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THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS  
OF JOHN FOXE.

---

VOL. III.

LONDON:  
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DOCTORS' COMMONS



# ACTES

## and Monuments

of these latter and perillous dayes,  
touching matters of the Church,  
wherein are comprehended and described  
the great persecutions & horrible troubles,  
that have bene wrought and practised by  
the Romishe Prelates, specially in this  
Realme of England and Scotlande,  
from the year of our Lorde a  
thousande, unto the tyme  
nowe present.

Gathered and collected according to the  
true copies and wrytinges certificarie, as wel  
of the parties themselves that suffered,  
as also out of the Bishops Registre, &c.  
which wer the doers therof,  
by John Foxe.

Imprinted at London by John Day,  
dwelling ouer Aldersgate.  
Cum priuilegio Regie Majestatis.





THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS  
OF JOHN FOXE:

*John Foxe*

A NEW AND COMPLETE EDITION:

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION  
BY THE  
REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.  
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
PREBENDARY OF DURHAM,  
AND VICAR OF NORTHALLEERTON, YORKSHIRE.

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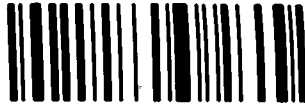
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AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH.

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*A. E. - 24*

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ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

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VOL. III.



# ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

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## CONTINUATION OF BOOK V.

CONTAINING

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT  
OF SATAN.<sup>1</sup>

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### RICHARD THE SECOND.

AFTER king Edward III., succeeded his grandson, Richard II. being yet but young, of the age of eleven years : who, in the same year of his father's decease, with great pomp and solemnity was crowned at Westminster, A. D. 1377, and following his father's steps, was no great disfavoured of the way and doctrine of Wickliff: albeit, at the first beginning, partly through the iniquity of the times, and partly through the pope's letters, he could not do what he would. Notwithstanding, something he did in that behalf; more perhaps than in the end he had thanks for from the papists, as more, by the grace of Christ, shall appear. But as times do change, so changeth commonly the cause and state of man. 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 advantage against John Wickliff; who hitherto, under the protection of the aforesaid duke and lord marshal, had some rest and quiet. Concerning the story of this 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 of lord Henry Percy, the council was interrupted, and broke up before nine of the clock, by reason whereof Wickliff at that time escaped, without any further trouble; who, notwithstanding his being by the bishops forbidden to deal in that doctrine any more, continued

*Richard*  
*II.*  
A. D.  
1377.

(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.—V.D.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
1377.

still with his fellows going barefoot, and in long frieze gowns, preaching diligently unto the people. Out of his sermons these articles most chiefly at that time were collected.

#### Articles collected out of Wickliff's Sermons.

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

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

Item, That the pope of Rome hath no more part 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 temporalities 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 temporalities 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.

Besides these articles, divers other conclusions afterwards 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 three and twenty cardinals.

Wickliff  
called be-  
fore the  
arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury.

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.

A. D. 1378.  
Edmund  
Stafford  
brings  
the pope's  
bull.

In the year following (A. D. 1378), being the first year of king Richard II., the said pope Gregory, taking his time, after the death of king Edward, sendeth his bull<sup>1</sup> 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.

The mas-  
ters of  
Oxford  
doubt  
whether  
to receive  
or reject  
it.

When the bull came to be delivered into 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.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the authors of this

(1) Our author has fallen into an error respecting the date of this bull (see p. 5), for Gregory XI. died on March 27, A. D. 1378, more than two months anterior to it. According to Wilkins's Concilia, all these bulls were dated June 11, 1377; they did not reach England till the November following, and in the mean time, on June 21, in the same year, king Edward III. died. Richard assembled his first parliament on the 13th of October, 1378. See Lewis's History, p. 50; Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 118; and Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. i. pp. 33 and 34, in the note.—Ed.

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 short the matter, in the midst, with silence.

*Richard.*  
*II.*

*A. D.*  
*1378.*

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

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.

We are compelled not only to marvel, but also to lament, that you, considering the apostolical seat hath given unto your university of Oxford such great favour and privilege, and also that you flow, as in a large sea, in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and catholic faith (without which there is no salvation), by your great negligence and sloth, will suffer wild cockle, not only to grow up among the pure wheat of the flourishing field of your university, but also to wax strong and choke the corn. Neither have ye any care, as we are informed, to extirpate and pluck the same up by the roots, to the great blemishing of your renowned name, the peril of your souls, the contempt of the church of Rome, and to the great decay of the ancient faith. And further (which grieveth us), the increase of that filthy weed was more sharply rebuked and judged of in Rome than in England, where it sprang: wherefore let there be means sought, by the help of the faithful, to root out the same. Grievously it is come to our ears, that one John Wickliff, parson of Lutterworth, in Lincoln diocese, a professor of divinity (would God he were not rather a master of errors), is run into a kind of detestable wickedness, not only and openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, divers professions, false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable heresies, whereby he might defile the faithful sort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the state of the church, and utterly subvert the secular policy. Of which his mischievous heresies some seem to agree (only certain names and terms changed) with the perverse opinions, and unlearned doctrine, of Marsilius of Padua, and of John of Ganduno, of unworthy memory; whose books were utterly abolished in the realm of England, by our predecessor of happy memory, John XXII., which kingdom doth not only flourish in power and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and shining in pureness of faith; accustomed always to bring forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, men notable in devotion, and defenders of the catholic faith.

The  
Pope's  
mad bull  
sent to  
Oxford.

The pope  
com-  
plaineth  
of John  
Wickliff.

Wherefore we will and command you, by our writing apostolical, in the name of your obedience, and upon pain of privation of our favour, indulgences, and privileges granted unto you and your university from the said see apostolical, that hereafter ye suffer not those pestilent heresies, and those subtle and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right sense of faith and good works (howsoever they term it, or what curious implication of words soever they use) any longer to be disputed of, or brought in question; lest if it be not withstood at the first, and plucked up by the roots, it might perhaps be too late, hereafter to prepare medicines when a greater number are infected with the contagion. And further, that ye apprehend immediately, or cause to be apprehended the said John Wickliff, and deliver him to be detained in the safe custody of our well-beloved brethren, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, or either of them. And if you shall find any gainsayers corrupted with the said doctrine (which God forbid) in your said university, within your jurisdiction, who shall obstinately stand in the said errors, that then, in like manner, ye apprehend them, and commit them to safe custody, and otherwise to do, in this case, as it shall appertain unto you; so that by your careful proceedings herein, your past negligence concerning the premises may now fully be supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall

Here the  
wild bull  
striket.

*Richard II.* not only purchase unto you the favour and benevolence of the seat apostolical, but also a great reward and merit of Almighty God.

*A. D. 1378.* Given at Rome, at St. Mary's the Greater, xi. Kalends of June, and in the 7th year of our consecration.

*Simon Sudbury.*

Besides this bull sent to the university of Oxford, the said pope Gregory directed, moreover, his letters at 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 into prison; and that the king and the nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to give any credit to the said John Wickliff, or to his doctrine in any wise.

Besides this bill or bull of the pope, sent unto the archbishop of Canterbury and to the bishop of London, bearing date, eleventh Kalend. Jun. and the seventh year of the reign of the pope; I find, moreover, in the said story, two other letters<sup>1</sup> of the pope concerning

(1) The editor subjoins the two letters to which our author alludes, from Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniæ*, pp. 117, 118.

*Alia littera apostolica ad citandum eum ad comparandum 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 nos non sine gravi cordis turbatione, ex plurium fide signorum significatione percepto, quod Johannes Wycliff, rector ecclesie de Lutterworth, Lincolnensis diocesis, sacra pagina professor, utinam non magister errorum, in eam detestabilem vesaniam temere proruperat, quod nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas ac falsas, et male in fide sonantes, quæ statum totius ecclesie subvertere et enervare astantur, quarumquæ aliquæ, licet quibusdam mutatis terminis, imitari videbantur perversas opiniones, et doctrinam in doctam damnatam in memoriam Marsilli de Padua, et Johannis de Gandava, quorum liber per felicis recordationis Johannem papam XXII. prædecessorem nostrum, reprobatum extitit et damnatus, non verebatur in regno Angliæ assertore, dogmatizare, et publice prædicare, illis nonnullis Christi fideles maligne insidens, ac a fide catholica, sine qua non est salus, faciens deviare. Nos attendentes, quod tam periculosum malum, quod in plurimos serpere poterat, eorum animas lothali contagione necando, non debebamus, prout nec debemus, sub dissimulatione transire; vobis per alias nostras litteras 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 litteris plenius continetur. Considerantes itaque, quod præfatus Johannes hujusmodi captivum et incarcerationem forte presentiens, posset (quod absit) per fugam, latitacionis præsidia dictum nostrum mandatum in gravissimum fidei detrimentum eludere; nos, ne tam damnabiles propositiones et conclusiones indiscussæ, et earum temerarius assertor impunite remaneat, in detrimentum gravissimum fidei prælibatæ, fraternitati vestræ per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus vos, vel alter vestrum, per vos vel alium, præfatum Johannem, si per vos capi et carcerari non possit, per edictum publicum proponendum in studio Oxoniensi dictæ diocesis, et aliis locis publicis, de quibus sit verisimilis conjectura, quod ad dicti Johannis notitiam pervenire valeat, et de quibus vobis expedito videatur, ex parte nostra preceptorio monere et citare curetis, quod 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; prædicando in hujusmodi citationis edicto, quod, sive idem Johannes in hujusmodi termino comparuerit, sive non comparuerit, nos super præmissis, et contra eum, usque ad debitam condemnationem ipsius inclusivo procedemus, prout ejus demerita exigent, ac nobis secundum Deum et conservationem dictæ fidei videbitur expedire. Volumus autem, et presentium tenore statuimus, quod prædicta citatio sic facta, perinde præfatum Johannem aretetur, 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 litteras, vestris sigillis munitis, harum seriem continentes, fideliter et quam citius poteritis, intimare curetis. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam Majoram, II. cal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno septimo.” [A. D. 1377, the 51st Ed. III.]

*Alia littera apostolica pro eodem.* Ex Reg. Sudbury, fol. 46, a.—“Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et episcopo Londonensi, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Subsidi periculosos admodum erroribus quarundam detestabilium propositionum et conclusionum ad enervationem totius ecclesiastici status tendentium, quas scriptas in schedula inclusa presentibus, Johannes Wycliff, rector ecclesie de Lutterworth, Lincolnensis diocesis, dictus theologie professor, asseruit tum impie, quam temere suscitasse plenius vobis scribimus per alias nostras patentes litteras, quas cum presentibus 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 dilectam in Christo filiam nobiliorem mulierem principissam Aquitanie et Wallie, 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 servidos studentes facere plenarie informari, ac eis ostendi, quanta verecunda devoto regno Angliæ oriatur exinde; et quod non solum sunt ipsæ conclusiones erroneæ in fide, sed, si bene advertatur, inuunt omnem distrucere solitam; et requiritis eos strictissime, quod ad extirpationem tantorum errorum, pro reverentia Dei et apostolicæ sedis, et nostræ,

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; 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 solution whereof I leave to the judgment of the reader.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1378.Three  
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. 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.

Unto his well-beloved son in Christ, Richard, the most noble king of England, health, &c.

The kingdom of England, which the Most Highest hath put under your power and governance, being so famous and renowned in valiancy and strength, so abundant and flowing in all kind of wealth and riches, but much more glorious, resplendent, and shining, through the brightness and clearness of all godliness and faith, hath been accustomed always to bring forth men endued with the true knowledge and understanding of the holy Scriptures, grave in years, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the catholic faith: the which have not only directed and instructed their own people through their wholesome doctrine and precepts into the true path of God's commandments, but also we have heard by the report and information of many credible persons, to our great grief and heart sorrow, that John Wickliff, parson of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, professor of divinity (I would to God he were no author of heresy), hath fallen into such a detestable and abominable madness, that he hath propounded and set forth diverse and sundry conclusions, full of errors, and containing most manifest heresy, which do tend utterly to subvert and overthrow the state of the whole church; of which, some (albeit under coloured phrase and speech) seem to smell and savour of perverse opinions, the foolish doctrine of condemned memory of Marsilius of Padua, and John of Ganduno, whose books were, by pope John XXII., our predecessor, a man of a most happy memory, reprov'd and condemned, &c.

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 which he did confute him, to the king. It followeth:—

Therefore, forasmuch as our reverend brethren the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London have received a special commandment from us, by our authority, to apprehend and commit the before-named John Wickliff unto prison, and to transport his confession unto us: if they shall seem in the prosecution of this their business to lack your favour or help, we require, and most earnestly desire your majesty, even as your most noble predecessors have always been most earnest lovers of the catholic faith (whose case or quarrel in this matter is chiefly handled); that you would vouchsafe, even for the reverence of God and the faith aforesaid, and also of the apostolic seat and of our person, with your help and favour to assist the said archbishop and all others that shall go about to execute the said business: whereby, besides the praise of men, you

Here is  
imprison-  
ing, but  
no teach-  
ing.

ipsorumque, merito apud Deum, et honore in seculo, tanquam catholici principes, et pugiles dicte fidei, omni, qua poterint, efficaciam tribuant auxilium et favorem. Dat. Romae apud Sanctam Marianam Majorum, 11 cal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

*Richard II.* shall obtain an heavenly reward, and great favour and good will at our hand, and of the see aforesaid.—Dated at Rome, at St. Mary the Greater, the 11th Kal. of June, in the 7th year of our bishopric, A. D. 1378.

A. D.  
1378.

The  
popes  
reasons  
and argu-  
ments in  
confuting  
heresies.

\*<sup>1</sup> These are the whole force and strength of the arguments with which these apostolic bishops do defend the christian faith, and by which they 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, 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 who 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, or in a profane cause; or in time past hath been licensed unto tyrants among 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, who have received a far diverse and contrary spirit, even the spirit of him, who 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 usage 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,<sup>2</sup> and, with force and fire,<sup>3</sup> to oppress and persecute him,<sup>4</sup> 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 to 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

(1) These passages in single asterisks, extending to page 10, are extracts from the Edition of 1563, pp. 80—91, and are in the Latin Edition of 1559, pp. 6, 7.—Ed.

(2) If it should be objected to this expression, that Wickliff was never subjected to so severe a punishment, the reader is reminded that it was the gracious providence of God which preserved this able reformer from the misery of fetters and prisonhouses, and not from any leniency on the part of the pope of Rome; for in 1377 the pope issued bulls, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, to the bishop of London, to the king, and to the heads of the university of Oxford, commanding that Wickliff should be seized and detained in prison till further instructions arrived from Rome. See the document, just before cited, by Foze, from the pope to king Richard, and note (1) on p. 6.—Ed.

(3) Our author means the "fire" of persecution, as he not only describes the inability of the papists to silence the tongue or overthrow the doctrine of this zealous protestant, but notices hereafter his peaceful death at Lutterworth.—Ed.

(4) A mandate from the king was addressed to the vice-chancellor, dated July 1382, ordering that Wickliff and his adherents should be expelled from the university, within seven days.—Ed.



not, bring and allege against him, it seemeth to be a kind of most strange and barbarous cruelty and lightness, for men impudently to abuse the majesty of their prince.

*Richard II.*  
A. D.  
1378.

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 a 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 into prison, were he ever so obstinate, either bound him in fetters, or 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 Epis. 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 one to kill an innocent, instead of a heretic. He that being once or twice admonished or warned, and 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?

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 that was sufficient for every man, which his own will and affection lead him unto, it were to be feared, lest, as it happened unto the Jews in time past, 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 who cannot fail to err, or be deceived; neither is it lawful for any man to examine their

By what means the bishops do convince heretics.

Papists themselves the greatest heretics.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1378.

wills, by the censure of any human judgment. O most miserable state of the church! seeing that the whole state of christian people dependeth on the will (as it were on the beck) of any one man, that whatsoever doth either please or displease his blockish brain, 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 off to speak any more of the pope, and return to Wickliff; who, albeit, as we said before, he was forced by the bishops and prelates to keep silence, yet could not be so suppressed; but that through the vehemency of the truth, he burst out afterwards much more fiercely. For Wickliff, having obtained and gotten the good will 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. Divers copies of his letters I have by me, in which, save force and violence, threatenings and vain words, there was nothing else contained.\*

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.

I. All the whole race of mankind here on earth, except Christ, have no power simply to ordain, that Peter and all his offspring should politically rule over the world for ever.

II. God cannot give to any man, for him and his heirs, any civil dominion for ever.

III. All writings invented by men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impossible.

IV. Every man, being in grace justifying, hath not only right unto the thing, but also for his time hath right, indeed, over all the good things of God.

V. A man can only ministratoriously give any temporal gift, or perpetual gift, whether to his natural son, or to his son by imitation.

VI. If God be, the temporal lords may lawfully and meritoriously take away the riches from the church when delinquent.<sup>1</sup>

VII. We know that Christ's vicar cannot, neither is able by his bulls, neither by his own will and consent, neither by the consent of his college, either to enable or disable any man.

VIII. A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be first and principally excommunicate by himself.

IX. No man ought, but in God's cause alone, to excommunicate, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to revenge by any ecclesiastical censure.<sup>2</sup>

(1) "The church when delinquent;" see the Latin edition, p. 9, "Ecclesia delinquentia." In the English editions, see "the church when they do offend habitualiter." Between the sixth and the seventh conclusion, Wilkins, in his Concilia, vol. iii. p. 123, gives another from Sudbury's Register—"Nunquid ecclesia est in tali statu vel non, non est meum descutere, sed dominorum temporalium examinare; et posito casu confidenter agere, et in pœna damnationis æternæ ejus temporalia auferre." This is not extant in the Latin nor in any English edition of Foxe; Lewis, p. 58, 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 temporalities." The same writer adds a note, intimating that this article was inserted in the pope's schedule, but no reason is alleged for its omission by our author.—Ed.

(2) This conclusion is otherwise expressed in the pope's schedule. The same observation applies to the fifteenth and three following. See Lewis's History, p. 58.—Ed.

X. A curse or excommunication doth not simply bind, but in case it be pronounced and given out against the adversary of God's law. *Richard II.*

XI. There is no power given by any example of Christ to his apostles, to excommunicate any subject specially for denying of any temporalities, but rather contrariwise. A. D. 1378.

XII. The disciples of Christ have no power to exact, by any civil authority, temporalities by censures.

XIII. It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope, or any other Christian do pretend by any means to bind or to loose, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.

XIV. We ought to believe that the vicar of Christ doth only bind and loose when he worketh conformably to the law and ordinance of Christ.

XV. This ought universally to be believed, that every priest rightly and duly ordered, according unto the law of grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the sacraments, and consequently absolve any man confessing his fault, he being contrite for the same.

XVI. It is lawful for kings, in causes licensed by the law, to take away the temporalities from the spirituality, sinning 'habitualiter,' that is, who continue in the custom of sin, and will not amend.

XVII. Whether they be temporal lords, or any other men, whatsoever they be, who have endowed any church with temporalities, it is lawful for them to take away the same temporalities, as it were by way of medicine, to avoid sin, notwithstanding any excommunication or other ecclesiastical censure; forasmuch as they are not given but under a condition.

XVIII. An ecclesiastical minister, and also the bishop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked by his subjects, and for the profit of the church be accused either by the clergy or by the laity.<sup>1</sup>

The above letters, with these articles enclosed, being received from the pope, \*the<sup>2</sup> bishop of Canterbury and the other bishops took them no little to 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 regard of fear or favour set apart, no person, neither high nor low, should hinder them, neither would they be \*seduced<sup>3</sup> by the entreaty of any man, neither by any manner of threatenings or rewards: but that in this cause, they would follow straight and upright justice and equity, yea, albeit even if danger of life should follow thereupon: surely a very good and noble promise, if they had determined this justice, within its right bounds.\* But these so fierce brags, and stout promises, with the subtle practises 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 easily confound and overthrow. For the day of the examination being come, a certain personage of the prince's court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewis Clifford, entering in among the bishops, commanded them that they should not proceed with any definitive sentence against John Wickliff. At these words they all were so amazed, and their combs so cut, that, as in the story is mentioned, they became mute and speechless, as men having not one word in their mouths to answer. 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.

Stout  
brags of  
the  
bishops  
over-  
thrown.

Wickliff  
again  
called  
before  
them.

Is again  
delivered  
from  
them.

(1) 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.'" These conclusions have been collated with the Latin.—Ed.

(2) and (3) These two passages are from Edition 1563, p. 90.—Ed.

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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: <sup>1</sup> "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, to the negligence which they saw before, in the bishops," &c.

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

### The Protestation of John Wickliff.

First, I protest, as I have often before done, that I do mind and intend with my whole heart, by the grace of God, to be a true Christian; and, as long as breath shall remain in me, to profess and defend the law of Christ. And if it shall happen that through ignorance, or otherwise, I shall fail therein, I desire of my Lord God pardon and forgiveness. And now again, as before also, I do revoke and make retraction; most humbly submitting myself under the correction of our holy mother, the church. And forasmuch as the sentence of my faith, which I have holden in the schools and elsewhere, is reported even by children, and, moreover, is carried by children even unto Rome; therefore, lest my dearly beloved brethren should take any offence by me, I will set forth in writing the sentence and articles, for which I am now accused and impeached; which also even unto the death I will defend, as I believe all Christians ought to do, and specially the bishop of Rome, and all other priests and ministers of the church: for I do understand the conclusions after the sense and manner of speaking of the Scriptures and holy doctors, which I am ready to expound; and if they shall be found contrary to the faith, I am ready to revoke, and speedily to call them back again.<sup>2</sup>

(1) "Non dico cives tantum Londinenses, sed viles ipsius civitatis se impudenter ingerere præsumperunt in eandem capellam et verba facere pro eodem, et istud negotium impedire, consilii, ut reor, de ipsorum præmissa negligentia prælatorum." &c.

(2) When Wickliff had been dismissed from the convocation of bishops holden at Lambeth in 1377, he was attacked by an anonymous writer, whom he designated a 'motley theologian.' In Wickliff's reply to this zealous defender of papacy, he concludes his treatise, first, by a "further explanation" of his Conclusions (given in the text above); and secondly, by a zealous appeal to the influential classes of society, to shake off the temporal and spiritual thralldom of the church of Rome. The following Conclusions and Expositions are the first which he set forth, and are inserted from the first edition of the 'Acts and Monuments', where Foxe observes, "it were too long in this place to rehearse all the conclusions of this book, 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."—ED.

*The First Conclusions of John Wickliff, exhibited in the Convocation of certain Bishops, at Lambeth.*

I. "All the whole race of mankind," &c. It is evident by the Scriptures. Forasmuch as in the latter judgment all civil rule shall cease, [1 Cor. xv.]; where the apostle, speaking of the latter day, writeth thus: "Then shall the end come, when he shall deliver up his kingdom unto God, his Father, when he shall have made void all princely rule, power, and dominion." Whosoever then believeth the resurrection of the body, must also believe this article, forasmuch as after that, there shall be no more exaction or secular conversion. No man then hath power, in this behalf, to ordain any thing contrary to the will and decree of the Lord.

II. "God cannot give to any man," &c. For this I do take: that this word 'for ever,' is taken properly and famously, after the manner of the church, praying, "Glory be unto the Trinity, both now and ever." Secondly, I understand that civil dominion is taken, formally, for that, whereby every man doth civilly rule and govern. And, thirdly, that this speech of the power of God, is ordinate or revealed in the holy Scriptures; and then this conclusion followeth, by that which is aforesaid; that by speaking of the absolute power of God, it seemeth probable unto many, that the Lord cannot continue eternally the success of his spouse, because he should then defraud her of her reward, and unjustly defer to take vengeance upon the body of the devil, which he hath deserved.

III. "All writings invented by men," &c. This was spoken, by the way, to a certain Doctor, who, highly commending the writings of men, did contemn and neglect the holy Scriptures. I said it was best to attend and lean unto their [the ?] position and defence of the Scripture, forasmuch as many of these writings are impossible. I grant the conclusion, forasmuch as many writings affirm as touching those who are disinherited and dead untested, that it is given to them for themselves

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

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I. "All the race of mankind here on earth, except Christ, hath no power simply to ordain, that Peter," &c.

This conclusion of itself is evident, forasmuch as it is not in man's power to stop the coming of Christ to his final judgment, but he must needs come, according to the article of our creed, to judge both the quick and the dead.

and their heirs for ever, by a divine writing; which thing, forasmuch as it is against the divine ordinance, they ought not to canonize every writing containing the Scriptures.

IV. "Every man being in grace justifying," &c. Which appeareth evidently enough by the holy Scripture, [Matt. xxiv.] "Verily I say unto you, above all, the goodness of God," &c.; and the apostle saith, in Romans viii., "God spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all; how, then, did he not give us all things also with him?" Wherefore these three first conclusions do even print faith in the hearts of these worldlings, that they should not be drowned in the waves and cares of the world, which passeth away with its concupiscence. And the fourth conclusion alluroth us unto the love of God, who hath chosen us to so many great and true riches.

V. "A man can but only ministratoriously give any temporal dominion or gift, as well to his natural son, as to his son by adoption." It appeareth from Luke vi., "They shall give you, and put into your bosoms a good measure filled, heaped up, and running over." And, forasmuch as it is done only by ministration, it is evident that it is not lawful to give any thing to a man living in this world, but as it were by the ministry of God, and under his authority, according to the saying of the apostles; "I say that Jesus Christ was a minister," &c. Let not his vicar be ashamed to use the ministry of the church; forasmuch as he is, or at least ought to be, the servant of the servants of God. For the determination going from the manner of speaking of the holy Scripture, and the pride of secular dominion, with the flattering and glossing worldly style, doth seem to tend unto blasphemy, and to the advancement of Antichrist; and, especially, when the verities of the Scriptures are reputed as cockle, contrary to the christian faith; yea, by the head captains themselves, who do presume that all controversies of the Scriptures should stand in their determination; albeit they be ever so ignorant of the Scriptures. For so they might consent and come together unto the court, to buy out a condemnation against the most holy and sacred Scriptures as heretical, and also a determination against the articles of our christian faith.

VI. "If God be, the temporal lords may lawfully," &c. By this is to be understood, that we do speak of power, according as the authentic Scripture doth speak, [Matt. iii.] "God is able, even of these stones, to raise up children unto Abraham." Wherefore I do grant the consequent correspondent unto the first article of our faith: for if God be, he is omnipotent; and if he be omnipotent, he may give unto the secular lords such powers; and so, consequently, the secular lords may meritoriously and lawfully use the same power. But, lest this conclusion should not seem to depend on the consequent, I have declared, how that the temporal lords have power to withdraw and take away their alms and charity bestowed upon the church, if they abuse the same; and that such taking away, in some case, is a spiritual work of mercy, saving and preserving the soul from eternal fire, and obtaining blessedness and grace; and such charity aforesaid, bestowed upon the church, yea although against the religion which Christ hath ordained, doth relieve the body from a temporal misery, as a corporal or bodily alms. And as it seemeth, that great gifts may be an occasion of hessedness and happiness, so more like is the taking away of the same. Yet, notwithstanding, he said that it was not lawful to do it, but by the authority of the church, and for lack of some spiritual ruler or governor, and in case the ecclesiastical minister, being strayed from the catholic faith, is to be corrected and punished.

VII. "We know that Christ's vicar cannot," &c. It appeareth evidently by the Scriptures; forasmuch as the church doth fully believe, that the ruling of any man ought first to proceed and come of God; wherefore no man, being Christ's vicar, hath any power in this matter; but only, as vicar, in the name of the Lord, to notify unto the church, whom God hath enabled. Wherefore, if any man do any thing, not as vicar, in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forthink to be his author and head, it is a presumption of Lucifer; forasmuch as Christ by his apostle saith, [1 Cor. iii.] "All our sufficiency cometh of God."

VIII. "A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt," &c. It appeareth; forasmuch as every such excommunication doth tend unto the impairing of him who is excommunicated; for no man, according to St. Chrysostom's mind, and by the holy Scriptures, can be endangered or hurt, except he be hurt by sin, which must take its first original and beginning from him who doth commit the offence or sin. For the just and deserved suspension of any man, from the sacraments, and entrance to the church, is no excommunication of the church, but by name only; and, as touching the desert itself, it proceedeth first from him who is excommunicated, rather than from the vicar of Christ, who doth give the sentence against him; for no man is excommunicated to his own hurt, but only through sin, which taketh away God's help; and as it appeareth by Isaiah ix. "Your sins have made separation between your God and you."

IX. "No man ought, but on God's cause alone," &c. It appeareth by this, that no man ought to desire vengeance, but in a just cause: whereupon, I conclude, that forasmuch as all such punishment hath its original of sin, and that all sin is against God, as saith the psalmist, [Psalm li.] "Against thee only have I sinned." Whereby it is evident that no man ought to proceed to any such kind of punishment, but only in respect to take vengeance for the offence done against God; for, according unto the Scripture, no man ought to take vengeance but for offence committed against his God; and to forgive all private injuries, as it is plain by the commandment of Christ [Matt. xviii.], "If thy brother have offended thee, forgive him, even unto seventy times seven."

X. Heroby the conclusion is evident, that "a curse or excommunication doth not simply bind; but in case it be pronounced and given out against the adversary of God's law;" and it appeareth thus: every such malediction doth not bind, as touching towards God, except that he who is so bound doth offend against his law; but it doth not simply bind, except it did also bind, as touching God; *ergo*, I conclude, "if God do justify, who is he that can outdoom?" and God is not offended at any time, but for resisting against his law. And these articles of faith do further and help, that the law of Christ is the better embraced and loved, which, notwithstanding, ought to be the reason and rule to direct and lead us in every lawful process, and that the Scripture, written in Rom. xii., may the better be remembered, where it is said, "Dearly beloved, be not revengers of your own selves, but give place unto anger; for it is written, Commit vengeance to me, saith the Lord; and I will reward."

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And then, as the Scripture teacheth, shall surcease all civil and politic rule here: I understand the temporal and secular dominion pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortal life, for so do the philosophers speak of civil dominion. And although the thing which is terminable, and hath an end, is called sometimes perpetual, yet, because in holy Scripture, and in use of the church, and in the books of philosophers, most commonly that is taken to be perpetual, which hath no end of time hereafter to come, according to which sense the

XI. "There is no power given by any example," &c. And this is evident by this: that Christ saith, that the honour of God, and the profit of the church, are to be preferred before any private commodity, or denial of temporalities. The second part is evident by Luke ix., where he rebuked his disciples, when they would have had fire to come down from heaven, to excommunicate the infidels and misbelievers, because they unjustly detained and kept back their goods from Christ and his disciples. "You know not," said he, "whose spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man cometh to save the souls of men, and not to destroy them." Whereupon this is a general conclusion, that it is not lawful for him who is Christ's vicar, to excommunicate his neighbour, but only for love; wherewithal he must be more affected, than with the love of any temporal goods of this world. The negative conclusion is also evident, inducing and leading, unto the impossibility, which otherwise should be in Christ, "yea, yea, nay, nay."

XII. "The disciples of Christ have no power," &c. This appeareth by the apostles, and the other of Christ's disciples, until the time that the church was endowed with possessions; which church, in how great necessity soever the faithful were, did never exercise any such kind of power or authority, but exhorted all men according to the law of God, and the devout ministering of such blessings, which ought to be willing alms. But, after that the church was endowed and enriched, then were these cloaked censures and secular exactions brought in. This is proved, and standeth manifest in Luke xxii., that all civil possessions were forbidden and prohibited unto Christ's disciples,

XIII. "It is not possible by the absolute power," &c. It appeareth, by this means, that every Christian may very shamefully err on this point, from the triumphant church: then could he not bind or loose, as he doth pretend in his mind; wherefore it cannot be, that albeit he do pretend to bind and loose, that he doth so. Whereupon it seemeth unto me, that he who doth usurp that power unto himself, should be the same man of sin, of whom it is spoken in 2 Thess. ii., that "he sitteth in the temple of God, and showeth himself, as though he were a God."

XIV. "We ought to believe that the vicar of Christ," &c. Hereby it appeareth that all the power and authority which Christ's vicar hath, is then only lawful in effect, so long as it is ruled by the good-will and pleasure of the head of the church.

XV. "This ought universally to be believed, that every priest, rightly and duly ordered, according to the law of grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the sacraments, and consequently absolve any man confessing his fault, being contrite and penitent for the same, whatsoever it be." Whereby all men may perceive, that the power and authority of orders in all christian priests is alike; as Hugo, in his second book of Sacraments, doth declare. Notwithstanding, some authorities of the inferior sort of priests are now so reasonably restrained in substance, and otherwise set at liberty in the very point of need or necessity.

XVI. "It is lawful for kings, in causes licensed by the law, to take away the temporalities from the spiritually, which in their living and behaviour abuse the same." It appeareth by the reason set before in the fifth conclusion: for unto the greatest works of mercy, most easy unto the temporal lords, they are most largely bound: but, peradventure, it would be a greater alms, and easier temporal dominion, to take away their alms, that it do not build unto damnation through the abuse thereof, than to enlarge the said alms for any corporal or bodily relief or help. Wherefore I do conclude, that, according unto the threefold law, this sentence is specified. The first is the civil law: "De Collatione Corrodii" [Col. 10]. "If any of the clergy," saith the law, "as a bishop, or an abbot, have a benefice given him by the king, not only of the person, but of the church, and that through his own fault and offence he do lose the same, he being yet alive, it pertaineth unto the king. But after the death of the spiritual man, it shall return again to his successor." The second is the canon law [Quæst. 16]; where it is thus decreed, that "it shall be lawful for the sons, nephews, and the most honest of the kindred of him, who either builded, or endowed any church, to have this foresight: that if they do intend to defraud any priest of the dowry bestowed upon him, they should either admonish him by some honest communication or talk, or else complain of him to the bishop or judge, to be punished: and, if it so happen that the bishop be negligent of doing of his office, let it be told unto the metropolitan; and if he also seem to slack and wink at the matter, let it then, as saith the canon, be remembered in the ears of the king." Neither do I believe this to be a feigned matter; but of what, I pray you, should they complain unto the king, but only that he should see correction done? Neither is there any doubt, but that correction doth more aptly appertain unto the king; and the taking away of the goods reasonably (according unto the fault), whereof he is principal and chief lord, should be much better and more commendable in this behalf. The third is the law of the gospel [2 Thess. iii.], where the apostle writeth thus: "When we were with you, we declared this unto you, that whatsoever would not work, should not eat." The law of nature, also, doth license all such as have the rule and governance of kingdoms, to correct the abuse of the temporalities, which will be the chief destructions of their kindoms.

XVII. "Whether they be temporal lords," &c. Hereby it appeareth, that the condition following upon the gift of any such goods unto the church is such, that God should be honoured thereby, and the church builded; which condition, if it be left undone in any point, the title of the gift is lost, and so, consequently, the lord who gave the gift ought to correct and amend the fault, and excommunication ought not to stop or let the execution of justice. For so the clergy, by their excommunications provided for the same, might get into their hands the whole world.

XVIII. "An ecclesiastical minister, and also the bishop of Rome," &c. The first part is evident; forasmuch as every ecclesiastical brother, being in danger of sin, is consequently under the law of brotherly correction [Matt. xviii.], if he do offend against any man, having any possible opportunity, he ought to correct him; and so, likewise, if he obstinately continue in any heretical opinion, or other grievous offence, tending to any spiritual hurt, or damage of the church; that, in such case, he ought to be complained of to the higher powers, to the intent that through his correction, the danger may be avoided: For so was Peter rebuked by St. Paul [Gal. ii.]; and many unruly persons have been put down by emperors, as Castrensis, in his fifth book of Polychronicon, doth declare: "For the church is above the bishop." Therefore, to say that he ought not to be rebuked, or punished but only of God, what offence soever he hath committed, it seemeth to me to

church singeth "Gloria patri," &c. "Nunc et in perpetuum;" I also, after the same signification, do take here this word "perpetually," and so is this conclusion consonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in man's power to ordain the course and voyage of the church, here perpetually to last.

2. "God cannot give to any man," &c.

To the second conclusion I answer, understanding civil dominion, as in the conclusion before. And so I hold, first, that God, by his ordinate power, cannot give to any person civil dominion here for ever. Secondly, that by his absolute power it is not probable that he will so do, forasmuch as he cannot ever detain his spouse in perpetual prison of this life, nor always defer the final beatitude of his church.

3. To the third conclusion. "Many writings or charts invented by men, as touching perpetual heritage civil, be impossible."

The verity of this conclusion is incident. For we must not canonize all manner of charts whatsoever as catholic or universal; for then it were not lawful by any means to take away or sequester things given by chart or charter, when any doth unjustly occupy the same. And so if that stand confirmed and ratified by the faith of the church, great occasion thereby should be ministered to men so chartered, to trust to their temporal charts; and so might grow thereby much liberty and license to sin: for, like as by what supposition every truth is necessary, so by the same supposition every false thing is possible; as is plain by the testimony of the Scripture, and of holy doctors speaking of necessity of things to come.

4. "Every man being in grace justifying finally,<sup>1</sup> hath not only right unto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed over all the good things of God."

The verity hereof is evident, by holy Scripture [Matt. xxiv.], where Verity promiseth to every man entering into his joy: "verily," saith he, "I tell you, he shall set and place him over all the goods he hath." For the right and title belonging to the communion of saints in their country (he meanneth in the kingdom of heaven):<sup>2</sup> "hath his relation, as unto his object, to all the goods and possession of God."

5. "A man can only ministratoriously give any temporal dominion or gift perpetual, as well to his natural son, as to his son by imitation."

It is evident. For every man ought to recognise himself in all his works and doings, as an humble servant and minister of God, as the words of Scripture do teach us: "Let a man so esteem of us as the ministers of Christ." Yea, so Christ himself did teach his chief apostles to minister; but in their country the saints shall give unto their fellow brethren the dominion of their goods, 'Ut patet de suis corporibus et bonis eis inferioribus in natura,' according to the words of Luke vi. "They shall give you, and put into your bosoms a good measure and perfect, well filled and heaped up, and running over."

6. "If God be, temporal lords may lawfully and meritoriously take away the goods of fortune from the church when they do offend habitualiter."

This conclusion is correlative with the first article of our faith: "I believe in God, the Father Almighty," &c. Where I understand this word "may" in

infer that he should be above the church, the spouse of Christ. And Christ himself, albeit that he was without sin, yet would he be subject unto the princes and rulers, even in the taking away of his temporalities, as it appeareth in Matthew xvii.

These conclusions (as I have said) are as the true seed of faith, separated from the chaff, whereby the unthankful cockle is enflamed and set on fire; which, after it hath brought out the fire of most vile and unsavoury shamesfacedness and vengeance, it provideth food for Antichrist, contrary and against the holy Scriptures; whereof this is an infallible sign: that there shall reign in the clergy, most pernicious and luciferous venom and pride, consisting in the greedy desire of domination and rule; whose companion and wife, insatiable covetousness of earthly things, utterly extinguishing the children of the evangelical poverty, bringeth forth the children of the devil. A most certain token of this genealogy appeareth by this; that many, even of the children of poverty, degenerating and going out of kind, do maintain, either by their words, or at least by their silence, the part of Lucifer; not being able or willing, or at least not daring (for the seed of that man of sin which is sown in their hearts, or for some servile or bond fear for the loss of their temporalities) to stand to the defence of the poverty of the gospel. Thus far Wickliff. Our author 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 Vaughan's *Life of Wickliff* (Appendix to vol. 1.), copied from MSS. Seldeni Archi. B. 10.—Ed.

(1) "In gratia gratificante finaliter."—Ed.

(2) "Fundatur objective supra unam versitatem honorum Dei."

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

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this conclusion, after the manner of authentic Scripture, which saith and granteth, "that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham;" for otherwise all christian princes were heretics. For upon this conclusion thus standeth the reason: If God be, he is omnipotent, and if he be Almighty, he is able to command the lords temporal so to do: and if he may so command, then may they lawfully so take away such goods, &c. And so by the virtue of the same principle, christian princes have practised the said sentence upon the churchmen heretofore, as did William Rufus, &c. But God forbid that any should believe hereby my intention to have been, that secular lords may lawfully take away what goods soever, and by what means soever, by their own naked authority at their pleasure: but only by the authority of the church they may so do, in cases and form limited by the law.

7. "We know that it is not possible that the vicar of Christ is able by his pure bulls," &c.

This is manifest by the catholic faith; forasmuch as the church doth fully believe that the enabling of any man ought first to proceed and come of God; wherefore no man being Christ's vicar, hath any power in this matter, but only as vicar in the name of the Lord, so far forth as he is enabled of the Lord, to notify unto the church whom God hath enabled. Wherefore if any man do any thing, not as vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethink to be his author and head, it is a presumption of Lucifer, forasmuch as Christ by his apostle saith [1 Cor. iii.], "all our ability or sufficiency cometh of God." And so consequently, it cometh not purely by the ministry of his vicarship, that he is enabled, but the ableness or unableness of him, being the vicar of Christ, cometh to him another way from above.

8. "A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be excommunicated first and principally of himself."

It is evident, forasmuch as all such excommunication ought to proceed and begin originally of his own sin which is damnified: whereupon Augustine saith, "De verbis Domini," sermone 51. "Do not thou conculcate thyself, and man overcometh thee not." And moreover the faith of the church doth teach, "Quod nulla ei nocebit adversitas, si nulla dominetur iniquitas:" that is to say; "No adversity shall hurt, if no iniquity hath the upper hand." And yet, notwithstanding, every excommunication for many causes is also to be feared, although the excommunication of the church, to the humble man being excommunicated, be not damnable but wholesome.

9. "No man ought but in God's cause alone to excommunicate, suspend," &c.

It is clear, forasmuch as every just cause is the cause of God, whose respect ought chiefly to be weighed and pondered. Yea, the love of the person excommunicated, ought to surmount the zeal of revengement and the desire of all temporal goods whatsoever; for, otherwise, he that doth excommunicate, doth damnify himself. To this ninth conclusion, notwithstanding, it is congruent that a prelate may excommunicate in the cause also of man, so that his principal respect in so doing be had to the injury done to his God, as appeareth 13, quaest. 4. "Inter querelas."

10. "No curse or excommunication can bind simply, but in case it be given out against the adversary of Christ's law."

And it appeareth thus, because that God doth bind simply every one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but only for transgression of his law. Whereunto it is consonant notwithstanding, that the censure of the church doth not bind simply, but secondarily in that case and respect, as it is denounced against the adversary of the members of the church.

11. "There is no example of Christ, which giveth power to his disciples to excommunicate any subject, especially for denying of any temporalities, but contrary."

Which is thus declared by the faith, whereby we believe that God is to be beloved above all things, and our neighbour and enemy are to be beloved above all temporal goods of this world necessarily; for the law of God cannot be contrary unto itself.

12. "The disciples of Christ have no power, by any civil coaction, to exact temporal things by their censures."

