem annos exulare, annumque publico pœnitentium habitu jugiter indui, cæteros vero in tali delicto rursus convictos ac damnatos capitolinis carceribus includi. Stephanum de Comitibus ejus hæreseos fautorem, ut dicebatur, in arce Romana detineri mandavit, oppidum, et cætera paternæ ditionis libera filiis dimisit."—P. 78.

With regard to the other fact, quite a commentary, we may observe, upon the noted decree of the fourth Lateran, it may be better to quote Quirini's own words from the Vindiciæ prefixed to this volume, p. lix.:—

"Causa Georgii Podiebraccii Boemorum Regis discuti cœperat Callisto III. pontifice, eademque diligenter ad examen revocata fuit sub Pii II. pontificatu, tandemque Paulus II. sententiam in eundem ferens, eum Regno privavit, ejusque bona occupatoribus adjudicavit, pecuniasque plurimas Matthiæ Hungarorum Regi, amplissimasque Indulgentias adversus hæreticum decertantibus dilargitus est."—*Pauli II. Veneti, P. M. Vita ex Cod. Angelicæ Biblioth. desumpta, præmissis ipsius Pontif. Vindiciis*, Romæ, 1740. See "Romanism as it rules in Ireland," vol. ii. p. 263.

Page 738, note (1).]—Stanislav Orzechowski, better known under the Latinized name of "Orichovius," was born in 1513 in the Palatinate of Russia (Krasinski's Reformation in Poland, i. 179, where there is an enlarged account of him), and wrote Oratio de Lege Cœlibatus contra Syricium, et Supplicatio ad Julium III., 8vo. Basil, 1551. The part to which Foxe refers, will be found in the edition of Bale by Lydius (Lug. Bat. 1615), p. 466.

Page 739, line 31.]—The duke of York was declared protector April 2d, 1454, and slain Dec. 31st, 1460. Foxe reads 1453, 1459.

Page 747, line 10.]—"1470" is substituted for Foxe's "1471."

Page 751, last line. "*Untill.*"]—All the old editions read "while," in the sense of "until."

Page 762.]—Foxe here resumes his extracts from Æneas Sylvius's "Historia Bohemica."

Page 762, line 15 from the bottom. "*The vaivode or prince*," &c.]—Foxe's text says, "surnamed Vaivoda, prince of Transylvania," and a few lines lower, "Huniades Vaivoda."

Page 763, line 16. "*Neustadt,*"]—"The new city," "F. W." literally translating the Latin, "Nova Civitas" (Æn. Sylv.), a city near Vienna, on the frontiers of Hungary. It is mentioned again at p. 767 of this volume.

Page 763, line 36.]—"In the castle chapel at Prague" (Æn. Sylv.), and a few lines lower, "the castle rock:" Foxe's text says, "in the high tower of Prague;" and "the rock of the tower."

Page 763, line 10 from the bottom. "*Rochezanians.*"] This is according to Æneas Sylvius: Foxe's text says "Hussites."

Page 764, line 1.]—Æneas Sylvius says, "Parasitus regis, ex his qui stultitiam simulantes alios stultos faciunt." Foxe's translator rather clumsily says, "playing the parasite about the king (as the fashion is of such as feign themselves fools, to make other men as very fools as they.")

Page 764, line 17 from the bottom. "*He was not bound (he said) to attend his commands.*"]—This seems the true meaning of Æneas Sylvius's words, "non esse obnoxium." Foxe's text says, "it was neither best (said he) for the king nor safest for himself to come."

Page 764, line 2 from the bottom. "*A hundred and fifty thousand.*"]—"Centum quinquaginta millia pugnatorum." (Æn. Sylv. cap. 65.) Foxe says, "a hundred and fifteen thousand."

Page 764, last line. "*Belgrade,*"] as it is called infrà, vol. iv. p. 51. Æneas Sylvius (and from him Foxe's text) calls it "Alba." Æneas says of it, "Thaurinum appellavere majores, nostra ætas illum vocat Albam, ad confluentes Danubii Savique situm." It was called "Alba Græca" (whence Bel-grade) to distinguish it from Alba Regalis or Stuhl-weissenberg, see suprà p. 688, and infrà vol. iv. p. 72.

Page 765, line 2. "*A good muster.*"]—"F. W." says, "a small garrison;" Æneas Sylvius "cruce-signatorum manum adducens non parvam."

Page 765, last line. "*Being about the age of eighteen years.*"]—Æneas Sylvius does not mention his age: "eighteen" is put in on the authority of L'Art de Vér. des Dates. Foxe's text reads, "being about the age of twenty and two years;" which he evidently gathered from Æneas Sylvius's statement toward the end of cap. 70, that he died "adolescens, duodeviginti annos natus;" where Foxe's translator (as elsewhere) has misunderstood "duo de viginti" for "duo et viginti;" see the note in this Appendix on p. 670.

Page 766, line 6 from the bottom. "*The emperor Frederic and the empress,*" &c.]—"Imperator et Augusta vocati: ambæ regis sorores cum viris eam celebritatem accessuræ ferebantur." (Æn. Sylvius.) Foxe's text reads, "the emperor Frederic, the king's mother, and his sister, &c."