This appeareth by the faith of the Scripture [Luke xxiii.], where Christ did



forbid his apostles civilly to reign or to bear any lordship. "The kings," saith he, "of the Gentiles bear rule over them; but you not so." And after this sense it is expounded of St. Bernard, of St. Chrysostom, and other holy men: which conclusion notwithstanding, yet may they exact temporal things by ecclesiastical censures incidently, if case be that it appertain to the revenge-ment of their God.

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13. "It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other Christian do pretend to bind or loose at their pleasure by what means soever, that thereby he doth so bind and loose."

The contrary of this conclusion will destroy the whole catholic faith, importing no less than that he is a blasphemers, who thus usurpeth such absolute power of the Lord. And yet, by this conclusion, I intend not to derogate from the power of the pope, or of any other prelate of the church, but that he may, by the virtue of the head, so bind and loose; but do understand the conditional of this negative to be impossible, after this sense, that it cannot be that the pope or any other prelate of the church can pretend, by himself, to bind or loose (how and after what manner he list himself), except in such sort, that he do indeed so bind and loose before God, as he doth pretend to do.

14. "We ought to believe, that the vicar of Christ doth at such times only bind and loose, when he worketh conformably by the law and ordinance of Christ," &c.

Power of  
of all priests  
toward  
God  
equal.

The reason thereof is this, because otherwise it is unlawful for him so to do, except he should do it in virtue of that law; and so, consequently, unless it be conformable to the law and ordinance of Christ.

15. To this conclusion, "This ought universally to be believed, that every priest rightly and duly ordered hath power according to his vocation," &c.

The reason hereof is this, because the order of priesthood, in his own nature and substance, receiveth no such degrees, either of more or less. And yet, notwithstanding, the power of inferior priests in these days, is upon due consideration restrained, and sometimes again, in time of extreme necessity, released. And thus, according to the doctors, a prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, and the power of jurisdiction or regiment. And according to this second power, the prelates are in a higher majesty and regiment.

16. "It is lawful for princes and kings, in cases by the law limited, to withdraw temporal commodities from churchmen, abusing the same 'habitualiter.'"

The reason thereof is plain, for that temporal lords ought rather to lean to spiritual alms, which bringeth with it great fruit, than to corporal alms; the case so standing, that sometimes it were a necessary work of spiritual alms to chastise such clerks, by taking from them their temporal livings, who used to abuse the same, to the damnifying both of their soul and body. The case which the law doth limit in this matter, were the defect of correcting his spiritual head, or else for lack of correcting the faith of the clerk who so offendeth, as appeareth, 16. q. 7. "Filiis," dist. 40. cap. "Si Papa."

17. "Whether they be temporal lords, or any other men whatsoever, who have endowed any church with temporalities," &c.

The truth thereof is evidently seen, for that nothing ought to stop a man from the principal works of charity necessarily, because in every action and work of man is to be understood a privy condition necessary of God, his good will concurring withal, as it is in the civil law de c. Conradi cap. 5. in fine collat. x. And yet, God forbid, that by these words accusation should be given to the lords temporal to take away the goods of fortune from the church.

18. "An ecclesiastical minister, yea, the bishop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked by his subjects, and for the profit of the church be accused, either by the clergy, or by the laity."

The proof of this is manifest hereby, because the said bishop of Rome is subject to fall into the sin against the Holy Ghost, as may be supposed, saving the sanctitude, humility, and reverence due to such a father. For so long as our brother is subject unto the infirmity of falling, he lieth under the law of brotherly correction. And when the whole college of cardinals may be slothful in ministering due correction for the necessary prosperity of the church, it is apparent that the residue of the body of the church, which possibly may stand most of laymen, may wholesomely correct the same, accuse, and bring him to

*Richard II.* a better way. The possibility of this case is touched, dist. 40. "Si Papa." "If the pope do err from the right faith," &c. For as such a great fall ought not to be supposed in the lord pope without manifest evidence, so again, such an obstinacy ought not to be supposed in him, possibly being fallen, but that he will humbly receive the wholesome medicine of his superior, correcting him in the Lord; the practice of which conclusion also is testified in many chronicles. Far be it from the church of Christ, that verity should be condemned which soundeth evil to transgressors and other slothful persons, for then the whole faith of the Scripture were in a damnable case.

A. D. 1378.

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 escaped clearly away, only being charged and commanded by them, 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, yet, notwithstanding, ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the church as he had begun; to whom also, as it happened by the providence of God, this likewise was a great help and stay, that in the same year, or in the beginning of the year following, the aforesaid pope Gregory XI., who was the stirrer up of all this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died. After him ensued such a schism in Rome, between two popes, and others succeeding them, one striving against another, that it endured the space of thirty-nine years, until the time of the Council of Constance. (A. D. 1414.)

A. D. 1378.  
Death of pope Gregory XI.  
A schism in Rome.

The first occasioner of that schism, was pope Urban VI., who in the beginning of his popedom was so proud and insolent to his cardinals, and others (as to dukes, princes, and queens), and so set to advance his nephews 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, who reigned eleven years; and after him Benedict XIII., who reigned twenty-six years. Again, on the contrary side, after Urban VI. succeeded Boniface IX., Innocent VIII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., John XXIII. (A. D. 1410.)

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, 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, his wife, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, who before had sent to pope Urban, besides other gifts at his coronation, forty thousand ducats in pure gold, was, afterwards, by the said Urban, committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled: what cardinals were racked, and

Was not here a jolly agreement?

(1)	POPES.				ANTIPOPES.	
Urban VI. ruled	. . . . .	11	8	mo.	Clement ruled	11 yrs.
Boniface IX.	. . . . .	14	9		Benedict XIII.	26
Innocent VIII.	. . . . .	2	0			
Gregory XII.	. . . . .	2	7			
Alexander V.	. . . . .	0	11			
John XXIII.	. . . . .	5	10			

miscrably, without all mercy, tormented on gibbets to death: what slaughter of men, what battles were fought between the two popes, wherein five thousand men on 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 Aquilonensis, being suspected by 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 to 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,<sup>1</sup> who was near to the said pope Urban, and present at all his doings; therefore, as a thing needless, I here omit; referring those who covet to be certified more amply herein, unto the three books of the said Theodric, above mentioned.

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About the same time also, some three years after, there arose a cruel dissension in England, between the common people and the nobility, which did not a little disturb and trouble the commonwealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, was taken by the rustic and rude people, and was beheaded; in whose place 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 drew to greater force, until the time that William Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, about A. D. 1380, had the whole rule of that university: who calling together eight monastical doctors, and four others, with the consent of the rest of his affinity, putting the common seal of the university unto certain writings, 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 himself with any of Wickliff's abettors or favourers: and unto Wickliff himself he threatened the greater excommunication, and further imprisonment, and to all his abettors, unless that after three days canonical admonition or warning, or as they call it, peremptory, they did repent and amend. When Wickliff understood this, forsaking the pope and all the clergy, he thought to appeal unto the king's majesty; but the duke of Lancaster coming between, forbade him, 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, was forced once again to make confession of his doctrine; in 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.

Jack Straw's rebellion.

Simon, the archbishop, beheaded.

A. D. 1380.

Edict against the Wickliffites.

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

A. D. 1382

(1) Theodoricus Niemus, "De Schismate."

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certainly affirmed. The mandate of the archbishop, William Courtney, sent abroad for the conventing together of his council, here followeth underwritten, truly copied out of his own registers.

### Mandate of Archbishop Courtney respecting Heresy.

*Memorandum.*—Whereas amongst the nobles as well as commons of this realm of England, there hath a certain rumour been spread of divers conclusions both erroneous, and also repugnant to the determination of the church, which tend to the subversion of the whole church, and to our province of Canterbury, and also to the subversion of the whole realm, being preached in divers and sundry places of our said province, generally, commonly, and publicly: We William, by God's permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the see apostolical, being minded to execute our office and duty herein, have convocated or called together certain of our fellow brethren and others a great many, as well doctors and bachelors of divinity, as doctors of the canon and civil law, and those whom we thought to be the most famous men, skilfullest men, and men of soundest judgment in religion, that were in all the realm, whose names hereunder ensue. And the same being (the seventeenth day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1382,) in a certain chamber within the territories of the priory of the friars preachers of London, before us and our aforesaid fellow brethren assembled, then and there personally present: after that the said conclusions (the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth) were openly put forth, and distinctly and plainly read, we burdened our aforesaid fellow brethren, doctors and bachelors, in the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as they would answer before the High Judge in the day of judgment, that they should speak their opinions touching the said conclusions, and what each of them thinketh therein.

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

And at length, after good deliberation had upon the premises, the aforesaid our brethren the bishops, doctors, and bachelors reassembled before us the twenty-first day of the same month in the aforesaid chamber, the aforesaid conclusions being again and again repeated and plainly read; by us, and by the common consent of us all, it remaineth published and declared, that some of the said conclusions are heretical, and others erroneous and contrary to the determination of the church, as hereafter most manifestly shall appear. And, forasmuch as by sufficient information we find and perceive, that the said conclusions in many places of our said province have been, as is said, both taught and preached; and that divers other persons do hold and maintain the same, and be of heresy vehemently and notoriously suspected, we have thought good, as well generally as specially, to send out this process underwritten, &c.

Names of the jurors to whom they were referred.

The names of the jurors were these:—Eight bishops: Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Exeter, Hereford, Sarum, Rochester, and friar Botlesham, bishop: Three friars preachers: Siward, Paris, Langley. Four minorites: Folville, Carlel, Frisley, Bernwell. Augustine friars, four: Ashborne, Bowkin, Woldley, Hornington. Carmelites four: Glanville, Dis, Loney, Kiningham. Monks four: Wells, Ramsey, Bloxam, Marton. Doctors of the canon and civil law fourteen: Appelby, Waltram, Baketon, Chadesden, Tregision, Stow, Blanchard, Rocombey, Lidford, Welbourne, Flainburgh, Motrum, Brandon, and Prophet. Bachelors of divinity six: Humbleton, Pickwech, Lindlow, Wich, Chiselden, Tomson.

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

## Articles of John Wickliff, condemned as Heretical.

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1. That the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration.
2. That the accidents do not remain without the subject in the same sacrament, after the consecration.
3. That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporal person.
4. That if a bishop or a priest be in deadly sin, he doth not order, consecrate, or baptize.<sup>1</sup>
5. That if a man be duly and truly contrite and penitent, all exterior and outward confession is but superfluous and unprofitable unto him.
6. That God ought to obey the devil.<sup>2</sup>
7. That it is not found or established by the gospel, that Christ did make or ordain mass.
8. That if the pope be a reprobate and evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power by any manner of means given unto him over faithful Christians, except peradventure it be given him by the emperor.
9. That since the time of Urban VI. there is none to be received for pope, but every man is to live after the manner of the Greeks, under his own law.
10. That it is against the sacred Scripture, that ecclesiastical ministers should have any temporal possessions.<sup>3</sup>

## Other Articles of John Wickliff, condemned as Erroneous.

11. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he know him first to be excommunicate of God.
12. That he who doth so excommunicate any man, is thereby himself either a heretic or excommunicated.
13. That a prelate or bishop excommunicating any of the clergy, who hath appealed to the king or the council, is thereby himself a traitor to the king and realm.
14. That all who do leave off preaching or hearing the word of God, or preaching the gospel, for fear of excommunication, are already excommunicated, and in the day of judgment shall be counted as traitors unto God.
15. That it is lawful for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without authority or license of the apostolic see or any other of its catholic.<sup>4</sup>
16. That so long as a man is in deadly sin, he is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.<sup>5</sup>
17. Also that the temporal lords may, according to their own will and discretion, take away the temporal goods from the churchmen whensoever they do offend.<sup>6</sup>
18. That tenths are pure alms, and that the parishioners may, for offence of their curates, detain and keep them back, and bestow them upon others, at their own will and pleasure.
19. Also, that all special prayers applied to any private or particular person, by any prelate or religious man, do no more profit the same person, than general or universal prayers do profit others, who be in like case or state unto him.
20. That he that giveth alms to the friars, or to any friar that preacheth, is excommunicate, both he that giveth and he that taketh.
21. Moreover, if any man doth enter into any private religion, whatsoever it be, he is thereby made the more unapt and unable to observe and keep the commandments of God.

(1) *Id est, "indigne hæc fecit,"* exposit 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 to in a subsequent page.—Ed.]

(3) He meaneth church goods not to be so peculiar to ministers, but that they may be taken away if they so deserve.

(4) *Hunc articulum explanat et emollit* Joan. Huss. Lat. Ed. p. 26.—Ed.

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

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

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22. That holy men, who have instituted private religions, whatsoever they be (as well such as are endowed and possessed, as also the order of begging friars having no possessions), in so doing, have grievously offended.

23. That religious men, being in their private religions, are not of the Christian religion.

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

A Letter of William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, directed to the Bishop of London, against John Wickliff and his Adherents.

William, by God's permission archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and of the apostolical see, legate; to our reverend brother, by the grace of God, bishop of London, salutation. The prelates of the church ought to be so much the more vigilant and attentive about the charge of the Lord's flock committed to them, by how much the more they shall understand the wolves, being clothed in sheep's apparel, fraudulently to go about to worry and scatter the sheep. Truly, by the continual cry and public fame, which it grieveth me to report; it is come to our knowledge, that although, by the canonical sanctions, no man being forbidden or not admitted, should either publicly or privately, without the authority of the apostolical see, or bishop of that place, usurp or take upon him the office of a preacher; some, notwithstanding, such as are the children of damnation, being under the veil of blind ignorance, are brought into such a doating mind, that they take upon them to preach, and are not afraid to affirm and teach divers and sundry propositions and conclusions, here-under recited, both heretical, erroneous, and false, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy church, which tend to the subverting of the whole state of the same, of our province of Canterbury, and to the destruction and weakening of the tranquillity of the same; and that as well in the churches, as in the streets, as also in many other profane places of our said province, generally, commonly, and publicly, they do preach the same, infecting very many good Christians, causing them lamentably to wander out of the way, and from the catholic church, without which there is no salvation.

We, therefore, considering that so pernicious a mischief, which may creep amongst many, we ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to pass over, which may with deadly contagion slay the souls of men, lest their blood be required at our hands, are willing, so much as God will permit us to do, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the counsel and consent of many of our brethren and suffragans, we have convened divers and sundry doctors of divinity, as also professors and other clerks of the canon and civil law, the most learned within the realm, and of the soundest opinion and judgment in the catholic faith, to give their opinions and judgments concerning the aforesaid conclusions. But, forasmuch as the said conclusions and assertions, being in the presence of us and our fellow-brethren and other convocates openly expounded and diligently examined, and in the end, found by the common council and consent as well of them as of us, and so declared that some of those conclusions were heretical, and some of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the church, as here-under are described: we will and command your brotherhood, and, by virtue of holy obedience, straitly enjoin all and singular our brethren and suffragans of our body and church of Canterbury, that with all speedy diligence you possibly can, you likewise enjoin them, as we have enjoined you, and each of them; and that every one of them, in their churches and other places of their city and diocese, do admonish and warn; and that you, in your church and other churches of your city and diocese, do admonish and warn, as we, by the tenor of these presents, do admonish and warn the first time, the second time, and the third time; and yet more straitly do warn, 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 from henceforth, of what estate or condition soever, do hold, preach, or defend the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them; or that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, or that he hear or hearken to the heresies or errors of him or any of them, or that he favour or lean unto him, either publicly or privately; but that immediately he shun him, as he would avoid a serpent

Had ye  
tried  
them by  
the truth,  
you  
should  
have  
found  
them  
other-  
wise.

putting forth most pestiferous poison, under pain of the greater curse; which we command to be thundered against all and every one who shall be disobedient in this behalf, and not regarding these our monitions, after those three days be past which are assigned for the canonical monition, and that their delay, fault, or offence committed, require the same: and then, according to the tenor of these writings, we command, both by every one of our fellow-brethren and our suffragans in their cities and dioceses, and by you in your city and diocese (as much as belongeth both to you and them), that to the uttermost both ye and they cause the same excommunications to be pronounced.

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And, furthermore, we will and command our aforesaid fellow-brethren, and all and singular of you apart by ourselves, to be admonished, and by the aspersion of the blood of Jesus Christ, we likewise admonish you, that, according to the institution of the sacred canons, every one of them in his city and diocese, be a diligent inquisitor of this heretical pravity; and that every one of you also in your city and diocese be the like inquisitor of the aforesaid heretical pravity. And that of such like presumption they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalf), with effect do proceed against the same, to the honour and praise of His name that was crucified, and for the preservation of the christian faith and religion.<sup>1</sup>

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

Here is not to be passed over the great miracle of God's divine admonition or warning; for when the archbishop and suffragans, with the other doctors of divinity and lawyers, with a great company of babbling friars and religious persons, were gathered together to consult as touching John Wickliff's books, and that whole sect; when, as I say, they were gathered together at the Grey-Friars in London, to begin their business, upon St. Dunstan's day after dinner, about two of the clock, the very hour and instant that they should go forward with their business, a wonderful and terrible earthquake<sup>2</sup> fell throughout all England:<sup>3</sup> 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, who were almost daunted with fear, stoutly to proceed and go forward in their attempted enterprise: who then discoursing Wickliff's articles, not according to the sacred canons of the holy Scriptures, but to their own private affections and traditions, pronounced and gave sentence, that some of them were simply and plainly heretical, some half erroneous, some irreligious, others seditious, and not consonant to the church of Rome. \*Besides,<sup>4</sup> 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, which 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 had said openly unto the people, 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 was objected

An earthquake, when Wickliff was examined.

(1) Yea, rather, for the honour of your pope, and the destruction of christian faith.

(2) The Godstow Chronicle tells us, "that this earthquake was on the Wednesday before Whitsunday, or May 30, about one o'clock in the afternoon." See Lewis' Hist. p. 332.—Ed.

(3) Ex Chron. mon. Alban.

(4) For this passage, see edition 1563, pp. 95, 96.—Ed.

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against Huss by his adversaries (neither is it in the story of Wickliff, that I can find or know), yet, forasmuch as he did not deny the same, neither, if he so said, doth it seem that he would speak it without some ground or reason, I have not thought good to leave it clean out of memory. Of like credit is this also,<sup>1</sup> which is reported of Wickliff (which thing I here write but only of report), that when Wickliff was lying very sick at London, certain friars came to him to counsel him; and when they had babbled much unto him, as touching the catholic church, and of acknowledging 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 will not die, but I shall live, and show forth and declare the noble works of the Lord;" 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.<sup>2\*</sup>

#### DETERMINATION UPON THE ARTICLES OF WICKLIFF.

On the twelfth day of June, A. D. 1382, in the chamber of the friars preachers, the aforesaid master Robert Rigges, chancellor of the university of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, professors of divinity, being appointed the same day and place, by the aforesaid reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury, appeared before him in the presence of the reverend father in God, lord William, by the grace of God, bishop of Winchester, and divers other doctors and bachelors of divinity, and of the canon and civil law, whose names are before recited. And first, the said chancellor, by the lord archbishop of Canterbury, being examined what his opinion was touching the aforesaid articles, 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 N., 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 the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the

(1) Also in the Latin edition of 1559, p. 13.—Ed.

(2) In Lewis's History, p. 64, another version of this account is given, which has been repeated by many writers on the reformers, to the rejection of this more natural, sober, and characteristic



chancellor of the university of Oxford, within the diocese of Lincoln, greeting, grace, and benediction. The prelates of the church, about the Lord's flock committed to their charge, ought to be so much more vigilant as that they see the wolf, clothed in sheep's attire, fraudulently go about to worry and scatter the sheep. Doubtless, the common fame and rumour is come to our ears, &c. (See the preceding mandate of the archbishop.) We will, therefore, and command, straitly enjoining you, that in the church of our blessed lady in Oxford, upon those days in which accustomedly the sermon is made, as also in the schools of the said university upon those days the lectures be read, ye publish, and cause by others to be published, to the clergy and people, as well in their vulgar tongue, as in the Latin tongue, manifestly and plainly, without any curious implication, the same heretical and erroneous conclusions, so repugnant to the determination of holy church, as is aforesaid, to have been and be condemned; which conclusions we also declare by these our letters to be utterly condemned. And furthermore that you forbid, and canonically admonish and cause to be admonished, as we by the tenor of these presents do forbid and admonish you, once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that none hereafter hold, teach, and preach, or defend, the heresies and errors above said, or any of them, either in school or out of school, by any sophistical cavilling or otherwise: or that any admit to preach, hear, or hearken unto John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington (canon regular), John Ashton, or Lawrence Redman, who be vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresy, or else any other whatsoever, so suspected or defamed; or that either privately or publicly they either aid or favour them or any of them, but that immediately they shun and avoid the same as a serpent which putteth forth most pestiferous poison.

And, furthermore, we suspend the said suspected persons from all scholasticall act, till such time as they shall purge themselves before us in that behalf; and we enjoin that you denounce the same publicly by us to have been and be suspended; and that ye diligently and faithfully inquire for all their abettors and favourers, and cause to be inquired throughout all the halls of the said university; and that when you shall have intelligence of their names and persons, ye compel all and every of them to abjure their outrages by ecclesiastical censures and other pains canonical whatsoever, under pain of the greater curse, which, against all and singular the rebellious in this behalf, and disobeying our monitions, we pronounce: so that their fault, deceit, and offence in this behalf deserve the same (the said monition of ours being first sent), which in this behalf we esteem and allow canonical; that then and again, according to the effect of these our letters, &c., the absolution of all and singular such, who shall incur the sentence of this instrument by us sent forth (which God forbid), we specially reserve unto ourselves; exhorting you, the chancellor, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, that to the uttermost of your power hereafter you do your endeavour, that the clergy and people being subject unto you, if there be any who have strayed from the catholic faith by such errors, they may be brought home again to the laud and honour of His name that was crucified, and to the preservation of the true faith. And further our will is, that whatsoever you shall do in the premises, in manner and form of our process in this behalf it be had and done; and that you, for your part, when you shall be required thereunto, plainly and distinctly do certify us by your letters patent, having the tenor hereof.

Make  
sure  
work.

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

After this, within a few days, the aforesaid archbishop William Courtney directed down his letters of admonition to Robert Rigges, commissary 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 commissary here, out of his own register, followeth.

story 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 Doctor Wickliff recovered."—Ed.

Richard  
II.

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*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
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The Monition of William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, unto the aforesaid Chancellor of Oxford.

In the name of God, Amen. Whereas we William, by the permission of God archbishop of Canterbury, lord primate of England, and legate of the apostolical see, by the consent of our suffragans, have caused to be assembled together divers clerks both secular and regular of the university of Oxford, within our province of Canterbury, and other catholic persons, to inform us of and upon certain conclusions heretical and erroneous, generally and commonly preached and published in divers places of the said province of Canterbury, to the subversion of the whole state of the church and our said province: and whereas after mature deliberation had upon the same, by the common council of the said our suffragans and their convocates, it was declared, that certain of the said conclusions have been and be condemned, some for heretical, and some for erroneous, and notoriously repugnant to the determination of the church, which we also ourselves have declared to be damnable: and whereas we have understood by credible information, and partly by experience, that thou Robert Rigges, chancellor of the university aforesaid, hast and dost incline partly to the aforesaid damnable conclusions, whom also we in this part have partly suspected, and dost intend to molest these our clerks above specified, and others adhering unto us in this behalf as they ought to do, through thy subtle and sophistical imaginations, sundry and manifold ways; therefore, we admonish thee master Robert, chancellor aforesaid, the first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, that thou dost not grieve, let, or molest, judicially or extra-judicially, apertly or privily, or cause to be grieved, let, and molested, or procure directly or indirectly by thyself or any other, as much as in thee lieth to be grieved, the aforesaid clerks secular or regular, or such as favour them in the premises, in their scholastical acts, or in any other condition whatsoever; and that thou suffer none hereafter to teach, maintain, preach, or defend any such heresies or errors in the said university, either within or without the schools; neither that thou do admit John Wickliif, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, or Lawrence Redman, who are vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresy, or any other so suspected or defamed, unto the office of preaching; but that thou denounce the said persons to be suspended, whom we have suspended from all scholastical act, until they clear their innocency in this part before us, under pain of the greater curse, which we here in these writings denounce against thy person, if thou shalt not obey those our admonitions with effect, as thy crime, subtlety and offence in this behalf shall require according to this our admonition premised; which we repute in this part for canonical, as well then, as now, and now as well as then; reserving the absolution of this sentence excommunicatory, if it happen to light upon thee (as God forbid) specially unto ourselves.—Testified with the hands of the jurors, before specified, (p. 20.)

THE EXAMINATION OF NICHOLAS HERFORD, PHILIP REPPINGTON, AND JOHN ASHTON.

The eighteenth day of the month and year aforesaid (A. D. 1382), in the chamber of the preaching friars before-mentioned, before the aforesaid archbishop, in the presence of divers doctors and bachelors of divinity, and many lawyers both canon and civil, whose names are underwritten, appeared master Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton, bachelors 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; who there required day and place 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, which copy being openly read unto them, the said Nicholas and Philip received.

The aforesaid master John Ashton likewise was examined, and judicially admonished by the said archbishop, by virtue of his oath, that he, setting aside all sophistical words and subtleties, would say his mind fully and plainly 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 then to those conclusions; and so, for final answer said, as concerning all these conclusions (taking them all together), that his judgment was in this respect to hold his peace. Wherefore the aforesaid archbishop, reputed 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 defamed, and notoriously 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 contained that no person prohibited or not sent should preach hereafter, the aforesaid archbishop assigned 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 for a heretic, and for such a one to be denounced throughout his whole province. Also the said archbishop assigned to the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, the said day and place to answer peremptorily and to say fully and plainly to the conclusions aforesaid, all sophistication of words and disputation set apart.

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A. D. 1382.

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 Barnewell, William Swinherd, William Pickworth, Thomas Whately; Lawrence Grenham, John Leigh, John Haker. Carmelites three: Walter Dish, John Kiningham, John Lovey. Augustine friar: Thomas Ashborne, doctor.

At the time 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 Herford, and Philip Reppington, bachelors of divinity, and John Ashton, master of arts. The aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, being required by the archbishop to answer there, and say fully and plainly their judgment upon the conclusions prefixed (to which purpose the archbishop had assigned to the said Nicholas and Philip the same term), did exhibit to the archbishop, there judicially sitting, certain answers in writing, after the manner of indenture. The tenor of this indenture, containing the aforesaid conclusions, followeth in these words:

Herford and Reppington appear.

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The Protestation of Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton, with their Articles and Answers.

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 to us at any time, which God forbid, to swerve from this our intention, we submit ourselves humbly to the correction of our reverend father, 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.

“That the substance of material bread and wine remaineth in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.”

After the sense contrary to the decretal, beginning “Firmiter credimus:”—We grant that it is heresy.

“That the accidents do not remain without the subject after consecration of the sacrament.”

After the sense contrary to that decretal, “Cum Marthe:”—We grant that it is heresy.

“That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really in his own corporal presence.”

Although this conclusion, as the words stand, sounds to be probable and intelligible, yet in the sense contrary to the decretal in Cle: “Si dudum,” 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 with the sayings of the holy doctors.

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

“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.

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

“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.

“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.

“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.

“That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man, unless he know him before to be excommunicated of God:”—We grant that it is an error; understanding this knowledge to signify an experimental knowledge; so that herewith may stand the decree of the church, 11 q. 3, “Nemo Episco.”

“That he who doth so excommunicate, is thereby an heretic, or excommunicate:”—After the sense, agreeing with the other before, we grant this to be an error.

“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.

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

“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.

“That there is no civil lord, no bishop or prelate, while he is in mortal sin:”—We grant it is an error.

“That temporal lords may, at their pleasure, take away the temporal goods from the churches, offending *‘habitualiter.’*”—We grant it is an error, 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.

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“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.

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

“That special prayers applied to any one person by prelates or religious men, do no more profit than the general prayers, if there be no let by the way to make them unlike:”—Understanding this conclusion universally negative, 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 by the same, and for the same persons, we grant it is an error.

“That he that giveth alms to the friars, or to any friar that preacheth, is excommunicate, both he that giveth, and he that taketh:”—Understanding this proposition universally or conditionally, as is aforesaid, we grant it to be an error.

“That who so 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.

“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 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.

“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.

“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 in all points reserved), most humbly still beseeching you, that if any other thing there be, that seemeth meet unto your excellency and discretion to be more or otherwise said and spoken, that your gracious fatherhood would vouchsafe to inform us as children by the sacred Scriptures, by the determination of the church, or authorities of the holy doctors; and, doubtless, with ready wills and obedient minds we will consent and agree unto your wholesome doctrine. May it therefore please your fatherhood, right reverend in God, according to the accustomed manner of your benignity, favourably to accept these our words and sayings, forasmuch as the aforesaid conclusions were never by us either in schools affirmed, or in sermons publicly preached.

FURTHER EXAMINATION AND PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE AFORESAID NICHOLAS HERFORD, PHILIP REPPINGTON, AND JOHN ASHTON. 20TH JUNE, A. D. 1382.

When all these answers were made unto the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, the said Herford and Reppington, because they answered not unto the meaning and words of the first conclusion expressly, but contrary to the sense of the decretal “*Firmiter credimus,*” were there judicially examined what their sense and meaning was, but they would not express the same. Then was it demanded of

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them, according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on behalf of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same material bread "in numero," which before the consecration is laid upon the altar, remains in proper substance and nature, after the consecration in the sacrament of the altar; and likewise of the wine? To this the said Herford and Reppington answered, that for that time they could say no more therein, than what they already answered, as is before alleged in writing. And because unto the sense and words of the second conclusion they answered not fully and expressly, but in a sense contrary to the decretal "Cum Marthe;" being asked what was their meaning, they would not express the same. Therefore it was demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared in the behalf of the said lord of Canterbury, whether those corporal accidents which formally were in the bread and wine before the consecration of them, were in the same bread and wine after the consecration, or else were subjected in any other substance? To this they answered, that to answer better, than, before in their writings, 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 in sense contrary to the decretal in the Clementines, "Si dudum," being asked what was that sense and meaning, they would not declare the same. Wherefore it was then demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared on the behalf of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same body of Christ, which was assumed 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 they answered, that for that time they could say no more than what they had said, as before is specified in writing.

Furthermore, to the sense and text of the sixth conclusion, because they answered not fully and expressly, being asked whether God owed any manner of obedience to the devil or not: they said, "Yea, as the obedience of love, because he loveth, and punished him as he ought." And to prove that God ought so to obey the devil, they offered themselves to the fire.

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

To the twentieth 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 did.

To 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 him to live by begging, they would make no answer at all.

After that, the lord archbishop of Canterbury demanded of all the doctors, what their judgment was touching the answers that were made upon all and singular such conclusions; all and every one of whom severally said, that all the answers given unto the first, second, third, and sixth conclusion (as is before recited) were insufficient,

Judgments of  
the doctors upon  
these  
articles.

heretical and subtle; and that all the answers made specially to the ninth, tenth, and last conclusion, as is above mentioned, were insufficient, erroneous, and perverse. Whereupon the lord archbishop, considering the said answers to be heretical, subtle, erroneous, and perverse, accordingly as the said doctors (as is aforesaid) had weighed and considered, admonished the said Herford and Reppington sufficiently under this form of words.

*Richard II.*

A.D. 1382.

The name of Christ being called upon, we, William, by God's permission, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, and through all our province of Canterbury, inquisitor of all heretical pravity, do sufficiently and lawfully admonish and cite you Nicholas Herford and Philip Reppington, professors of divinity, having this day and place assigned you by your own consent and our appointment, peremptorily to answer and to say fully and plainly your opinions touching these conclusions, whereunto we do refer you (all subtle, sophisticated, and logical words set apart), being thereunto sworn, cited, and commanded: which thing to do, without cause reasonable or any license given thereunto, you neither have been willing, nor are willing; nay rather ye contemptuously refused to answer to some of those conclusions before us judicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation, and commandment aforesaid. But for that ye have answered unto some of them heretically, and to others erroneously, although not fully; we admonish and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that plainly and fully (all subtle, sophisticated, and logical words set apart) you and every of you answer unto the same conclusions, and unto that sense and meaning by us limited, under the pain which otherwise such conclusions by you confessed deserve, and which for the same conclusions you ought to have.

Admonition and citation of the archbishop, against the ex-aminants.

This admonition being made and done, because the aforesaid Herford and Reppington would make no other answer, the said lord archbishop of Canterbury concluded that business, prefixing and assigning unto the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, eight days' space; that is to say, until the twenty-seventh day of the same month, and that then they should appear before the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, wheresoever within the same his province of Canterbury he should happen to be, to hear his decree that should be made in that behalf. This done, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury admonished and cited lawfully and sufficiently John Ashton, under the tenor of these words following.

Another day assigned for them to appear.

Process issued by William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, against John Ashton.

In the name of God; we, William, by God's permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, legate of the see apostolical, and through all our province of Canterbury, of all heretical pravity chief inquisitor, do monish and cite thee John Ashton, master of arts, and student in divinity, appearing before us judicially, to say and speak the plain verity touching these conclusions, to the which we do refer thee, and to the which we have caused thee to swear, laying thy hand upon a book; as being also otherwise by us admonished and commanded to keep this day and place by us appointed, for the third time peremptorily, to propone such reasonable cause (if thou hast any), wherefore thou oughtest not to be pronounced a heretic. And sufficiently and lawfully we monish and cite thee, the first, second, and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou fully and plainly (all subtle, sophisticated, and logical words set apart) do answer unto the same conclusions under the pain that unto such conclusions belong, and on thy part confessed, and that thou for such conclusions oughtest to suffer.

This monition being thus premised, the said archbishop read the

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John  
Ashton  
sepa-  
rately ex-  
amined.

The arch-  
bishop  
and his  
friars  
avoid the  
English  
tongue  
for fear  
of the  
people.

Whether  
material  
bread  
remain  
in the  
sacra-  
ment.

first conclusion, and of the said John inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein? and hereupon he said his mind concerning 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. 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, saying oftentimes, and as expressly as Luke said, it was sufficient for him to believe as the holy church believed. 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 graduate in the schools, further proceeded against the said John Ashton in this wise.

### The Sentence pronounced on John Ashton.

And thou John Ashton, monished and commanded by us, as is aforesaid, after thine oath taken, without any reasonable cause or any other license, neither wouldst thou, nor yet wilt, but refusedst, and yet dost contemptuously, to answer unto such 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 John, with all thy aforesaid conclusions, convicted. And therefore, we do pronounce and declare by giving sentence, that thou John Ashton, concerning those conclusions, which by us with good deliberation of divers prelates our suffragans, and also divers and sundry professors of divinity, and other wise men and learned in the law, according to the canonical sanctions, being condemned and declared for a heretic, and heretical hast been, and still art a heretic, and thy conclusions heretical. And as touching thy other conclusions, by us heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned, we do pronounce and declare sententially by these our writings, both that thou hast erred, and dost err.

Ashton  
declared  
a heretic.

Thomas  
Hilman  
suspected  
of fa-  
vouring  
Ashtou.

Time  
given to  
Hilman  
to answer.

Upon the same twentieth day of June, in the year and place above recited, the aforesaid lord of Canterbury being desirous, as he pretended, 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) eight days after; that is to say, the twenty-eighth 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.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Ex Regist. W. Courtney.



The names of friars and doctors assistant at the examination aforesaid.—Friars observant: Botlesham, bishop of Nyvaton, friar; John Langley, William Suard.—Friars of Dominic's order: John Kingham, John Lovcy, Peter Stokes, Walter Dish.—Friars Carmelite: Thomas Ashburn, Baukine, Robert Walbey.—Doctors and friars Augustine: Master John Barnet, Master Thomas Backton, Master John Blanchard, Master John Shillingford, Master Lidford, Master Thomas Southam.

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The Friday following, that is to say, the twenty-eighth of June, June 28. A. D. 1382, the aforesaid Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and Thomas Hilman, appeared before the archbishop and lord inquisitor of Canterbury, in the chapel of his manor of Otford, in the diocese of Canterbury, there sitting in his tribunal seat; to whom the bishop of Canterbury said, that 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 the business touching the said Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, in the same state wherein it then was, till the Tuesday next and immediately ensuing; that is to say, the first day of July, in the year of our Lord aforesaid; and prefixed unto the said Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, 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-eighth day, they were purposed to do together or apart.

The Tuesday being come, the aforesaid archbishop, in the chief 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 a long time, the beadle calling them and looking after them; who, nevertheless, appeared not before two of the clock after dinner the same day, continuing the aforesaid business in the pristine state till that same hour; at which time the archbishop of Canterbury, having for assistants the doctors and clerks under recited, examined 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, 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." Then the said archbishop of Canterbury, then and there sitting as tribunal or judge, pronounced the said masters Nicholas and Philip, long in court called before and tarried for, and yet not appearing, guilty of contumacy and disobedience; excommunicating them for the penalty of this their contumacy, in tenor of these words following:

Answer of Hilman.

Herford and Reppington excommunicated.

*Richard II.*

The Sentence of Excommunication passed upon Nicholas Herford and Philip Reppington.

A. D. 1382.

We, William, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, legate of the apostolical see, and through all our province of Canterbury, of all heretical pravity chief inquisitor, do pronounce Master Nicholas Herford and Master Philip Reppington, professors of divinity, having this day and place by our prefixion appointed to hear and decree in this business of heretical pravity (being in court by our beadle long called and tarried for, and yet not appearing), to be stubborn and disobedient persons; and, for the penalty of this their contumacy, we do excommunicate them, and either of them, by these presents.

The denouncing of the Excommunication against Nicholas Herford and Philip Reppington.

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

William, by God's permission archbishop of Canterbury, &c. To our beloved son in Christ, whosoever he be, that this instant Sunday shall preach at Paul's Cross in London, salutation, grace, and blessing. Forasmuch as we prefixed a certain competent day and place to Master Nicholas Herford, and Master Philip Reppington, canon regular of the monastery of our Lady of Leicester, being doctors of divinity, and of heretical pravity vehemently suspected (after certain answers not fully made, but impertinent and nothing to the purpose, as also heretical and erroneous), in divers places of our said province commonly, generally, and publicly taught and preached; and that, therefore, they should judicially appear 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 have, for their contumacy in not appearing before us at that day and place, judicially appointed, as right therein required: we, by these presents, command and commit unto you, firmly enjoining you, that when all the multitude of people shall be gathered together to hear your sermon, in the day and place appointed, you publicly and solemnly denounce the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, holding up a cross, and lighting up a candle, and then throwing down the same upon the ground, to have been so and in such manner excommunicated, and still to be.—Fare ye well.

In our manor house at Lambeth, the thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1382, and first year of our translation.<sup>1</sup>

The Citation against the said Nicholas and Philip.

William, by the grace of God, &c. To our well-beloved son Master Robert Rigges, chancellor of the university of Oxford, salutation, &c. Forasmuch as we have prefixed a competent day and place to Master Nicholas Herford, and Master Philip Reppington, &c. We straitly charge and command you, that you publicly and solemnly denounce in the church of our Lady, and in the schools of the university, the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip to have been by us excommunicated, and still to be. And that you further cite, or cause to be cited, peremptorily the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, that they and every of them appear before us within fifteen days after the date of this citation, wheresoever it shall fortune us, within our said province of Canterbury, then to be: to hear and see how we mean to proceed against them, and every of them, concerning the aforesaid heretical and erroneous conclusions, according to the form of retroactions, and quality of the business in this behalf had and used. And that both of the day of the receipt of this present citation, of the manner and form thereof; or if that you shall apprehend by personal citation the said Nicholas and Philip, or either of them, or whether they shall be absent and hide themselves, as of every thing else, which in this behalf you shall think meet to be done; that 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.

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

(1) See also the Harleian MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 420. Art. xi. "Excerpta aliena manu scripta ex Registro Willielmi Courtney, super conclusionibus hereticis et recantationibus Nicholai Herfordi, Philippi Reppington, et Johannis Asscheton, Wiclevistarum. A. d. 1382." (Imperfect.)—Ed.

The names of the doctors and friars, assistants at this sitting, were these.—Seculars: Master William Blankpaine, Master William Barton.—Friars Carmelite: Robert Every, prior; John Renningham, prior; and John Lunne.—Friars Minor: William Barnwell, John Rydden, and William Brunscombe.—Friars Augustine: John Court, Patrington, Tomson, and Keeper.

Richard II.  
A. D. 1382.

Against this blind excommunication of the said archbishop the parties excommunicated 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 (as might oftentimes overcome right), proceeding in his preconceived excommunication against them, and writing, moreover, his letters to him that should preach next at Paul's Cross, as is aforesaid, to denounce and to publish openly the said Nicholas Herford and Philip Repington to be excommunicate, for not appearing at their term assigned, which was the thirteenth day of July.

This archbishop, moreover, the said year, in the month and on the day aforesaid, sent also another letter to Master Rigges, commissary 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; whereby may appear how 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, on that day when the great Archbishop of our souls shall judicially appear in his tribunal seat, to judge both the quick and the dead.

Another letter of the archbishop to the chancellor of Oxford.

The archbishop, not yet 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 the popish clergy had not 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. Here 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 importunate 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 content 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).

Hitherto no law to burn any man for religion.

The king circumvented by the archbishop.

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

*Richard*  
*II.*

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

A. D.  
1382.

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 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 great 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 to that whereof they be impeached, will not obey their summons and commandments, nor care for their monitions or the censures of the 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 favourers, maintainers, and abettors, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justify themselves according to the law and reason 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 thereof required, as is aforesaid.

This statute was repealed afterwards by the commons.

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

This 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 it 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 from: "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;" "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

No usual words of warrant affixed to this commission.

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.

Richard  
II.  
A. D.  
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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' 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, wherunto he assented, there is one in this form:—

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

Item, the commons pray, That whereas a statute was made the last parliament, in these words, "It is ordained in this present parliament, that commissions from the king be directed to the sheriffs and other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons skilful, 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 favourers, maintainers, and abettors, and them to detain in strong prison, until they will justify themselves according to reason, and law of holy church; and the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions, at all times, as he shall be by the prelates or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforesaid." The which was never agreed to nor granted by the commons; but whatsoever was moved therein was without their assent: That the said statute be therefore disannulled. For it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselves, or such as shall succeed them, shall be further justified or bound by the prelates, than were their ancestors in former times: whereunto is answered, "il plaist al roy;" that is, "the king is pleased."

The  
statute  
repealed.

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 were there used by the prelates, that this act of repeal was never published, nor ever since printed with the rest of the statutes of that parliament: insomuch that the said repeal being concealed, like commissions 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 since, 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.

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 vice-chancellor in Oxford, as followeth:—

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

Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, 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, primate of England, exhibited unto us, we right well understand, that divers and sundry conclusions, very contrary to wholesome doctrine, and redounding both to the

A. D. 1382.

(1) The "Utas," or octaves. This was the eighth day succeeding any term, or feast. To be within "the Utas of St. Michael," implies that it was a day between St. Michael's day and the eighth day next ensuing.—Ed.

Richard  
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subversion of the catholic faith, the holy church, and of his province of Canterbury, in divers and sundry places of the same his province, have been openly and publicly preached, although damnably preached: of which conclusions, some, as heresies, others, as errors, have been condemned, but not before good and mature deliberation first therein had and used; and by common counsel of the said archbishop, his suffragans, and many doctors in divinity, and other clerks and learned men in the holy Scriptures, were they sentimentally and wholesomely declared. Whereupon the said archbishop hath made his supplication unto us; that both for the coercion and due castigation of such as shall, henceforth, of an obstinate mind, preach or maintain the aforesaid conclusions, we would vouchsafe to put to the arm and helping hand of our kingly power. We, therefore, moved by the zeal of the catholic faith, whereof we be and will be defenders, and unwilling that any such heresies or errors should spring up within the limits of our dominion, give and grant special license and authority, by the tenor of these presents, unto the aforesaid archbishop, and to his suffragans, to arrest and imprison, either in their own prisons or any other, all and every such person and persons, as shall either privily or apertly preach and maintain the aforesaid conclusions so condemned; and the same persons, so imprisoned there, at their pleasures to detain till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of such heretical pravities, or else it shall be of such arrests, by us and our council otherwise determined and provided: further charging and commanding all and singular our liege-men, ministers, and subjects, of what state and 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 preachers or maintainers of the said conclusions so condemned, or their favourers, upon pain and forfeiture of all that ever they have; but that they obey and humbly attend upon the said archbishop, his suffragans, and ministers, in the execution of these presents; so that due and manifest publication against the aforesaid conclusions and their maintainers, without any perturbation, may be done and executed, as for the defence of our realm and catholic faith shall be thought most meet and requisite. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters-patent to be made.

Witness our self, at Westminster, the sixteenth day of June, and sixth year of our reign.

### The King's Letters-patent to the Vice-chancellor and Proctors of Oxford.

The king, to the chancellor and the procurators of the university of Oxford who now be, or for the time being shall be, greeting. Moved by the zeal of christian faith, whereof we be, and always will be, defenders, and for our soul's health induced therunto, having a great desire to repress, and by condign punishment to restrain the impugners of the aforesaid faith, who newly and wickedly go about and presume to sow their naughty and perverse doctrine within our kingdom of England, and to preach and hold damnable conclusions, so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same faith, to the perverting of our subjects and people, as we understand; before they any further proceed in their malicious errors, or else infect others, we have by these presents appointed you to be inquisitor-general, all the chief divines of the said university being your assistants, and the same, likewise, to be done of all and singular the graduates, divines, and lawyers of the same university. And if they shall know any who be of the jurisdiction of the said university of Oxford, 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 reverend father, William, archbishop of Canterbury, by 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 shall believe, favour, or defend any of the aforesaid heresies or errors, or any other such, or who shall be bold to receive into their houses and inns, Master John Wickliff, Master Nicholas Herford, Master Philip Reppington, or Master John Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspicion of any of the aforesaid heresies or errors, or any other like unto them in meaning or in word; or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or favour any such favourers, receivers, commu-

nicants, and defenders, within seven days after the same shall appear and be manifest unto you, that you banish and expel them from the university and town of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocency before the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, by manifest purgation. So, notwithstanding, that such as be compelled to purge themselves, you certify us and the said archbishop, under your seals, from time to time within one month, that they be such manner of men: commanding, furthermore, that through all the halls of the said university ye cause diligently to be searched and inquired out of hand, if any man have any book or tractation of the edition, or compiling of the aforesaid Master John Wickliff, or Nicholas Herford; and that, when and where soever ye shall chance to find any such book or tractation, ye cause the same to be arrested and taken, and unto the aforesaid archbishop, within one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation whatsoever, word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented. And, therefore, we straitly enjoin and command you, upon your fidelity and allegiance wherein ye stand bound unto us, and upon pain of forfeiture of all and singular your liberties and the privileges of your said university, and of all that every you have besides; that you give your diligent attendance upon the premises, and that well and faithfully you execute the same in manner and 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 ye should. And we give in charge unto the vice-chancellor and mayor of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singular our sheriffs and under-sheriffs, bailiffs, and subjects, by these presents; that they aid, obey, and be attendant upon you, in the execution of the premises. In witness whereof, &c., witness the king, at Westminster, the thirteenth day of July, the sixth year of his reign.

Richard  
II.  
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Besides these letters-patent, the said young king, moved by the restless importunity of the archbishop, sendeth, moreover, another special letter to the vice-chancellor and proctors to the university of Oxford, wherein, under a pretended zeal for the defence of the 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, as well for the parties aforesaid, John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, and such others; as also for all others whom they know or judge to be suspected of that doctrine, 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, expelled 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 vice-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 Herford, &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 mayor, bailiffs, and others, the inhabitants of Oxford, to be assistant and attendant

A. D. 1382.  
July 13.

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

Persons, with their books, to be arrested.

*Richard II.* unto the aforesaid vice-chancellor and proctors, touching the execution of the premi.es, bearing the date of July 14, A.D. 1382.

A. D.

1382.

MATTERS INCIDENT TO ROBERT RIGGES, VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD, NICHOLAS HERFORD, AND PHILIP REPPINGTON, WITH OTHERS.

Herford, on the Ascension-day, defendeth Wickliff.

The vice-chancellor of Oxford at that time was Master Robert Rigges; 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, according to custom, 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 vice-chancellor aforesaid and the proctors, the doing whereof they had committed to Philip Reppington and Nicholas Herford, so that Herford should preach on the Ascension-day, and Reppington on Corpus Christi-day: Herford, beginning first, was noted to defend John Wickliff openly, as being a faithful, good, and innocent man; for which no small ado with outcries was amongst the friars. This Herford, 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 on his top, and laid not a few heresies unto his charge, 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, uproar, debate, and dissension, \*as though they were born and provided only for that purpose, utterly unprofitable, and nothing worth for any thing else; much like things do divers writers (such as treat 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 cowed merchants (in this behalf) do pass all the spiders, for whatsoever is worst and most pestilent in 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 agreable 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 Reppington should preach. This man was a canon of Leicester, and had before taken his first degree unto doctorship, who, preaching at that time at Broadgate, for the same sermon first became suspected, and hated by 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

Reppington, canon of Leicester, afterwards bishop of Lincoln.

Com-menceth doctor.



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 Wickliff; but that 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.  
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Now the day of Corpus Christi aforesaid approaching near, when the friars understood that this man should preach, these Babylonians fearing lest he would scarce civilly or gently rub the galls of their religion, convened 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 was committed to Peter Stokes, friar, standard-bearer and chief champion of that side against Wickliff.

Peter  
Stokes,  
standard-  
bearer  
to the  
Papists.

There were also letters sent unto the commissary, that he should help and aid him in publishing the same conclusions, as is before declared.

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

“That the popes or bishops ought not to be recommended above temporal lords.”

Notes on  
the ser-  
mon of  
Repping-  
ton.

Also, “That in 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 more things, which touched the praise and defence of Wickliff.

And finally, in concluding his sermon, he dismissed the people, repeating 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.”<sup>1</sup>

When the sermon was done, Reppington entered into St. Frideswide's church, accompanied by 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 then to put out his head. The vice-chancellor and Reppington, 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

(1) In the first Edition of Foze, p.97, the notes on Reppington'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.” The person mentioned in the notes above, was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who was an influential person at court, and exerted his influence with the crown in behalf of Wickliff, and who, there is every reason to believe, had imbibed some of the sentiments of that bold and pious reformer.—Ed.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1382.

The university rejoiceth.

university on account of that sermon; but, in the mean time, the unquiet and busy Carmelite slipt not his matter. For first, by his letters, he declared the whole order of the matter unto the archbishop, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his help and aid, pretermittting 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.

\*<sup>1</sup> The archbishop hearing this, was moved and angered, and calling together the whole convocation, commanded Rigges, the commissary, 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, to convict them for taking Wickliff's part. They at first denied, and by excusing themselves with fair words and doubtful sentences, went about to slip their heads out of the collar.\* But besides all this, three days after, 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. Whilst this friar was thus occupied in the schools, he was mocked and derided by all men, and shortly after he was sent for by the archbishop to London; whom, immediately after, the vice-chancellor and Brightwell followed up, to purge and clear themselves and their adherents, from the accusations of this friar Peter. At length, they being examined upon Wickliff's Conclusions that were condemned, they did all consent that they were worthily condemned. The vice-chancellor being afterwards accused for the contempt of the archbishop's letters, when he perceived and saw that no excuse would prevail to avoid that danger, humbling himself upon his knees, he desired pardon; which when he had now again (as is aforesaid) albeit very hardly obtained, by the help of the bishop of Winchester he was sent away again with certain commandments, and suspension of heretics; \*<sup>2</sup> 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, Herford, Reppington, Ashton, and Bedman; and that he should also publish, at the head church of the university, all Wickliff's Conclusions to be condemned, and that all others, 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 commissary 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?"

Hereby it appeareth (to note here by the way concerning this university) that Oxford,<sup>3</sup> among 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

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 97.--Ed.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Foxe presented to Magdalen College a copy of his Acts and Monuments, with an epistle dedicatory in his own hand; a fac-simile of which interesting document, with the author's autograph, will be found in the first volume of this Edition.—Ed.

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

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

Richard II.

A. D. 1382.

Then began the hatred on either part somewhat to appear and show; and especially men were offended, above all, with the friars and religious men, unto whom whatsoever trouble or mischief was raised up, they did impute it, as to the authors and causers of the same. \* 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 were 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 afterwards was accused by the bishops of heresy. He at that time was openly suspected by the commissary, because in his lectures he called the heretics Lollards, or rather in his acts, as they term them, in the school. Then he, coming by and by up to London, made his complaint unto the archbishop, and to the king's council; whereupon he obtained the letters of the king, and of his council, by virtue whereof, he returning again to the university, was released and restored to his former state; the words of which letter here follow:

First causers of this trouble.

Henry Crompe an accuser of others accused himself of heresy.

#### Another Letter of the King to the Vice-chancellor and Proctors of Oxford.

The king to the vice-chancellor and procurators of the university of Oxford, greeting. Whereas we, of late, understanding by the grievous complaint of Henry Crompe, monk, and regent in divinity within the said university, how that he, being assisted by the reverend father in God the archbishop of Canterbury, and by other clerks and divines in the city of London, to proceed in the condemnation of certain conclusions erroneous and heretical, hath been, therefore, molested by you, and that you, through sinister suggestion of some adversaries, pretending the peace of the said university to have been broken by the said Henry in his last lecture, did, therefore, call him before you to appear and answer; and for his not appearing, did, therefore, pronounce him obstinate, and convicted of peace-breaking, and have also suspended the said Henry from his lectures and all scholastical acts: and whereas we, by our writ, did call you up for the same, to appear and answer before our council unto the premises; and all things being well tried and examined by the said council, it was found and determined, that all your process against the said Henry was void and of none effect; and commandment given, that the said Henry should be restored and admitted again to his former lectures and scholastical acts, and to his pristine state as you know. To the intent, therefore, that this decree aforesaid should be more duly executed on your part, we here, by these presents, straitly charge and command you, that you, speedily revoking all your process against the said Henry in the university aforesaid, with all others that followed thereof, do admit and cause to be restored the said Henry to his scholastical acts, his accustomed lectures, and pristine estate, without any delay, according to the

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

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1382.

Crompe, Stokes, and Packington, restored to their scholastical acts.

form of the decree and determination aforesaid: enjoining you, moreover, and your commissaries or deputies, and your successors, and all other masters, regent and non-regent, and other presidents, officers, ministers and scholars of the university aforesaid, upon your faith and the allegiance you owe to us, that you do not impeach, molest or grieve, or cause to be grieved, in any manner of way, privily or apertly, the said friar Henry for the causes premised, or friar Peter Stokes, Carmelite, for the occasion of his absence from the university, or friar Stephen Packington, Carmelite, or any other religious or secular person favouring them, upon occasion of any word or deed whatsoever, concerning the doctrine of John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, and Philip Reppington, or the reproof and condemnation of their heresies and errors, or the correction of their favourers; but that you do procure peace, unity and quiet within the said university, and chiefly between the religious and secular persons; and that you, with all diligence, nourish, increase, and preserve the same to the uttermost of your strength. And that you in no case omit to do it accordingly, upon the forfeitures of all and singular the liberties and privileges of the university aforesaid.

Witness myself at Westminster, the fourteenth day of July.

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how Master Rigges, vice-chancellor of Oxford, coming up with Master Brightwell to the archbishop of Canterbury, was there straitly examined upon 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 Herford, and Philip Reppington, being privily warned by the vice-chancellor, in the mean season conveyed themselves out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster for succour and help; \* but,<sup>1</sup> the bishop's orders were at hand (as it were serpents lying in wait), to bite Christ by the heel; unto whom the duke showed himself first somewhat sharp,\* but afterwards, whether for fear, or for what cause else I cannot say, overcome by the bishop's adherents, in the end he forsook his poor and miserable clients.

Herford and Reppington fly to the duke of Lancaster.

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; whereupon 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 premiscs. And this was written the fourteenth day of July, A. D. 1382.<sup>2</sup>

The archbishop's letters to the vice-chancellor, and to Robert Braybroke, bishop of London.

Unto these letters received from the archbishop diligent certificate was given accordingly, as well on the bishop of London's part, as also on the vice-chancellor's, the tenor whereof was this:

(1) Collated with Edition 1563, p. 102.—Ed.

(2) Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

A Letter of Robert Rigges, Vice-chancellor of Oxford, to the  
Archbishop.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
1382.

To the reverend father in Christ lord William, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, Robert Rigges, professor of divinity, and vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, greeting with due honour. Your letters bearing the date of the fourteenth of July I have received; by the authority whereof I have denounced, and caused to be denounced effectually, the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip to have been, and to be excommunicated publicly and solemnly in the church of St. Mary, and in the schools, and to be cited also personally, if by any means they might be apprehended, according as you commanded. But after diligent search laid for them on my part, to have them personally cited and apprehended, I could find neither the said Master Nicholas, nor Master Philip, who have hid or conveyed themselves away, unknown to me, as here is well known; whereof I thought here to give signification to your fatherhood.—Sealed and testified with the seal of mine office, from Oxford, the twenty-fifth of July, A. D. 1382.

In the mean time Nicholas Herford and Reppington being repulsed by the duke, and destitute, as was said, of his support, whether they were sent, or of their own accord went, to the archbishop, is uncertain. This I find in a letter of the aforesaid archbishop, contained in his register, that Reppington, the twenty-third 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. Of Nicholas Herford, all this while, I find no special relation.

Herford  
and Rep-  
pington  
repulsed  
by the  
duke.

Reppington  
releas-  
ed.  
Ashton  
recon-  
ciled, by  
the arch-  
bishop.

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 of October, (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 others 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 that convocation the archbishop with 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 up, 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 convo-  
cation  
summon-  
ed.

Convo-  
cation of St.  
Frides-  
wide 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 procurators of the clergy, appointed for every diocese, to consult among themselves in some convenient private place, what they thought for their parts touching the redress of things, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren.

Nov. 19th.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1382.

Rigges displaced from the vice-chancellorship. Inquisition made at Oxford.

Furthermore, forasmuch, 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 calleth 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 vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford (for perhaps Robert Rigges was then displaced), as also 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 afterwards to give certificate truly and plainly touching the premises. And thus, for that day, the assembly broke up to the next, and so to the next, and the third, being Monday, the twenty-fourth of November.<sup>1</sup>

On that day, in the presence of the prelates and the clergy in the chapter-house of St. Fridcswide, came in Philip Reppington, otherwise called by the brethren, afterwards, Rampington, who there abjured the conclusions and assertions aforesaid in this form of words as followeth.

#### Abjuration of Philip Reppington.

In the name of God, Amen. I Philip Reppington, canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one catholic and apostolic faith, do curse and also abjure all heresy; namely these heresies and errors under-written, condemned and reproved by the decrees canonical, 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 do confess the same to be catholically condemned. And I swear, also, by these holy evangelists which here I hold in my hand, and do promise, never by any persuasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the said conclusions under-written; but do and will stand and adhere in all things, to the determination of the holy catholic church, and to yours, in this behalf. Over and besides, all such as stand contrary to 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 REPPINGTON.

And thus the said 'Rampington' was discharged, who afterwards 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.

After the abjuration of this Reppington, 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 vice-chancellor, and other divines, such as he required himself, to be

Philip Reppington becomes a terrible persecutor. Abjuration of J. Ashton.

(1) Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

instructed in the mystery of those conclusions against the afternoon ;<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup> (A. D. 1382.) And thus much of John Ashton.

The Londoners  
force the  
door  
where  
the arch-  
bishop is  
sitting

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  
arch-  
bishop,  
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 facisset 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.<sup>1</sup> 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. 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.”



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 Herford, and the other aforesaid. But in all this interval, what became of John Wickliff, is not certainly known; albeit, so far as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was banished and driven to exile. 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 that 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.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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) "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.

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 pre-eminence.

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

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.

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 meet 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 Lennam, in striving for the mayor's mace, mentioned before. Unto this bishop of Norwich the pope had sent his bulls about this time, to croisy 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. These bulls, for that they gave to him such 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 the church doors and monastery gates, that all men might read them; in which bulls these privileges were granted, the copy whereof here followeth.

## Pope Urban's Bull to destroy Clement the Antipope.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1383.The very  
fruits of  
Anti-  
christ.

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 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.

3. 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.

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

5. Item, He hath power and authority over lay persons that are exempt, and clerks both secular and regular, yea although they be friars mendicant, or masters and professors of other houses or hospitals of St. John of Jerusalem, or St. Mary of Flanders, or professors of all other orders whatsoever.

6. 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, being regulars either 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 of any of their prelates being required, and yet to receive and take the entire commodities of their benefices, as though they had been personally resident upon the same.

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

8. Also all such as, with their proper goods and substance, shall give sufficient stipend to able soldiers, at the discretion of the aforesaid lord bishop mustered, or by any other his deputy, although he himself be not personally at this business aforesaid; yet shall he have like remission and indulgence, as they who have been personally with him in this expedition.

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

10. Item, if any shall chance to die in the journey who are soldiers under the said standard of the cross, or else before the quarrel by some means be finished, they shall fully and wholly receive the said grace; and shall be partakers of the aforesaid remission and indulgence.

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

12. Item, He hath power and authority to compel and enforce all religious persons whatsoever, and to appoint them, and send them over sea, if it seem good to him; yea, although they be professors 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 all manner of sins, and we promise unto thee thy part of the reward of all just men, and 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 of all the prayers and benefits of the church, the universal synod, as also of the holy catholic church, we make thee partakers.

Christ's  
passion  
hath here  
no place.

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 harshly 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."<sup>1</sup>

O blood-  
ness of  
Anti-  
christ!

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

<sup>1</sup>) "Sicque crucis beneficio factum, ut crucis hostes ita deleterentur, 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 beginning of the year 1384, upon Silvester's day.<sup>1</sup>

A. D. 1384.

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 rage 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;<sup>2</sup> "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) 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 563, 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.—E.

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

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1384.The  
number of  
Wickliff's  
books.

burnt at Oxford A.D. 1410, the abbot of Shrewsbury being then commissary, and sent to oversee that matter.<sup>1</sup> And not only in England, but in Bohemia likewise, the books of the said Wickliff were set on fire by one Subincus, 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.

\*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,<sup>2</sup> as I do hear, are recovered out of darkness; a man who, not in this respect alone, hath well deserved, of good students.\*<sup>3</sup>

Johannes Cocleus, 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 sensa 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.

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.

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; "If St. John should speak unto the pope himself, as Bernard doth unto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? 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 because 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, and darest thou then usurp the same? If thou wilt be a lord, thou shalt lose thine apostleship; or, if thou wilt be an apostle thou shalt lose thy lordship: for truly thou shalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt have both, thou shalt lose both, or else think thyself to be of that number, of whom God doth so greatly complain, saying, 'They have reigned, but not through me; they are become princes, and I have not known it.'

Note well,  
the say-  
ing of  
Bernard.The pope  
must  
leave his  
lordship,  
or else his  
apostle-  
ship; let  
him  
choose  
which.

"Now if it do suffice thee to rule without dominion, 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 apostles' trade; lordship and rule is forbidden, ministrations and service commanded."

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 seat doth challenge unto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way for Antichrist; for it is evident by the gospel, that Christ,

The pope  
hath no  
power  
over  
church  
goods.The way  
to obtain  
the king-  
dom of  
Christ.

(1) "Jam si sine dominio, regnare juvat," &c. See Latin edition, p. 17. This passage is thus given in the English editions of Foxe: "If it do suffice thee to rule with the Lord."—Ed.

*Richard II.* through his poverty, humility, and suffering of injury, got unto him the children of his kingdom.

A.D. 1384. And moreover, as far as I remember, the same blessed man Bernard, in his third book, writeth also thus unto Eugenius, "I fear no poison so great to happen unto thee, as greedy desire of dominion."

*Penance of the earl of Salisbury.* 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.<sup>1</sup>

*Fruits of good and true doctrine.* 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 aforementioned wickedness and vices. Here the story recordeth how the said Londoners were encouraged herunto 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.<sup>2</sup>

(1) *Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani, in Vita Ric. II.*

(2) *Ibid.*



This story, gentle reader, although the author thereof, whom I follow, doth give it out in reproachful terms to the great commendation 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. \*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,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

Hitherto it may be thought, that we are sufficiently instructed by the great scourges, plagues, and miseries which have happened; and except we are so, 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 wearing weary of our old corruptions and evils, may at length convert and turn the wrath and displeasure of God, into his mercy and favour; which thing we shall soon do, if 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 treat. Now we will return again to the favourers of Wickliff, amongst whom is to be counted the lord Cobham, 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 especially among the Oxford men, of whom there was not one that escaped free without some kind of mark; for either they were most shamefully forced unto recantation, or 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.<sup>4</sup>

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 theologo." Lat. edition, 1563, p. 18.—Ed.

(3) "What marvel," &c. "Quid mirum, si luxatis undique reipublice compagibus, ruinam demum ac πανολεθρία, 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.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
1384.

this present letter shall come, the vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, wish perpetual health in the Lord, Forasmuch as it is not commonly seen, 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 of others; forasmuch also as the provident discretion of man's nature, being recompensed with cruelty, hath devised and ordained this buckler and defence against such as do blaspheme and slander other men's doings, that whensoever witness, by word of mouth, cannot be present, the pen, by writing, may supply the same :

Great  
learning  
joined  
with good  
life and  
godliness.

Hereupon it followeth, that the special good will and care which we bear unto John Wickliff, sometime child of this our university, and professor of divinity, moving and stirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no less), with one mind, voice, and testimony, we do witness all his conditions and doings, throughout his whole life to have been most sincere and commendable; 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 maturity and ripeness of his conversation, his diligent labours and travails, to tend to the praise of God, the help and safeguard of others, and the profit of the church.

Wherefore we signify unto you by these presents, that his conversation, even from his youth upward, unto the time of his death, was so praiseworthy 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, and as a stout and valiant champion of the faith; vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all those, who, by their wilful beggary, blasphemed and slandered Christ's religion. Neither was this doctor convicted of any heresy, nor burned of our prelates after his burial.<sup>1</sup> God forbid, that our prelates should have condemned a man of such honesty, as a heretic; who, amongst all the rest of the university, had written in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts, without his peer. The knowledge of which all and singular things, we do desire to testify and deliver forth; to the intent that the fame and renown of this said doctor may be the more evident and had in reputation amongst them unto whose hands these present letters of testimonial shall come. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters testimonial to be sealed with our common seal.

Dated at Oxford in our congregation-house, the fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1406.<sup>2</sup>

### The Testimony and Judgment of Master John Huss, touching Master John Wickliff.

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 best part. Wherefore I surely trust, that Master John Wickliff is one of the number of them who are saved. The words of Christ move me thereunto, saying [Matt. vii.] "Do ye not 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 ye not judge before the Lord himself do come, who shall open those things that are hid in darkness, to manifest the secrets of all hearts."

Motives  
of John  
Huss to  
under-  
take  
Wickliff's  
defence.

Secondly, The love and 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 movetū me, which he bath 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 Wickliff'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.—E.D.

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

(2) Ex. 2. tomo operum Joa. Huss. fol. ult.

priests of the university of Oxford, and not of the wicked, and commonly of the vulgar sort; although not of the covetous, proud, and luxurious priests and prelates.<sup>1</sup>

*Richard II.*

Fourthly, His own works and 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 own protestations, which he doth oftentimes use in his sentences, often repeating the same, do not a little move me.

Sixthly, His earnest desire and affection which he hath unto the law of Christ, doth not a little allure me thereunto, disputing of the verity thereof, which cannot fail in any one jot or tittle. Whereupon he made a book of the verity of the holy Scripture, approving, even unto the uttermost, the truth of God's law.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, it were too foolish a consequence to say, that because the multitude of the prelates and clergy in England, France and Bohemia, do count John Wickliff a heretic, that therefore he is a heretic, &c. Like as is the reason for burning the 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 the books by wicked men, did argue or prove the evil of these books, then was the law of God evil and naughty.

Burning of books no proof of his being heretical.

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. Whereupon as it doth not follow, that because the bishops, 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, masters of divinity, monks, and prelates, condemned that man as a heretic, ergo, he is a heretic. For this consequent is reprov'd by the blessed John Chrysostome, who was twice condemned as a heretic by the bishops and the whole of he clergy. Likewise St. Gregory, in his books, was condemned by the cardinals.

False consequence reprov'd 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, should he a heretic. Because the said duke defended, favoured, and greatly loved Master John Wickliff: ergo, the said duke is or was a heretic; the consequent is good. The minor is well known to Englishmen. The major appeareth in the canon, where it is said, "He who defendeth a heretic," &c.

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 it is, and afterwards declare that he held it obstinately. But he shall find that in his books, he always wrote most commendable protestations against obstinacy and stiff-neckedness. And, by and by, afterwards, Master John Stokes in his "Intimation" saith, that Master John Wickliff, in England, is counted for a heretic.

Wickliff proved no 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 this shall suffice for the present.

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 censures and judgments of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the pope's council

(1) "Prelatis et sacerdotibus." Lat. edition, p. 24.

(2) Lib. de sensu et veritate Scriptura: per J. Wicklev

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gathered at Constance ; proceeding, first, in condemning his books, then his articles, afterwards burning his bones. The copy of the sentence given against him by that council here followeth.

The Sentence given by the Council of Constance, in condemnation of the Doctrine, and Five and Forty Articles of John Wickliff. A. D. 1415.

The most holy and sacred council of Constance, making and representing the catholic church, for the extirpation of this present schism, and of all other errors and heresies springing and growing under the shadow and pretence of the same, and for the reformation and amendment of the church, being lawfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, for the perpetual memory of the time to come :

We are taught by the acts and histories of the holy fathers, that the catholic faith, without which, as the holy apostle St. Paul saith, it is impossible to please God, hath been always defended by the faithful and spiritual soldiers of the church, by the shield of faith, against the false worshippers of the same faith, or rather perverse impugnors ; who, through their proud curiosity, will seem to know more, and to be wiser than they ought to be, and for the desire of the glory of the world, have gone about oftentimes to overthrow the same. These kinds of wars and battles have been prefigured to us before in those carnal wars of the Israelites against the idolatrous people. For in those spiritual wars the holy catholic church, through the virtue and power of faith, being illustrated with the beams of the heavenly light by the providence of God, and being holpen by the help and defence of the saints and holy men, hath always continued immaculate, and, the darkness of errors, as her most cruel enemies, being put to flight, she hath most gloriously triumphed over all. But in these our days, the old and unclean enemy hath raised up new contentions and strifes, that the elect of this world might be known, whose prince and captain in time past was one John Wickliff, a false christian ; who, during his lifetime, taught and sowed very obstinately many articles contrary to and against the christian religion, and the catholic faith. And the same John Wickliff wrote certain books which he called a Dialogue, and a Trialogue, besides many other treatises and works, which he both wrote and taught, in which he wrote the aforesaid, and many other damnable and execrable articles ; which his books for the publication and advancement of his perverse doctrine, he did set forth openly for every man to read, whereby, besides many offences, great hurt and damage of soul hath ensued in divers regions and countries, but, especially in the kingdoms of England and Bohemia. Against whom the masters and doctors of the universities of Oxford and Prague, rising up in the truth and verity of God, according to the order of the schools, within a while after did reprove and condemn the said articles.

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

Dialogue and Trialogue of Wickliff.

His books condemned to be burned.

Moreover, the most reverend fathers, the archbishops and bishops, at that time present, of Canterbury, York, and Prague, legates of the apostolic see, in the kingdoms of England and Bohemia, did condemn the books of the said Wickliff to be burnt. And the said archbishop of Prague, commissary of the apostolic see, did, likewise, in this behalf, determine and judge. And, moreover, he did forbid that any of those books, which did remain unburned, should be hereafter any more read. And again, those things being brought to the knowledge and understanding of the apostolic see, and in the general council, the bishop of Rome, in his last council, condemned the said books, treatises, and volumes, commanding them to be openly burned : most straitly forbidding that any men who should bear the name of Christ should be so hardy either to keep, read, or expound any of the said books or treatises, volumes, or works, or by any means to use or occupy them ; or else to allege them openly or privily but to their reproof and infamy. And, to the intent that this most dangerous and filthy doctrine should be utterly wiped away out of the church, he gave commandment throughout all places, that the ordinaries should diligently inquire and seek out, by the apostolic authority and ecclesiastical censure, for all such books, treatises, volumes, and works ; and the same so being found, to burn and consume them with fire ; providing withal, that if there be any such found

Words of authority without due probation.

who will not obey, the same process to be made against them, as against the favourers and maintainers of heresies. And this most holy synod hath caused the said 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 was no less) that many, yea and a great number of them be notoriously, for heretical, reprov'd and condemn'd by the holy fathers; others not to be catholic, but erroneous; some full of offence and blasphemy; certain of them offensive unto godly ears, and many of them to be rashful and seditious. It is found, also, that his books do contain many articles of like effect and quality, and that they do induce and bring into the church unsound and unwholesome doctrine,<sup>1</sup> contrary unto the faith and ordinance of the church. Wherefore, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this sacred synod, ratifying and approving the sentences and judgments of the archbishops and council of Rome, do, by this their decree and ordinance perpetually, for evermore, condemn and reprove the said articles, and every one of them, his books which he entitled his "Dialogue" and "Trialogue,"<sup>2</sup> and all other books of the same author, volumes, treatises, and works, by what name soever they be entitled or called, which we will here to be sufficiently expressed and named. Also, we forbid the reading,<sup>3</sup> learning, exposition, or alleging of any of the said books unto all faithful Christians, but so far forth as shall tend to the reproof of the same; forbidding all and singular catholic persons, under the pain of curse, that from henceforth they be not so hardy openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by any means to allege the said articles, or any of them, except, as is aforesaid, that it do tend unto the reproof of them; commanding all those books, treatises, works, and volumes aforesaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the synod at Rome,<sup>4</sup> as is before expressed: for the execution whereof duly to be observed and done, the said sacred synod doth straitly charge and command the ordinaries of the place diligently to attend and look to the matter, according as it appertaineth to every man's duty by the canonical laws and ordinances.

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1384.Ask my  
fellow if I  
be a thief.  
So we  
hear you  
say.So  
thought  
the sol-  
diers per-  
petually  
to keep  
down  
Christ  
from  
rising.  
O mar-  
vellous  
sacred  
synod!  
Though  
the sepul-  
chre be  
watched,  
Christ  
will rise.

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

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

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

25. All such as be hired for temporal living to pray for others, offend, and sin of simony.

26. The prayer of a reprobate prevaileth for no man.

27. All things happen from absolute necessity.<sup>5</sup>

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

(2) Because this "trialogue" tearth 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 condemn'd and reprobat his writings.—ED.

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

(5) 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

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28. The confirmation of young persons, the ordination of the clergy, and the consecration of places, be reserved to the pope and prelates, from a desire of temporal lucre and honour.<sup>1</sup>

29. Graduations and doctorships in universities and colleges as they be used, conduce nothing to the church.

30. The excommunication of the pope and his prelates is not to be feared, because it is the censure of Antichrist.

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

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

33. Silvester the pope, and Constantine the emperor, erred in enriching the church.

34. A deacon or a priest may preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolic see or that of a bishop.<sup>2</sup>

35. Such as enter into orders, or religion monastical, are thereby unable to keep God's commandments, and also to attain to the kingdom of heaven, except they return from the same.

36. The pope with all his clergy, having those great possessions which they have, be heretics in so having; and the secular powers in so suffering them do not well.

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

38. The letters decretal be apocryphal, and seduce from the faith of Christ; and the clergy that study them be fools.

39. The emperor and secular lords be seduced by the devil, when they enrich the church with temporal goods.

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

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

42. All 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 been patrons of private religion, except they have repented, with such also as have entered into the same, be in a damnable state, and so from the pope to the lowest novices, they be altogether heretics.

44. All private religions whatsoever, indiscriminately introduced, are not from Christ.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

adjoins a side note; "Et hic forte calumnia." The reader will indeed find the above article amongst those which follow, collected by William Woodford, but 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. 167. "As concerning John Wickliff's conclusions which were condemned in the council of the earthquake, we have spoken before. Now, forasmuch 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 Wilsford (Woodford) in his Impugnacion which he dedicated unto Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, numbereth them after one sort, and John Huss after another."

"And, again, the copy of Cologne, which here we do follow, doth differ from them both, as the apology of John Huss doth declare, where the 15, 16, 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, forasmuch as it is most evident that there were 45 articles put up unto the council of Constance, and in the catalogue of Cologne is found but 44 articles."—Ed.

(1) As in the English editions of Foxe this article is either incorrectly translated, or is copied from Huss, Woodford, or others, the clause, as it appears in the Latin edition, p. 26, is subjoined, and retained, in English, in the text above.—Ed.

"Confirmatio juvenum, clericorum ordinatio, locorum consecratio, reserventur papæ et episcopis, propter cupiditatem lucri temporalis et honoris."—Ed.

(2) The words "or that of a bishop" have been added from the Latin; where is a note also, "De pontificis sentit episcopis."—Ed.

(3) This article is only found in the Latin edition, p. 27.—"Omnes religiones privatæ, indifferentior introductæ, non sânt à Christo."—Ed.

(4) See article 14, in Latin edition, p. 26.—Ed.

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

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### Articles against Wickliff collected by William Woodford.

1. The bread remaineth in its own substance, after the consecration thereof upon the altar, and ceaseth not to be bread still.

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

3. In the decree, "Ergo Berengarius," the court of Rome hath determined, that the sacrament of the holy Eucharist is naturally true bread.

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 only reserved to the bishops.

6. In the time of St. Paul, only two orders of clerks did suffice in the church, priests and deacons. Neither was there in the time of the apostles any distinction of popes, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops; but these the emperor's pride did find out.

7. Such as in times past, either for covetousness of temporal lucre, or in hope of mutual succour by kindred, or for cause to excuse their lust (although they despaired of issue), were married, were coupled together not by true matrimony.

8. The causes of divorcement, either for spiritual consanguinity, or for affinity, be not founded on Scripture, but are only ordinances of men.

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

10. There be twelve disciples of Antichrist: popes, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, monks, canons, friars, and pardoners.

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

12. There is no greater heretic or Antichrist than that clerk who teacheth that it is lawful for priests and Levites, by the law of grace, to be endued with temporal possessions. And if there be any heretics, apostates, or blasphemers, these clerks be such.

13. It is not only lawful for the lords temporal to take away goods of fortune from the churchmen, sinning usually, but also they are bound so to do, under pain of eternal damnation.

14. He that is the more humble and more serviceable to the church, and more enamoured with the love of Christ, is, in the church militant, the greater, and, then, nearest vicar of Christ.

15. If corporal unction or anoyling were a sacrament, as now it is feigned to be, Christ and his apostles would not have left the ordinance thereof untouched.

16. Unto the true dominion secular, is required virtuous life of him that ruleth.

17. All things that happen do come absolutely of necessity.

18. Whatsoever the pope or his cardinals can deduce clearly out of the Scripture, that only is to be believed, or to be done at their monition; and whatsoever otherwise they do command, is to be condemned as heretical.

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Besides this William Woodford aforementioned,<sup>1</sup> divers others 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.

\*<sup>2</sup>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 others the Bohemians had him in great 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 defence of divers of the said articles; namely, upon the fourteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth, with others 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.

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

Forasmuch 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.

(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 this 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 the following is an extract:—"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 Wickliff, D.D. rector of Lutterworth. 1380. Luke ii.—And scheperde weren in the same cuntre, wakinge and kepinge watchis of the night on her flock. And lo the angel of the lord stood bisidis hem, and the clerenesse of God schynede aboute hem; and thoi dreiden with grete drede. And the angel seyde to hem, nyle ye drede, for lo Y preeche to you a grete Joye that schal be to alle peepie. For a savyour is borun to day to you, that is Crist the Lord in the cytee of Davith. And this is a tokene to you, ye shulen fynde a young child wlappid in clothis, and leyd in a cracche. And soceinly ther was maad with the angel a multitude of hevenly knyghthoode, herynge God and seiynge; Glorye be in higheste thingis to God, and in erthe pees be to men of good wille."—Ed.



ye not 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 their general assembly, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the doctors in their council-house, require of the said doctors a reasonable proof 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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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." Whereby 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 plainly or darkly 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, and 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 canonical authors or probable reasons, persuade or prove that they do not digress from the truth."

Also the said Augustine, in his book 'De Unico Baptismo,' lib. ii., saith thus: "Who doth not know or understand the holy canonical Scripture to be contained in his own bonds and limits, and the same to be preferred before all other letters and decrees of bishops," &c. And, a little after, he hath the like saying, as for the letters of other bishops which have been written, or be written (after the canon, being confirmed), they may lawfully be reprehended and reprov'd, 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.

By 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, unless they who condemned them will prove their condemnation by the holy Scriptures and 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 *fourteenth* article of the number of the five and forty; which article is this:—

"They who leave off preaching and hearing of 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 all priests, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated.

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

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

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The  
preaching  
of the go-  
spel com-  
manded by  
God.

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 commanded 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 and distribution of the heavenly seed is commanded and 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 other inferiors to fear and dread the same! To the same purpose doth St. Gregory write, in his Pastoral, in the distinction, "Sit rector."<sup>1</sup> 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 hear-  
ing of the  
word  
com-  
manded  
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, rebuking the Scribes and Pharisees, concludeth thus in John viii., saying, "He that is of God, heareth God's word; but forasmuch as you are not of God, therefore you hear not his word."

Excom-  
munic-  
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Excom-  
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Thirdly, It is to be noted that excommunication is a separation from the communion, 11 quest. 3 par., "Nihil;" et cap. "Canonica;" and 27 quest. 1 par., "Viduas;" 34 quest. 3 par., "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 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 and apert excommunication may be divided into a manifest excommunication by God, which is spoken of in Matt. xxv., "Go, ye cursed," &c., and oftentimes else in the law of God: also into a manifest excommunication by men, whereby the prelate doth either justly or unjustly cast out any man from the participation of the communion of the church; whereof this shall suffice at this present.

The  
proofs of  
the first  
part of the  
article.

Then, as touching the first part of the article, it is thus argued, &c. Whosoever forsake or leave the commandments 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. Ergo, those priests who do leave off preaching of the word, are excommunicated of God.

The first part of this article is true: the major appeareth by the Psalm, "Cursed be they which do decline and swerve from thy precepts." The minor is evident by the first proposition, which proveth that the preaching of the word of God is the commandment of God enjoined unto those priests and ministers. Whereupon the saying of our Saviour [Matt. xv.] is spoken unto them: "Wherefore do you transgress the commandments of God for your own traditions?" leaving off the preaching of the word of God for fear of unjust excommunication; and so dishonouring the father Christ, and the mother the holy church.

It is thus confirmed: All they who do omit or let slip any manner of work, principally and straitly enjoined them by the Lord Jesu Christ, under the cloak and colour of grace, for fear of any excommunication of men, are already excommunicate. But priests, and especially curates, admonished by the Spirit of God, leaving off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the excommunication of men, omit and leave off, for fear of the same excommunication, a work principally

(1) Greg. dist. 44, cap. 6, "Rector."

and straitly enjoined them by the Lord Jesus Christ, under the cloak and colour of grace : ergo, priests, and especially curates and such as be admonished and warned 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 and go away from thy commandments." The minor is also evident again by the first supposition.

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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 broken the commandments of God, and consequently had been accursed. Wherefore they, willing to observe and keep the commandments 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 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." By this saying of the Holy Ghost it is concluded, 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 shall prohibit and command them to the contrary, and to suffer the excommunication of men patiently. Whereupon pope Anacletus spake very well in this, as it is written [Dist. 43.]: "We know," saith he, "that many do go about to molest and trouble the doctors and teachers to this end, that they might utterly destroy them, and fulfil their own proper lusts and desires : yet, notwithstanding, the said doctors, as much as in them lieth, ought not to depart or go back from their good doings and intent, knowing assuredly that blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake." Thus much writeth he. And, upon these words, "Ye shall find an ass tied up, and a he-foal with her ; loose her and bring her unto me ; and if any man say any thing unto you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them," the reverend Bede writeth thus : "Here it is mystically commanded unto the doctors and teachers, that if any adversity do let or hinder, or any man do prohibit or stop, that sinners cannot be loosed from their bonds or snares, and be brought unto the Lord by the confession of their faith, that they, notwithstanding, should not leave off preaching, but constantly and boldly affirm and say, that the Lord hath need of such to edify and build again his church. For so did the apostles ; so likewise ought all the humble and meek ministers of Christ to do." And St. Jerome, writing to Rusticus, the bishop of Narbonne, saith thus : "Let no bishop from henceforth be puffed up or inflamed with the envy of devilish temptation, if the priests now and then do exhort and teach the people, or preach openly in the churches ; or, as it 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 wills not that priests should do those things which they are commanded by God, let him say that he is greater and above Christ ;" by which words St. Jerome doth openly declare, that priests are commanded to exhort and teach the people, and to preach in the churches. Secondly, That a bishop, denying or forbidding the same to be done, specially the priests or ministers being apt men thereunto, is extolled above Christ ; and therefore, consequently, is not to be obeyed nor heard in his doings.

The apostles did not obey any wicked inhibition.

Item, Admit that the pope be a heretic, and teach doctrine perverse and contrary to the holy Scriptures, 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 pope Leo, and St. Hilary the bishop : adding this also, that the bishop do execute the pope's commandment, under pain of excommunication ; this notwithstanding, if the catholic priests, learned in the law of God, do leave off preaching against the pope's heresies, for fear of

If the pope be a heretic, the godly bishops may preach against him.