Page 767, line 19. "*About midnight,*" &c.]—Foxe's text here says, "about the 21st day of November, A.D. 1461;" but Æneas Sylvius says (cap. 70), that he "cœpit ægrotare decimo calendas Dec. [Nov. 22d] horâ circiter duodecima noctis," and that "intra sex et triginta horas postquam ægrotare cœpit extinctus est." Moreover, he was only "eighteen" not "twenty-two" years of age (see the note above on p. 765, last line), having been born Feb. 22d, 1440, and died Nov. 24th, A.D. 1458 (see suprà p. 762, and L'Art de Vér. des Dates).

Page 768, line 21. "*This Uladislaus.*"]—"F. W." by a slip says, "this Casimir."

Page 779, note (2).]—See this passage in the "Fasciculus" of Orthuinus Gratius, fol. 166.

Page 780, line 18.]—Foxe has derived this fact from Barns and Bale's work, "De Vitis Pontiff.;" p. 472 of the reprinted edition by Lydius, Lug. Bat. 1615. See also "Agrippa de Vanitate Scient." cap. 64.

Page 781, note (1).]—The title of this work is given in Panzer's "Annales Typogr." tom. ix. p. 204; and in Maittaire, "Ann. Typ." vol. i. p. 597, edit. 1733.

ADDENDA.

Page 115, middle. "*Taking anie thing for annuell.*"]—"Annuell" appears from Halliwell, &c., to mean "an anniversary mass."

Page 128, line 30. "*To that his heart brast.*"]—On the use of "to" for "till," see the note in the Appendix on vol. viii. p. 304.

Page 261, line 17. "*Obeie wilfullie.*"]—*i. e.* willingly. Instances of this use of "wilful" seem to be rare: we have it in pp. 258, 279. There is another in the Festyvall (fol. clxxxvii, recto, edit. 1528): "do it [confession] *wylfully*, as thefe whiche henge upon the crosse, and not as Achor:" and again (fol. clxxxvii. verso), "This satysfaccyon must be done *wylfully* without grutchynge."

Page 273, line 31. "*And this holidome,*"]—or, as in 1570 and the subsequent editions, "holydome:" at p. 540, line 25, we find "holydeme." "By holidome" appears to have been an ancient form of oath, as Sherwood observes. "Halidome" in Saxon denoted holiness, or any holy thing (see Nares and Todd's Johnson); in this instance "the holy Gospel" seems intended, for the Latin (p. 91) says, "Ita me Deus adjuvet et hoc sacrosanctum ejus evangelium," "So help me God and this holy Gospel." Nares considers it as "holy" with the termination "dome," as in "kingdom," "Christendom," &c.

Page 279, line 22 from the bottom. "*But if thou leave such additions.*"]—"But if" means except. The Latin edition says here: "Per Dominum Jesum, *nisi* absque omni cavillo consenseris, captivum te in carceres dedam, tam stricte ut nullus sit æque vinctus latro aut homicida." See the Glossary in vol. viii. for other instances in Foxe.

Page 281, line 13.]—"*Steppe*" means here "a vestige."

Page 282, line 28. "*A stable and a sad ground.*"]—"*Sad,*" which is the reading of the first three editions, means "solid." See Todd's Johnson and Halliwell. In the *Festyvall* (fol. lxiv. verso) we have: "But yet the taryenge of Thomas dyd brynge us to *sadder* beleve, and to the blessynge of our Lorde Jesu Chryst."

Page 283, line 3 from the bottom. "*Lousengers and lounderers.*"]—"*Lousenger*" is a flatterer, a deceiver; see Chaucer's "Nonne's Priest's Tale," 1441, and Todd's Johnson: and "*lounderer*" may perhaps be a *wandering* retailer of relics, &c., resembling the Sarabaites of old; see Buck's Theol. Dict. and Augustine, *de Opere Monach.* c. 28; or Gibson's Preservative, Edit. 1848, vii. 180.

Page 288, line 8.]—"'Qui presbyterum.' Decret. Greg. IX. tit. 38, § 2."

Page 289, line 10 from the bottom.]—"'De Sponsalibus.' Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iv. tit. 1, § 31."

Page 290, line 6.]—Fill up: "Cap. [13] 'Literas tuas' [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. ii. tit. 13;]' and line 20 from the bottom, correct and fill up: "et Caus. xxiv. quæst. 1, § 33, 34, cap. 'Pudenda.'"

Page 291, line 5.]—Fill up: "cap. [4] 'Non minus,' and cap. [7] 'Adversus' [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iii. tit. 49];" and line 18, "'Qualiter et quando' [lib. v. tit. 1, § 17];" line 30, "'Nullus judicum et' [lib. ii. tit. 2, § 2];" line 34, "cap. [5] 'Felicis' [lib. v. tit. 9];" line 9 from the bottom, "Dist. 2 de Consecr. cap. 19—cap. 21;" and line 8 from the bottom, "cap. [16] 'Etsi,' and cap. [17] 'In.'"

Page 292.]—On MSS of Wimbledon's Sermon, see Brit. Magazine, vol. ix 502.