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excommunication of men, they are already excommunicate; which thing is evident, forasmuch as they are accursed through the consent of their silence, as St. Isidore saith, 11 quest. 1 par.: "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 the 7th question, 4 par., "Omnis," it is said: "He that doth neglect to amend that which he may correct, committeth no less fault than he who had before offended; for not only they who do commit the offence, 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 open their mouths or bark against the wolf, which will kill the sheep of Jesus Christ: ergo, how can it then be otherwise, but they must needs be betrayers of the sheep of their own shepherd?

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

Item, Let it be so, that the bishop with the chief prelates be adulterers, or otherwise open offenders, and that he, together with his prelates, do command under pain of excommunication, that none be so hardy as to preach against adultery; in such a case, they who do omit their duty in 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 is proved: for our Saviour, in Mark viii., saith thus: "He that acknowledgeth me and my words in this wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of Man shall also acknowledge and confess him when he shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels." Therefore he that shall confess Christ, 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, perchance, are the wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of Man shall also acknowledge him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father, and so consequently is he blessed. Contrariwise he who, for the fear of excommunication of men, will not confess Christ and his words before the 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 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 omit, or leave off the preaching of the kingdom of God for any pretended excommunication of the bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees; so likewise his true and humble priests ought not to omit their preaching for any pretended excommunication of men; the consequence holdeth by the saying of Christ, [John xv.] "Be ye mindful of the words which I have spoken unto you, the servant is not greater than his master: if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also." The antecedent is apparent by the saying of St. John, chap. ix.: "Even now the Jews had conspired, that whosoever did confess him to be Christ, should be excommunicate." And likewise, John vii.: "Whether did any of the princes or rulers, or any of the Pharisees believe in him? but this people which knoweth not the law are accursed."

Obedience of christian priests towards their prelates.

Also the humble and just ministers of God ought not, under pain of sin, to cease from the fruitful preaching of the law of God for any unjust excommunication, or unlawful commandment; and it is proved thus: the humble and just ministers of Christ ought not to obey their prelates in such things as are contrary to God; as all the holy doctors, and such as are learned in the law of God, do wholly with one consent affirm. And, forasmuch as an unjust excommunication and unlawful commandments are against God, therefore the just and true ministers of God ought not to obey such unlawful excommunication and commandments; and, consequently, ought not to cease from them from the fruitful preaching of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; but ought boldly and gladly to preach the same. Forasmuch as the Lord doth comfort them in Matt. v., saying thus: "Blessed and happy are ye when men do curse you and persecute you, and speak all kind of evil against you, making lies and slanders upon you for my sake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven."

Also every minister having power given him from above to preach the gospel, hath the same given unto him for the edifying of the church, and not for the

destruction of the same; as the apostle saith, [2 Cor. x.,] "But every one leaving off the preaching of the gospel, for fear of any pretended excommunication of men, should frustrate the power given him for 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 our Lord Jesus Christ.

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Preaching of the gospel meant for edification, not for destruction.

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

The proofs of the second part of the article.

Means necessary unto salvation are not to be omitted.

A man ought to do nothing against his conscience.

Item, Set a case that the pope doth command that there shall be no preaching in any place; then the ministers of Christ, leaving off their preaching for fear of the pope's curse, are already excommunicated of God: it is evident, forasmuch as they have neglected the commandment of God for the commandment of men. And this case is possible; for by what reason may the pope 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 see apostolic; the which bull the lord Subinon, archbishop of Prague, with his canons, obtained. By these aforesaid, the first part of the article is evident, which is this, that all priests omitting the preaching of the word of God, for fear of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate. The second part of the article is this: that all 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 neglect the commandments of God are excommunicate. But they who neglect the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, are they who neglect the commandments of God. Therefore they who omit the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, are already 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. This is confirmed: all such as omit the necessary means unto salvation are excommunicate. But, such as omit the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication by men, be such as do omit the necessary means unto salvation: therefore, in so doing, they are excommunicate. The consequence is plain: the major is made evident by this, that all such as do omit the necessary means unto salvation, do also neglect their salvation, and so are out of the way of salvation, and be excommunicated of God. The minor appeareth hereby, that to hear the word of God is the means most necessary unto salvation, as the apostle doth prove in Romans x.; "How," saith he, "shall they believe on him, whom they never heard of? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" And, by and by afterwards, the apostle inferreth to the same purpose, "That faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."

Item, Whatsoever is done contrary to conscience, doth tend to eternal damnation; as it is said, touching the restitution of the spoiled goods, chap. "Literas porro." 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, doth tend to eternal damnation, and therefore 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 meekly and patiently to sustain the excommunication, as it appeareth in the chapter before alleged. So, likewise, all true Christians ought, rather than offend against God, meekly to suffer the excommunication of men, and not to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpose also serveth that which is spoken in the 11 quest. 3 par., "He that feareth the omnipotent God, will not presume by any means to do any thing contrary unto the gospel or apostles, either contrary unto the prophets, or the institutions of the holy fathers." By these premises, the second part of this article is manifest, that all such as do omit the hearing of the word of God, for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated.

And forasmuch as all Christians, being of lawful age, not repenting at the

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end, shall be counted in a manner as traitors to Christ in the day of judgment, because they were unfaithful 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 an account at the day of judgment.’” It is also made more evident by him in Matt. x., “‘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 your ears. So that hereby alone 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 boldly to defend, is also a traitor unto the truth. For like as the priest is a debtor to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord, even so the layman is bound to defend the truth, which he hath heard of the minister, approved by the Scriptures: which if he do not, then is he a traitor to the truth; for steadfast belief with the heart, prevailieth unto righteousness; the confession which is made with the mouth, helpeth unto salvation.” Thus much writeth Chrysostome, who, together with the people meekly bearing the excommunication of the bishops, freely preached the truth, and the people heard him; and so by his word and his works he freely taught the truth, lest he should be a traitor to the truth, and consequently be counted as a traitor to our Lord Jesus Christ in the day of judgment. And thus the third part of the article aforesaid is manifest.

### The Defence of the Fifteenth Article of John Wickliff by John Huss.

“It is lawful for any deacon or priest to preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolic see, or of his catholics.”

First, I understand here by the authority of the apostolic see, his special consent properly authorizing. And, likewise, I understand by authority of the bishop, a special consent of the bishop authorizing the said deacon or priest to preach.

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

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 the carnal seed, so contrariwise, it is better to receive and sow abroad that seed of the word of God, whereby children might be raised up unto God, than to receive or give seed whereby carnal children may be gotten. Whereupon our Saviour, in Matthew x., saith thus; “Whosoever doth not receive you, neither heareth your words, wipe off the dust from your feet: verily I say unto you, that in the day of judgment it shall be better unto the land of Sodom and Gomorrah than to that city.”

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

Ergo, it is lawful for him so to do. The consequence is thus manifest; so much as the Spirit of God, moving the deacon or priest unto the preaching of the gospel, is of greater force than any prohibition of pope or bishop invented by man: ergo, according unto the rule of the apostles, they ought infallibly to be obedient unto the Spirit of Christ, which doth so move them thereunto, and rather to obey God than man: [Acts v.] 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 the meek minister of Christ, upon whom the Spirit of God doth rest, without the requiring of any license either of the 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 tents, a child ran unto Moses, and told him, saying; "Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the tents;" 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:" and 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 had the affections which this holy man, the friend of God, had! Then would he not prohibit the meek deacons and ministers of Jesus Christ to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. The like affection had the blessed man Gregory, who, in his twenty-second book of Morals, writing upon these words of Job, "And I have not afflicted the soul of his husbandmen," saith thus: "The husbandmen of this earth are these, who, being set in small authority, with as fervent desire as they can, and with as great labour as they may, do work by the preaching of grace, to the erudition of the holy church, which husbandmen of this world not to afflict, is not to envy their labours and doings: neither ought the ruler of the church, albeit he do challenge unto himself alone the title of preaching, through envy gainsay others who do preach truly and uprightly. For the godly mind of the pastor, who seeketh not his own glory amongst men, desireth to be holpen; which thing also the faithful preacher doth wish, if it might by any means be brought to pass, that the truth, which he alone cannot sufficiently express, all men's mouths might declare. Wherefore, when Joshua would have resisted the two who were prophesying in the host, 'why dost thou envy,' saith he, 'for my sake?' for he did not envy that good in others which he himself had." Thus writeth St. Gregory.

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Also the meek ministers of Christ have, by a special gift of God, knowledge and mind to preach the gospel; but it is lawful neither for the pope nor bishop, nor any other man, to let or hinder them, lest thereby they should hinder the word of God, that it have not its free course. Ergo, this article is true; for the king doth not so much rule over the goods of his subjects, no of his own sons, but that they may give alms to whom they will: much more the bishop hath not so great authority over the knowledge of the meek minister, with his other gifts of God, but that he may now freely, under the title of spiritual alms, freely preach the gospel unto the people. Ergo, forasmuch as it should seem strange, that a bishop should forbid any man to give any corporal alms to the poor that are an-hungered; much more strange and marvellous would it be, if he should prohibit the spiritual minister of Christ to give spiritual alms, by the preaching of the gospel of the word of God.

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Item, No catholic man ought to doubt, but that a man able for the purpose, is more bound to teach those who are ignorant, to counsel and comfort the weak in spirit, to correct such as are unruly, to forgive those that do them wrong, than to do any other work of mercy: forasmuch then as he that hath sufficient is bound, under pain of damnation, to give corporal alms, as it appeareth in Matthew xxv., much more he who is able, is bound to do spiritual alms. And this alms St. Bernard, writing unto Eugenius in his third book, perceived to be very necessary for the bishop of Rome, where he saith thus: "I fear no greater poison, nor greater sword nor mischief, will happen unto thee, than this insatiable desire of dominion." With what face, then, can the faithful minister withdraw or keep back the spiritual alms for the pope and any other, even without the special license of the pope or of the bishop; which license, through the far distance from the pope, the ministers cannot so easily obtain or come by? For any prohibition of any prelate, being broken through necessity, is

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not to be blamed. 11 quest. 3 par. "Intercessor," and also in the chapter following.

Item, All authority of preaching given unto deacons and priests in their consecration, were but vain, except that in case of necessity, without any special license, they might preach the gospel. For it is evident, inasmuch as it is not lawful for them to use that authority, without the special license of their adversary: ergo, it is 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 forasmuch as this article doth, as it were, depend upon the preceding article, therefore this shall suffice to be spoken thereof at this present.

Objec-  
tion.

But, against the affirmations of both these articles, this is objected out of the 16 quest. 1 par.: "All faithful people, and especially all priests, 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, "Tituli de hæreticis;" cap. "Cum ex injuncto;" where it is said, no man ought to usurp to himself indifferently the office of preaching, forasmuch as the apostle saith, "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" Whereas, also, Innocent doth declare, that it is not sufficient for a man to say, that he is sent of God to preach except he do show the same. As touching the first point, 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, "it seemeth a bishop is thought to give him general power to minister unto the people, and to rule the church." Thus much in the Gloss. And to the same end and purpose it is said in the 7 quest. 1 chapter, "Episcopi:" "Bishops or priests, if they come into the church of another bishop to visit the same, as it is said Gloss 1. 'in honore suo,' let them be received in their degree, and desired as well to preach the word, as to do any other consecration or oblation."

Answers  
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objection.

Secondly, it is to be noted, which is very well expressed in the same place; "No man ought to usurp unto himself the office of preaching, as a thing indifferently," for to usurp, is unlawfully to use any thing: ergo, the same 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 gain or covetousness of living, either for his belly or dainty life, or for any vain glory; but he who doth live according unto the laws of Christ, and being moved with the affection of sincere charity, intending purely the honour of God and the salvation of himself and his neighbours, doth preach no lies or vain jests or other things not authorized, but only the law of Christ and the minds of the holy doctors. And he that doth so preach, necessity occasioning or moving him thereunto, in case there be no pope or bishop, or in case possible, 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. And this doth also answer unto that which is consequently said, that if any man will 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; a man may reasonably answer thereunto, that forasmuch as that internal sending is secret, it is not sufficient for a man only to say that he is sent of God, forasmuch as every 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.

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Who is a  
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mon law.

Here it is to be noted, that according to St. Augustine, in his 65th book of 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 danger of the statute; so that he whom the Spirit of God hath inspired, this prelate (giving thanks) may proceed unto a better life. Whereupon pope Urban saith, 19th quest. 2 par., "There be," said he, "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 for transgressions. As 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; which was ordained



only for offenders, that no infamed persons should be received by any bishop; for they were wont, when they could not celebrate or do their office under their own bishopric, to go to another; which now is forbidden by the laws and precepts. The private law is that, which, by the instruction of the Holy Ghost, is written in the heart, as the apostle speaketh of many who have the law of God 'written in their hearts.' And in another place: "Forasmuch 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 afterwards 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,' for '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.'"

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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 through inspiration, is not bound under the bondage of the law; for that law is more worthy than the public law. Secondly, that the 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 stand against him, he may proceed unto a better life. Whereby it is evident, that a deacon or priest disposed to preach, and being led by the Spirit of God, may freely preach the gospel of Christ, without the spiritual license of his bishop. It is evident, forasmuch as it is good, that a deacon or priest do live well, and preach fruitfully. Ergo, he may proceed from idleness unto the labour and office of preaching, and so to a better life.

But whereas it is said before, that forasmuch as the inward sending or calling is secret, therefore it is not sufficient for a man barely to affirm only that he is sent of God, when every heretic may so say; but it is necessary, that he do confirm and prove his 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 faith, resist against the verity; 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 themselves, if it were by any means possible, should be brought into error." And the apostle [2 Thes. ii.], as touching their head, Antichrist, writeth thus:—"Whose coming shall be according to the operation of Satan, with all power and signs, false miracles, seducing unto iniquity those which do perish, because, they have not received the charity and love of truth, that they might be saved: therefore will the Lord send upon them the operation of error, that they shall give credit unto lies; that all such as have not believed the truth, but consent unto wickedness, should be judged." Behold how expressly our Saviour, by himself, and by his apostle, doth teach us, how the disciples of Antichrist, with their head, should shine through their great signs and wonders. But the true disciples of Christ shall not so do in the time of Antichrist. For, as St. Isidore saith, in his first book, 22 par., "De summo bono:" "Before Antichrist shall appear, all virtues and signs shall cease from the church, that he may the more boldly persecute the same, as an abject. For this profit, shall all miracles and signs cease under Antichrist, that thereby the patience of the holy men might be known, and the lightness of the reprobate, who are offended, may be opened, and also that the cruelty 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 Anti-christ.

Thus writeth St. Isidore; and St. Gregory, in his twenty-fourth book of Morals, saith, "For why? By a terrible examination of God's secret dispensation shall all signs of virtue or power be taken away from the holy church, before that the Leviathan appear in that most wicked and damnable man, whose shape he doth take upon him. 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 wonderful works of miracles are extinguished; which things nothing can utterly take away, but only the dispensation of God. But this dispensation is not so openly and manifoldly declared, as it hath been in

Why true miracles shall cease under Anti-christ.

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times past; which also is done by a marvellous dispensation, that through one only thing bath God's love and justice should be fulfilled. For the power of miracles being for a while taken away, the holy church appeareth the more abject and forsaken, and the reward of good men doth cease, who revered the same for the hope of heavenly riches, and not for any present signs; and that the minds of evil men against the same might the sooner be known, who neglect to follow the invisible things which the church doth promise, while they be led with visible signs."

The description  
of Antichrist out  
of St. Gregory.

Forasmuch then as the humility of the faithful is, as it were, destitute of the multitude and appearing of signs by the terrible working of God's secret dispensation, whereby mercy is given unto the good and just, wrath heaped upon the evil; forasmuch then, as it is truly said, that before this Leviathan shall plainly and manifestly come, 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 shall he the more manfully be vanquished of the faithful, without any signs or miracles. Also in his sixteenth book upon these words, which the blessed man Job [chap. xxiv.] said; "Who shall reprehend his way before him, or who shall cast in his teeth what he hath done?" While he did speak of the body of all evil, he suddenly converted his speech unto the head of all the wicked; for he did see that, towards the end of the world, Satan should enter into man, whom the Scripture calleth Antichrist; he shall be extolled with such pride, he shall rule with such power, he shall be exalted with such signs and wonders, under the pretence of holiness, that his doing cannot be controlled of men, forasmuch as his signs and tokens are joined with power and terror, and with a certain show of holiness. Wherefore, he saith, "Who shall control his ways before him?" what man is he that dare once rebuke or check him? whose look or countenance is he afraid of? But, notwithstanding, not only Enoch and Elias, who are brought as example for his probation, but also the elect, do argue and reprove his way, while they do contemn, and by the force and power of their minds, resist his malice. But forasmuch as this thing is not done by their own power and strength, but by God's help and grace, therefore it is very well said: "Who shall argue or reprove his ways before him?" who, but only God, by whose help, the elect are aided and able to resist.

The proof  
of holiness.

And, a little after, upon the same book of Job, Gregory saith, "Inasmuch as holy men do withstand his iniquity, it is not they themselves who do so rebuke his ways, but it is He through whose help they are strengthened." Also in his second book he saith, "Now the holy church doth not regard, but despise the signs and miracles of the heretics, if they do any; forasmuch as the church doth sufficiently understand, that it is no kind of holiness: for why? the proof of holiness is not to make signs or wonders, but to love every man as himself, to think truly of the very true God, and to think better of thy neighbour than of thyself: for true virtue and holiness 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 love one another:' but he saith not, that 'hereby men shall know that ye are my disciples, because ye work miracles;' but contrariwise, 'if ye love one another:' declaring plainly thereby, that it is not miracles, but the mere charity and love of God which maketh us the servants of God. Wherefore the chief testimony of being God's disciple is to have the gift of brotherly love." This throughout doth St. Gregory write, and oftentimes, in other places, he speaketh very much 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: "It is a common and an indifferent work between the ministers of God and the ministers of the devil, to cast out devils; but to confess the truth, and to work righteousness, is the only work of the saints and holy men: 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 openly confessing and declaring the truth, and doing justice, although he do cast out no devils, yet is he the 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 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. There are four causes which wrought the same; that is to say, the contempt of riches or money; the despising of pomp and glory; the separation of themselves from all worldly occupation and business, and the patient suffering of torments." Thus much writeth Chrysostome.

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Also St. Isidore, in his first book and twenty-fifth chapter, "De summo bono," writeth thus: "Like as in the apostles, the marvellous effect and power of works was much more commendable than the virtue of their signs; even so now in the church, it is much better to live well, than to work any signs or miracles. 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 it was necessary at that time that the world should believe miracles, and now, at this present, every faithful believer ought to shine with good works, for to this end were signs and miracles then outwardly wrought, that their faith thereby might be inwardly strengthened and established: for whatsoever faithful man he be that seeketh to work miracles, he seeketh vain-glory to be praised of men; for it is written, 'Miracles are signs and tokens unto the infidels and unbelievers, and not unto the faithful.'" Thus much writeth Isidore.

Cause why the church now worketh not miracles.

Item, St. Augustine, in his book of confessions, saith thus: "There is no greater miracle amongst men, than to love our enemies." By these words of these holy men a man may easily gather, that, both in our days, and in the time to come, the disciples of Antichrist both do and shall flourish and show themselves more by strange signs and miracles, than did the disciples of Christ, according to the saying of our Saviour Jesus Christ; "There shall rise up amongst you false prophets, which shall work strange miracles." Secondly, it is proved that they are greater and stranger miracles, to confess the truth, and to do justice, than to work any other kind of miracle. Thirdly, it is gathered thereby, that whatsoever minister or deacon loveth his enemies, contemneth riches, despiseth the glory of the world, and fieth from all worldly troubles, and meekly sustaineth and suffereth most terrible and cruel threatenings and strokes for the gospel's sake, he worketh miracles, having thereby a testimony and witness, that he is the true disciple of Jesus Christ. And it is evident by the saying of our Saviour Jesus Christ, [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, John x. 38, "Believe the works."<sup>1</sup> Whereupon St. Gregory, in his first book of Dialogues, writeth thus: "The estimation of a true life consisteth in the virtue of its works, and not in the showing of signs." Whereby it is fourthly concluded by what is aforesaid, that it is a more effectual testimony and witness for a priest or deacon that he is sent of God to confess the truth, and follow Christ in the aforesaid virtues, than to cast out devils, or to do any other miracles, as it is evident by the saying of Chrysostome before alleged: "Whomsoever thou dost see to cast out devils, if the confession or acknowledging of the truth be not in his mouth, neither righteousness nor justice in his hands, he is not a man of God." This is also confirmed by the words of Christ [Matt. vii.], "Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have not we prophesied in thy name; have not we cast out devils in thy name; and have not we also wrought many great wonders and miracles in thy name? Then I will answer and say unto them; Forasmuch as I have not known you at any time, depart from me, ye workers of iniquity." And as touching the second part, Chrysostome saith; "If you see a man confessing and preaching the truth, and working righteousness, although he do not cast out devils, he is a man of God."

A great miracle to love a man's enemy.

The true miracles of Christ's ministers.

Hereby it appeareth, that every deacon, priest, or minister, confessing the truth and working justice, hath a perfect and sure testimony that he is sent of God; and that it is not necessary for him to approve this his sending by the working of any miracle, instead of working righteousness; neither by any testimonial, which should plainly declare him by name, that he was sent of the Lord to preach.

The testimony of a true priest.

1) "Operibus credite." Latin edition, p. 37. The English editions erroneously translate this, "Trust unto your good works."—Eh.

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

The second part is also evident: forasmuch 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 do also affirm and say, as touching all preachers who shall come hereafter, that they are not named by name; but let no man here object Enoch and Elias, who were ancient preachers, and prophesied by the Holy Spirit of God. And it is apparent, that like as it is not a cause sufficient to prove, that this priest or deacon is sent of God to preach, because he worketh miracles; so is it not a cause sufficient to prove that he is not sent of God to preach, because he doth no miracles; but to confess the truth, to work righteousness, to contemn the world with the glory thereof, patiently 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, forasmuch as, in such case, he is sent of God. And this is the sending which the apostle speaketh of in Romans xii. "How should they preach, except they be sent?" Whereupon the Gloss of St. Augustine writeth thus; "These things serve to set forth God's grace, declaring that all our goodness is prevented<sup>1</sup> by grace." "For," he saith, "belief cometh of hearing, hearing cometh of preaching, and preaching by the sending of God; so that it altogether and wholly cometh out of the fountain of grace, and preaching truly cometh of sending." This hath the Gloss: "How shall they then preach, without they be sent of God? And this is evident, that the great and principal sending is from God alone, as it is proved by Moses."

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

The third sending is from man alone; which is not founded in the law of God, but in men's traditions, which they rather 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 they ran; I spake not unto them, and they prophesied: if they had continued in my counsels, and had declared my words unto my people, I would have converted them from their evil ways, and wicked imaginations." And our Saviour speaketh of these prophets in Matthew, saying, "There shall arise false prophets." And Peter, his true 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 blasphemed and 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 christian truth is blasphemed, and all covetous dealing is exercised; and these are they who freely preach lies. But the humble and true ministers 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 the evil men and seducers shall prosper in their wickedness, running daily more and more into all kinds of errors." The wicked have now so much prevailed, that they do preach lies, making heretics of the faithful Christians; neither is there any man that dare prohibit them their lying, so that they do not preach against the vices of the prelates. How then can you say, that Antichrist is not exalted above all that is called God, suppressing the members of Christ in his office, fortifying and fostering his members in lying? Therefore the true and faithful disciples of Christ ought to stand ready girt about their loins, and shoes upon their feet, in defence of the gospel, taking the sword in hand, which is the word of God [Ephes. vi.], and to fight against the crafts of Antichrist, who goeth about utterly to extinguish the true preaching of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Ministers of Antichrist do cloak the vices of their prelates.

(1) Is preceded by, or is the result of.—ED.

The Second Disputation in the University of Prague, 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 Spirituality and Churchmen, both in taking from them, and in correcting their Abuses according to their doings and deserts. By John Huss.

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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 the holy mother the 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 give their consent unto the condemnation of the forty-five articles, wishing, even unto this present time, sufficient probation to be given of the condemnation of the said articles, and particularly of every one of them: whereupon the said university doth always require due proof of the same, forasmuch as pope Damasus, in his canon, Distinction, chapter lxviii. "Chorepiscopi," saith thus; "That it is necessary that whatsoever thing standeth not by due reason should be rooted out;" whereby it appeareth, that the condemnation of the five and forty articles, if it stand not with proof and sufficient demonstration 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 God's divine power: unto this objection Master William doth answer himself in his philosophy, the first book, almost at the end, where he, treating of the place in Genesis ii. "God made man of the slime of the earth," &c., hath these words; "For in what point," saith he, "are we contrary to the holy Scriptures, if we seek by reason to declare wherefore any thing is done, which is said in the Scriptures to be done? For if a wise man should say that a thing is done, and do not declare how it is done, and another man speaketh the very self-same thing, and declareth how it is done, what contrariety is there? But, forasmuch as they themselves know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might have all men partakers with them of their ignorance, they would have no man to inquire it out; but they would have us believe as ignorant people, and not to seek any reason of our belief, that the prophecy might be fulfilled, "Such as the people is, such shall be the priest." But we truly do say, that in all things a reason is to be sought, if it may by any means be found. But if any man do stay at any thing which the Scriptures do affirm, let him commit the same unto faith, and unto the Holy Ghost. 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 seek any thing as touching the godhead, and be not able of ourselves 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 dwelleth in the same catholic faith with us; and if then neither we, nor yet he, be able to comprehend the same, let it then be burned with the fire of faith.

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

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 outward appearance, for already it is verified in them which the satirical poet saith: "No credit is to be given unto the outward show; for which of them all is it that doth not abound with most shameful 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. Let all such hear whom this parable doth touch; for I, with the rest of the masters, bachelors, and students of our university, considering how hard a matter the condemnation of the forty-five articles of Wickliff, without reason, is, and how grievous a thing it were if we

An allegory upon the Paschal Lamb.

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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.

should thereunto consent, do call together my neighbours, the doctors of this university, and all others who would object any thing against the same, that we might presently find out the reason of the condemnation of this article, concerning the taking away the temporalities from the clergy.

Notwithstanding, I do profess that it is not my intent, like as it is not the meaning of the university, to persuade, that princes or secular lords should take away the goods from the clergy when they would, or how they would, and convert them to what use they list. But our whole intent is diligently to search out whether this article, as touching the taking away of temporalities from the clergy, may have in it any true sense, whereby it may be defended without reproof. Wherefore this article, being the seventeenth in the number of the forty-five, is propounded under this form: "The lords temporal may, at their own will and pleasure, take away the temporal goods from the clergy, if they do offend, and therein continue." It is thus proved: the kings of the Old Testament took away the temporal goods at God's commandment from the clergy; that is to say, 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 had taken part with Adonijah, the brother of Solomon, to make him king, without the advice either of David, or of Solomon himself, who ought to reign, and set up Zadoc the priest in the place of Abiathar, because he had not consented 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? For he was very comely, being second son, next 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 Felethi, and all the power of David's host, were not on Adonijah's part."

This was the cause of the deposing of Abiathar, 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 before my father David, and didst labour in all things wherein my father laboured." Then did Solomon cast out Abiathar, that he should be no more 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 prudent king Solomon, according to the wisdom which was given him of God, did exercise his power upon the said priest, putting him out of his priesthood, and setting in his place Zadoc the priest. This was a greater matter than to take away the temporalities. If, then, in the law of Christ, who now reigneth over us, a bishop should likewise rebel against the true heir of the kingdom, willing to set up another for king, why should not the king or his heir have power, in like case, to take away the temporalities from him so offending?

Second reason. Nebuchadnezzar. Third reason. Jehoash.

It is also evident by the king Nebuchadnezzar, who had power given him of 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.

Item, We read in 2 Kings xii., how that Jehoash, the most godly 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 treasure that could be found in 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 most holy king exercised his power, not only in taking away the temporalities of the priests, but also those things which were consecrated in the temple of the Lord, to procure unto the commonwealth the benefit of peace.

Fourth reason. Hezekiah.

Item, In 2 Kings xviii., it is written, how that the holy king Hezekiah took

all the treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the king's treasury, and brake down the pillars 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 for his other sins, as it appeareth in 2 Chron. xxxii. Forasmuch, then, as in time of necessity all things ought to be in common unto Christians, it followeth that the secular lords, in case of necessity, and in many other common cases, may lawfully take away the moveable goods from the clergy, when they do offend.

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We also read in Matthew xii., that the disciples of Jesus, to slake their hunger, upon the Sabbath-day pulled the ears of corn, and did eat them, and the Pharisees 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.,<sup>1</sup> whereby it appeareth, that it is lawful, in time of necessity, to use any thing, be it ever so much consecrated. Otherwise, children by giving their moveables to the consecration of any 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 traditions, they did transgress the commandment of God.

Fifth  
reason.  
Matthew.  
David.

Case of  
necessity.

Item, Titus and Vespasian, secular princes, had power given them by God, twenty-four years after the Lord's ascension, to take away the temporalities from the priests who had offended against the Lord's Holy One, and thereby, also, bereft them of their lives: and it seemeth unto many, they did, and might, worthily do the same according to God's good will and pleasure. Then, forasmuch as our priests, in these days, may transgress and offend as much, and rather more, against the Lord's anointed, it followeth, that, by the pleasure of God, the secular lords may likewise punish them for their offence.

Sixth  
reason.  
Titus and  
Vespasian.

Our Saviour, being King of kings, and high Bishop, 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 their kings. Hereupon blessed St. Ambrose, in his fourth book, upon these words in Luke v. 4., "Cast out your nets," writeth thus; "There is another kind of fishing amongst the apostles, after which manner the Lord commanded Peter only to fish, saying, 'Cast out thy hook, and that fish which cometh first up, take him.'" And then unto the purpose he saith; "It is truly a great and spiritual document, whereby all christian men are taught that they ought to be subject unto the higher powers, and that no man ought to think that the laws of a king here on earth are to be broken. For if the Son of God did pay tribute, art thou so great a man, that thou thinkest thou oughtest not to pay tribute? He payed tribute who had no possessions; and thou who daily seekest after the lucre of the world, why dost thou not acknowledge the obedience and duty of the world? Why dost thou, through the arrogance of thy mind, exalt thyself above the world, whereas, through thine own miserable covetousness, thou art subject unto the world?" Thus writeth St. Ambrose, and it is put in the 11 quest. 1 par., "Magnum quidem." He also writeth upon these words in Luke xx. 24., "Show me a penny; whose image hath it?" "If Christ had not the image of Cæsar, why did he pay any 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 in danger of Cæsar, possess not those things which are the world's, for if thou hast riches thou art in danger of Cæsar." Wherefore, if thou wilt owe nothing unto any earthly king, forsake all those things, and follow Christ. If, then, all ecclesiastical ministers having riches ought to be under the subjection of kings, and give unto them tribute; it followeth that kings may lawfully, by the authority which is given them, take away their temporalities from them.

Seventh  
reason.  
The exam-  
ple of  
Christ  
paying  
tribute.  
St. Am-  
brose's  
mind.

Christ  
com-  
manded  
tribute to  
be paid  
unto the  
emperor.

Hereupon St. Paul, acknowledging himself to be under jurisdiction of the emperor, appealed unto Cæsar, as it appeareth, Acts xxv. 10.: "I stand,"

(1) Or rather, in Lev. xxiv. 9.—E.D.

*Richard II.* 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 unto the emperor, and all things under his power. 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 all places wherein the children of men do dwell; and hath given into thy power the beasts of the field, and fowls of the air, and set all things under thy subjection."

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

(Daniel ii.)

Ninth reason.  
St. Ambrose.

Tenth reason.  
St. Augustine.

Also, in the 11 quest. par. 1, St. Ambrose saith, "If the emperor require tribute, we do not deny that the lands of the church shall 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, neither do I deny them." This he writeth, expressly declaring that the secular lord hath power at his pleasure to take away the lands of the church; and so, consequently, the secular lords have power at their pleasures, to take away the temporal goods from the ecclesiastical ministers when they do offend.

Also, St. Augustine writeth, "If thou sayest, 'What have we to do with the emperor?' But now, as I said, we speak of man's law. The apostles would be obedient unto kings, and honour them, saying, 'Reverence your kings; and do not say, What have I to do with the king?' What hast thou then to do with possessions? By the king's law thy possessions are possessed. Thou hast said, 'What have I to do with the king?' but do not say, what have thy possessions to do with the king? For then hast thou renounced the laws of men, whereby thou didst possess thy lands." Thus writeth St. Augustine in his eighth distinction, by whose words it is manifest, that the king hath power over the church goods, and consequently may take them away from the clergy transgressing or 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 thus answered, 'Doth it not pertain unto us in our kingdom, who will either live a chaste life, or who will be an unchaste whore-monger?' Behold, this holy man showeth here how it is the duty of kings to punish such as are robbers of churches, and consequently the proud clergy when they do offend.

Twelfth reason.

Item, he writeth in the 33 quest. 7 par., "Si de rebus," "The secular lords may lawfully take away the temporal goods from heretics; and forasmuch as it is a case greatly possible that many of the clergy are users of simony, and thereby heretics, therefore the secular lords may very lawfully take away their temporalities from them." "For what an unworthy thing is it," continues St. Augustine, "if the catholics do possess, according unto the will of the Lord, those things which the heretics held? forasmuch 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 given unto a nation, which shall do the righteousness thereof.' Is it in vain which is written 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, may object the same unto the people of God, which inhabit the same;" and the Jews themselves, from whom, according unto the word of the Lord, "The kingdom is taken away, and given unto a people, which shall do the works of righteousness," may 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 another man's goods, forasmuch as they are ours by the commandment of Him by whom all things were made." By like evidence the clergy having offended, their temporal goods are made the goods of others, for the profit of the church. To this purpose also, according to St. Augustine, serveth the 14 quest. 4 par., "Unto an unbeliever it is not a halfpenny matter; but unto the faithful it is a whole world of riches." Shall we not then convince all such that they possess another man's goods, who seem to have gathered great riches together, and know not how to use them? for that truly is not another's, which is possessed by right; and that is lawfully possessed, which is



justly possessed; and that is justly possessed, which is well possessed. Ergo, all that which is ill possessed, is another man's, and he doth ill possess it, who doth ill use it. Richard II.

If then any of the clergy do abuse the 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 transgressing. 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 temporalities, forasmuch as all things are the just man's [1 Cor. iii. 21.—23]. "All things," saith the apostle, "are yours; whether it be Paul, or Apollo, 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 the 23 quest. 7 par., "Quicumque," it is written; "Jure divino omnia sunt justorum." \*The words of St. Augustine in that place, "Ad Vincentium," be these: "Whosoever," saith he, "upon the occasion of this law or ordinance of the emperor, doth molest or persecute you, not for love of any charitable correction, but only for hatred and malice to do you displeasure, I hold not with him in so doing."

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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 be said to pertain to the possession of the just:" or else by man's law, which standeth in the king's power to set and to ordain; here, by the words of St. Augustine 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, Forasmuch as the clergy by means of their possessions are in danger of the emperor and king, it followeth, that if they do offend, the emperor or king may lawfully take away their possessions from them. The consequent dependeth on this point, forasmuch as, otherwise, they were not in subjection unto the emperor or king: and the antecedent is manifest by the 11 quest. 1 par., "His ita respondetur," where it is specified in Latin thus: "Clerici ex officio episcopo sunt suppositi, ex possessionibus imperatori sunt obnoxii: ab episcopo unctionem, decimas, et primitias accipiunt; ab imperatore vero possessiones nanciscuntur:" that is to say, "The clergy, by means 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; of the emperor they receive possessions." Thus then it is decreed by the imperial law, that livelihoods should be possessed; whereby it appeareth, that the clergy, by the possession of their livelihoods, are in danger of 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. Thirteenth reason. The clergy subject unto the emperor and king by means of their possessions.

Item, The temporal lords may take away the temporalities from such as use simony, because they are heretics. Ergo, this article is true. The antecedent is manifest, forasmuch as the secular lords may refuse such as use simony, and punish them except they do repent. For, by the decree of pope Paschasius, in the first and last questions it appeareth, that all such as used simony were to be refused of all faithful people, as chief and principal heretics; and if they do not repent after they be warned, they are also to be punished by the extern power. For all other faults and crimes, in comparison of simony, be counted but light, and seem small offences. Whereupon the Gloss, expounding the same text, saith, that by this word 'extern,' is understood the laity, who have power over the clergy, besides the church, as in the seventeenth distinction, "Non licuit," and 23 quest. 5 par., "Principes." Whereby it is evident, that the temporal lords may take away the temporal goods from the clergy when they do offend. Fourteenth reason. Users of simony are punished by the civil magistrate.

Item, St. Gregory, in the register upon his seventh book and ninth chapter, writeth thus unto the French queen: "Forasmuch as it is written that 'righteousness helpeth the people, and sin maketh them miserable;' then is that kingdom counted stable, when the offence which is known, is soon amended. Therefore, forasmuch as wicked priests are the cause of the ruin of the people (for who shall take upon him, 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 wickedly and unchastely;

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

(1) This passage is not in the Latin edition.—Ed. (2) See Latin edition, p. 43.—Ed.

Richard  
II.

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therefore, that the offence of a few might not turn to the destruction of many we ought earnestly to seek the punishment of the same. And it followeth, if we do command any person, we do send him forth, with the consent of your authority, who, together with other priests, shall diligently seek out, and according unto God's word, correct and amend the same. Neither are these things to be dissembled, which we have spoken of, for he that may correct any thing, and doth neglect the same, without all doubt he maketh himself partaker of the sin or offence. Therefore, foresee unto your own soul; provide for your nephews, and for such as you do desire to reign after you; provide for your country, and with diligence provide for the correction and punishment of that sin, before our Creator do stretch out his hand to strike."

Gregory  
to the  
French  
King.

And in his next chapter he writeth unto the French king: "Whatsoever you do understand to pertain either unto the honour and glory of our God, to the reverence of the church, or to the honour of the priests, that 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 as we wrote lately unto you, do cause all the carnal vices, which reign amongst your priests, and all the wickedness and simony of your bishops, which is most hard, to be condemned and reprov'd, utterly to be banished out of your kingdom; and that you will not suffer them to possess any more substance under your dominion, than God's commandment doth 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 how they ought to correct their subjects. For as it is convenient to be circumspect and careful against the outward enemies, even so, likewise, ought they to be against the inward enemies of the soul. And, as in just war against the 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 consequent is proved thus: for so much as the domestic enemies are most hurtful.

Sixteenth  
reason.

Item, It is thus argued; if God be, the temporal lords may meritoriously and lawfully take away the temporal goods from the clergy, if they do offend. For this point let us suppose that we speak of power as the true authentic Scripture doth speak [Mat. iii. 9], "God is able even of these stones to raise up children to Abraham."

Whereupon it is thus argued: If God be, he is omnipotent; and if he so be, he may give like power unto the secular lords; and so consequently they may meritoriously and lawfully use the same power. But, lest any man object, that a proof made by a strange thing is not sufficient, it is therefore declared that the temporal lords have power to take away their alms bestowed upon the church, the church abusing the same, as it shall be proved hereafter. And first thus: it is lawful for kings, in cases limited by the law, to take away the moveables from the clergy when they do offend: it is thus proved; for the temporal lords are most bound unto the works of greatest mercy most easy for them: but, in case possible, it should 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 any bodily relief. Ergo, the assumption is true.

Whereupon first this sentence of the law of Christ in 2 Thess. iii., is noted, where the apostle writeth thus: "When we were amongst you, we declared this unto you, that he that would not work, should not eat." Wherefore the law of nature doth license all such as have the governance of kingdoms, to correct the abuse of the temporalities, which would be the chief cause of the destruction of their kingdoms; whether the temporal lords, or any other, had endowed the church with those temporalities or not. It is lawful for them in some cases to take away the temporalities, as it were by way of physic to withstand sin, notwithstanding any excommunication, or other ecclesiastical censure; forasmuch as they are not endowed, but only with condition thereunto annexed.

When  
and how  
the title  
of any  
gift is  
lost.

Hereby it appeareth, that the condition annexed to the endowing or enriching of any church, is, that God should be honoured: which condition if it once fail, the contrary taking place, the title of the gift is lost, and consequently the lord who gave the alms ought to correct the offence. Excommunication ought not to hinder the fulfilling of justice. Secondly, according to the canon law, six-

teenth question, 7 par., this sentence is noted, where it is thus spoken as touching the children, nephews, and the most honest of the kindred of him who hath builded or endowed any church: That it is lawful for them to be thus circumspect, that if they perceive the priest do defraud any part of that which is bestowed, they should either gently admonish or warn 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 the time to report it in the ears of the king; for so saith the canon, "Let them not defer to report it in the ears of the king." To what end, I pray you, but that he should do correction? neither is it to be doubted, but that correction doth more appertain unto the king in this point for their goods, whereof he is chief lord, by a subtraction proportional, according to the fault or offence.

Richard II.

A. D. 1384.

Item, It is thus proved: it is lawful for the secular lords, by their power, to do correction upon the clergy by some kind of fearful discipline appertaining 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 unto their secular power. Forasmuch, then, as the taking of their temporalities is a kind of fearful discipline pertaining unto the secular power, it followeth that it is lawful for them thereby to do such correction: and, consequently, it followeth that the truth is thus to be proved. The consequent is evident; and the antecedent is proved by Isidore, twenty-third question, 5 par., "Principes;" where it is thus written: "There should be no secular powers within the church, but only for this purpose, that whatsoever thing the priests or ministers cannot bring to pass by preaching or teaching, the secular powers may command the same by the terror and fear of discipline. For, oftentimes, the heavenly kingdom is profited and holpen by the earthly kingdom; that they who are in the church, and do any thing contrary unto faith and discipline, by the rigour of the princes may be trodden down, and that the power of the rulers may lay that discipline upon the necks of the proud and stiffnecked, which the utility and profit of the church cannot exercise or use.

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

Item, All things that by power ought to work or bring to any perfect end by the reasonable measuring of the mean thereto, may lawfully use by power the subtraction or taking away of the excess, and the addition of the want of their means, according as shall be convenient or meet for the measure to be made. Forasmuch, then, as the secular lords ought by their power, to provide for the necessary sustentation of the christian clergy by the reasonable measuring of their temporalities, which they are bound to bestow upon the christian clergy, it followeth, that they may lawfully, by their power, use the taking away, or adding unto, those temporalities, according as shall be convenient for the performance of that reasonable matter.

Eighteenth reason.

Item, It is lawful for the clergy, by their power, to take away the sacraments of the church from the laity customably offending, forasmuch as it doth pertain to the office of the christian ministers, by their power, to minister the same unto the lay-people. Wherefore, forasmuch as it doth pertain unto the office of the laity, according unto their power, to minister and give temporalities 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 take away the temporalities from the clergy, when they do habitually sin and offend.

Nineteenth reason.