Page 296, line 11.]—"Dread" must be taken imperatively, "*timeant*" is the Latin.

Page 299, note (5). "*Madness.*"]—This is the more correct reading in this instance, the original being "Quæ est ergo ista animarum *insania*, &c." See Augustine's Sermo 368, edit. Bened. § 1, al. 25, *de verbis Dom.*

Page 300, middle.]—On "demerits," used originally in a good sense, see Nares.

Page 324, line 2.]—For "unpeaceable," which is Foxe's reading in all editions, Bale has "unpacable" in the reprint of 1729, p. 28.

Page 325, line 13. "*Or the tilthe.*"]—All the old editions read here correctly "tilthe," which means cultivation.

Page 326, line 3 from the bottom.]—The preamble to Lord Cobham's declaration of his Belief, which has been omitted, is here supplied from the first edition of Foxe, p. 264: "I, John Oldecastel, knyght and Lorde Cobham, wil all Christen men to understande, that Thomas Arundell, Archebyshop of Caunterbury, hath not only layde it to my charge malitiously, but also very untruly, by his letter and seale wrytten against me in most slaunderous wyse, that I should otherwyse fele and teache of the sacramentes of the churche (assigning specially the sacrament of the altar, the sacrament of penaunce, the worshippinge of Images, and goinge of pilgrimage unto them), far otherwise than eyther beleveth or teachethe the universalle holye churche. I take* Almightye," &c.

Page 338, line 3. "*And lead you blindling into hell with themselves.*"]—So all the editions of Foxe: but we should probably read here, as in Bale's account, "blindlings." See Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.

Page 380, middle.] "*Excuss*" means "discuss." See Richardson's Dictionary.

Page 475, line 4. "*And yet they do no honour*" &c.]—In the edition of 1576 and all subsequent editions the "no" is erroneously omitted. It is found in ed. 1563, p. 227, and ed. 1570, p. 731.

Page 606.]—The title "Bishop of Argos" is applied in the Tonstall London Register, folio 48, to John Tynmouth, vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, and suffragan bishop of Argos, who died 1524.

Page 613, line 24. "*How Marcellinus . . . did sacrifice unto idols.*"]—This charge, it may be observed in addition to what appears in the note on vol. i. p. 277, is still retained in the *Breviarium Romanum*, April 26, for the sake of the testimony which it bears, apparently, to the exemption of the bishop of Rome from human jurisdiction. On being summoned before the equally apocryphal Council at Sinuessa, yet no one, says the 5th Lesson in the Breviary, ventured to pass condemnation on him; "omnes unâ voce clamarunt, *Tuo te ore, non nostro judicio judica, nam prima sedes a nemine judicatur.*" Most modern writers, Papal as well as Protestant, question the whole story: see Lumper's *Hist. theologico-critica sanct. Patrum*, tom. xiii. p. 792.

Page 637, line 9 from the bottom. "*Simonides writeth thus.*"]—As translated, that is, by Cicero, in his *Tusculan Quæstions*, i. 42; where, however, for *Spartanos*, the reading is, *Spartæ nos*, which accords better with the Greek original—

Ὦ ξεῖν' ἀγγελλον Λακεδαιμονίοις κ. τ. λ.

The anecdote about "Theodore of Cyrene" (p. 638) is also taken from the *Tusculan Quæstions*, i. 43,

Page 712, line 12 from the bottom.]—From hence to "was amiss," line 12 from the bottom of next page, will be found in the edition of 1563, p. 883, as part of the account of the Duke of Somerset.

Page 713, line 23. "*Fastly.*"]—All the old editions, and Sir T. More's

Dialogue (book i. chap. 14), read "fastly," *i.e.* stedfastly, firmly, unhesitatingly. See Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dict. under *Fæst*.

Page 713, line 31.]—The first edition reads "faitour," the rest "traitor:" "faitour" means imposter, traitor, scoundrel. See Prompt. Parv. (where it is latinized by *fictor, simulator*), Halliwell, Todd's Johnson, Glossary to Chaucer.

Page 755, line 9.]—It would seem that John Goose was not the only person burnt in this reign; for in the registers of the Archdeacon of London relating to this period it appears that one Thomas Undyrwood, of the parish of All Saints the Great, carter, was cited in the month of October, 1486, for holding the opinion "quòd omnes presbyteri ex Salvatore nostro essent heretici." The register adds, "quam opinionem hereticus crematus post festum Natalis Domini tenebat." Underwood was cited for October xvi, and "Comparuit xxii. die Octobris," when he purged himself by 5 compurgators. The Editor is indebted for the above information to the kindness of Mr. Archdeacon Hale. This must be a distinct case from that of John Goose, who suffered in August, 1483, in which year Robert Belisdon was sheriff. (See list of Sheriffs in Maitland's London.) The story of John Goose will be found as told by Foxe in Fabian's Chronicle.

Page 781, line 28. "*A nobleman of Aix-la-Chapelle.*"]—Foxe's text here erroneously reads "a nobleman of Aquine." See Possevin's Apparatus Sacer, tom. i. p. 959.

END OF VOL. III.

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