Item, By like power may he who giveth a stipend or exhibition, withdraw and take away the same from the unworthy labourers, as he hath power to give the same unto the worthy labourers: forasmuch then as temporalities of the clergy are the stipends of the laity, it followeth that the lay-people may, by as good authority, take away again the same 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 [Math. xxi.], "The kingdom shall be taken away from you, and given unto a people which shall bring forth the fruits thereof."

Twentieth reason.

Item, It is also lawful for the secular lords, by their power, to chastise and punish the lay-people when they do offend, by taking away their temporalities according to the exigent of their offence, forasmuch as the lay-people are subjected to their dominion. Wherefore the clergy being also subject to the dominion of the secular lords, as appears from Rom. xiii., and many other places, it

Twenty-first reason.

*Richard - II.* is evident that it is lawful by their power to punish the clergy, by taking away their temporalities, if their offence do so deserve.

*A. D. 1384.* Item, The most easy reformation of the clergy to the life of Christ and the apostles, and the most profitable to the laity, (that the clergy should not live contrary unto Christ), seemeth to be the withdrawing of their alms, and the taking away of those things which had been bestowed upon them. And it is thus proved: that medicine is the most apt to be laid to the sore, whereby the infirmity may soonest be holpen, and which is most agreeable to the patients; such is the taking away of the temporalities. Ergo, this article is true. The minor is thus proved: forasmuch as by the abundance of temporalities the worm or serpent of pride hath sprung up, whereupon insatiable desire and lust is inflamed, and from which proceed all kinds of gluttony and lechery. It is evident in this point, forasmuch as the temporalities being once taken away, every one of those sins is either utterly taken away, or at least diminished, by the contrary virtue induced and brought in. It seemeth also most pertinent unto the laity, forasmuch as they ought not to lay violent hands upon their ministers, nor to abject the priestly dignity, neither to judge any of the clergy in their open courts. It seemeth, also, by the law of conscience to pertain unto the lay-people, forasmuch as every man who worketh any work of mercy, ought diligently to have respect unto the ability of them that he bestoweth his alms upon; lest by nourishing or helping loiterers, he be made partaker of their offence. Whereupon, if priests do not minister in their spiritual things, as of their tithes, first-fruits and oblations, as Hostiensis teacheth in his third book, the people ought to take away the alms of their tithes from them.

*Twenty-second reason.* Item, It is confirmed by the last chapter of the seventeenth question, out of the decree of Rents appropriate unto the church, "Quicumque," 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 use and profits thereof: it happened afterwards, that he had children, and the bishop restored again his goods unto him not hoping for it. The bishop had it in his power, whether to render again, or not, those things which were given him; but that was by the law of man, and not by the law of conscience. If then, by the decree of the holy doctor St. Augustine, in his sermon on the life of the clergy, Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, had no power by God's law to withhold that which is bestowed upon the church for the necessity of children; by which law, the wanton, proud, and unstable clergy, being more than sufficiently possessed and enriched, do detain and keep back the temporalities to the detriment and hurt of their own state, and of the whole militant church, the secular patrons being thereby so impoverished, that they are compelled by penury to rob and steal, to oppress their tenants, to spoil and undo others, and, oftentimes, by very necessity are driven to beggary.

*Twenty-third reason.* Item, Suppose that a priest and minister, how grievously soever he do offend, by what kind or sign of offence soever it be, 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, as it is supposed, the priests in the kingdom of Bohemia grievously offending, it is the king's part, forasmuch as he is supreme head next under God, and lord of the kingdom of Bohemia, to correct and punish those priests. And, forasmuch as the gentlest correction and punishment of such as be obdurate in their malice, is, the casting away of their temporal goods, it followeth, that it is lawful for the king to take away temporalities. Wherefore it should seem very marvellous and strange, if priests, riding about, should spoil virgins, and violently corrupt and defile honest matrons: if, in such case, it were not lawful for them to take away their armour, weapons, horses, guns, and swords from them. The like reason were it, also, if they had unlawfully conspired the death of the king; or that they would betray the king unto his enemies.

*Twenty-fourth reason.* Item, Whatsoever any of the clergy doth require or desire of the secular power, according unto the law and ordinance of Christ, the secular power ought to perform and grant the same. But the clergy, being hindered by riches, ought to require help of the secular power for the dispensation of the said riches. Ergo, the secular power ought, in such case, by the law of Christ, to take upon it the office or duty of getting, keeping, and distributing, all such manner of

*Twenty-fifth reason.*

riches. The minor is hereby proved, that no man ought to have riches, but to that end, that they be helps, preferring and helping unto the office which is appointed of God. Therefore, in case secular possession do 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 untaught, and to minister unto tables."

*Richard II.*

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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 the reasons and proofs which he used in that disputation, above the number of twenty more, besides the testimonies of all the writers before recited, which he allegeth out of the Scriptures, the decretals, St. Ambrose in his book of offices, St. Augustine in his fifth book and fifth question, and also unto Macedo, Isidore, the council of Nice, Gregory in his eleventh question, Bernard unto Eugene in his third book, and out of Lincolniensis, the sixty-first epistle, besides many other more: the sum of all which testimonies tends to 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 bonds, which is not only agreeable to equity and God's word, but also profitable for the clergy themselves. He teacheth it also to be necessary, that they should rather be subjected under the secular power, than be above it; because that else it were dangerous, lest they, being entangled with such kind of business, should be an easier prey to Satan, and sooner entrapped in his snares; and, thereby, it should come to pass, that the governance and principality of all things being at 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; especially forasmuch 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 do occupy the third, or at least the fourth part of the rents and revenues. And, last of all, he allegeth the examples of Gregory and of Mauritius, and afterwards the prophecy of Hildegard, writing in this manner.

Ambrose,  
Augustine, Isi-  
dore,  
council of  
Nice,  
Gregory,  
Bernard,  
and  
others.

### The Second Disputation of John Huss, continued.

As the ecclesiastical ministers do willingly receive reward and praise of kings and rulers for their good deeds, so also ought they, when they do offend, willingly to suffer and receive punishment at their hands for their evil doings. The consequent holdeth thus, forasmuch as the punishment meekly and humbly received for his offence doth more profit a man, than his praise received for any good work: whereupon St. Gregory writeth thus unto Mauritius, the emperor, when he did persecute him, saying, "I believe that you do please Almighty God so much the better, in so cruelly afflicting me, who have been so evil a servant unto him." If then this holy pope did so humbly and meekly, without any offence, suffer this affliction of the emperor, why should not any of the clergy, when they do offend, meekly sustain punishment at the king's or ruler's hands, under whom they are bound to be subject, when the true vicar of Christ saith [1 Pet. ii.], "Be ye subject unto every creature for God's cause, whether it be unto the king, as most excellent, or unto the rulers, as men sent of God for the punishing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good: for so is the good will of God?"

Whereupon pope Leo, leaning to this rule, submitted himself to Louis, the

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1384.

Pope Leo  
submit-  
teth him-  
self unto  
the em-  
peror  
Louis.

Tyranny  
and pride  
of the  
clergy

Prophecy  
of Hilde-  
gard.

Just di-  
vision in-  
tended by  
God be-  
tween the  
spiritual  
and the  
secular  
people.

emperor, as it is written in the second question, 7 par., in these words, "If we have done any thing incompetently, or if we have not observed the upright path and way of equity amongst subjects, we will amend the same, either by your own judgment, or else by the advice or judgment of those whom you shall appoint for that purpose. For if we, who ought to correct and punish other men's faults, do commit more grievous ourselves, we are not then 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, touching the obedience unto the emperor: "As concerning the precepts and commandments of our emperors and our predecessors the bishops (whom the Gloss calleth emperors, who are anointed after the manner of bishops) to be observed and kept unbroken, we do profess ourselves by all means possible, as much as in us lieth, or that we may and can, we will, by the help of God, preserve and keep them both now and ever. And if, peradventure, any man do inform, or hereafter shall inform you otherwise, know you him assuredly to be a liar and slanderer."

Mark how this devout and holy pope, calling the emperors bishops, submitted himself, according to the rule of St. Peter the apostle, under the obedience, and also punishment of the emperor. Wherefore, then, should not the clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia submit themselves under the obedience of their king, for God's cause, to be punished if they do offend; and not only submit themselves unto the king, but also unto the rulers; and not only unto the rulers, but unto every other creature? For by how much they do so humble and abase themselves in this world for God's sake, so much the more shall they be exalted with him: but what is the hindrance thereof, but only pride, whereby Antichrist doth exalt himself above the most humble and meek Lord Jesus Christ?

Also, it seemeth to appear by that which is aforesaid on the taking away of the temporalities, in the prophecy of Hildegard, the virgin, which she writeth in her books under Eugene the pope, in the council of Treves, approved and allowed by many bishops of France, Italy, and Almain, who were there present, where also St. Bernard himself was present. The virgin prophesying, spake in this manner: "The kings and other rulers of the world, being stirred up by the just judgment of God, shall set themselves against them, and run upon them, saying, 'We will not have these men to reign over us with their rich houses and great possessions, and other worldly riches, over which we are ordained to be lords and rulers: and how is it meet or comely that those shavelings, with their stoles and chisils, should have more soldiers, or more or richer armour or artillery than we? So is it not convenient that one of the clergy should be a man of war, or that a soldier should be one of the clergy. Wherefore, let us take away from them that, which they do not justly, but wrongfully possess.'"

And, immediately after, she saith thus: "The Omnipotent Father equally divided all things; that is to say, the heavens he gave unto the heavenly creatures, and the earth unto the earthly. And by this means was there a just division made between the children of men, that the spirituality should have such things as belong unto them, and the secular people, such things as are meet and necessary for them, so that neither of these two sorts should oppress each other by violence; for God doth not command, that the one son or child should have both the cloak and the coat, and the other should go naked; but he willeth 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 worldly cares, and for their children, which daily increase and multiply. The coat he giveth unto the spirituality, that they should not lack clothing, and that they should not possess more than necessity doth require. Wherefore we judge and think it good, that all these aforesaid be divided by reason and equity; and that where the cloak and the coat are both found, the cloak should be taken away, and given unto the needy, that they do not perish for lack or want." These things spake the virgin Hildegard, plainly foreshowing the taking away of the temporalities from the clergy by the secular lords; and showing for what cause they shall be so taken away, and what manner of division shall be made of those things that are taken away, that they be not consumed, and spent unprofitably.

Forasmuch 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

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 accused 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.

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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, desirers 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."

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

Hugo, also, in his second book of Sacraments, part ii. chapter 2, saith, "The laity, forasmuch as they intermeddle with certain matters necessary unto an earthly life, they are the left part of the body of Christ. And the clergy, forasmuch as they do dispose those things which pertain unto a spiritual life, are, as it were, the right side of the body of Christ." And, afterwards, interpreting both these parts himself, he saith, "A spiritual man ought to have nothing but such as pertaineth 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 the earth 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 power and authority of the secular power reserved, lest there might happen any confusion; forasmuch as God himself cannot allow any disordered thing. Whereupon oftentimes the worldly princes do grant the bare use of the church, and oftentimes use power to exercise justice, which the clergy cannot exercise by any ecclesiastical minister, or any other 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 the power which they have, to come from the secular prince or ruler, and that they do understand their possessions can never be alienated away from the king's power; but, if necessity or reason do require, the same possessions, in all such case of necessity, do owe him obeisance and service. For, like as the king's power ought not to turn away the defence or safeguard which he oweth unto others, so, likewise, the possessions obtained and possessed by the clergy, according to the duty and homage which are due unto the patronage of the king's power, cannot by right be denied." 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. Vitis, touching Tithes, &c.

"Tithes are pure Alms."

Alms  
mercy

Upon this article it is to be noted, that forasmuch as alms is a work of mercy, as St. Augustine, St. Chrysostome, and others do jointly affirm, and mercy, according to Lincolniensis' mind, for the present, is a love or desire to help the



miserable out of his misery: and forasmuch as the misery of mankind is twofold; that is to say, spiritual and bodily, which is the want or taking away of the goods; and the goods of man are either the goods of the soul or of the body: and the goods of the soul are twofold; that is to say, the enlightening of the mind, and the uprightness of affection: the misery of the soul is also twofold; as the darkness of ignorance, and a froward and wilful swerving from the truth. And both the goods of the soul are to be comprehended under one title or name; that is to say, 'wisdom:' and both the miseries of the soul, under the name of 'folly.' Whereupon all the whole goodness of the soul is wisdom, and all the whole misery thereof is ignorance. 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 want 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, in Matthew xxv., doth plainly rehearse. There are also commonly appointed 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 or harbourless, to visit the sick, and to bury the dead; which all together are contained in these verses:

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Two kinds of misery. Two kinds of goodness. The miseries of the mind and body.

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

Which verse is thus Englished:

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 seven other spiritual alms appointed, which are these: to teach the ignorant; to counsel him that is in doubt; to comfort him who is in heaviness; to correct the offender; to forgive him who hath offended against thee; to bear with those who are grievous; and to pray for all men: which are also contained in these verses following:

What alms is.

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

Which verse is thus Englished:

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 that, notwithstanding, under the same, counsel and doctrine be comprehended, as writeth Thomas in the second part of the second question, art. xxxii. par. 2.

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

Whereupon it is manifest that alms, as St. Augustine and other holy men say, is a work of mercy, as also to give alms, as it appeareth by the name; for in the Greek it is derived from this word 'elemonia,' which is 'mercy;' for as in the Latin this word 'miseratio,' which signifieth 'pity,' is derived from 'miseri-cordia,' which is 'mercy;' so this word 'eleemosyna,' which signifieth 'alms,' is derived from the Greek word 'elemonia,' which is to say 'mercy,' and from

(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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the word 'sina,' which is to say 'commandment,' as it were a commandment of mercy, or otherwise from this word, 'elemonia.' By this letter 'I,' which is to say, 'God,' and this word 'sina,' which is 'commandment:' it is as if it were said, 'the commandment of God;' as Januensis, in his book entitled 'Catholicon,' affirmeth.<sup>1</sup>

Tithes.

For our Saviour doth command, in Luke xi., to give alms, saying, "Give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you:" lest that in this point there may be any equivocation, it is supposed, presently that the alms given by men is a corporal alms, given simply under the name of alms. Secondly, it is to be noted, that tithes, in this case, are the tenth part of goods of fortune, given by man simply under the name of alms for God's sake.

These things being thus noted and supposed, the article is thus proved: 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 consequent is manifest of itself. The major appeareth by the first supposition; and the minor by the second.

Item, Every gift given by a man, even of love, to relieve and help the miserable out of his misery, is an alms. 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 even of love, to help the miserable out of 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 consequent is manifest. The major appeareth by this, that every such gift is either a spiritual or bodily alms. The minor seemeth hereby true, forasmuch as many holy men have given, and do give, even for love, to relieve the miserable out of 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, "Wee be unto you Pharisees, which do tithe the mint and anise," writeth thus: "If they cannot be cleansed without 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 doth expound it himself. They did take out the tenth part of all their fruits, and give it for alms; which any christian man doth not willingly. Then they mocked Him, when He spake these words to them, as unto men who would do no alms. Thus the Lord foreknowing said, 'Woe be unto you Pharisees, which tithe mint and rue, and all kind of herbs, and pass over the judgment and charity of God;' for this it is to do alms, if thou dost understand it, begin with thyself; for how canst thou be merciful unto another, who art unmerciful unto thyself?" This writeth St. Augustine, plainly saying, that "tithes are alms."

St. Augustine  
proveith  
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, give in alms, and all things shall be clean unto you," he saith thus: "When he had rebuked them, that they washed themselves outwardly, and inwardly were full of iniquity and abomination, admonishing them in what, and how, a man ought first to bestow alms upon himself, and first to cleanse himself inwardly, he saith, 'That which doth remain, give in alms; and behold, all things are clean unto you.' Afterwards, that he might the better declare what he had given them warning of, and what they had neglected to do, that they should not judge him ignorant of their alms, he saith, 'Woe be unto you Pharisees;' as though he should say, 'I verily gave you warning that you should give such 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 I do know these your alms, that you should not think with yourselves that you had given me warning thereof, and neglect and pass over the judgment and charity 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, and all these things, both inward and also outward;' as it is said in another place, 'Cleanse that which is within, and the outward things shall be

(1) An extract from the Latin is here subjoined. "Et hoc apparet ex ipso nomine. Nam in Greco a misericordia derivatur, sicut Latine misericordia a misericordia: sic elemosina ab elemonia, quod est misericordia: et sina, quod est mandatum, id est, mandatum misericordie, vel elemonia, per 'I' melius. Et tunc dicitur ab 'ell' quod est 'Deus,' et 'sina,' quod est 'mandatum,' quasi mandatum Dei, ut dicit Januensis in suo Catholicon." Pp. 48, 49.—Ed.

also clean.' But lest he should seem to refuse those alms which are given of the fruits of the earth, he saith, 'You ought to have done these things;' that is to say, the judgment and love of God; and not to neglect the other, that is to say, the alms of the fruit of the earth." This writeth St. Augustine, expressly calling the tithes, 'alms.'

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Also Chrysostome, upon the same words, in Luke xi., "That which remaineth give in alms," saith thus: "Whereas it was spoken of the Jewish kind of cleansing, it is wholly passed; but forasmuch as tithes is a certain alms, and the time was not yet expressly come to kill the sacrifices of the law, for this cause," he saith, "Ye ought to do those things, and not omit the other." St. Thomas allegeth the same in his gloss upon St. Luke. And Chrysostome himself doth touch two points: first, that tithes are alms; secondly, that tithes are in a manner lawful, forasmuch as the gift thereof unto the priests did not cease in the time of Christ.

Chrysostome.

Also St. Augustine, in a certain sermon on giving alms, saith thus: "What is it to say, '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 thought within themselves, Who do give alms, and how do they give it? 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 their wine and oil; and not that only, but also vile things, at the commandment of the Lord, as cummin, rue, and anise; of which they took the tenth part, and gave it for alms. I think, therefore, forasmuch as they called to mind, and thought within themselves, that our Lord Christ spake in vain unto them that they did no alms, when they knew their own works, that they tithed the smallest and worst of all their fruits, and gave alms thereof, they mocked him amongst themselves, because he did speak in such sort unto them, as unto men that did no alms. This the Lord foreseeing, 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; for be assured that I do understand your alms. Truly, these are your tithes, these are your alms; you tithe out the least and worst of all your fruits, and have left the weighty matters of the law undone.'" Here St. Augustine often expoundeth that tithes are alms; also he writeth the like in his book of Homilies, in his sixth homily.

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 the truth for many of its particularities. It is most certain that it is not damnable, but most catholic, that God is something; which being false in all particulars, it is only true for that alone which doth surmount all kind. Ergo, by like reason, this particular<sup>1</sup> is true, tenths are pure alms: for it is thus proved. These tenths of a good layman being wholly distributed by a faithful minister 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 any of the clergy who may be a fornicator? The whole antecedent I suppose as possible, and doubtful unto the condemners, if it be true.

Item, It is also thus proved; These tithes, and all other goods of fortune, are pure alms in respect of God, forasmuch as every man, emperor and king, is a beggar of God, as St. Augustine doth oftentimes affirm; 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 the same, but that it simply followeth that the same is pure alms before God: ergo, it is pure alms.

It is also 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 other than alms, if they be altogether themselves alms; forasmuch as it followeth, if they be by any other means or otherwise than alms, then they are otherwise than some alms, and forasmuch as they themselves are some alms, it followeth that they are otherwise than they are indeed; which is false.

But now to pass beyond the bounds of logic, it is to be demanded, whether

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

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

before the church was endowed, or sustenance and clothing were given to the apostles, there was any pure alms, or whether alms were given by any other means by bond of debt amongst men. And, forasmuch as the reason is not to be feigned, but that they were pure alms, so, afterwards, 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 temporalities which they do beg. Neither doth debt utterly exclude the purity of alms before God; 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 according to God's will; 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, when the bond conditioned doth not destroy the purity thereof: wherefore, there is 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 or want, so to be pleased for their tithes: for so might the begging friar, by the continuance of his daily begging, challenge according to the like 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 behalf of him who giveth the tithe, as also on the behalf of the curate, every such ministry ought freely to be given, and not by any civil exchange; forasmuch as it is not required, but that rather the comparison of such exchanges is repugnant; for so much also as no man freely giveth any alms, except he do look for the duty of recompense, by the law of conscience.

Item, All temporal goods bestowed upon the clergy by the lay-people under condition, as the goods of the church, are the alms of them who give them: it is proved thus, forasmuch as all those goods are the goods of the poor; as it 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 changed to the use and power of another, either by civil exchange or evangelical, are changed; but the church goods are so changed by one of these ministries. But the evangelical exchange is not to be feigned, because it is not done either by buying or selling, or any other civil exchange. Therefore there doth only remain a pure gift, for hope of a heavenly reward, which is mercy, and so pure alms. And it seemeth to follow, consequently, that all the clergy receiving such alms are not only in respect of God, as all other men, but in respect of men, beggars. 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; forasmuch as Christ, touching his humanity, became a beggar for us, because he declared his need unto his Father, saying, &c.

Item, When any king, prince, knight, citizen, or any other man, doth give unto the clergy, or to any priest for his stipend, he giveth the same unto the church of God, and to the private party, as a perpetual alms, that he should attend to his vocation, preaching, praying, and studying. But this kind of giving doth not suffice to ground any secular dominion amongst the clergy: it followeth that the bare use remaineth in them, or the secular use without any secular power.

The major appeareth hereby, forasmuch as, otherwise, alms should not be a work of mercy. Whereby it may also appear, that tenths are pure alms given to the church, to the use of the poor. And hereupon the holy men do say, that tenths are the tributes of the needy souls. Whereupon St. Augustine, in a sermon made upon the restoring of tithes, saith, "The giving of tithes, most dear brethren, is the tribute of poor souls therefore pay your tribute unto the poor." And by and by afterwards he saith, "Therefore whoso desireth either to get any reward, or to have any remission of sins by giving his tenths, let him study to give alms even of the ninth part: so that whatsoever shall remain more than a competent living and decent clothing, it be not reserved for riot, but that it be laid up in the heavenly treasury, by giving it in alms to

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

The clergy beggars.

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 send it us to be bestowed upon others by our hands: if we do not give it, we invade another man's possessions."

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Thus much writeth St. Augustine, and it is repeated in the 16 question, 1. "Decima."

Also St. Jerome in an epistle, and it is put in the sixteenth question, chap. ii. "Quiquid." "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 the first question, and 12.

Also in the twenty-third 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 a property by some damnable usurpation." The Gloss upon that part of the twenty-third question, 7. saith, "The prelates are only the stewards of the church-goods, and not lords thereof."

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

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

The clergy are stewards of the church-goods, and not lords thereof.

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

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

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

Also in the fifth book of Decretals, "Extra de donationibus," sub auctoritate Alexandri tertii, episcopi Parisiensis. He 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 evidently declared, 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 declared how the clergy are not lords and possessors of those goods, but ministers and 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. Not that I

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

A. D. 1384. There were besides these, certain other articles whereupon the said John Huss had very wisely and learnedly disputed; but these shall suffice us for the present. And for the residue, we will pass them over to the intent we may the more speedily return to where our story left off, 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 years after he was buried; as appeareth by the decree of the said synod, the form whereof we thought hereunto to annex.

SUBSTANCE OF THE DECREE OF THE SYNOD OF CONSTANCE, TOUCHING THE TAKING UP OF THE BODY AND BONES OF JOHN WICKLIFF, TO BE BURNED FORTY-ONE YEARS AFTER HE WAS BURIED IN HIS OWN PARISH AT LUTTERWORTH.—A. D. 1425.<sup>1</sup>

“Forasmuch 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, they proceeded unto the condemnation of the said John Wickliff and his memory, having first made proclamation, and given commandment to call forth whosoever would defend the said Wickliff or his memory, if there were any such (but there did none appear, who would either defend him or his memory): and, moreover, witnesses being examined, by commissioners appointed by pope John and his council, upon the impenitency and final obstinacy and stubbornness of the said John Wickliff (reserving that which is to be reserved, as in such business the order of the law requireth), and his impenitency and obstinacy, even unto his end, being sufficiently proved by evident signs and tokens, and also by lawful witnesses, of credit lawfully given thereunto: wherefore, at the instance of the steward of the treasury, proclamation being made to hear and understand the sentence against this day, the sacred synod declareth, determineth, and giveth sentence, that the said John Wickliff was a notorious obstinate heretic, and that he died in his heresy: cursing and condemning both him and his memory.

“This synod also decreeth and ordaineth, that the body and bones of the said John Wickliff, if it might be discerned and known 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 to the canon laws and decrees. 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, Hostiensis, the president, and after him the other presidents of the nations, that it pleased them very well: and so they allowed and confirmed all the premises.” \* This 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) *Ex actis concilii Constan.*

(2) 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 Clemagis doth witness), flying into the council of Rome where 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 with any kind of weapon. Hereof, Christ so willing, more shall be declared, when we come to the place severally to speak of the council of Constance. 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? Only for that 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 or the readers, I doubt not, but that it hath made as much for the defence of Wickliff, as these men's witnessess shall do to the contrary.\*

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

What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weep, to see these so sage and reverend Catos occupying their heads to take up a poor man's body, so long dead and buried before, by the space of forty-one years; and yet, peradventure, they were not able to

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Redman, 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 oecumenical council. \*Many 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-

(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 1425.—Ed.

(2) See edition 1563, p. 137.—Ed.





EXUMATION OF WICKLIFF.



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, forso much 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.\*

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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:

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.

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.

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 these two preachers this 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

How the doctrine of Wickliff came to Bohemia.

The great affection of John Huss to John Wickliff.

Wicklevus vir bonus, sanctus, caelo dignus.

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 soul of Wickliff should be. And thus for the spreading of Wickliff's doctrine enough, and thus much briefly concerning the favourers and adherents of John Wickliff in general. \* Amongst<sup>1</sup> whom, I have only, as yet, rehearsed such, unto whom the profession of the gospel was perilous, and a 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.

Forasmuch 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 incommmodity 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 can 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, which, that it may the better be brought to pass, suffer me a litle by your license, gentle reader, to talk with these cruel blood-suckers; whereby they, being admonished, may repent; or if they will not, that they may behold, to their great shame and rebuké, 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, 56.. 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 unproved doctrine: for, as I do not favour heretics, who are heretics indeed, even so much less do I 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 venomous in hatred, anger, malice, avenging, 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.

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 sicaires 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 wolvs. 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, Appolinatists, 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 if 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 Dulcitus 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 religion, which is not armed and adorned with universities, whereby there may speedy remedy be had, if we be so greatly afraid of heretics; but what is now-a-days come in men's minds, that setting apart the universities and all kind of arguments, whereby they might the more better, so also more easily, convince all errors, and finally forgetting all kind of meekness, which Christ himself and his apostles do so greatly commend unto us, using no kind of reason, do think that heretics must be entreated 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.

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But now let us see what manner of things they are, whereabouts 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 pardon 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 plead 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 magistrates (like as against the Donatists the help of the laws were very necessary), especially if the heresy do once grow on to 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, these many years, they have raged against heretics with great hatred and extreme torments.

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But that they have profited thereby, every man doth perceive. 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 who think there is no other means for defending the church against heretics, than the force and majesty of the bishops only: whereby it is come to pass that the ecclesiastical ministration is far alienated 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 that if 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 caption, specially where hitherto, instead of love and charity, which now is banished, I know not into what strange and far distant place, the fury Erynnys 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 apostolical symbols, 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 be carried unto the fire, for certain doubtful articles of controversy, some not greatly sound, or peradventure disagreeing unto the Scriptures, not 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 fitted 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 put to flight the great heaps of heretics. But forasmuch as in this extreme cruelty of the world, when 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 other counsels of moderations before mine have been neglected: wherefore it should be the 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.

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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 Curacon, 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, Mæscemutus, 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.'"

Thus much writeth Hoveden; and this abbot was in the year of our Lord 1290. There is also the prophecy of Hildegard (of whom we have spoken before), in the 29th book of Vincentius. "In the year," says she, "after the incarnation of Christ, 1200, the doctrine of the apostles, and the fervent justice which God had appointed amongst the spiritual Christians, began to wax slack and doubtful, but this womanly time shall not so long continue as it hath hitherto continued." Thus much writeth he; neither did Fluentius, the bishop, doubt openly to preach that Antichrist was born in his days, as it appeareth by Sabellicus. Also before these days, A. D. 1239, Gerardus, bishop of Laodicea, in his book entitled "Of the Preservation of the Servants of God," doth conjecture Antichrist to be even at hand, by the rarity of prophesying and the gift of curing. There is also a certain prophecy of Jerome Savonarola, evident (if it be worthy credit) 69 years before, 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, 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,<sup>1</sup> who should subvert all Italy." Thus much have we found in the book of Gaspar Hedio, entitled the "Paralipomena."

(1) Like Cyrus, in the greatness of his achievements, but like Hannibal rather, in his passage of the Alps.—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 fallen from heaven: and oftentimes these fell within the houses, insomuch that many women wore the same long time upon their garments: if that be true which Gaspar doth report. Hereunto also is to be annexed that which we read in our countryman Froysard, as touching one John of 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 the ambitious avarice and pride; whereupon, he was by pope Clement VI. cast into prison. Neither is it to be passed over with silence, that which is reported, that Manfridus, a Dominic friar of Vercellos, is said to have foreshowed that Antichrist should rise up in his time, as it is written by Antoninus.

And Arnoldus de Villa Nova, 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 have repeated the testimony of Peter John Aquitane, a Franciscan friar in Vasconia, 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 a heretic, and his dead corpse taken up and burned, if that we may credit Guido of Parpinian. 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 Melancthos' 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

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.\*

Now particularly and in order let us, by Christ's grace, prosecute the stories and persecutions of the parties aforementioned as the course of their times shall require, first beginning with the valiant champions William Swinderby and Walter Brute.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1389.

### The Story of William Swinderby.<sup>1</sup>

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. Swin-  
derby  
first ex-  
aminéd.Denoun-  
cers of  
W. Swin-  
derby,  
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.

Articles  
untruly  
collected  
against  
Swin-  
derby.

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.

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 god-mother, be in deadly sin.

Item, That no man living against the law of God is a priest, however he were ordained priest by any bishop.

Swinderby compelled by the friars to abjure articles which he never taught.

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 he never affirmed: as first in the church of Lincoln; then in St. Margaret's church in Leicester; also in St. Martin's church in Leicester, and in our Lady's churches at Newark, and in other parish-churches also, namely, those of Melton-Mowbray, Helhoughton, Hareborough, and Lentborough: which penance being enjoined him, he did obediently accomplish, with this form of revocation, which they bound him to, in these words.

#### 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 defamed; 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 retraction, 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 defame, 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

Tresnant, bishop of Hereford, as by the process and story here ensuing, set out at large out of their own registers, may appear.

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A. D.  
1391.

The Process of John Tresnant, Bishop of Hereford, had against the aforesaid William Swinderby in the cause of Heretical Pravity, as the Popish Heretics call it.

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 invoked, 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, innocence 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,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 Kingston 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.

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 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.  
 Denunci-  
 ation of  
 the pro-  
 moters, to  
 the bishop  
 of Here-  
 ford.

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.

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.

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 communicant 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.

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.

XI. Item, Inferior curates have not their power of binding and loosing immediately 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 Dervallwood, 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, 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 witness 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-

tences of holie doctors. And if I haue here before, through mire vncunn ag, been vnordered, or, by euill counsaile, bene deceined, 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 reuoike 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 y<sup>e</sup> 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 followen after, the which bene put to me to aunswere to.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
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The first is this: That I William of Swinderby, pretending (he saith) my selfe a priest, was iudicialle 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 beleued them to be. And that none of them from that time forth I should preach, teach, or affirme, openly or priuillie, 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,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 witness 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 stoden forth five friers or moe, that some of them neuer saw me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous priestes openlie knownen, some lieuing in their lecherie twenty yeare (men sayden) or more, as, by their childer, was openly knownen. Some of these they clepinden denouciations, 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 vpon 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, priuillie ne apertlie: and that I would go to certaine churches to reuoike the conclusions which I neuer said, in sclauder 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: vwhether by friers counsell I will not deme, God wot, but in slauder 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."

Wit-  
nesses to  
William  
Swinder-  
by.The chas-  
tity of vo-  
taries to  
be noted.1. Conclu-  
sion.Answer.  
How debt  
is to be  
pursued.

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.'

(1) "Buxom," submissive.—Ed.

(2) "Yersnid," that is, before said

*Richard II.* The second conclusion, that false friers and lecherous priests putten vpon me was this : That if the parochiens know her curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an euill man, they owen to withdraw from him tithle; and else they bene fautours of his sinnes.

A. D.  
1391.

2. Conclu-  
sion.

Answer.

Thus I said not, but on this wise, and yet I say with protestation put before : That if it be knowne openlie to the people, that parsons or curates come to their benefice by simonie, and liuen in notorie fornication, and done not their office and her duties to her parochiens by good ensample of holie life, in true preaching, liuing and residence, wending awaie from his cure, occupied in secular office, he owes nought to haue of the parochiens, tithes, ne offerings, ne hem owes not to holde him for their curate, ny hem owes not to geuen him tithes, lest they bin guiltie to God of consent and maintaining of her open sinne. 'Nemo militans deo, implicat se negotiis secularibus.' l. quest. 1. ca. Quisquis per pecuniam,' and dist. 80. cap. 'Si quis.'

3. Conclu-  
sion.

Answer.

The third conclusion was this, that friers and priestes putten vpon me : That tithes purely bene almesses : and in case that curates bene euill men, they mowen leefullie be giuen to other men, by temporall lordes, and other temporalities been done away from men of the church actualie and openlie trespassing.

This I said not in these termes, but thus I saie with protestation made before : That it were modefull and leefull to secular lordes by waie of charitie, and power geuen to hem of God, in default of prelates that amend not by Gods lawe, cursed curates that openlie misusen the goods of holy church, that ben poore mens goods and customablie against the law of God: the which poore men, lordes ben holden to maintaine and defend, to take away and withdrawe from such curates, poore mens goods, the which they wrongfullie holden in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilful offerings, and their bodily almesses deede, and geue them to such that dulie serue God in ye church, and beene needy in vpbearing of the charge that prelates shoulde doe, and done it not. 'Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi.' And as anenste taking awaie of temporalities I say thus with protestation made before : That it is leefull to kings, princes, dukes, and lordes of the worlde, to take awaie fro popes, cardinals, fro bishops and prelates, possessions in the church, their temporalities, and their almesses that they haue giuen them vpon condition they shoulde serue God the better, when they verelie sene that their giuing and their taking bene contrarie to the lawe of God, to Christes liuing and his apostles : and namelie in that, that they taken vpon them (that shoulde be next followers of Christ and his apostles in poorenesse and meeknesse) to be secular lordes : against the teaching of Christ and saint Peter. Luc. xxii. 'Reges gentium.' Et I Pet. v. 'Neque, dominantes in clero.' And namelie when such temporalities maken them the more proud, both in heart and in araie, then they shoulde bene else, more in strife and debate against peace and charitie, and in euill ensample to the world more to be occupied in worldly businesse : 'Omnem sollicitudinem proicientes in eum;' and drawes them from the seruice of God, from edifying of Christes church, in empouering and making lesse the state and the power of kinges, princes, dukes, and lordes that God hath set them in; in wrongfull oppression of commons for vnmightfulnessse of realmes. For Paul saith to men of the church (whose lore, prelates shoulde soueraignlie followen), 'Habentes victum et vestitum, his contenti simus.'

4. Conclu-  
sion.

Answer.

The fourth conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falselie : That an euill curate cursing his soget for withholding of tithes, is naught else, but to take with extortion wickedlie and vndulie money from them.<sup>1</sup>

Thus said I not, but thus I saide, and yet doe with protestation made before : That an euill curate cursing his parochiens, vnmightie to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pitie, for his singular worldlie winning against charitie, and not for heed of their soules, there he is hold by his power reasonable to helpe his needy parochiens, and dooth nought of the goods of the church : wickedlie and vndulie he withholds from them, that which is due to them by the law of God : 'Dimittite et dimittetur vobis : date, et dabitur vobis : verum mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam dicit Dominus.'

5. Conclu-  
sion.

The fift conclusion is this, that friers and priests falsly putten vpon me : That no man may curse any man, but if he wote him cursed of God, ne the commers with him rennen not into sentence of cursing in any maner."

(1.) Here may you see the falsehood of the papists, gathering articles against good men which they never said nor meant.

Thus said I not, but thus I said, and say with protestation put before: That no man ought to curse any man, but for charity and with charitie. 'Omnia vestra cum charitate fiant.' And sikerly I say, that no wrongfull cursing of pope or any prelate in earth, bindes anenst God, but when they wrongfully and wittinglie cursen men, for that men will not do their singular will, vnreasonable bidding, with highnes of heart and crueltie (standing patience and charity in them that they cursen wrongfully), he is blessed of Almighty God, and they themselfe bene cursed. Math. 5. 'Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines,' &c. Et in Psalmo: 'Maledicent illi, et tu benedices.' Et Augustinus, xi. quest. 3. chap. 'Illud.'

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1391.Answer.  
Against.

The sixt conclusion is this, that friers and priestes putten vpon me falselie: That each priest may assoile him that sinneth, contrition had: and notwithstanding forbiddings of y<sup>e</sup> bishop, is holden<sup>e</sup> to preach to the people the gospell. 6. Conclusion.

Thus I saide not, but thus I said, and yet say with protestation made before: That each true priest may counsell sinnefull men, that shewen to him her sinnes after the witte and cunning that God had giuen him, to turne fro sinne to ver-tuous life. And as touching preaching of the gospel, I say that no bishop owes to let a true priest, that God had giuen grace, wit, and cunning to doe that office: for both priestes and deacons, that God had ordained deacons and priestes, ben holden by power giuen hem of God to preach to the people the gospell, and namelie and somelie, popes, bishops, prelates, and curates: for this is due to the people and parochiens, for to haue and aske of hem, and they duely and freely owen to done it. Math. 5. Luke 5. 'Ite, ecce ego mitto vos.' Et Marc. 16. 'Euntes in nundum vniuersum.' Et Math. 5. 'Euntes autem prædicate.' Et dist. 21. ca. 'In nouo testamento.' Et Ysidor. 'De summo bono.' 44. Et Chrysost. distinct. 34. ca. 'Nolite.' Et Aug. distinct. 34. ca. 'Quisquis.' Et Greg. in suo pastorali, ca. 38. Et in Tollitano. ca. 'Ignorantia.' Et Ierom. distinct. 95. ca. 'Ecce Ego.'

Answer.

The 7. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes falsly putten vpon me: That a priest taking anie thing for annuell, through couenant: in that, he is schismaticke and cursed. 7. Conclusion.

This said I, neuer in these termes; but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before: That no priestes owes to sell, by bargaining and couenant, his ghostlie trouaile, ne his masses, ne his praiers, ne God's worde, ne hallow-inges, baptisme, ne confirming, order giuing, for weddinges, for shrifte, for housell, or for enointing: any worldly mens reward to aske or take for these or for anie of these, or for ianie ghostlie thing, he erres and doth simonie: ut patet 1. quest. 2. ca. 'Nullus;' et ex concilio Triburenti. capit. 'Dictum est;' et Christus, in Euangelio: Vendentes et ementes eiecit de templo. Math. 22.

Answer.

The viii. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes putten vnto me falsly, saying that I beleeeue sadly as my sell sayes: That yche priest being in deadly sinne, yef he put him to make Christes bodie, rather he dos idolatrie then makes it. 8. Conclusion.

Thus saide I not, but thus I said, and yet say with a protestation put before: That vhat priest y<sup>e</sup> puts himself presumptuously and vnwortheilie in deadlie sinne, wittingly to minister and to receiue that holie sacrament, and so recordes hit cursedlie and damnably, he receiues his dome: 'Qui manducat et bibit indignè, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.' 1. Corin. 11.

Answer.

The ix. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes falsly putten vpon me: That no priestes entres into anie house but euill for to treate the wife, the daughter, or the wenche: and therefore they sayden, that I prayed the people that their husbands should beware, that they suffer no priest to enter into her house. 9. Conclusion.

And if I had said thus, then I had praied against my selfe, for I come oft into mens houses: but thus I said, and yet I doe, praying christen men to beware that they nourish nor maintaine no lecherous priestes in their sinnes: for there be vhere (as men wel knowen) they ben maintained in manie places, continuing homelie with her women. And iche man there sayne they paine therefore a certaine to the B. almes. Et ideo ait Ysido. 11. quest. 4. 'Qui consentit peccantibus et defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud Deum et homines.'

Answer.

The x. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes putten vpon me falselie.

10. Con-  
clusion.

(2.) "Holden," that is, bound.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1391.

Answer.

11. Conclusion.

Answer.

The true description what is Antichrist.

That a child is not verelie baptised, if the priest that baptiseth, the godfather, or the godmother, ben in deadlie sinne.

God wot in heauen they said full false; but thus I said, and yet I say: that the praiers that an euill priest praiet (liuing in lecherie or other deadlie sinne) ouer the child when it shal be halowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the praiers of a good priest. And the better and clenner the priest is, the godfather, and the godmother, the more graciously God will heare him, if all they ben not greatest nor most rich in the world. Vnde gg. xiii. q. vii. cap. 'In grauibus.' 'Cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus procul dubio ad deteriora prouocatur.'

The xi. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes putten vpon me falsly: That no man, liuing against the lawe of God is a priest, how euer he were ordained priest of anie bishop.

Certes this is false, for I said neuer thus in these termes: but thus I said, and thus I say with a protestation put before: That what euerie pope, or cardinal, bishop or priest, or any prelate of the church, comes to his state or dignitie by simonie, and in simonie occupes that office, and holy churches goodes: I say that hee is a theefe, and that by the dome of God, and comes but to steale and kill. Ioh. 10. 'Fur non venit nisi vt furetur, et mactet, et perdat.' And furthermore I say, that what pope, cardinal, bishop, prelate, or priest, in manner of liuing, or teaching, or lawes making, contrarie to Christes liuing and his lawes, or anie other ground, put in ruling of the church of Christ, but by Christ and his lawes is very Antichrist, aduersarie to Jesus Christ and his apostles. 'Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus.' Et patet 1 quæst. 3 c. 'Si quis.' Et 1 quæst. 6 c. 'Ego autem.' 'Quicunq.'

But this worshipfull father bishop of Hereford, that here is, sayes thus in his writting: That I William of Swinderby, notwithstanding the foresaid reuocation and abiuration (not setting at heart, but from euill to worse, he saies, peruerted so his dioces) he saies I come running about by diuers places; and by mine owne follie, he saies, that I haue presumed to preach many heresies, errors, blasphemies, schismes, and other diffames, and to holie canons and determination of holy church contrarie and repugnant, which where and when, within forth more speciellie it shall be shewed forth, that ye bee falsely enformed, ye I haue presumed in diuers places in your dioces to preach heresies, errors, blasphemies, schismes and other diffames. And sire, all the country knowes whether this be sooth or not: for sire, I presume not, sithen it is the office of a priest, by the lawe of Christ, to preach the gospell; ne nought I did for presumption; but for the charge that I haue of God by priesthood (if all I be unworthie), and to the worship of God, and helpe of christen soules, freely, without gathering of her goods, for my preaching. If I erred in this, I will bee amended. And sire, touching your mandement that ye senden to me, there was sent none. And sire, I made neuer yet disobedience vnto you, ne to your ministers: and yef all I had, me owes more to obeyche to God then to you, in that that ye bidden contrarie to Christes bidding. And sire, as ye saine that I had no mind of my hele, it is to lightlie demet: for God forbid, but yef there lie hele more then in your bidding. For God wot for hele I did it, of mine and of the people, and that was in my minde. But sire, it semes me that ye charge not, by euidence of the punishing, so greatlie the breaking of Gods hests, as ye done of your own. And sire, if it be your wil, in default that the people wanted you to teach hem (and her curates did not), by the desire of the people that weren hungrie and thirsty after Gods word, ichone to beare vp others charge as Gods law bids, I preached: not for disobedience to you; but sire, in fulfilling of the obedience that Gods law bids me doe. In excusing of my selfe to you of that ye blame me of, in open shewing to holie church, with the protestation that I first made, I answere thus to the articles that ye haue put to me.

1. Article. The first is this: That I William of Swinderby, the Monday the first of August, the year of our Lord 1390, preaching to the people in the church of Witney of your dioces, helde and affirmed (as ye saine) that no prelate of the world, of what state or degre that he be, hauing cure of soules, being in deadlie sinne, and hearing confession of his suget, does nought in assoiling him, ne he assoiles him not of his sinne: and also, in amending his suget openlie sinning, and him for his desertes cursing, his sentence bindes not, but if that prelate be as clean

out of deadlie sinne as was saint Peter, to whome our Lorde gaue power of binding and vnbinding.<sup>1</sup>

Richard II.

I neuer thought this ne spake this, ne heard it to the time that I saw it written in our booke, and that will witnesse the lord of the towne that has the same sermon written, and many gentils and other that hearden me that daie; but thus I said, and thus I saie with protestation put before: That there is no man, pope ne bishoppe, prelate ne curate, that bindes soothlie, verilie and ghostly, but in as much as his binding or vnbinding accordes with the keyes of heauen that God gaue to Peter; and, as S. Gregorie saies, 'That power han they onlie, that hold together the ensample of the apostles with heere teaching.' 'Illi soli in hac carne positi ligandi atque soluendi potestatem habent, sicut sancti apostoli qui eorum exempla simul cum doctrina tenent.'<sup>2</sup>

A. D. 1391.

Answer. The pope's binding how far it extendeth.

The seconde article that is put vpon me, is this: That I should haue saide, preached, and affirmed, in manie places, before many true men of Christ: that after the sacramentall wordes saide of the priest, hauing intention of consecration, that in the sacrament of Gods bodie, is not verie Gods bodie.

2. Article. And what if he had said it.

This saide I neuer, God wote, and true men that haue heard me.

Answer.

The third article is this, that our bishop put vpon me: That I should haue said in many places, and affirmed, that accidents mow not be in the sacrament of the altuar without subiect, and that materiall bread leues not there with Gods bodie in the same sacrament.

3. Article.

This conclusion I haue not holden, ne taught, ne preached, for I haue not medled me of that matter; my wit sufficeth not thereto. But here I tell my beleefe with protestation put before: that the sacrament of the altuar made by vertue of heauenly words, that Christ himselte said in the Cene, when hee made this sacrament, that it is bread and Christs bodie, so as Christ himselte saies in the gospel, and S. Paule saies, and as docters in the common law haue determined to this sentence. Mat. 26. Mar. 14. Luc. 22. Pa. 1. Cor. 10. et 11. De consecr. distinct. 2. 'Panis:' et De consecr. dist. 2. 'Corpus.' Io. 6. 'Verus panis.'

Answer.

Bread and Christ's body in the sacrament.

The fourth article is this, that our bishop accuseth mee of: That I should haue preached about and said: that a priest being in deadlie sinne, may not, by the strength of the sacramentall wordes, make Gods bodie, or none other sacrament of the church, either performe to minister them to members of the same.

4. Article.

Thus I neuer said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it; for well I wot, the wickednesse of a priest may appaire no verie sacrament: but the wickednesse of the prieste appaires himselfen, and all that boldnesse and example of his sinne causen the people to liuen the worse against Gods law. Vnde Greg. 'Et si sacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum conuertitur.'

Answer.

The wickedness of the priest impaireth no sacrament.

The 5. article is this, that our bishop puts unto me: That all priests ben of euen power in all things, notwithstanding that some of this world bene of higher dignitie or more passing in highnesse of degree.

5. Article.

Certes no man would say thus as I suppose, no more did I, ne neuer heard it that I wot of: but this I say with protestation made before, that what priest liues most holilie, next following the law of God, he is most louer of God, and most profitable to the church. If men speaken of worldlie power and lordships and worships, with other vices that raignen therein, what priest that desires and has most hereof (in what degree so he be), he is most Antichrist of all the priests that ben in earth. Vnde Augustinus, ad Valerium scribens, ait: 'Nihil est in hac vita, et maximè hoc tempore facilius et leuius, et hominibus acceptabilius, episcopi, presbiteri aut decani officijs: sed si perfunctoriè aut adulatoriè, nihil apud Deum miserabilius aut tristius et damnabilius.'

Answer.

Equality of priests.

The sixt article is this: That onlie contrition does away sin, if a man be duellie contrite: and all outward confession by word is superfluous and not requiret of need of health.

6. Article.

This conclusion said I neuer that I know of. But thus I say with protestation put before: That veray contrition of heart, that is neuer without charitie and grace, dos away all sinnes before done of that man that is verilie contrite. And all true confession made by mouth outward to a wise priest, and a good, profiteth much to man, and is needfull and helping that men shewe their life

Answer.

Confession.

(1) Note here how the papists use falsely to wrestle good men's sayings and articles.]

(2) Greg. lib. iv. Sententiarum.

*Richard II.* to such, trusting full to Gods mercie, and that he forgives thy sinne. Vnde August. de conse. distinct. 4. 'Nemo tollit peccata mundi nisi solus Christus qui est agnus, tollens peccata mundi.'

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God for-  
giveth  
sin.  
Answer.

The 7. article is this: That I should say that lower curates haue not here power of binding and assoluing, by meane of pope and bishop, but of Christ without money; and therefore neither pope ne bishop may reuoke such maner power for time and place at her will.

Thus said I not, but not for thy<sup>1</sup> it seemes me thus, that no man should graunt anie thing after his owne will, ghostlie, ne bodilie. But euerich man should be well aduiset, that hee graunt nothing but if it be the will of God that he so graunt it. And it is no doubt that ne God grauntes \* \* \* by meane persons, as does Antichrist to torment Christes people. Vnde et Iob. 19. 'Ait Pilatus. Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittere te?' Et Christus. 'Non haberes potestatem aduersum me vllam, nisi esset tibi datum desuper.'

8. Article.

The 8. article, that our bishop puts me to, is this: That I should say that the pope may not graunt such maner indulgence of yeares; for there shall not be so manie yeares unto the daie of doome, as bene contained in his bulls, or in the popes indulgences: whereof it followes that indulgences bene not so much worth as they semen and bene preached.

Answer.

This article I saide not thus; but I say that the pope may graunt indulgences written in his letter of yeares, all so far forth that he may graunt him in Gods law: so far to graunt, and farther not: yeares may he graunt no mo then God hath set. If indulgence ben forgiuenesse of sinne, I wot well all onely God forgives sinne. If it bee releasing of paines in purgatorie ordeinet of God, if God haue bidden him release so many, or ordeined that hee should release so manie, he may then release hem: yet if it be in his owne disposing to release whom him likes, and howe much, then he may destroy purgatorie, and let none come there, and release his own pain, as charitie wots. So it seemes he may be liker to be saued, if himselfe list. If anie go to purgatorie, then it seemes hee full failes charitie. If bulls ben the indulgence that men bringen from the court, then ben they not so much worth, as they costen there; for lightlie they might bee lost, drenched, or brent, or a rat might caten them: his indulgence then were lost. Therefore sire, haue me excuset, I know not these termes: teach me these termes by Gods law, and truely I will learne hem.

9. Article.

The 9. article is this that I should haue said: That it is not in the popes power to graunt to any man (doing penance) remission from paine, ne from blame.

The pope  
proved a  
blas-  
phemer.

Leude I am, but this article said I not thus leudly: but thus I say, that sithen it is onlie due to God to giue and to graunt plenary remission from paines and from blame, that what euer he be, pope or other, that presumptuouslie mistakes vpon him that power that is onlie due to God; in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himselfe Christ, and blasphemeth in God, as Lucifer did, when he said: 'Ascendam et ero similis Altissimo.' Farther I say, if the pope holde men of armes, in mainteining his temporalties and lordship to venge him on hem that gilten and offenden him, and geues remission to fight and to slay hem that contrarien hem, as men sayden he did by the bishop of Norwich,<sup>3</sup> not putting his swerd into his sheath, as God commanded Peter. 'Mitte,' &c. he is Antichristus, for he dos contrarie to the commandementes of Jesus, y<sup>t</sup> bade Peter forgieue to his brother seuentie sithe seuen sithe. 'Si peccauerit in me frater meus, quotiens dimittam ei? Septies?' &c. 'Et Christus: Non dico tibi septies, sed septuagesies septies.'

10. Arti-  
cle.

The 10. article is this, that our bishop puts to me: That I should haue said: that a man geuing his almes to anie man after his dome (not hauing need), sinnes, in so giuing.

Answer.

This article soothlie I saide not in these termes; but of this matter I haue spoken, and will, with protestation made before, on this wise: that it is medefull to giue almes to ich man that asketh it bodily or ghostlie, but not to giue to ich shamelesse begger, strong and mightie of bodie to get his lifeloode leuefull and will not; and in vhat degree so he be, men owen not to geue it to such a one, that hee vnreasonable asketh, for if he giue it to him wittinglie, he sinnes as fautor of his idleness. Vnde Sap. 12. 'Si bene feceris, scito cui bene feceris, et erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.'

He mean-  
eth of  
begging  
friars.

(1) "Not for thy;" that is, notwithstanding.

(2) Something here lacketh in the copy.

(3) Of this Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich, see vol. ii. p. 305.



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 graunted profits not to hele of soules to hem that they hen graunted to. Richard  
II.  
A. D.  
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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 propriat 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 no-  
thing.

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 Derwoldswode, of his dioces: and there, in a chappell not hallwood, but accursed shepherdes hulke,<sup>1</sup> by mine owne follie, haue presumed to sing (but rather to curse) in contempt of the keies. 12. Arti-  
cle.

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 presume to sing in an unhallowet chappell, that stonds in the parke of Newton, besides the towne of Leyntwardy, of this same dioces. 13. Arti-  
cle.

Truely I wot not where that place stonds.

The 14. article is this: That I should say that no man owes to sweare for anie thing, but simply withouten oth to affirme or to denie; and if he sweare he sinnes. 14. Arti-  
cle.

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<sup>e</sup> mind of them. And oft sithes, y<sup>e</sup> worshipper of such image he has reprocuet, saying, and stronglie affirming, that churchmen sinnen and done idolatrie. 15. Arti-  
cle.

This conclusion haue I not said in these termes. But this I say with protestation, that God commaundes in his lawe in diuers places. (Exod. 20. Leuit. 19. and 26. Deut. 5. and 7. Tobia<sup>e</sup> 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 worshipping grauen images that ben werkes of mens hands: and also he bids that men should not make to hem grauen images in likeness of the things that ben in heauen, to that end to worshipping 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,<sup>2</sup> to the men bene images good to whom they haue bene but kalendars, and through the sight of hem they knowen the better and worshipping 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 sollicitè fraternitas tua admoneat, vt ex visione rei gestæ, ardorem compunctionis percipiant, vt in adoratione totius Trinitatis posternantur.' Answer.  
Images  
not to be  
worship-  
ped.

These conclusions, points, and articles that I haue, vnder protestation, in this booke affirmed, I will stand by hem, and maintaine hem (with the grace of Almighty God) to the time that the contrarie be prouet duelic by Gods law:

(1) Dr. Sheptor.

(2) "Notforthy," that is notwithstanding.

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and this protestation I make for my faith and my believe 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 latitabit 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 Croste, et Witney nostræ diocesis ; ubi idem Gulielmus solebat commotari citari fecimus, prout et quemadmodum in modo citatorio continentur, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba.

William Swinderby keeping from the Bishop was cited as followeth.

The tenor  
of the ci-  
tation.

John, by God's permission bishop of Hereford : to his dear sons, our dean of Leamster, to the parsons of Croft, Almady, and Whitney, and also to the vicars of Kingston, Ladersley, Wiggemore, and 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.

*Richard  
II.*  
A. D.  
1391.

### 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.<sup>1</sup> 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. 109.

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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 obstinatness of the said William Swinderby, we thought good to receive, and did receive, and their oaths to 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 theepe and a day theepe. And there he telleth how he that fieth 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 temporalities 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 leafull 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 duelic seruen God in the church, and ben readie in vpbearing of the charge that prelates shoulde doe and done it not. And as anentes taking away of temporalities, I say thus: That it is leafull 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 temporalities, and their almes that they haue giuen them vpon condition that they shoulde 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 vpon them, they that shoulde 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 shoulde 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 forme 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 medefull, 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, 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

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 woulde 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 20. ad Eugenium Papa. Et Hugo 'De Sacramentis,' parte. 2. libri Secundi cap. 7. Et 12. q. pri. 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 amongst them: I will be your part and inheritance amongst 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<sup>e</sup> 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 20. booke to Eugenium 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. first chap. '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.

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.

s. Conclusion.

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 souerenie, 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 generalie 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 priestes 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 about 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. dis. 21. cap. 'In nouo Testamento.' Et Beda super illud: 'Mensis quidem multa.' Et Isidorus 'De summo bono.' ca. 44. Et Gregorius in canone dis. 43. 'Præconis quippe officium suscipit,' &c. Et Chrysostom. distinct. 43. 'Nolite timere.' Et. Aug. dis. 34. cap. 'Quisquis.' Et Gregorius in suo pastorali. c. 38. 'Qui enim est.' Chrysost. hom. 31. et in Tollitano concilio: 'Ignorantia.' Et Aug. in Prologo sermonum suorum; et Ieronymus, dis. 9.

Declaration.

A priest admitted ought to preach, though the prince and bishop forbid, so that he preach the word.

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

Richard  
II.  
A. D.  
1391.

'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. cap. 'In Nouo Testamento.' And Beda vpon this place. 'Messis quidem multa: the haruest is great. Also Isidorus, 'De summo bono.' cap. 44. And Gregorius in the canon, dist. 43. 'Præconis quippe officium suscipit, &c. and Chrysostome in his 34 distinction: 'Nolite timere:' and Augustine in the 34 distinction, cap. 'Quisquis.' And Gregorius in his Pastoral cap. 38. 'Qui enim est.' And Chrysostome in his 31. Homelie. Et in T'ollitano concilio, 'Ignorantia.' And Augustine in the prologue of his Sermons. And Hierome in the 95. distinct. 'Ecce ego.' And Augustine vpon this place: 'Homo quidam peregrinus.' 'A certaine traoueller.'

4. Conclu-  
sion.

The fourth conclusion toucheth the sacrament of the altar, and is this: That wholly I beleuee that the sacrament of the altar, 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 Augustina 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 y<sup>e</sup> 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 penitentiaë: 'Why prepest 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 whoseouer 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. Conclu-  
sion.

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 be forgiueth the sinne.

Remis-  
sion dou-  
bic.

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 salutation 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 auaieth litle, unless God forgiue our sinnes through his grace.

6. Conclu-  
sion.

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 paines 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 sithen 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 altair, 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?' 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 pena,' 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 pena.' 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 gladdie leefen it.

The 7. point speaketh of the pope and is this: Sithen it is onlie due to God, as I haue said before, to geue and to graunt plener remission, from paine, and from blame, that whatsoever he be, pope or other, that presumptuouslie mistaketh vpon 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.

For that I say, if the pope holde men of armes in maintaining of his tempo-  
rall lordship, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden him, and geueh  
remission to fight and to slaie them, that contrarrien him, as men sayden hee did  
by the bishop of Norwich, not putting his sworde in his sheath, as God com-  
mandement of Peter, he is Antichrist. For hee doth the contrarie of the com-  
mandement of Jesus Christ, that bade Peter forgiuen to his brother 70. sithen  
7. sithen. Well I find in the gospel, that when Christ sent his disciples to Sa-  
marie, 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 ho-  
minis non venit animas perdere, se' dsaluare.' 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 Anti-  
christ. 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 re-  
uenging 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 be 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

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1391.

Either  
there is  
purga-  
tory, or  
else the  
pope is  
cruel.  
The  
pope's  
power  
can keep  
none  
from  
bodily  
pain,  
Ergo,  
much less  
from spir-  
itual.  
He hath  
no power  
grounded  
upon  
Scripture  
to bring  
from  
pain of  
purga-  
tory.

7. Conclu-  
sion.  
The pope  
maketh  
himself  
euen with  
Christ.

The  
bishop of  
Norwich,  
Henry  
Spenser,  
the pope's  
warrior  
set up of  
the pope  
to slay  
his ene-  
mies.  
The pope  
contrary  
to Christ.

Proved  
Anti-  
christ.

(1) If the martyrs being dead, be not assured from grief of tarrying, much less can they assoil others from pains of purgatory.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1391.

Two  
swords  
never  
given to  
the pope.

Two sorts  
of an-  
noin-  
tinges in  
Scrip-  
ture.

A defection  
in  
Anti-  
christ's  
time.

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 understood 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 commieth in Christe's name, and faineth him Christe's frend, and he be priuillie his enemye, 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.

### The Sentence against William Swinderby.

The which schedule' 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 Christians, of what sex, state, condition, or pre-eminence 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, vnto 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 answer 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. \* \* \* knowes in any of my conclusions, but sayden singly with word, that there were errorrs in them, and bidden me subiect me to the bishop, and put me into his grace and reuoke mine errorr, and shewed me nought by Gods law ne reason, ne proued which they wren. And for I would not knowledge me guiltie, so as I knewe no errorr 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 errorrs, and denounced me accursed, that I come not to correction of the church. And therefore, for this vnrightfull iudgement, I appeale to the kings justiees for manie other causes.

*Richard<sup>us</sup> II.*  
A. D. 1391.

One cause is, for the kings court, in such matter, is about 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 'significavit,' put a man in prison.

The king's court above the bishop's court.

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, when 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 knights 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.

The third cause is, for it was a false dome: for no man is an hereticke, but he that maisterfullie defends his errorr or heresie, and stiffe maintaines it. And mine answer 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 errorrs; and so I am no hereticke, ne neuer more in Gods grace will ben in no wise.

What is a heretic.

The fourth cause is: for the bishops lawe, that they deme men by, is full of errorrs and heresies, contrarie to the trueth of Christes law of the gospell.

The bishop's law of condemnation full of heresies and errors.

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 blasphemie: 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 abominable whoredome of common women, and the bishops, in some place, haue a great tribute or rent of whoredome.

There as Christe's laws bids to minister spirituall things free lie 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 known amongst them.

Contrariety between the pope and Christ.

There as Christes lawe teaches peace, the pope, with his law, assoiles men for money to gader the people, priestes, 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.

Richard.  
11.

A.D.  
1391.

The cause  
why  
Swin-  
derby  
forsook  
the pope.

bishops of the popes law geuen more leuen by their lawe to two heretickes and apostates, or two comen wymen, that woulde 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 whatsoever that I am a christen man I may lawfull, 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 Almighty 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.

### 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 known 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, stonde ye in beleue, 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. "A wake ye that been righteous men, be ye stable and vnmoueable: Awake ye quickly and sleepe nought, and stonde 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 deceauable 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 steales 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 stiffer 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 himselve telles in the gospel, "Hee that has my heats, 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 witness of Iesu Christ;” for Christ our God says in his gospel, “Hee that shames me and my wordes, him shall mans sonne ashamen when he shall come for to set in the siege of his Maiestie. And each man,” he says, “that knowes me and my wordes before men, in this sinfull generation and whorish, mans sonne shall knowe him before my father,” says Christ himself, “when he shall come with his 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 says, “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 trowth, we sayn all through our beliefe, if we turne from him for drede, truly 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, 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 Abrabam,” hee said, “in temptation founden true, and was arectet vnto him euermore to righteousnesse; Ioseph in time of his anguish hee kept truly Gods hest, hee was made, by Gods providence, lord of Egypt, for his trowth. Phinees our fadure louing,” hee saith, “the zeale of God, toke the testament of euerlasting priesthoothe. 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 vpe into heauen. Ananie, Azarye, and Misael,” hee saies, “weren deliueret thoores through true beliefe out of the hot flame of fire. True Daniel in his simplenes was deliueret from the Lyons mouth. Bethinke ye therefore,” he saies, “by generation and generation, and thou shalt neuer finde that he fayled that man that truly trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought,” he saies, “of the words of a sinfull man: his glory is,” he saies, “but wormes and tordes: hee is to day,” he saith, “y made hie, to morow he saies he is not founden, for he is turned,” he saies, “into his earth againe, and the mind of him is perished. Sonnes therefore” he saies, “be ye comfortet, and die manly in the law: for when ye haue 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 keepe thy law, in worldes of worldes they shall praise thee.” And in Leuiticus says God thus: “gif that yee wenden in mine hestes and keepe my commaundementes, and done hem, I shall bring forth their fruit, and trees shall be fulfilled with apples. And ye shullen eate your bread in fulnesse, ye shoulde 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 ternes, ye shuln pursue your enemies, and they shall fall before you; fiftie of yours shulne pursue an hundred of heren, an hundred of yours, a thousand of theirs: your enemies,” he saith, “shulne fal through sword, and your sute. I shall” he saies, “behold you and make you to waxe, and yee shall be multipliēt: 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 broken 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 eghen, 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 bardnes 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

Richard  
II  
A. D.  
1391.

Daniel  
vi. 22.

Psalme  
cxix. 2.  
Levit.  
xxii. 31.

Richard  
II.  
A. D.  
1391.

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 amongst 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 midst 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 disperkle your land, and enemies shulen maruel thereon, when they shulen inhabite it; I shal disperkel 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 faith-  
full re-  
quest of  
William  
Swinder-  
by.

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. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the life of king Richard II., no great harm was done unto him, which was to the year 1399,<sup>1</sup> 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 fauourers of Wickliff, who at that time were called Lollards, they should be apprehended; and if so be they did

(1) The date which our Author here assigns for the death of king Richard is 1401, although he gives the received date of the accession of Henry IV. on a subsequent page. The Editor has corrected this error; nor would he have noticed it, had not an attack upon Foxe's veracity, in "Baddeley's Sure Way," (p. 51) been founded upon it. "Fox," he states, "writes that Swinderby's martyrdom was in 1400, and yet he says," alluding to this erroneous date, "'that in 1401 no great harm was done him.'" The impartial reader can form but one opinion, as to the propriety of founding a charge upon that which is obviously an error of the press.—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

*Richard  
II.*  

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*A. D.  
1391.*

### The Story and Process against Walter Brute, a Briton.<sup>1</sup>

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 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.<sup>2</sup> The chief 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, granted to Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, to fight against pope Clement, mentioned before, vol. ii. p. 805: 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.

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,

Murder-  
ing hearts,  
lurking  
under  
loving  
words.

(1) The story of Walter Brute is not related in the first Edition. Ed. 1570, p. 506. Ed. 1576, p. 457. Ed. 1583, p. 475. Ed. 1596, p. 436. Ed. 1624, vol. i. p. 542.

(2) Ex registro Epi. Hereford.

*Richard**II.*

A. D.

1391.

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.

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 aforesaid 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 no error; and that your sentence aforesaid, given against the same William, is, evil, false, and unjust; and that your assistants have wickedly, naughtily, perversely, and unjustly, condemned the answers aforesaid.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
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Now, immediately thereupon, 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 tenor doth follow in these words.

Other-  
wise  
bloody  
promo-  
ters.

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 others as erroneous and false; and for such did he avouch them ever afterwards, 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. Also the conclusions abjured by the said William do follow, and are these.

I. 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.

II. Item, That if the parishioners shall know their curate to be incontinent and naughty, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, &c.

III. Item, That tithes are mere alms; and in case that the curates shall be ill, they may be lawfully bestowed upon others by the temporal owners, &c.

IV. Item, That an evil curate to excommunicate any under his jurisdiction for withholding of tithes, is naught else, &c.

V. 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.

VI. Item, That every priest may absolve every sinner being contrite, and is bound to preach the gospel to the people, notwithstanding the prohibition of the bishops.

VII. Item, That a priest, receiving by bargain any thing of yearly annuity, is, in so doing, a schismatic, and excommunicate.

VIII. 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.

IX. Item, That no priest doth enter into any house, but to handle ill the wife, the daughter, or the maid, and therefore, &c.

X. Item, That the child is not rightly baptized, if the priest, &c.

XI. Item, That no manner of person if he live against God's law, &c.

XII. 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.

XIII. 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.

*Richard II.* XIV. 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.

A. D. 1391.

*Infandum facinus scilicet.*

XV. Item, The same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath since, 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.

XVI. 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.*

XVII. Item, The same William in many places said and affirmed, in the presence of many faithful christian people, 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.

XVIII. 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.

XIX. Item, That a priest being in deadly sin, cannot, by the power of the sacramental words, make the body of Christ.

XX. 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.

XXI. 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.

XXII. Item, That inferior curates have not their power of binding and loosing immediately from the pope or bishop, but immediately from Christ, &c.

XXIII. 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.

XXIV. Item, That it is not in the pope's power to grant to any penitent body, forgiveness of the pain, or of the trespass.

XXV. Item, That one giving his alms to any body, who, as he judgeth, hath no need thereof, doth sin in so giving, &c.

XXVI. 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.*

XXVII. 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.

XXVIII. 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 follow the tenor and the articles.

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



and computation of the church of England, 1391, the indiction fifteen 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 Gode-moston, 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.  
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Hereford  
unjustly  
condemns  
the  
articles of  
Swinder  
by.

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  
Anti-  
christ.

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 aforesaid; 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.<sup>1</sup>

Wit-  
nesses  
against  
him.

And I, Richard Lee, wheeler, 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 re-  
gists and  
writes  
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, 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 con-  
clusions  
minis-  
tered  
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.<sup>2</sup>

Item, He confesseth openly and of his own accord,<sup>3</sup> that within the same month of January, he did eat, drink, and communicate with William Swin-

(1) Ex Regist. Hereford.

(2) This conclusion seemeth to be falsely collected, as were before the articles of William Swinderby.

(3) This conclusion is not rightly gathered.

*Richard II.*

*A. D. 1391.*

Witnesses against Walter Brute.

Benedict Come, register, witness and writer of this instrument.

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 Blamurin; Thomas Guildefeld, parson of the church of Englishbyknore; John Cresset, parson of the church of Whiteborne; and Thomas Wallerwayne, household servant; for witnesses especially called and desired to the premises, of the diocese of Hereford and St. Asaph.

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.

Protestation made.

No writer of doctor without his error, the Scripture only excepted. Error in the doctors, and among the popish writers.

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

under the mighty defences of the Lord: O Lord! I will remember thine only righteousness.

*Richard II.*

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 thralldom 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.

A. D. 1391.

Brute modestly excuseth his learning. 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

*Richard II.*

*A. D. 1391.*

captain of Israel, spoken of by Ezekiel. Antichrist described. The pope an idle shepherd. The pope signifyeth the beast horned like the lamb, ascending out of the earth.

Terrible Scriptures against the pope.

Rome, Babylon.

†

Twelve hundred and ninety days figured.

Fall of Babylon.

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.

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 inhabitants of Babylon, which dwell richly

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.*

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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.  
1391.

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 drunkenness; 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;<sup>1</sup> 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.

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, 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."

Richard  
IIA. D  
1391.By this  
persecu-  
tion I sup-  
pose he  
meaneth  
the refor-  
mation of  
the church  
being out  
of the  
way.The re-  
vealing  
of Anti-  
christ.

(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.  
1391.

The abomination of desolation.

Destruction of the Jewish temple.

One thousand two hundred and ninety days, expounded.

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.

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."

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.

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."

*Richard  
II.*

*A. D.  
1391.*

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 in to 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 tableness 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 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.  
1391.A friend  
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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.

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.

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.

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.

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."

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 prophecies, 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.,

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

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.

Christ cannot come of the tribe of Dan.

The abomination, or idol of desolation, standing in the holy place.

*Richard  
II.*

*A. D.  
1391.*

Anti-  
christ to  
reign only  
three  
years  
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false.

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.

Look be-  
fore in the  
story of the  
ten  
first per-  
secutions,  
vol. i.  
Apoc. xliii.

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.

The pur-  
ple beast  
in the  
Apoca-  
lypse  
meaneth  
Rome.

For the  
forty-two  
months,  
look be-  
fore, page  
724, vol. ii.

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,<sup>1</sup> to the time that Arnachanus 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

(1) The beginning and end of the valiant beggarly friars spoken of in the Apocalypse, expounded by Arnachanus, 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.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1391.

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 Jesu 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 Jesu 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.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
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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

servé 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 Thesalonians, 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.

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

*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
1391.

Many things lawful by the old law, which be not so now.

How Christ did loose, and not loose the law.

*Richard**II.*

A. D.

1391.

Free  
justifica-  
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faith  
only.Christ  
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the tem-  
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Heaven.  
His sacri-  
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for all.

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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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 ceremonial, by one offering-up of his body on the altar of the cross. And so it is plain that Christ fulfilled the whole law.

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 prefigure; 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 if necessary<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

Richard  
II.  
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Where  
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The  
cause  
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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."<sup>3</sup> 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?<sup>4</sup>

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 bond-woman 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

Circum-  
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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 temporalities.

(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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liberty  
from the  
bondage  
of the  
law.

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."

In like manner we may reason, if we be bound to tithing,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 tithes 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.

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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."

Tithes  
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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.

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.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1391.

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 love 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?"<sup>1</sup> 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.

(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.

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

This article of Brute must have a relation to the doctrine of the oergy.

War in case allowed.

Patience commended in private causes amongst Christians.

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.

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.

Thirdly, I marvel why wise men, leaving the plain and manifest doctrine of Christ,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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;<sup>2</sup> 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.

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

(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."

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

To the Corinthians [1 Cor. vi.], as touching judgment and contention,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

What be the wars most proper to Christians.

Note this word, without charity.

And what if such kind of wars<sup>3</sup> were lawful to the Jews? this argueth not, that now they are lawful to Christians: because their deeds were in a shadow of imperfection, 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 warfare, at such time as the soldiers asked him, saying, "And what shall we do?" who 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

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) All this taketh not away the lawfulness of wars in case of public necessity, but only in private case for temporal goods.

(3) "Such kind of wars," that is, such kind as be for private revenge of temporal goods.

Richard  
II.  
A.D.  
1391.

They  
that be  
least in  
the king-  
dom of  
Heaven,  
greater  
than  
John  
Baptist,  
expound-  
ed.

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."

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

Objec-  
tion.

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

(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.  
1391.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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."

Answer.  
Legibus  
agendum  
non ex-  
emplis.

Ahab de-  
ceived by  
false pro-  
phets.

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.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1391.

The servants of Christ discerned by working not of miracles, but of virtues. Men or women are not rashly to be judged saints.

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."

By these things is gathered that the wars of Christians are not lawful;<sup>1</sup> 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 be liketh not.



no necessity of war; and therein proveth he the pope to be contrary to Christ, that is, to be Antichrist. *Richard II.*

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." A. D. 1391.

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." Doctrine of christian mercy declared.

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 it is plain by the process of the decrees, distin. 23, quest. 5. "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., Mercy and pity commended.

Necessity to all Christians.

The pope contrary to Christ in showing mercy.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1391.

The makers of the pope's law follow not the perfect rule.

"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."

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; 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,<sup>2</sup> 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."<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> ought to leave the law of vengeance<sup>2</sup> 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 Israel 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<sup>3</sup> 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

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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, Will 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 ethnack 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 the 23. quest. 5. aforesaid, 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<sup>1</sup> (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.

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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."<sup>2</sup> 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.

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.

The example of Peter slaying Ananias and Sapphira falsely wrested by the papists.

Peter not the cause of the death of Ananias and Sapphira.

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 wedding garment. 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

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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."

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falsely  
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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."

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Mat. xvi.  
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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  
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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 astonished 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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II.

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The  
saints  
shall  
judge  
with  
Christ.

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 mi-  
nisterial  
power to  
remit sin,  
belongeth  
as well to  
one priest  
as to  
another.

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 keys  
of the  
kingdom  
of  
heaven,  
mistaken  
in the  
pope's  
canons.

Faith and  
hope, the  
keys of  
heaven.

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

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?

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 diminished 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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II.A. D.  
1391.Children  
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ascribed unto pope Leo, dist. i. cap. "Multiplex misericordiz Dei," &c. And it 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.

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.]

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

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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.

But he who pretendeth himself to be the chief vicar of Christ, and the high priest, saith, that he hath power to absolve 'a poena et culpa:' which I do not find how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his own authority he enjoineeth to sinners penance for their sins. And grant that for their sins he may well absolve them, yet, from the pain (which they call 'a poena,') 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.

But this marvelleth me, that he, in his indulgences, promiseth to absolve men

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

It maketh nothing for auricular confession.

The cleansing of the leprosy, and the cleansing of the priest in auricular confession agree not.

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 induceth men to sin in simony.

*Richard**II.*

A.D.

1391.

The pope  
saith he  
can remit  
the debt  
to God,  
but yet  
cannot to  
man.

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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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 pretended 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 V., 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. Innocent IV. was in war himself against the Apulians. Likewise Alexander IV., his successor, stirred up the son of king Henry III. against the son of Frederic II. the emperor, to fight for Apulia. Boniface VIII. moved Albertus, who stood to be emperor, to drive Philip the French king out of his realm. Gregory IX. excited Louis the French king three sundry times to mortal war against the earl Raimund and city of Toulouse, and Avignon, where Louis, the said French king, died. Honorius III., by strength of war, many ways resisted Frederic II., and sent out thirty-five galleys against the coasts of the emperor's dominions. The same pope also besieged Ferrara. To pass over the war at Ticinum,<sup>1</sup> with many other battles and conflicts of popes against the Romans, Venetians, and divers other nations, Innocent III. set up Philip, the French king, to war against king John. What stir pope Gregory VII., otherwise named Hildebrand, kept up against the emperor Henry IV., is not unknown. 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.

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

What wars have been stirred up by popes.

### 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) "Ticinum," Pavia, a city in Austrian Italy.—Ed.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1391.

True eating of Christ is true believing in him. Eating of the flesh of Christ, what it is.

This is my body, expounded.

Note well, gentle reader.

Bread by similitude.

Bread substantially,

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.

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.

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



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.

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?"

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 'indivisibiler,' that is, not able to be divided; and so 'immensurabiliter,' that is, not able to be measured. Ergo, 'invisibiler,' 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.

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,"<sup>1</sup> 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,"<sup>2</sup> &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, "Ergo 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.

Whether external signs in a priest be the signs of Antichrist or else grounded upon Christ.

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.

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.

(2) Ibid.

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.

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

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.

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 wouldst 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.

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.

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 this 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

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.

*Richard II.*

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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 & 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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II.

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1391.

Conjuring or hallowing in the popish church. Holy water conjured.

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.

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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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.'

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<sup>3</sup> 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 I? 1

(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; wherewith 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 the writing of Jerome upon the decretals, 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, that he is unwilling that priests should do those things which be commanded of God. What thing is there above Christ? or what may be preferred before his body and his blood?' &c.

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.

Verily prayer is the spiritual gift of God, as is also the teaching 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 can not 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

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1391.

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.

Whether priests may bargain to sing for souls departed. Jerome.

Selling of prayer abominable.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1391.

Religious  
men and  
women  
devourers  
of wi-  
dows'  
houses.  
Praying  
for souls  
in purga-  
tory.  
Evil got-  
ten lands,  
as evil  
bestowed,  
for pray-  
ing for  
souls in  
purga-  
tory.

Buying  
and sell-  
ing of  
prayers  
and pard-  
ons in  
the pope's  
church.  
Person,  
place, ap-  
parel, cu-  
riosity or  
eloquence  
of prayer,  
not re-  
garded of  
God.

That  
prayer  
doth more  
for mo-  
ney, than  
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ty, dis-  
proved.

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.'

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



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.'

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1391.

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 tem-  
poral 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 best 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 pro-  
phesy of  
Daniel  
signifieth  
Rome.The beast  
with seven  
heads in  
the Apoc.  
signifieth  
Rome.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1391.

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.

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

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 of 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.'

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 subtly, 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.

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.

*Richard II.*

A.D. 1391.

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:

Caveat emptor.

The rewards of the beast.

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.

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. But 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.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1391.

Matters  
of idola-  
try.  
Images.

Oaths,  
how far  
terrible.

Whether  
temporal  
goods may  
be taken  
away from  
ecclesiastical  
persons  
offending.

Popes  
take from  
emperors,  
their be-  
nefactors,  
temporal  
dominion,  
when they  
offend: or  
go. much  
more may  
emperors  
take from  
popes  
temporal  
dominion  
when they  
offend.  
A pre-  
diction of  
Walter  
Brute,  
that tem-  
poral  
goods  
shall be  
taken  
away  
from the  
clergy for  
the multi-  
tude of  
their sins.

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.

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 shalt 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.

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 temporalities, 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 temporalities from the clergy, shall come to pass 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.

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, 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:—

*Richard II.*

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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 xi., 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: 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 perchance, that the same being in my hands

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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.

Nicolai-  
tans.

Therefore, when thou didst recite the other day, first, the pharisaical and hypocritical woë (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, 'Quicumque 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

their consecration is altogether void.' Also pope Leo [2 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.*  

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*A.D.*  

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*1391.*

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, 'uni voce natura,' but yet 'æqui voce 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 'appetitís;' 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 man-  
ners no  
brother.

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 con-  
clusions.

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 whercof thus proceedeth in the following words.

The Device or Counterfeit of a certain Letter, feigned under the name of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, written to the proud and persecuting Prelates of the Popish Clergy.

I, Lucifer, prince of darkness and profound heaviness, emperor of the mysteries of the king of Acheron, captain of the dungeon, Erebus king of hell, and controller of the infernal fire: To all our children of pride, and companions of our kingdom; and especially to our princes of the church of this latter age and time (of which our adversary Jesus Christ, according to the prophet, saith, 'I hate the church or congregation of the wicked') send greeting; and wish prosperity to all that obey our commandments, as also to those that be obedient to the laws of Satan already enacted, and that are diligent observers of our behests, and the precepts of our decree.

The difference between the bishops of the primitive, and of the later church. Humility edifieth. Pride destroys.

Know ye that in times past certain vicars or vicegerents of Christ, following his steps in miracles and virtues, living and continuing in a beggarly life, converted, in a manner, the whole world from the yoke of our tyranny unto their doctrine and manner of life, to the great derision and contempt of our prison-house and kingdom, and also to the no little prejudice and hurt of our jurisdiction and authority; not fearing to hurt our fortified power, and to offend the majesty of our estate. For then received we no tribute of the world, neither did the miserable sort of common people rush at the gates of our deep dungeon as they were wont to do, with continual pealing and rapping; but then the easy, pleasant, and broad way, which leadeth to death, lay still without great noise of trampling travellers, neither yet was trod with the feet of miserable men. And when all our courts were without suitors, hell then began to howl; and thus, continuing in great heaviness and anguish, was robbed and spoiled: which thing considered, the impatient rage of our stomach could no longer suffer, neither the ugly reckless negligence of our great captain-general could any longer endure; but we, seeking remedy for the time that should come after, have provided us of a very trim shift. For, instead of these apostles and other their adherents who draw by the same line of theirs, as well in manners

Placing of proud prelates the cause of all mischief.

as doctrine, and are odious enemies unto us, we have caused you to be their successors, and put you in their place, who be prelates of the church in these latter times, by our great might and subtlety, as Christ hath said of you: 'They have reigned, but not by me.' Once we promised unto 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,' and went his way when the multitude would have made him a temporal king. But to you, truly, who are fallen from the state of grace, and that serve us in the earth, is that my promise fulfilled; and by our means all terrene things which we have bestowed upon you, are under your government: for he hath said of us, as ye know, 'The prince of this world cometh,' &c. and hath made us to reign over all children of unbelief. Therefore our adversaries before recited did patiently submit themselves unto the princes of the world, and did teach that men should do so, saying, 'Be ye subject to every creature for God's cause, whether it be to the king, as most chief;' and again, 'Obey ye them that are made rulers over you,' &c. For so their master commanded them, saying, 'The kings of the heathen have dominion over them,' &c. But I think it long till we have poured our poison upon the earth, and therefore fill yourselves full.

The church never well governed, since the devil's offers were taken by the churchmen. Pride in prelates noted.

And now, be ye not only unlike those fathers, but also contrary unto them in your life and conditions; and extol yourselves above all other men. Neither give ye to God that which belongeth to him, nor yet to Cæsar that which is his: but exercise you the power of both the swords,<sup>2</sup> according to our decrees, making yourselves doers in worldly matters, fighting in our quarrel, entangled

(1) Second edition, "Ougle reckless negligence."—Ed.

(2) The double jurisdiction of the pope's two swords cometh of Lucifer.



with secular labours and business. And climb ye, by little and little, from the miserable state of poverty, unto the highest seats of all honours, and the most princely places of dignity by your devised practices, and false and deceitful wiles and subtlety: that is, by hypocrisy, flattery, lying, perjury, treasons, deceits, simony, and other greater wickedness than which our infernal furies may devise. For after ye have by us been advanced thither where ye would be, yet that doth not suffice you, but, as greedy shavelings, more hungry than ye were before, ye suppress the poor, scratch and rake together all that comes to hand, perverting and turning every thing topsyturvy; so swollen, that ready ye are to burst for pride, living like lechers in all corporal delicateness, and by fraud directing all your doings. You challenge to yourselves names of honour in the earth, calling yourselves lords, holy, yea and most holy persons.

Thus, either by violence ye raven, or else by ambition subtilly ye pilfer away, and wrongfully wrest, and by false title possess, those goods, which, for the sustentation of the poor members of Christ (whom from our first fall we have hated), were bestowed and given, consuming them as ye yourselves list, and therewith ye cherish and maintain an innumerable sort of lechers and strumpets, with whom ye ride pompously, like mighty princes, far otherwise going than those poor beggarly priests of the primitive church. For I would ye should build yourselves rich and gorgeous palaces: yea, and fare like princes, eating and drinking the daintiest meats and pleasantest wines that may be gotten: hoard and heap together an infinite deal of treasure, not like to him that said, 'Gold and silver have I none: serve and fight for us according to your wages! O most acceptable society or fellowship, promised to us by the prophets and of those fathers long ago reproved: whilst that Christ called thee 'the synagogue of Satan,' and likened thee to the mighty whore which committed fornication with the kings of the earth, the adulterous spouse of Christ, and of what haste person made a strumpet. Thou hast left thy first love and hast cleaved unto us, O our beloved Babylon! O our citizens, who from the transmigration of Jerusalem come hither! we love you for your deserts; we rejoice over you, who contemn the laws of Simon Peter, and embrace the laws of Simon Magus our friend, and have them at your fingers' ends; and exercise the same publicly, buying and selling spiritual things in the church of God, and against the commandment of God. Ye give benefices and honours by petition, or else for money; for favour, or else for filthy service: and refusing to admit those that be worthy, to ecclesiastical dignities, and preferring those that are unworthy, you call unto the inheritance of God's sanctuary, bawds, liars, flatterers, your nephews, and your own children; and to a childish boy ye give many prebends, the least whereof ye deny to bestow upon a poor good man: ye esteem the person of a man, and receive gifts; ye regard money and have no regard of souls. Ye have made the house of God, a den of thieves.

All abuse, all extortion is more exercised a hundred-fold in your judgment-seats, than by any secular tyrant. Ye make laws and keep not the same; and ye dispense with your dispensations as it pleaseth you; you justify the wicked for rewards, and you take away the just man's desert from him. And, briefly, ye perpetrate or commit all kind of mischief, even as it is our will ye should.

And ye take much pain for lucre's sake, in our service, and, especially, to destroy the christian faith; for now the lay-people are almost in doubt what they may believe; because, if ye preach any thing to them (as sometimes, although it be but seldom seen, and that negligently enough, even as we would have it), yet notwithstanding they believe you not, because they see manifestly that ye do clean contrary to that ye say. Whereupon the common people, doing as ye do who have the government of them, and should be an example to them of well-doing, now, many of them, leaning to your rules, do run headlong into a whole sea of vices, and so, continually, a very great multitude flocketh at the strong and well fenced gates of our dungeon. And doubtless ye send us so many day by day, of every sort and kind of people, that we should not be able to entertain them, but that our insatiable chaos, with her thousand ravening jaws, is sufficient to devour an infinite number of souls: and thus the sovereignty of our empire by you hath been reformed, and our intolerable loss restored. Wherefore, most specially we commend you, and give you most hearty thanks; exhorting you all, that in any wise ye persevere and continue, as hitherto ye have done; neither that you slack henceforth your enterprize. For why? by

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

Popish prelates neither to God nor Cæsar give that which belongeth to God and Cæsar. Dominos. Sanctissimos.

The pope, successor not of Simon Peter, but of Simon Magus.

Extortion. Perverting of justice. Acceptation of persons. Bribery. Love of lucre. Destruction of true faith.

The pope increased hell.

*Richard II.* your helps, we purpose to bring the whole world again under our power and dominion.

*A. D. 1391.* Over and besides this, we commit unto you no small authority, to supply our places in the betraying of your brethren; and we make and ordain you our vicars, and the ministers of Antichrist our son, now hard at hand, for whom ye have made a very trim way and passage.

*A feigned procurer of peace between princes. The Roman empire craftily subverted by him.* Furthermore, we counsel you who occupy the highest rooms of all others, that you work subtly, and that ye feignedly procure peace between the princes of the world, and that ye cherish and procure secret causes of discord. And, like as craftily ye have destroyed and subverted the Roman empire, so suffer ye no kingdom to be overmuch enlarged or enriched by tranquillity and peace; lest perhaps, in so great tranquillity (all desire of peace set aside), they dispose themselves to view and consider your most wicked works, suppressing on every side your estate; and from your treasures take away such substance as we have caused to be reserved and kept in your hands, until the coming of our well-beloved son Antichrist.

*Simony, the pope's nurse.* We would ye should do our commendations to our entirely beloved daughters, Pride, Deceit, Wrath, Avarice, Belly-cheer, and Lechery, and to all other our daughters; and specially to Simony, who hath made you men, and enriched you; and hath given you suck with her own breasts, and weaned you, and therefore see that you in no wise call her Sin. And be ye lofty and proud, because that the most high dignity of your estate doth require such magnificence: and also be ye covetous, for whatsoever ye get and gather into your fardel, it is for St. Peter, for the peace of the church, and for the defence of your patrimony and the crucifix; and therefore ye may lawfully do it.

*Promoting of proud and rich cardinals. Cloaked holiness.* Ye may promote your cardinals to the highest seat of dignities without any let in all the world, in stopping the mouth of our adversary Jesus Christ, and alleging again, that he preferred his kinsfolks (being but of poor and base degree) unto the apostleship: but do not you so, but rather call, as ye do, those that live in arrogancy, in haughtiness of mind, and in filthy lechery, unto the state of wealthy riches and pride; and those rewards and promotions, which the followers of Christ forsook, do you distribute unto your friends.

*Wresting of Scripture.* Therefore, as ye shall have better understanding, prepare ye vices cloaked under the similitude of virtues. Allege for yourselves the glosses of the holy Scripture, and wrest them directly to serve your purpose: and if any man preach or teach otherwise than ye will, oppress ye him violently with the sentence of excommunication; and, by your censures heaped one upon another, by the consent of your brethren, let him be condemned 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 ingrafted word may save your souls, which word I do abhor, as I do the souls of other faithful men. And do your endeavour, that ye may deserve to have the place which we have prepared for you, under the most wicked foundation of our dwelling-place.

*Tyranny and cruelty of the pope.* Fare ye well, with such felicity as we desire and intend, finally, to reward and recompense you with.

Given at the centre of the earth, in that our dark place, where all the rabblement of devils were present, specially for this purpose called unto our most dolorous consistory; under the character of our terrible seal, for the confirmation of the premises.<sup>1</sup>

*The author thereof unknown.*

Who was the true author of this poesy or epistle above written, it is not evidently known; neither doth it greatly skill. The matter being well considered on 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. Divers other writings of like argument, both before and since, have been devised; as one, bearing the title

(1) Ex Registro Herefordensi, ad verbum.

'Luciferi ad malos Principes Ecclesiasticos,' inprinted first at Paris in Latin; and under the writing 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. 1391.

Other letters of Lucifer.

There is also another epistle of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, 'ad Prælatos,' mentioned in the epistle of the school of Prague, to the university of Oxford, set forth by Hulderic Hutten, about A. D. (as it is there dated) 1370; which seemeth to be written before this epistle.

Also Vincentius' inferreth like mention of a letter of the fiends infernal to the clergymen, as in a vision represented, four hundred years before; in which the devils give thanks to the spiritual men, for that by their silence, and not preaching the gospel, they sent 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 one Jacobus Carthusiensis, writing to the bishop of Worms, alleged out of the prophesy of Hildegard, in these words:<sup>2</sup> "Therefore, the devil may say of you priests in himself, 'The meats of banqueting dishes, and feasts of all kind of pleasure, I find in these men; yea also mine eyes, mine ears, my belly, and all my veins be full of their frothing, and my breasts be full stuffed with their riches,'" &c. "Furthermore," saith he, "they labour every day to rise up higher with Lucifer, but every day they fall with him more deeply."

Hereunto also pertaineth 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 very careful in his mind, and solicitous what to say, the devil came to him, asking him, Why he was so careful for his matter that he should preach to the clergy. Say thus, quoth 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 all souls go down to hell." Adding, moreover, that he was also enforced by the commandment of God to declare the same; yea, and that a certain token, moreover, was given to the said clerk for a sign, whereby the synod might evidently see that he did not lie.<sup>3</sup>

The devil giveth thanks to clergy-men.

The silence of priests in not preaching the gospel, damneth many a soul.

### The Bull of Pope Boniface 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, convivis 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.

(3) Ex Catal. Illyr. fol. 546.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1391.

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 of the Kalends of October, the sixth year of our bishop-like dignity.

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. Alack, good heart, what sorrow the pope taketh.

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 presidency 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.<sup>1</sup> 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, reprov'd, 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

The dragon here spouteth out his floods of water to drown the Christians.

Behold the spirit of the pope's neck 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 enjoy 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 presidency 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.

Given at our palace of St. Peter at Rome, the 15th of the Kalends of October, in the sixth year of our pontificality.

### The King's Commission.

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

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

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.

The hot complaining charity of the bishop of Hereford.

Furise ne committas gladium.

*Richard  
II.*

*A. D.  
1392.*

*Pseudo-  
catholica  
fides.*

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.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the ninth day of March, in the fifteenth year of our reign.

Farrington.

### Another Letter of King Richard, against Walter Brute and others.

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 dioceses: 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-

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.

By the same king and council.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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;

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1394.

Seeing the doctrine of Brute was ever against resistance, how is this like to be true?

King Richard set against the Gospellers by the archbishop and the prelates.

(1) Ex Regist. W. Courtney, Arch. Cant.

*Richard*  
*II.*  

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*A. D.*  
*1394.*

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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.

II. That images ought not to be worshipped in any case, and that no man ought to set any candle before them.

III. That no cross ought to be worshipped.

IV. The 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.

Roger,  
and the  
rest ac-  
cursed  
with  
book, bell,  
and  
candle.

The  
town of  
Leicester  
interdict-  
ed.

Matilda,  
an ancho-  
ress, cited  
to appear.

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.

At length it was declared and showed to the said archbishop, that there was a certain anchoress, whose name was Matilda, enclosed within the churchyard of St. Peter's Church in the said town of



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 subtilly; 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, 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.  
1394.

The King's Process sent by the Archbishop Courtney to arrest the eight aforementioned 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.

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 aforesaid 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.*

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1394.

retracted and recanted her aforesaid articles and opinions: for which she, being enjoined forty days' penance, was again admitted into her aforesaid recluse in Leicester.<sup>1</sup>

William Smith, Roger Dexter, and Alice, his wife, abjure.

Also, by another letter of the aforesaid archbishop to the dean of the cathedral church of our Lady of Leicester being registered, 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

#### A Letter of Archbishop Courtney, enjoining Penance of certain good Persons of Leicester.

The manner of their penance enjoined.

Seeing our holy mother the church denieth not her lap to any penitent child returning to the unity of her, but rather proffereth to them the same; we therefore do receive again the said William, Roger, and Alice, to grace: and further have caused them to abjure all and singular the aforesaid articles and opinions, before they received of us the benefit of absolution, and were loosed from the sentence of excommunication, wherein they were snarled, enjoining unto them penance, according to the quantity of the crime, in form as followeth: that is to say, that the Sunday next after their returning to their proper goods, they, the said William, Roger, and Alice, holding every of them an image of the crucifix in their hands, and in their left hands every one of them a taper of wax, weighing half a pound weight, in their shirts, having no other apparel upon them, do go before the cross three times during the procession of the cathedral church of our Lady of Leicester; 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 Virgin his mother: who also, devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, shall kiss the same crucifix, 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.

Three kisses of the cross.

The collect of Katharine, Paternoster, and Ave Maria.

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 crosses in their right hands; which crosses three times they shall, during the market, devoutly kiss, reverently kneeling upon their knees; that is, in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the end of the market. And the said William, for that he somewhat understandeth the Latin tongue, shall say this anthem with the collect, 'Sancta Katharina,' 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 before, they stood

(1) The bishop's letter to the magistrates of the town thus beginneth: 'Willielmus permissione divina,' &c. 'dilectis filiis,' &c.

(2) These be the words of the instrument: 'Subsequenter vero præfati Willielmus, Rogerus, et Alicia reatus suos respicientes, se nostro conspectu præsentarunt,' &c.

(3) 'Sancta mater ecclesia,' &c.

and did, in the cathedral church of our Lady 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 denounce 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. 1394.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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: eujus est exordium 'Anno gratiæ millesimo,' &c*

*Richard**II.*

A. D.

1394.

Few or  
none  
burned in  
king  
Richard's  
time.Kings  
many  
times  
brought  
in too  
much  
fear of  
the pope.How the  
doctrine  
of Wick-  
liff came  
to Bohem-  
ia.The  
death of  
queen  
Anne.Queen  
Anne had  
the four  
gospels,  
with the  
doctors,  
in Eng-  
lish.

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 Wencislaus 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.

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;<sup>1</sup> 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

(1) Ex fragmento libri cujusdam Wigornensis Bibliothecæ. Ex accomodato D. Mat. Arch. Caut.

and read in those books; and then it had been the best sermon that ever they heard.<sup>1</sup>

*Richard II*

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 same 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 his 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 towards England;<sup>2</sup> having kept his Christmas at Dublin. In the mean time, in the beginning of the year following, which was A. D. 1395, a parliament was called at Westminster by the commandment of the king. In that parliament certain articles or conclusions were put up by them on 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 ensue.

A. D. 1394.

Arch-bishop 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 temporalities after her stepmother the great church of Rome, and the churches were authorised by appropriations; faith, hope, and charity began in divers places to vanish and fly away from our church, forasmuch as pride, with her most lamentable and dolorous genealogy of mortal and deadly sins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this conclusion is general, and approved by experience, custom, and manner, as ye shall after 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 to his disciples. This conclusion is thus proved, forasmuch as the Romish priesthood is done with signs, and pontifical rites, and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force and effect, neither having any ground in Scripture, forasmuch as the bishops ordinal, and the New Testament, do nothing at all agree; neither do we see that the Holy Ghost doth give any

Papistical priesthood.

(1) Hæc ex libro Wigornensis.

(2) Ex Hist. D. Albani.

Richard

II.

A. D.  
1395.Single  
life of  
priests.

†

He prophesieth  
against  
monkery.The  
feigned  
miracle  
of trans-  
substantiation.Feast of  
Corpus  
Christi  
invented  
by Thomas  
Aquinas.Exorcisms and  
blessings  
of priests.Differ-  
ence  
between  
the eccle-  
siastical  
and  
politic  
estate.

good gift through any such signs or ceremonies, because He, together with all noble and good gifts, cannot consist and be in any person with deadly sin. The corollary or effect of this conclusion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery unto wise men, to see the bishops mock and play with the Holy Ghost in the giving of their orders; because they give crowns for their characters and marks, instead of white hearts; and this character is the mark of Antichrist, brought into the holy church to cloak and colour their idleness.

The third conclusion:—That the law of chastity enjoined unto priesthood, which was first ordained to the prejudice of women, induceth infamy into the church; but we do excuse us by the Bible, because the suspect decree doth say, that we should not name it. Both reason and experience prove this conclusion. Reason thus, forasmuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the clergy will have either a natural purgation, or something worse.<sup>1</sup> Experience thus, forasmuch as the secret trial and proof of such men is, that they do delight in women; and, whensoever thou dost prove or see such a man, mark him well, for he is one of that number. The corollary of this conclusion is, that these private religions, with the beginners thereof, ought most chiefly to be disannulled, as the original of that sin and offence: but God of his might doth, for privy sins, send open vengeance.

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 very few, unto idolatry; forasmuch as they think that the body which shall never be out of heaven, is, by virtue of the priests' words, essentially included in the little bread, which they do show unto the people. But would to God they would believe that which the evangelical doctor<sup>2</sup> teacheth us in his triologue, 'Quod panis altaris est accidentaliter corpus Christi': that is, That the bread of the altar is the body of Christ accidentally: forasmuch 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 the 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, forasmuch as friar Thomas, at that time taking part with the pope, would have made a miracle of a hen's egg; and we know it very well, that every lie openly preached and taught, doth turn to the rebuke and opprobrium of Him, who is always true without any lack.

The fifth conclusion is this:—That the exorcisms and hallowings, consecrations and blessings, over the wine, bread, wax, water, oil, salt, incense, the altar-stone, and about the church-walls, over the vestment, chalice, mitre, cross, and pilgrim-staves, are the very practices of necromancy, rather than of sacred divinity. This conclusion is thus proved: because that by such exorcisms the creatures are honoured to be of more force and power than by their own proper nature; for we do not see any alteration or change in any creature so exorcised, except it be by false faith, which is the principal point of devilish art. The corollary of this is, That if the book of exorcisation or conjuring of holy water, which is sprinkled in the church, were altogether faithful and true; we think certainly that holy water used in the church, were the best medicine for all kinds of sickness and sores: 'Cujus contrarium experimur:' that is, 'The contrary whereof daily experience doth teach us.'

The sixth conclusion, which maintaineth much pride, is, that a king and bishop both in one person, a prelate and justice in temporal causes, a curate and officer in wordly office, doth make every kingdom out of good order. This conclusion is manifest, because the temporality and the spirituality are two parts of the holy universal church; and, therefore, he who addicteth himself to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other, 'Quia nemo potest duobus Dominis servire;' wherefore to be called 'amphroditæ,' which are men of both kinds, or 'ambodextri,' which is such as can play with both hands, were good names for such men of double estates. The corollary of this conclusion is, that thereupon we, the procurators of God, in this case do sue unto the parliament, that it may be enacted, that all such as be of the clergy (as well of the highest degree as of the lowest), should be fully excused, and occupy themselves with their own cure and charge, and not with others.

(1) He doth very excellently paint out the lecherous clergy.

(2) He meaneth here Wickliff.

The seventh conclusion that we mightly affirm is, that spiritual prayers made in the 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 is proved by two reasons: the one is, that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to be a work proceeding from mere charity, and perfect charity excepteth no person, because thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; whereby it appeareth that the benefit of any temporal gift, bestowed and given unto priests and houses of alms, is the principal cause of any special prayers, which is not far different from simony. The other reason is, that every special prayer, made for men condemned to eternal punishment, is very displeasing before God; and albeit it be doubtful, yet it is very likely unto the faithful christian people, that the founders of every such house of alms, for their wicked endowing of the same, are for the most part, passed by the broad way. The corollary is, that every prayer of force and effect, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all such whom God would have saved, and to live. The merchandise of special prayers now used for the dead, maketh 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, 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 temporality.

*Richard II.*  
A. D. 1395.

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, or to deaf images made either of wood or stone, are very near of kin unto idolatry, and far different from alms: and, albeit these which are forbidden and imagined, are the book of error unto the common people, notwithstanding the usual and common image of the Trinity is most especially abominable. This conclusion God himself doth openly manifest, commanding alms to be given to the poor and needy man, for he is the image of God, in a more perfect similitude and likeness, than any block or stone. For God did not say, Let us make a block or stone unto our likeness and image, but, Let us make man; forasmuch as the supreme and highest 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 rood, tree, nails, and spear, ought so profoundly to be honoured and worshipped, then were Judas' lips, if any man could get them, a marvellous goodly relic. But thou, pilgrim, we pray thee tell us, when thou dost offer to the bones of the saints and holy men which are laid up in any place, whether dost thou relieve thereby the holy man who is already in joy, or that alms-house which is so well endowed, where they are canonized, the Lord knoweth how? and to speak more plainly, every faithful Christian may well judge and suppose that the strokes of that same man, whom they call St. Thomas, were no cause of martyrdom, nor yet be.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

The image of the Trinity, an abominable thing. A poor man a more perfect image of God.

Judah'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 salvation, and the feigned power of absolution, exalt and set up the pride of priests, and give them opportunity of other secret talks, which we will not at this time talk of; forasmuch as both lords and ladies do witness, that for fear of their confessors they dare not speak the truth: and in time of confession is good opportunity ministered of wooing, or to play the bawd, or to make other secret conventions to deadly sin. They affirm and say, that they are commissaries sent of God to judge and discern of all manner of sin, to pardon and cleanse whatsoever please them. They say also, that they have the keys of heaven and hell, and that they can excommunicate, curse and bless, bind and loose, at their own will and pleasure: insomuch that for a small reward, or for twelve pence, they will sell the blessing of heaven by charter and clause of warranty, sealed by 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 feigned himself to be the profound treasurer of the whole church, having that same worthy jewel, which is the treasure of the passion of Christ, in his own keeping and custody, together with the merits of all the saints in heaven, whereby he giveth feigned indul-

Auricular confession the minister of lust.

Impudent boldness of priests.

The pope, treasurer of the church, instead of treasure heapeth up coais.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1395.

How war  
is lawful,  
the proof  
by ex-  
perience

gences and pardons 'a pœna et culpa,' is a treasurer almost banished out of charity, whereby he may deliver all captives being in purgatory at his pleasure, and make them not to come there. But here every faithful Christian may easily perceive that there is much falsehood hid in our church.

The tenth, that manslaughter, either by war or by any pretended law of justice, for any temporal cause or spiritual revelation, is expressly contrary unto the New Testament, which is the law of grace, full of mercy. This conclusion is evidently proved by the examples of the preaching of Christ here on earth, who chiefly teacheth every man to love his enemies, and to have compassion upon them, and not to kill and murder 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 the right way to hell. And besides that, we do well understand and know, that none of the clergy, by any lawful reason, can 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 murder. For in the gospel it is spoken unto our forefathers, 'Thou shalt not kill.' The corollary is, it is a very robbing of the people, when lords purchase indulgences and pardons 'a pœna et culpa,' unto such as do help their armies to kill and murder the christian people in foreign countries, for temporal gain; as we do see certain soldiers who do run among the heathen people, to get themselves fame and renown by the murder and slaughter of men. Much more do they deserve evil thanks at the hands of the King of Peace, forasmuch as by humility and peace our faith is multiplied and increased; for murderers and man-quellers Christ doth hate and menaceth, '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 many great and horrible offences and vices, incident to the nature of man: for, albeit the murder of their children born before their time, and before they are christened, and the destruction of their nature by medicine, are filthy and foul sins; yet they, accompanying among themselves, do pass to such an unseemliness, that they ought to be punished by infernal torments. The corollary is, that widows, and such as take the mantle and the ring, deliciously fed, we would that they were married, because we cannot excuse them from private offence of sin.

The twelfth, that the multitude of arts not necessary, used in this our church, causeth much sin and offence in waste, curiosity, and disguising in curious apparel: experience and reason partly do show the same, forasmuch as nature, with a few arts, is sufficient for man's use and necessity.

This is the whole tenor of our ambassage, 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 and touched, yet, notwithstanding, they are more at large declared in another book, with many other more in our own proper tongue, which we would, should be common to all Christian people. Wherefore, we earnestly desire and beseech God, for his great goodness' sake, that he will wholly reform our church, now altogether out of frame, unto the perfection of her first beginning and original.<sup>1</sup>

Certain Verses<sup>2</sup> 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 Giersites, 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) Ex Archivis Regiis.

(2) "Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum, Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa maiorum: Surgunt ingrati Gierzite Simone nati, Nomine prælati, hoc defensare parati. Qui Reges estis, populis quicunque præestis, Qualiter, his gestis, glaciis prohibere potestis?"



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 ther 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,'<sup>1</sup> &c.

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. 1396, 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 about 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.

### 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

Richard II.

A. D. 1395.

R. Stury, Lewis Clifford, T. Latimer, John Mountacute, good favourers.

Pope Urban IX. dead.

Pope Boniface IX.

Letters of pope Boniface to king Richard.

A. D. 1396.

Death of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1298.

(1) Ex Chron. Monachi Aibanensis.

*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.

Desire to rule in the church. Greece renounceth the Romish church.

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.

The king seemeth here to prophesy.

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 pursue 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.' Micajah 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 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.

Richard II.

A. D. 1398.

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.

Bishops taught by Christ not to play the lords.

The right ornament of a true bishop.

A bald answer.

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.

Public respect to be preferred before private.

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;<sup>1</sup> 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

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1398.Unity  
of the  
church to  
be prefer-  
red before  
worldly  
dignity.The pope  
will not  
lose his  
dignity,  
for any  
public  
tranquill-  
ity.Wicked  
flatterers  
about the  
pope.Better  
that the  
order of  
the popes'  
election  
should  
cease,  
than the  
church  
should  
suffer any  
division.

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 revered 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.

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.

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 sollicitation, 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 Siricius 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.—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.

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.

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 bride 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 occu-

Richard  
II  
A. D.  
1398.

Good  
counsel  
lost.

Christ's  
seamless  
coat bro-  
ken.

Popes,  
compared  
to the  
soldiers  
that  
cursed  
Christ.

A godly  
purpose,  
if it had  
been put  
in execu-  
tion.

Secular  
princes,  
to bride  
the out-  
rages of  
the pope.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1398.

Popes put down by princes.

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 I., 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, 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.

Lawful that princes should withstand the tyranny of the pope.

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 overpunch 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 appeared, 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) Ex fragmento libri ejusdam 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.

*Richard II.*  
A. D.  
1398.

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 brought to king Canute, and at his commandment he was instituted bishop of the same see.<sup>1</sup> And likewise Matthew Paris testifieth, that king Henry III. gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Radulph, then bishop of London, 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, 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.

#### Notes of certain Parliaments, holden in the reign of King Richard II., making against the Pope.

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.<sup>2</sup>

Item, That no man do procure any benefice by provision from Rome, on pain to be out of the king's protection.<sup>3</sup>

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 six thousand pounds yearly of such livings in England.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

(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.

*Richard II.*

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.<sup>1</sup>

A. D. 1398.

An act that pope Urban was true and lawful pope, and that the livings of all cardinals, and other 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.<sup>2</sup>

Here note well a strange proceeding.

Moreover, in the third year of king Richard II., the prelates and clergy made their protestation, in this parliament, expressly against a certain new grant, to wit, their 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 word extortion, they meant any thing 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.<sup>3</sup>

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 within the realm.<sup>4</sup>

Item, That all priors, aliens, might be removed out of their houses, and licensed to depart, and never to revert; and that Englishmen may be placed in their livings, answering the king as they did.<sup>5</sup>

And in the ninth year of the aforesaid king, touching the matter of the staple, the speaker of the parliament pronounced,<sup>6</sup> 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 10*l.* yearly, do purchase 80*l.* or 100*l.*<sup>7</sup>

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, being advanced by him.<sup>8</sup>

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 'Vollunus' and 'Imponimus' of the translations of B. B. and such like, 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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

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.'<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup>

(1) Tit. 71.

(2) Ibid. 78.

(3) Ex anno 3. reg. Rich. II.

(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. 34.

(12) Ibid. 9.



The year following, which was the thirteenth 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.<sup>1</sup>

*Richard II*  
A. D. 1398.  
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.<sup>2</sup>

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 from 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

Item, That sufficient persons might be presented to benefices, who may do well on the same, so that their stock, for want thereof, do not perish.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup>

Here the archbishop of Canterbury goeth contrary to himself.

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 approved in his chapter provincial; on pain to be put out of the king's protection.<sup>9</sup>

Item, That the king's officers, for making arrests or attachments in churchyards, are therefore excommunicated; whereof remedy was required.<sup>10</sup>

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 Sir John Berners, without the king's assent: whereupon the commons required that the same archbishop might rest under safe keeping: whereunto, for that the same impeachments touched so great a person, they would be advised.<sup>11</sup>

(1) Ex an. 14. reg. Ric. II., tit. 6.

(2) Tit. 24.

(3) Ibid. 29.

(4) Vide articulum, tit. 29.

(5) Ex an. 17. reg. Ric. II., tit. 33.

(6) Tit. 43.

(7) Tit. 46.

(8) Ex an. 20. reg. Ric. II., tit. 22.

(9) Tit. 33.

(10) Tit. 36.

(11) Ex 21 an. reg. Ric. II., tit. 15.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1398.

The Archbishop proved a traitor.

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.<sup>1</sup>

The king further prescribed, that the said archbishop should take his passing on Friday, within six weeks of Michaelmas, at Dover, towards the parts of France.<sup>2</sup>

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 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.

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.

Vices and virtues mixed in king Richard.

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

What it is to forsake the maintenance of the gospel.

Thirty-three articles laid against king Richard.

(1) Tit. 16.

(2) Ibid. 17.

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, 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.<sup>1</sup>

The nobles up in arms against certain of his counsellors.

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

(1) Ex Chron. Albanensis.

(2) Ibid.

*Richard II.*A. D. 1399.Waltam  
bishop of  
Salis-  
bury, a  
make-  
bate.London-  
ers fa-  
vourers of  
Wickliff's  
doctrine,London-  
ers com-  
plained of  
to the  
king by  
the  
bishops.  
Beati-  
pacifici!The court  
removed  
from Lon-  
don to  
York.

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,<sup>1</sup> "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.<sup>2</sup>

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 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. 1393.

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 detestatores, decimarum detentores, et communis vulgi oppressores,' &c.

(2) Ex histor. D. Albani, cujus sic habet initium, anno. pntiæ &c.

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 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, who was before earl of Rutland; the duke of Southrey, 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

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 expelled. 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 com-  
pany doth  
about a  
king.

Richard  
returneth  
from Ire-  
land.

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 ordinance also behind him; and so, passing the seas, landed at Milford Haven, not daring, as it seemed, to come to London.

On the contrary side, unto Henry, duke of Hereford (being landed, as is said, in the north); came the earl of Northumberland, lord Henry Percy, and Henry his son, the earl of Westmorland, lord Radulph Nevile, and other lords besides 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 were immediately beheaded; Bagot escaped away, and fled to Ireland.

Forsaken  
of his  
subjects.  
What it  
is, for a  
prince to  
be belov-  
ed 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.  
1399.The king  
com-  
mitted to  
the  
Tower.HENRY THE FOURTH.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

King  
Henry  
enthron-  
ed and  
crowned.Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, Parish Priest,  
a Martyr.

The next year after, followed a parliament holden at Westminster; in which parliament one William Sautre, a good man and a faithful

A. D. 1400.

(1) Edition 1563. p. 141. Ed. 1570, p. 614. Ed. 1576, p. 498. Ed. 1583, p. 514. Ed. 1596, p. 474. Ed. 1684, Vol. 1. p. 586.—Ed.

(2) Ex Chron. D. Albanensis.

*Henry*  
*IV.*A. D.  
1400.

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 arti-  
cles  
against  
William  
Sautre.

I. 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.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1400.

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, 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 the bishop 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.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1400.

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.

Determi-  
nation of  
the church  
to be fol-  
lowed as  
it is join-  
ed 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 pretended, 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 in the same provincial council till Wednesday next, and immediately ensuing, to wit, the twenty-fourth 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:

A certain Process against William Sautre, presented by the Bishop of  
Norwich.*Henry  
IV.*A. D.  
1400.

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 Helingham (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 the church of St. Margaret in the town of Lynn, 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.

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 Helingham, 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 Smermen, 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.* 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.
- A. D. 1400. Touching that article,<sup>1</sup> 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.

This being done, the 22d of February aforesaid, A. D. 1400, 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 was continued with all dependents till

(1) Meaning the Fifth.

(2) Ex Regist. Cantuar.

the Friday next ensuing, which Friday approaching, Master Nicholas Rish-ton (by the commandment of the said archbishop of Canterbury, being then busied, as he said, in the parliament house) continued this council and con-vo-cation with all incidents, dependents, and occasions growing and annexed thereunto, 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 these reverend fathers and bishops, of London, Lincoln, Hereford, Exeter, Menevensis, and Rossensis, 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; that all process was finished and ended against the said sir William Sautre. This thing finished, before the pronouncing of the said sentence of relapse against the said sir William, as is premised, he often then and there recited and read. And for that he saw the said William in that behalf nothing abashed, he pro-ceeded to his degradation and actual deposition, in form as followeth :

Henry  
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## Sentence of Degradation pronounced on Sir William Sautre.

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. We, Thomas, by God's permis-sion archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apos-tolic see, do denounce thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, chaplain feigned, in the habit and apparel of a priest, as a heretic, and one re-fallen into heresy, by this our sentence definitive, by counsel, assent, and authority, to be condemned; and by conclusion of all our fellow brethren, fellow bishops, pre-lates, council provincial, and of the whole clergy, do degrade and deprive thee of thy priestly order. And in sign of degradation and actual deposition from thy priestly dignity, for thine incorrigibility and want of amendment, we take from thee the patent and chalice, and do deprive thee of all power and autho-rity of celebrating the mass, and also we pull from thy back the casule, and take from thee the vestment, and deprive thee of all manner of priestly honour.

The  
patent  
and  
chalice  
taken  
from  
him.

Also, We Thomas, the aforesaid archbishop, by authority, counsel, and as-sent, which upon the aforesaid William we have, being deacon pretensed, in the habit and apparel of a deacon, having the New Testament in thy hands, being a heretic, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the order of a deacon. And in token of this thy degrada-tion and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of the New Testament, and the stole, and do deprive thee of all authority in reading of the gospel, and of all and all manner of dignity of a deacon.

The book  
of the  
New Tes-  
tament  
tak-  
en  
from  
him.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by authority, counsel, and assent, which over thee the aforesaid William, we have, being a sub-deacon pretensed, in the habit and vestment of a sub-deacon, a heretic, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the order of a sub-deacon; and in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the albe<sup>1</sup> and maniple,<sup>2</sup> and do deprive thee of all manner of sub-diaconical dignity.

The albe  
taken  
from  
him.

Also, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by counsel, assent, and authority which we have over thee the foresaid William, an acolyte<sup>3</sup> pretensed, wearing the habit of an acolyte, and heretic, twice fallen, by our sentence as is aforesaid condemned, do degrade and put from thee all order of an acolyte; and in sign and token of this thy degradation, and actual deposition, we take from thee the candlestick and taper, and also urceolun,<sup>4</sup> and do deprive thee of all and all manner of dignity of an acolyte.

The  
candle-  
stick and  
taper  
taken  
from him.

Also, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsel, and authority, which upon thee the aforesaid Willam we have, an exorcist pretensed, in the habit of an exorcist or holy water clerk, being a heretic, twice fallen, and by

(1) 'Albe,' the surplice.—Ed.

(2) 'Maniple,' a kind of scarf worn about the wrists.—Ed.

(3) An inferior servant, who waited on the priest, carried the bread and wine, or lighted the candles: an under-deacon.—Ed.

(4) A vessel used in the celebration of the popish services.—Ed.

*Henry IV.*A. D.  
1400.The holy water book con-  
jured from him.  
The legend book.

The surplice and church door keys taken from him.

Privilege of clergy taken from him.

The priest's cap taken from his head, maketh up all in all.

our sentence as is aforesaid, condemned, do degrade and depose thee from the order of an exorcist; and in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of conjurations, and do deprive thee of all and singular dignity of an exorcist.

Also, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsel, and authority, as is above said, do degrade and depose thee the aforesaid William, reader pretended, clothed in the habit of a reader, a heretic, twice fallen, and by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned from the order of a reader; and in token 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 singular manner of dignity of such a reader.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury aforesaid, by authority, counsel, and assent, which we have, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee, the aforesaid William Sautre, sexton pretended, in the habit of a sexton, and wearing a surplice, being a heretic, twice fallen, by our sentence definitive condemned, as aforesaid, from the order of a sexton; and in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, for the causes aforesaid, we take from thee the keys of the church door, and thy surplice, and do deprive thee of all and singular manner of commodities of a door-keeper.

And also, by the authority of omnipotent God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by the authority, counsel, and assent of our whole council provincial above written, we do degrade thee, and depose thee, being here personally present before us, from orders, benefices, privileges and habit in the church; and, for thy pertinency incorrigible, we do degrade thee before the secular court of the high constable and marshal of England, being personally present; and do depose thee from all and singular clerkly honours and dignities whatsoever, by these writings. Also, in token of thy degradation and deposition, here actually we have caused thy crown and ecclesiastical tonsure, in our presence, to be rased away, and utterly to be abolished, like unto the form of a secular lay man; and here we do put upon the head of thee, the aforesaid William, the cap of a lay secular person; beseeching the court aforesaid, that they will receive favourably the said William unto them thus recommended.

Thus William Sautre, the servant of Christ, being utterly thrust out of the pope's kingdom, and metamorphosed from a clerk to a secular lay-man, 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.

### The cruel Decree of the King against William Sautre.<sup>1</sup>

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 reverend father Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the assent, consent, and counsel of other bishops, and his brethren suffragans, and also of all the whole clergy within his province or diocese, gathered together in his provincial council, the due order of the law being observed in all points in this behalf, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive sentence, William Sautre, sometime chaplain, fallen again into his most damnable heresy, which before time the said William had abjured, thereupon to be a most manifest heretic, and therefore hath decreed that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all prerogative and privilege of the clergy, decreeing to leave him unto the secular power; and hath really so left him, according to the laws and

(1) For the Latin copy of this decree, see edition 1563, p. 142.—Ed.

canonical sanctions set forth in this behalf, and also that our holy mother the church hath no further to do in the premises; we therefore being zealous in religion, and reverend lovers of the catholic faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the holy church and the laws and the liberties of the same, to root all such errors and heresies out of our kingdom of England, and with condign punishment to correct and punish all heretics or such as be convict; provided always that both according to the law of God and man, and the canonical institutions in this behalf accustomed, such heretics convict and condemned in form aforesaid, ought to be burned with fire: we command you, as straitly as we may, or can, firmly enjoining you that you do cause the said William, being in your custody, in some public or open place within the liberties of your city aforesaid (the cause aforesaid being published unto the people), to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians. Fail not in the execution thereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon.

Teste Rege, apud Westm. 26th Feb. An. regni sui.

Henry  
IV.  
A. D.  
1440

Prepos-  
terous  
zeal with-  
out know-  
ledge.

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.

Admo-  
nition 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, 1400.

Henry IV.  
the first  
English  
king  
that tor-  
mented  
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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

Much  
murder  
and be-  
heading  
in the  
time  
of king  
Henry IV.

And the next year following sir John 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 Vernova. The earl of Northumber-

(1) It is to be doubted.

(2) Ex lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti.

*Henry IV.*

A.D. 1400.

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.

Arch-  
bishop of  
York and  
Lord  
Mowbray  
against  
king  
Henry IV.

Lord Bar-  
dolf, and  
Henry  
Percy, earl  
of Nor-  
thumber-  
land,  
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: <sup>1</sup> 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; <sup>2</sup> 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.

#### Articles against King Henry IV., set upon Church Doors.

A D. 1401.

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.



Judge, that he may judge and discern the same, in the day of his supreme judgment.

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.

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.

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.

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

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1401.King  
Henry  
perjured.Charged  
with  
untruth.Charged  
with trea-  
son  
against  
his sove-  
reign.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1401.

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 spirituality 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.

King  
Henry  
charged  
with  
murder-  
ing his  
prince.

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.

Charged  
with vio-  
lating the  
orders of  
holy  
church.

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 revered 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  
tyranny.

Sevently: 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, 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

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.  
1401.

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, disorder, 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  
govern-  
ment.

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 gentle men 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 op-  
pression  
and per-  
jury.

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 de-  
clared.

These articles being seen and read, much concourse of people daily

*Henry IV.*

A. D. 1401.

Earl of Westmoreland against the archbishop.

Falsehood in fellowship.

The archbishop of York craftily circumvented.

The archbishop of York, lord Mowbray, and many Yorkshiresmen executed.

A. D. 1408. Abbot of Hales hanged.

A. D. 1409.

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.

The king, after the shedding of so much blood, seeing himself so hardly beloved of his subjects, thought to keep in vet 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. 1409, as by their own registers appeareth, and followeth by his narration to be seen.

John Badby, Artificer, a Martyr.<sup>1</sup>Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1409.

In the year of our Lord 1409, on Sunday, 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 cronous church of Rome, before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and other his assistants, as the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Oxford, Norwich, Salisbury, Bath, Bangor; the bishop Menevensis, 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, 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 XI., by the divine permission pope, the second day of January, in the chapel Carvaria, 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 sac-  
rament  
of Christ's  
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.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1409.

I cannot  
blame ye  
that ye  
are so  
angry, for  
it was not  
for your  
profit.

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.

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  
condem-  
nation of  
John  
Badby.  
Quare  
iremuo-  
runt  
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 Baileinges, 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 Pha-  
risees.

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 an-  
swer 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.<sup>1</sup>

(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.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1409.Sub-  
stance of  
bread not  
changed  
in the sa-  
crament.

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  
arch-  
bishop.

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 expired, being the fifteenth 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 Beaumont, 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 arch-  
bishop  
both  
judge and  
jailor.Astite-  
runt re-  
ges terræ,  
et prin-  
cipes con-  
venerunt  
in unum  
adversus,  
&c. Ps. ii.

*Henry IV.*A. D.  
1400.

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.

Note here murdering wolves in sheep's clothing.

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-prælate, 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 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.

The prince labourereth to turn Badby.

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 use 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 sacrament solemnly brought at the burning of Badby.

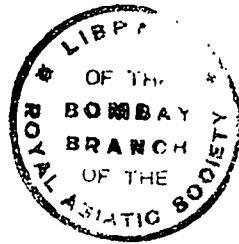
In the mean season the prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield brought, with all solemnity, the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and so showed the sacrament to the poor man being at the stake. And then they demanding of him how he believed in it, he answered, That he knew well 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 contentation.







BURNING OF JOHN BADBY.



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.

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 unto the king's majesty, subtilly 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:

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1409John  
Badby  
constant  
to the  
end.All the  
power of  
man set  
against  
the gos-  
pel.The gos-  
pel of  
Christ  
counted  
as wicked  
and here-  
tical.

### The cruel Statute 'Ex Officio.'

That is to say, that no man within this realm, or other the king's majesty's dominions, presume to take upon him to preach privily or apertly, without special license first obtained of the ordinary of the same place (curates in their own parish churches, and persons heretofore privileged, and others admitted by the canon law, only excepted): nor that any hereafter do preach, maintain, teach, inform openly or in secret, or make or write any book contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church: nor that any hereafter make any conventicles or assemblies, or keep and exercise any manner of schools touching this sect, wicked doctrine, and opinion. And further, that no man hereafter shall, by any means, favour any such preacher, any such maker of unlawful assemblies or any such book-maker or writer; and, finally,

(1) See the Harleian MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 420. Art. 12. "Excerpta ex Registro Thomæ Arundeli: de Lollardis. 67. (i. e. Statutum Regium in Parlamento editum contra Hæreticos, vulgo dictum 'Ex Officio')." — Ed.

*Henry IV.*

A. D.  
1409.

A bloody  
law of  
king  
Henry IV.

any such teacher, informer, or stirrer up of the people: and that all and singular persons having any of the said books, writings, schedules, containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions, shall, within forty days after this present proclamation and statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered, all and singular the said books and writings unto the ordinary of the same place. And if it shall happen that any person or persons, of what kind, state, or condition soever he or they be, do or attempt any manner of thing contrary to this present proclamation and statute, or do not deliver the same books in form aforesaid: that then the ordinary of the same place, in his own diocese, by authority of the said proclamation and statute, shall cause to be arrested and detained under safe custody the said person or persons in this case defamed and evidently suspected, or any of them, until he or they so offending have, by order of law, purged him or themselves as touching the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf; or until he or they have denied and recanted, according to the laws ecclesiastical, the said wicked sect. preachings, teachings, and heretical and erroneous opinions. And that the said ordinary, by himself or his commissaries, proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of law, against the said persons so arrested and remaining under 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 order and custom of the canon law. And if any person, in any cause above-mentioned, shall be lawfully convicted before the ordinary of the diocese or his commissaries, that then the said ordinary may lawfully cause the said person so convicted (according to the manner and quality of his fact) to be laid in any of his own prisons, and there to be kept so long as his discretion shall be thought expedient.

And further, the said ordinary (except in cases by which, according to the canon law, the party offending ought to be delivered unto the secular power) shall charge the said person with such a fine of money, to be paid unto the king's majesty, as he shall think competent for the manner and quality of his offence. And 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 to the king's majesty's use, of the goods of the person so convicted.

And further, if any person within this realm and other the king's majesty's dominions shall be convicted before the ordinary of the place, or his commissaries, of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schools, and heretical and erroneous informations, or any of them; and will refuse to abjure and recant the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, opinions, schools and informations; or if, after his abjuration once made, the relapse be pronounced against him by the diocesan of the place, or his commissaries (for so, by the canon law, he ought to be left to the secular power, upon credit given to the ordinary or his commissaries), that then the sheriff of the same county, the mayor, sheriffs or sheriff, or the mayor or bailiffs of the same city, village, or borough of the same county, and nearest inhabiting to the said ordinary, or his said commissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required, to confer with the said ordinary or his commissaries, in giving sentence against the said persons offending, or any of them: and, after the said sentence so pronounced, shall take unto them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people; to the intent that this kind of punishment may be a terror unto others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical opinions, or authors and favourers thereof, be no more maintained within this realm and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of christian religion, and decrees of holy church. In all which and singular the premises, concerning the statute aforesaid, let the sheriff, mayors, and bailiffs of the said counties, cities, villages, and boroughs, be attendant; aiding and favouring the said ordinaries and their commissaries.

A bloody  
statute.

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  
I<sup>st</sup>.

A. D.  
1409.

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 pretended 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 Max-  
iminus  
and the  
statute  
'ex offi-  
cio' com-  
pared.

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.

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  
II.*

*A. D.  
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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.

Blasphemy not of  
pure  
man, but  
of true  
God.

Scripture  
clerkly  
applied.

Κεφας  
ἀπὸ τῆς  
κεφαλῆς.  
Mark  
this, you  
gramma-  
rians.  
Mark  
well the  
pope's di-  
vinity.

How  
aptly he  
painteth  
the proceed-  
ings of his own  
popish  
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,<sup>1</sup> 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;<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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

(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 willetth 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.  
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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.  
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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.

A jolly  
mean to  
bring the  
world  
into such  
darkness.

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.

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 se-  
cond con-  
stitution.

Furthermore, no clergyman, or parochians<sup>1</sup> 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  
constitu-  
tion.

What ty-  
ranny is  
this, to  
bind the  
preacher's  
mouth  
what to  
say.

Moreover, like as a good householder casteth wheat into the ground, well 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  
constitu-  
tion.

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 person lying within the diocese of a bishop.—E.C.

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 predecessors ; 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 conuneth 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

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A. D.

1409.

the Scrip-  
ture in  
English.  
The  
eighth  
constitu-  
tion.  
Terms  
and propo-  
sitions  
in dis-  
puting  
to be  
observed.  
The ninth  
constitu-  
tion.

Authority  
of the  
pope's  
decretals  
not to be  
doubted  
under  
pain of  
heresy.  
Adora-  
tion of  
the cross.

The  
tenth  
constitu-  
tion.  
No priest  
to cele-  
brate  
without  
his letters  
of orders.

The  
eleventh  
constitu-  
tion.

Oxford  
famous  
for  
sincere  
religion.

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.

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 pilgrimage 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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.

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-

(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 before-mentioned, and that they incur the said sentence of greater excommunication.

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.

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

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1409.

Inquisition to be made through colleges and halls of Oxford.

I would the like were used now, for the banishment of papistry.

The twelfth constitution.

The thirteenth constitution. Easier to offend against the prince's law than against the bishop's.

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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 stood? 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, the Lord willing, to be said in the year 1421. 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 Scynons 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.

First, That the office of the holy cross (ordained by the whole church) celebrated, 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, when 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.

<sup>1</sup>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<sup>2</sup> 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 the pope, nor the prelate, neither any ordinary, can compel any man to swear by any creature of God, or by the Bible book.

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.

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### 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 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.

(2) 'To the people,' in the editions previous to 1569.—E. V.

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## 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 knownen 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 drede 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 holic name, hee commaundeth to be knownen 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 holic ordinance of God. And these thorowe, God is greatlie wroth and moued to take harde vengeance, not onlie vpon them that doe the euill, but also on them that consent to these Antichristes liunnes; which knowe or might knowe, their malice and falshod, and dresse them not to withstand their malice and their great pryde. Neuerthesse, foure things moueth me to wryte this sentence benth.

God's  
laws must  
be knowen  
and fol-  
lowed.

Four  
causes.

The first  
cause.

The first thing that moueth me hereto is this: that where as it was knownen to certaine frendes, y<sup>e</sup> I came from ye prison of Shrewesburie, and as it befell in dede that I should to the prison of Caunturbury, then diuers frendes, 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 se-  
cond  
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 knownen, 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: Upaenture 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 sothfastnesse 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 themselves 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.

Truth  
leaveth  
always a  
sweet  
smell be-  
hind it.

Godly  
counsel  
given, if it  
may be  
followed.

Persecu-  
tion fol-  
loweth  
the true  
church.

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 themselves, that they, without taryng, 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 will liue piteously, that is charitable 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 viltie and foule-

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 hartly therefore, and euer flying all occasion thereof. And then behoueth vs to take vpon vs sharpe penance, continuuing therein, for to obtaine of the Lorde forgiveness 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 constraîne vs violentlie to doo penance, whiche we would not doo wilfully. And truste that this doying 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 patiently, 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 simple 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.

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IV.A. D.  
1409.The cause  
why per-  
secution  
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 keepinge 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 wisdom; 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 peradventure 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.Edifica-  
tion of  
others,  
necessary  
to be con-  
sidered.

And the fourth thing that moueth me to wryte thys sentence is this: I knowe by my soden and vnwarned aposing and answering, that al they that wil, of good hart without faining, able them self wilfullie and gladlie, after their conyng and their power, to follow Christ patiently, traueling busilie, priuillie, and apertlie in worke and in word, to withdrawe whosoeur 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 wisdom, 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 tentacion that anie ennemie purposeth for to do against them. To such faithfull louers speciallie, and pacient followers of Christ, the Lord sendeth his wisdom 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 witness 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 wisdom, that all their enemies shall not again say, nor again stand, lawfullie.

The  
fourth  
cause.The as-  
sistance  
of God  
never  
failed  
them that  
are perse-  
cuted.



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And therefore, al they that are stedfast in the faith of God, yea whiche thorow diligent keping of his commaundements and for their pacient suffering of whatsoeuer aduersitie that commeth to them, hope surelie in his mercie, purposing to stand continuallie in perfect 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 rewarde, 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.

Exami-  
nation of  
Thorpe,  
before  
Thomas  
Arundel,  
archb.

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<sup>e</sup> castel of Saltwode, was brought before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancelor then of England. And when that I came to him, he stode in a great chamber and much people about him: and when that hee sawe me, he went faste into a closet, bidding all secular men that folowed him to goe forth from him soone, so that no man was left than in that closet but the archbishop himselfe, and a phisitian that was called Malueren, parson of Saint Dustanes in London, and two other persons vnknown 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 cuntrye 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. Therefore, 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,<sup>1</sup> and fulfil it duely by al thy conning and power, thou shalt yet find mee graciouse vnto thee.

Loitering  
prelates,  
cannot  
abide tra-  
uelling  
preach-  
ers.

The grace  
of God,  
and of my  
lord of  
Canter-  
bury, 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 beleue that there is not but one God Almightye, and in this godhead, and of this godhead, are three persones, that is, the Father, the Sonne, and the soothfast Holie Ghost. And I beleuee that all these three persones are euer in power, and in conning, and in might, full of grace and of all goodnesse. For whatsoever 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 equal to the Father and to the Sonne.

Ouer this, I beleuee that through counsell of this most blessed Trinitie, in most conuenient time before ordeined for the saluation of mankind, the seconde persone of this Trinitie, was ordeined to take the fourme of man, that is, the kinde of man. And I beleuee 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 beleuee, 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<sup>1</sup> and why not God's ordinance, if it please your grace?

And I beleue that Christe our Sauour 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 conceived in the wombe of Marie, his mother.

Henry

IV.

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And I beleue that Christ, as he was about thirty yeare olde, was baptised in the fload 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 beleue that Christ was moued then by the Holy Ghost, for to go into y<sup>e</sup> desert, and there he fasted forty daies and forty nights without bodilie meat and drinke. And I beleue that by and by, after his fasting, when the manhod of Christ hungred, the feend came to him, and tempted him in gluttony, in vaine glorie, and in couetise: but in all those temptations, Christ concluded the feend, and withstode him. And then, without taryng, Jesu began to preache and to say vnto the people, Do ye penance, for the realme of heauen is now at hand.

I beleue that Christ, in al his time here, liued moste holilie, and taught the will of his Father most truelie: and I beleue that he suffred therefore, moste wrongfullie, greatest reprimies and despisinges.

And, after this, whan Christ wold make an end here of this temporal lyfe, I beleue 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 Sauour, after that hee had ordeined this moste worthy sacrament of his owne pretious bodie, he went forth wilfullie against his enemies, 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 beleue that Christ suffred moste mekelie and pacientlie his enemies, 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 would, 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 would 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 would shede out for man's loue, and after this, I beleue that Christ was taken downe from the crosse and buried. And I beleue that on the third daie, by y<sup>e</sup> power of his godhead, Christe rose againe from death to life. And the fortie day thereafter, I beleue that Christ ascended up into heauen, and that he there sitteth on the right hande of the Father Almighty: and the fiftie<sup>1</sup> daie after this vp goyng, he sent to his apostles the Holie Ghost, that he had promised them before: and I beleue 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 Almighty, so I beleue in the Holie Ghoste, that he is also with them the same God Almighty.

And I beleue 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 "up-goyng," in the text, signifies the up-going from the grave, not the ascension.—Ed.

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The true  
notes of  
the true  
church.

What he-  
resy in  
this be-  
lief, I  
pray you  
my lord?

The Old  
Testa-  
ment and  
New.

Doctors  
so to be  
followed,  
as they  
follow the  
word.  
To  
swear by  
a booke,  
whether  
it be law-  
ful.

shall endeour 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.

Therefore I beleuee that the gadering together 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 knowlege 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 gouernance of them, whome, after my knowledge, I may perceiue, by the hauing and vsing of the besoyd 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 verillie in my soule, as a sinfull deadlie wretche of my cunning and power ought to beleue : praying the Lorde God, for his holie name, for to increase my belefe, and to helpe my vnbelefe.

And for because, to the praying 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 beleuee, that all the olde lawe and newe lawe giuen and ordered by counsell of the three persones of the Trinitie, were geuen and written to the saluation of mankind. And I beleuee, 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 beleueed.

And therefore, to the rule and the ordinance of these, Gods lawes, meekely, gladlie, and wilfullie, I submit me with all mine hart : that whosoever 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 buxom and obedient unto these lawes of God, and to euery 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 beleuee and admitte all the sentences, authorities, and reasons, of the saintes and doctours, according vnto holy scripture, and declaryng it trulie.

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 prairie you tell me, if, after your bidding, I shall lay my hande vpon the boke, to what entent to swaere 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 swaere by any creature, bothe Gods lawe and mans lawe is against it.

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 swaere or to obey, in any wise, after Gods lawe, and saintes 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 swaere (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 slaundersed with: so that after this time, neither priuile 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 shalt force thee to withstande all such distroublers of holie church in euerie diocese 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 witness 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.

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where,  
and when  
to sweare.

And I, hearing these wordes, thought in my heart, that this was an vnfeill 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 stode still and spake not, the archbischoppe 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 beleuee, publish them therefore, up to the bishops or to their vnptitious 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, slaundersed, or punished, as bishops and their ministers nowe vse, for to constrainne men and women to consent to them.

Behold  
the po-  
pish pro-  
ceedings  
whereto  
they tend.

But I finde in no place in holie Scripture, that this office that ye would nowe eneffe 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 woulde not, for sauing of my life, doe thus to them. For if I thus should doe, full many menne and women woulde (as they might full truelie) saie that I had falselie and cowardlie forsaken the truth, and slaundersed 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, Almighty God! nowe and euer for his holie name.

No mar-  
uel why:  
for Christ  
and Anti-  
christ,  
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. Therefore, as I perceiue nowe by thy foolish answer, thou hast no will to leaue thine old errorrs. But I say to thee, leud losell,<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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 woulde, of his great mercie, bring me to such an ende. And, in mine heart, I was nothing afraide with this maning 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 archbischoppe 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 heaue 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 whatsoever 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.

The order  
and man-  
ner 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 heaue 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 greuous words, and manased me in diuers manners, shewing to me full heaue cheere. And thus one while in faire manner, another while in greuous, 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 wisdom; 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 willethe that all men and women shoulde exercise themselues faithfullie thereabout. If than Syr, either for pleasure of them that are neither so wise, nor of so vertuous conuersation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other men'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 these thirtie winters 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 vterlie 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.

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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 moc 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 enuened 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 per-  
secutor.

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 enuened with your contagiousnesse, that is, contaminated and spotted doctrine.

And I saide to the archbischoppe: 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 wisdome of God, and that they should haue deserved 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 living; 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 ye pleasant will of God, traueilling al their members ful busily for to do thereafter, purelie and chieflie to the praising of the most holic name of God, and for grace of edification and saluation of christen people. But woe worth false couetise, and ouill counsell, and tyrannie, by which they, and manie men and women, are led blindlie into an euill end.

Happy be  
they that  
continue  
to thp  
end.

Woe  
worth  
false co-  
uetous-  
ness.

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 pre-  
lates can-  
not  
swear.  
Covetous-  
ness  
joined  
with pe-  
pishness.

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 fellows, maie sore dread that if they turn not hastilie to the waie that they haue forsaken, peradventure 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 holic 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 clarke that they knewe then living; and therewith hee was named a passing rylie man and an innocent in his living: and, therefore, great men com-muned oft with him, and they loued so his learning, that they writ it, and busilie inforced them to rule themselues thereafter. Therefore Sir, this foresaid learning of M. John Wickliffe, is yet holden of full manie men and women, the most agreeable learning vnto the living and teaching of Christ and of his apostles, and most openlie shewing and declaring how the church of Christ

A worthy  
commen-  
tation of  
Maister  
John  
Wickliff.

*Henry**17.*

A. D.

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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 conformance their liuing like to this learning of Wickliff. M. John Aston taught and writte accordingle 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 hee was a canon of Leicester. Nicholas Hereford, Dauie Cotraie of Pakring, monke of Byland and a maister of diuinitie, and John Puraie, 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 willinglie 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<sup>t</sup> 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 blasphem 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 worthe 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 common, 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.<sup>1</sup>

The testimony for Wickliff out of the mouth of his own adversary. 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: Wherefore 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 writings, among which there was a little one, which tife clearke deliuered to the archbishop. And by and by the archbishoppe read this roll containing this sentence: "The thirde Sundaie after Easter, A. D. 1407., William Thorpe came vnto the townne 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 altuar, 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."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> 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 vntulie; 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.

And the archbishop said to me : I will giue credence to these worshipfull men which haue 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 communalitie of Shrewsburie, so that the bailiffes and communalitie 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 worthe) to suffer open iouresse for thine heresies, that thou may haue thy iouresse openlie there among them :<sup>1</sup> 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 praiser, and feruent request, shall be thought on.

But certainlie, nother the praiser of the men of Shrewsburie, 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 reioiced, 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 mercifull 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 commandments. And againe, they that are said to be in the faith of holie church in Shrewsburie 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 faithful, and holden iust, nother knowe, nor will exercise themselfe to know (of faithfulness), 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 vnjust; as their vicious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous and shameful workes, shewe openlie and witness. And therefore such vicious men and vnjust, in their owne confusion, call them vnjust men and women, which, after their power and cunning, busie themselves to liue iustlie after the commandment of God. And where Sir ye saie; that I haue distroubled the communalitie of Shrewsburie, and many other men and women with my teaching: if this be, it is not to be wondred of wise men, since all the communalitie of the cittie of Jerusalem was distroubled of Christes owne person, that was verie God and man, and yo<sup>e</sup> 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 cittie, 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 gossell, and the prophecie of God Almightye, to be fulfilled.

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

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OShrewsbury!  
thou hast  
a cause to  
repent  
thee, in  
that thou  
wouldest  
not receiue  
the truth  
when it  
was offered  
thee.

A sure  
trust in  
God's  
truth con-  
foundeth  
the malice  
of  
tyrants.

Shrewsbury!  
except  
thou  
turn from  
thy wicked  
ways,  
thou  
canst not  
receiue  
the truth.  
Jerusalem  
troubled  
by the  
preaching  
of Christ.

(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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IV.

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The word  
of God  
ought  
truly to be  
preached.

If this  
lesson  
had been  
well fol-  
lowed, the  
world had  
not been  
brought  
to such  
darkness  
by blind  
and dumb  
priests.

An effec-  
tuous  
prayer,  
God  
grant, in  
all minis-  
ters.

Why? he  
preached  
without  
the  
bishop's  
licence.  
He an-  
swereth  
to the  
question  
concern-  
ing the  
letter of  
licence.  
The in-  
conveni-  
ences of  
seeking  
of the  
bishop's  
letter or  
licence.

The wit-  
ness of  
the  
preachers  
is the  
good life  
of the fol-  
lowers

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 truele 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 chieffie 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 chieffy 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 charitable, 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 gracious Lord, for his holie name, that he make vs able to please him with deuout prayers, and charitable priestlie works, that we may obtain of him to follow him thankfully.

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 soueraignes, and not onelie good and vertuous, but also tyrants that are vicious?

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, as touching your letter of licence or other bishops, which ye say we shoulde haue to witness 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 vnfull 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 witness 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 witness, 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<sup>e</sup> are conuerted and saued by learning of Gods word, and by working thereafter, are witness 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

that might haue heard the truth and would not heare it, because that they would not do thereafter. All these shall beare witness against themselues, and the truth which they would not heare, or else heard it and despised to doe thereafter, through their vnfaithfulness, is and shall 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, dulle bishoppes letters, to witness 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 soueraignes and charitable, subiects owe to obeie wilfullie and gladdie, in hearing of their good counsell, in consenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitfull workes.

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kinds of  
sovereigns.  
He meaneth  
prelates that  
be vnvirtuous.

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 prayers 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 vertuously, that all they that will liue well, maie take of them good example, to know and to keepe 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 crueltie. 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 soueraign 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.

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.

Obedi-  
ence not  
to be  
given, ex-  
cept 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 pre-  
sumption  
that  
standeth  
against  
your mas-  
terful  
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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that  
preach  
not, be  
slayers  
of the  
peoplePriests  
not only  
sent,  
but com-  
manded  
to preach.  
Whatso-  
ever a  
man  
doth,  
leaving  
that un-  
done  
which he  
is chiefly  
bound to  
do, is sin-  
Yet this  
bishop  
plucketh  
him not  
by the  
beard,  
nor burn-  
eth off his  
hand, as  
Bonner  
did.Two  
parts of  
holie  
church.

the voice of preaching; and, as other more gloses vpon Ezechiel witnesseth, 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 special 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 manslayers. 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<sup>e</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> gospell witnesseth, Christ said in his teaching: I am borne and comen into this worlde, to beare witnesseth to the truth; and he that is of the truth, heareth my voice.

Then Sir, since by the word of Christ speciallie, that is his voice, priests are commanded to preach, and whatsoever 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, whatsoever other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For Io, S. Gregorie saith, That thing left, that a man is bound chieffie to doe, whatsoever 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 slayer 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.

And the archbishop said to those three clerks 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 againe 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.

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 church: 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?

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 vpon 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 witness them.

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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 aulter was material bread after the consecration: what saiest thou? was this truelie preached?

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Well  
helped  
forward  
most  
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 vir-  
tue of the sacra-  
ment  
standeth  
in the  
beliefe,  
more  
than in  
the  
outward  
sign.

And the archbishop saide to me: I beleue thee not, whatsoever 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?

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.

Material  
bread.

Then the archbishop said to me: How teachest thou men to beleuee in this sacrament?

And I said: Sir, as I beleuee 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 thanks 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 beleuee, that this sufficeth in this matter. For in this beleefe, with God's grace, I purpose to liue and die, knowledging as I beleuee and teach other men to beleuee, that the worshipfull sacrament of the aulter, is the sacrament of Christ's flesh and his blood 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 beleuee otherwise, to my knowing. Neuertheless 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, saith 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  
haue 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, whatsoever prelates haue ordained in the church, 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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Every  
ordination  
of  
church-  
men  
bindeth  
not our  
faith.

The  
greatest  
doctors  
of the  
church be  
apostles.

St. Paul,  
the canon  
of the  
mass, and  
St. Aus-  
tin, call-  
eth it  
bread.

My lord  
can revile  
apace, he  
can de-  
clare but  
a little.  
Choke  
him up  
my lord.

Tem-  
plum  
Domini.

Tem-  
plum  
Domini!

The  
church  
stood  
sound  
till the  
feend  
broke  
loose.

It is  
happy he  
did not  
fly in his  
face, as  
Bonner  
did.

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 beleueest not as the holie church beleueest. What say doctors treating of this sacrament ?

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 received 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 receive, 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 error to saie, that the sacrament of the aaltar 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.

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, answer me shortlie : Beleueest 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 beleuee, that there dwelleth substance of bread, and to grant and to beleuee, that this most worthie sacrament of Christs owne bodie is accident without subiect.<sup>1</sup> 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 ; 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 yeld them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fooles, and to bee concluded shamefullie before God.

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.

And I said : Sir, by open euidence and great witness, 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 beleuee it faithfullie, and worke thereafter charitable. But Sir, the determination of this matter, which was brought in since the feend was loosed by friar Thomas againe, speciallie calling the most worshipfull sacrament of Christs 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.

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 priuillie 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.

full in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them, 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 worshippeth other, in kinde, and also for heauenlie vertues that men vse charitable. 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 will 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 be worshipped in forme, nor in the likenesse of mans craft.<sup>1</sup> 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.

Then the archbishop said to me: I grant well that no bodie ought to doe worship to any such images for themselves. 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.<sup>2</sup> 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?

And I saide: Within 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 such images.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> Yea, thogh many men which are right great clerks and other also, held it an error to paint y<sup>e</sup> Trinitie, I saie it is well don to make and to paint the Trinitie in images;<sup>5</sup> for it is great mouing of deuotion to men, to haue and to behold the Trinitie, 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:<sup>6</sup> 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, understood truly the text of Moyses, of Dauid, of the wise man, of Baruch, and of other saintes and doctors, these painters shoulde bge 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 reproveable 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 greuouslie then y<sup>e</sup> painters. For these priests do comfort and giue them counsell to doe that thing, which,

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worship-  
ful image  
of God.The  
image  
of the  
Trinity.

(1) Though man accept the painting or carving of images, yet is it not the right way to learn to serue 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 deuout image.

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books and  
calenders  
to know  
God.The right  
service of  
a Chris-  
tian.The syna-  
gogue of  
Anti-  
christ will  
have au-  
thorityA Chris-  
tian man  
ought not  
to vow,  
seek, nor  
bow, nor  
pray, nor  
offer to  
kiss an  
image.

of great paine, yea vnder the paine of Gods curse, 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 raineth among the people.

Then the archbishoppe said unto me : I holde thee a vicious priest and acurst, and all them that are of thy sect, for al priestes of holie church, and all images that moue menne to deuotion, thou and such other goe about to destroy. Losell ! were it a faire thinge to come into the church and see therein none image ?

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 be closed from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and lettings. And, since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodilie, and haue beleueed faithfullie in him, it sufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing of Gods word, and to do thereafter) for to beleuee in God, though they neuer see images made with mans hande after any person of the Trinitie, or of any other saint.

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, 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 Almighty, and many holie prophetes 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 ?

And the archbishop said : The synagogue of the Jewes had not authoritie to approue those things 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.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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 destroyed 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

(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 dreid, that for the vnfaithfulness 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. Wherefore, 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 likeness, and members of any deadly creature, in what likeness, or what image, may God the Father be shewed or painted?

And the archbishop said: As holy church<sup>1</sup> 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 faorest not the ordinance thereof. But since the daie passeth, leaue we this matter.

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.

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, howsoever mine enemies haue certified you of me, I told at Serewsburie of two maner of pilgrimages.

And the archbishop saide to me: Whome callest thou true pilgrimes?

And I said: Sir, with my protestation, I call them true pilgrimes traouelling 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) withal 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 blessings of Christ: busieng them to knowe and to keepe the seauen principall vertues, and so then they shall obtaine heere, through grace, for to vse thankfullie 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 fraillie will suffer) all their businesse to dread and to flee the offence of God, and to loue, ouer all, and to seeke euer to doe, his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimes I said, whatsoever good thought that 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, howe 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 fle the same, 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 sclauder, and howe patientlie they abode and tooke the wrongful maneing of tyrantes: howe homelie they were and seruisable to poore men, to relieue and

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For the unfaithfulness of men, the devil may work miracles. The word of God sufficeth us to saluation, without miracles.

The third article. Pilgrimage.

Two kinds of pilgrimage.

The true pilgrimage is to trauell in heauenly things.

Every good work, is a good step to heauen. The maner and examples of saintes.

(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 pilgrimes, or endeouour 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 louth to busie them faithfullie for to haue. For, as I well know, since I haue full oft assaid, examine, whosoever 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 whatsoever 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 virtuously 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 vnclene 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.

Pilgrimage is pleasant 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 willfullie, and spend them vnwislie, 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 goods 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 bells, and with the barking out of dogges after them, that they make more noyse, 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, tall-tellers, and liars.

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; that when one of them that goeth barefoot, striketh his toe vpon 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 drine 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.<sup>2</sup>

(1) Well spoken, my lord, for Lincolnshire bag-pipes.

(2) And why then blamed Bonner Philpot, for singing in the stocks?

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 reprocuest. For Dauid, in his last Psalme, teacheth men to haue diuers instruments of musicke, for to praise therewith God.

And I said: Sir, by the sentence of diuers doctors expounding the Psalmes of Dauid, 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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

And the archbishop said, that organes and good delectable songs, quickned and sharpened 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 continually. 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 ablet 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.

And the archbishop (as if he had beene displeased with mine answer) 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:

What saiest thou to this fourth point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsburie, that priests haue no tittle to 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 thinges that reneue 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 the 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 praeie you that yee will aske the most cunning clerke of this towne, that ye may know where this sentence of cursing them that tittle 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 answer before God, if in this case, that cursing of priests were lawfull and approued of God? And shortlie herewith 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 answer through faith and hope to them that aske

Henry IV.

A. D. 1409.

A new found way to gruce, of the bishop's making. Instruments and music of the Old Testament, how they are to be applied and used in the New Testament. Organes in the church.

You swear, my lord!

The fourth article concerning priests tithes.

A paradox without God's word

(1) A fit comparison, my lord, and like yourself.

*Henry  
IV.*

A. D.  
1409.

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.

Paul. having power to take, yet used it not.

If priests were covetous then, what be they now?

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 Leuites, for the great busines and daillie trauaile that pertained to their office. But priests, because 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 liueth 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 whatsoever 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, in such a one wanteth. This sentence approueth Augustine, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Lincolne plainly.

And the archbishop said to me: Thinkest thou this wholesom learning<sup>2</sup> for to sow openly, or yet priuillie among the people? Certain, this doctrine contrarieth plainly the ordinance of holy fathers<sup>3</sup> which haue ordained, granted, and licenced priests to be in diuers degrees, and to liue by tithes and offerings of the people, and by other duties.

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.<sup>4</sup>

(1) This rule, with the rule of begging friars, can not stand together.

(2) Wholesome enough, my lord, if your taste were to savour 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.

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 scarcely constrain the people to giue them their liuelode?<sup>1</sup>

Henry IV.

And I saide: Sir, it is nowe no wonder though the people grudge to giue priestes the liuelode that they aske. Mekil people know now, how that priestes 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 scarce liuing of tithes nor of offerings, by the ordinance of the common law. For whatsoever priestes take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other duety or seruice), the priestes 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 priestes 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 offerings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priestes take of the people in diuers maners, aboute 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,<sup>2</sup> as if the priestes tooke nothing of the parishners for to help the people with.

A. D. 1409.

Why the people be slack in their tithes.

Priests with a sufficiency ought to part the residue to the poor.

And thus sir, into our great charges of the parishners they pay their temporall goods twice, where once might suffice, if priestes were true dispensatours. Also Sir, the parishners that paie their temporall goods (be they tithes or offerings) to priestes that do not their office among them iustly, are parteners of euery sinne of those priestes; because that they sustaine those priestes 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 priestes doing not their duty.

Then the archbishop said to me: Thou that shouldst 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 paid to priestes. It shall be long or thou thriue, losel, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother.<sup>3</sup> How darest thou speake this (losel) among the people? Are not tithes giuen to priestes for to liue by?

And I said: Sir, S. Paule saith, that tithes were giuen in the old law to Leuites and to priestes, 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 therefore Paule saith: Since the priesthoothe is changed from the generation of Leuy to the generation of Juda,<sup>4</sup> it is necessarie that changing also be made of the law. So that priestes 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<sup>5</sup> 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 priestes to take tithes in the old lawe, and so to enioie their priuiledges: but to vs priestes 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!

*Henry IV.*A. D.  
1409.

The difference of the freedoms between the old and new laws. For what cause tithes were given in the old law.

If you take away tithes, you undo the church

The viciousnes and pride of priests infecteth all the world.

A spiteful meekness, that is, in scarlet gowns.

The signs and marks of proud priests.

†

thus thou giuest to Leuits of the old law, more freedome than to priests of the new law.<sup>1</sup>

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.

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.

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 dutie ? Therefore these takings 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, whatsoever 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 stomach of the people, it is needfull in preaching, and also in commoning, to be most busie about this priesthood.<sup>2</sup> 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 charitable.

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 ?

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 pleading, manasing, or with flattering, or with simony, and worldly goods : and most, if a priest busie him not cheffy in himselfe, and after, in all other men and women after his cunning and power, to withstand sin.

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 evidence of great shame and hartly sorrow for sinne. For whosoever (and specially a priest) that vseth pride, enuy, couetousnesse, lechery, simony, or any other vices, sheweth not as open evidence 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 leaueh 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.

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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.

Clerkly  
spoken,  
and like a  
Parasite.

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.

Forget  
nothing,  
I pray  
you, my  
lord.

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 leful 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 holy dame; for he should, after his cunning and power, doe all things that his prelate commandeth him.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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 leful: and then, though the bidding of the prelate bee vnleful, the subiect hath no perill to fulfill it, since that he thinketh and iudgeth, that whatsoever thing his prelate biddeth him do, that it is leful to him for to do it.

And I said: Sir I trust not thereto. But to our 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 things, 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 vnleful, he would hastily withdraw his hand 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-oth, 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 vpon 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

A com-  
municat-  
ion be-  
twixt a  
lawyer  
and a di-  
vine.

(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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IV.

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1409.

To swear  
by a book  
is to  
swear by  
creatures.

Christ  
promis-  
eth and  
giveth  
mouth  
and utter-  
ance.

What it  
is, to  
swear  
well.

euery booke is nothing else, but diuers creatures which it is made of. Therefore, to swear vpon a booke, is to swear by creatures: and this swearing is euer vnleful. This sentence witnesseth Chrysostome plainely, blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke for to swear vpon; charging clerks that in no wise they constrain any bodie to swear, whether they thinke a man to swear true or false.

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.<sup>1</sup>

And I said: Sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Sauour, 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 swear well.

And then a clerke (Malueren as I gesse)<sup>2</sup> saide to the archbishop: Sir, I prairie you wete of him, how he vnderstandeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sinne to swear well.

And so the archbishop asked me, how I vnderstood here Chrysostome.

And certaine, I was somewhat afraid to answeere hereto; for I had busied me to studie about the sense thereof; but, lifting vp my mind to God, I praid 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, wisdom 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, y<sup>t</sup> they know not, nor will not knowe, that they do euil for to swear as they do; but they thinke and saie, that they do well for to swear as they doe, though they know well that they swear vntrulie. For the say, they may, by their swearing (though it be false), void blame or temporal harme, which they should haue, if they swear not thus. And Sir, many men and women maintaine stronglie that they swear well, when that thing is sooth that they swear for. Also, full many men and women say nowe, that it is well done to swear by creatures, when they may not (as they saie) otherwise be beleued. And also, full manie men and women nowe saie, that it is well done to swear 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 greuouslie, though they thinke themselves for to swear, in this foresaid wise, wel: for it is euill done and great sinne, for to swear truth, when in any maner, a man may excuse himselfe without othe.

And the archbishop saide, that Chrysostome might bee thus vnderstand.

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,<sup>3</sup> and laie thy hand vpon a booke, 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 swear 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 swear as I shall charge thee.<sup>4</sup>

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 swear vpon, it must needs 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 Malueren, or else Sir Brian Blowcole.

(3) Pope-holy church.

(4) It is happy that he called not for a candle, and made a Scauola 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.<sup>1</sup>

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;<sup>2</sup> since it is all one to sweare by the word of God, and by God himselfe?

And I saide : Sir, since I may not now otherwise be beleueed, but by swearing, I perceiue (as Austen saith) that it is not speedeful that ye that should be my brethren, should not beleue 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 gospell 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, then to touch the gospell?

And he said, it was more to read the gospell.

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 beleuee, and not the letter that we read; for because the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the gospell, but the sentence that is verilie beleueed in mans heart, is the gospell. For so Hierome saith : The gospell, 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 gospell (he saith) is in the writing aboute 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?<sup>3</sup>

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 now 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 likly 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 effectualie, 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.

And a clerke said to me : These be full mistie matters<sup>4</sup> and vnsauerie, that thou shewest here to us.

And I said : Sir, if ye, that are maisters, know not plainrelie 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 Malueron), 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 he would have had him by the back.

(2) But that word cannot be touched.

(3) This clerk was well seen in the mass booke.

(4) Misty matters, for your blind eyes.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1409.

Thorp  
refuseth  
not to  
sweare.

Whether  
the book  
be the  
gospel.

The gos-  
pel is not  
the letter,  
but hid in  
the letter.



Henry  
IV.

And I said: Sir, by good reason and sentence of doctors, the realm of heauen is called here, the vnderstanding of God's word.

A. D.  
1409.

And a clerke said to me: From whom thinkest thou that this vnderstanding is taken away?

The king-  
dom of  
God  
taken  
for the  
under-  
standing  
of God's  
word.  
Help  
down  
with him,  
Sir John.

And I saide: Sir, by authoritie of Christ himselfe, the effectuall vnderstanding of Christ's word is taken awaie from all them chieffie, 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;<sup>1</sup> 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.

And then an other clerke said to me: Why, on Fridaie that last was, counsailest 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 subtillye betraied of a man that came to me in prison on the Fridaie before, communing with me in this matter of confession.<sup>2</sup> 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 repete 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  
confes-  
sion.

A crafty  
train of  
a popish  
dissem-  
bler.

And he said to me: Brother, I wote well, and so wote many other moe, that you and such other are wrongfullie vexed, and therefore I common with you the more gladly. And I said to him: Certain I wote well that any men of this court, and speciallie the priests of this household, would be ful euill 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 moouue 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, wisdom 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

(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.

And I saide to him : Sir, it is all one to assoile men of their sinnes, and to forgiue men their sinnes. Wherefore, 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 therefore, 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 all 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 Feusam, 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 whosoouer 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.

And the archbishop said : Holie church approueth not this learning.<sup>1</sup>

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 belceue in God stable, and to trust in his mercie stedfastlie, and so, to come to perfect charity, 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

Henry IV.

A. D. 1409.

God only forgiueth sin. man only can counsel to leaue sin.

Shrift and confession to priests.

A good secular man may be counsellor, where a priest faileth.

Morden, preaching of confession.

Heartie repentance to God needeth no confession to a priest.

Christ giueth freedom, the pope giueth thraldom.

(1) No, nor any thing else, that is good.

*Henry**IV.*

A.D.

1409.

under 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 gracious 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 reprove 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 certainly 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 reposed that clerke vntruely, and slandered him wrongfullie and vncharitable. For, no doubt, if the liuing and teaching of Christ chieffie, 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 foully 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 answer 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.

And I said: Sir, I know no men that trauell so busily as this sect dooth, which you reproc, 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 contumare he is made, and the further fro you.

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.

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.

True  
freedom  
of holy  
church  
not des-  
troyed,  
but in-  
creased,  
by true  
preach-  
ers.

Take my  
lord's  
blessing,  
and stand  
up.

My lord  
hath  
haste, for  
being be-  
nighted.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, owe we to beleuee that Jesu Christ was and is, verie God and verie man?

*Henry IV.*

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, owe we to beleuee that all Christes liuing and his teaching is true in euerie point?

*A. D.  
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And he said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, owe we to beleuee, 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 specialle 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 specialle, or by the liuing and teaching of his apostles and prophetes?

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 prophetes.

And why  
compel  
you this  
man to  
the con-  
trary?  
Thorpe  
content to  
submit  
himself  
to the  
ordinaunce  
of coun-  
cils.

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 branches 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,<sup>1</sup> spake to me with a great spirit, saying: By Jesu, but if thou leaue not 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 the 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 worthis 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

The mul-  
titude is  
not to be  
followed  
in euil.

And one of the bishops clerkes said then there, that hee heard Nicoll Herford say, that since he forsooke 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 cupbord.

(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,<sup>1</sup> 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 will 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, priuillie be amended duly. Wherefore Sirs, I pray you that you busie not for to moue me to follow these men, in reuoking and forsaking the truth, and sothfastnes as they haue 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 those runnagates, shall be to me, and to many other men and women, an example and an euidence, to stand more stiffly by the truth 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 stopp'd with benefices, and withdrawn from the truth of Gods word, forsaking verely to suffer therfore bodily persecution. For by this unfaithfull doing and apostasie of them (speciale 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 thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Then the archbishop said to his clerks: Busie you no longer about hira, for he and other such as he is, are confedered together that they will not swere 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 swere, and that this fellow counselled him, that hee should not swere 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 bitterlic, and curseth thee full heartily, for the venomous teaching which thou hast shewed to him, counselling him to do thereafter.

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 sorrowfull as,

Other men's examples are so to be followed, as they be the followers of Christ.

Promotions and great livings, choke truth.

Men following the ways of Balaam.

Thorpe's fellow refuseth to swear to the prelates.

(1) As clean from thrift as from sin.

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 joyfull 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 friends, he deliuered me to them, asking of me no maner of submitting.

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 destroe thee and the false sect that thou art of; as, by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leaue a slip of you in this land.<sup>1</sup>

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.

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,<sup>2</sup> 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.

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.<sup>3</sup> 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 the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And when 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.

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, submit him.

And then I was rebuked, scorned, and manassed on euerie side: and yett after this, diuers persons cried vpon me to kneele downe and submit me, but I stode still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me and to me many great words, and I stode and heard them manasse, curse and scorne me: but I said nothing.

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 hast.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foule vn honest 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,

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A.D. 1409.

Arundell going out of England.

The gentleness of the bishop of London.

A notable answer of Thorpe to the bishop.

Obedience to God and to his law would not serue.

In patience and silence possess your souls. Thorpe cast in prison.

(1) So promised Winchester in queen Mary's time, but that passed his power to perform.

(2) Such pearls would better bescom, my lord, your golden shoes.

(3) ' At illi clamabans dicentes, Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum.'

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Comforted and strengthened of the Lord, after his conflict with the bishop.

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 crosse wise, so was the archbishop and his three clerkes alwaies contrairie to me, and I to them.

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, prae 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 sure 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 diuers 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.

He is the stone whereon we must build.

How we are made the temple of God.

Mark what we haue by Christ.

The property of a square stone.

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 fundament of the apostles and prophets. In which fundament, 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.

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 aduersities that they suffer in this valley of tears.

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.

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 and teaching of Jesus 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 unlawful temporal lordships; and, for temporal favour and meed, they sell and give benefices to unworthy and unable persons; 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.

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 holly, 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 hear 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 lounderers 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

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Christ an example of all perfect meekness.

Priests seek the pleasure of this world.

The lives of the popes, and Christ and his apostles.

Fleshly priests.

They hunt after this, with tooth and nail.

An exhortation to see priesthood amended.

Prelates and priests negligent in their duty.

(1) When priests forget God's truth, ye see whither they run headlong. The great infect the small.



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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, anchorites and strange beggars, are licensed and admitted by prelates and priests, to beguile the people with flattering 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 aforesaid 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 obdurate 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.

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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 end  
of Wil-  
liam  
Thorpe  
uncer-  
tain.

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.

### The Story of John Purvey.

Furthermore, in the said examination of William Thorpe, mention is made, as ye heard, of John Purvey, of whom also something we touched before ; promising of the said John Purvey more particularly to treat, in order and process of time. Of this Purvey, Thomas Walden writeth thus in his second tome : " John Purvey," saith he, " was the liberator of Lollards, and a glosser upon Wickliff. He said that the worshipping of Abraham was 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

John  
Purvey  
prisoned  
after his  
recanta-  
tion.

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whereof here, in the end of his story, we thought to exhibit, being translated out of Latin into English.

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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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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  
transub-  
stantia-  
tion.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 reprovethe the same chapter *verbatim*, and that by the sentences of the same

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rament of  
the popish  
altar.Pope In-  
nocent,  
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rament  
in sub-  
stance,  
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significa-  
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body of  
Christ.Transub-  
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Christ.The sac-  
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respects.Auricular  
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sion and  
penance.

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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 presbyterium,*' &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.

The order  
of priest-  
hood.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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  
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not a public  
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standing.

What if  
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were no  
pope  
known?  
yet the  
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could  
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Tonsure  
makes  
not  
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(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.

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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.

The  
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have not  
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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 factors, 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.

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The  
pope's  
curse  
hurteth  
not, but  
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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.

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

Gossopry  
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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. 'Litteras tuas,' which willetteth 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  
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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 temporalities 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 also he may find or sustain fifteen colleges more, and fifteen thousand monks and clerks with sufficient living, and a hundred hospitals for the sick, and a house to have one hundred marks in lands. And all this may they take out of the aforesaid temporalities, 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 quaest. 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 abbeyes, 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 nourisheth and nourisheth them in heresies, and ought to reduce them unto the simple and poor life of Christ Jesus and his apostles.

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And further, that all christian princes, if they will amend the malediction and blasphemy of the name of God, ought to take away their temporalities 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.

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. 'Quando,' et 'Qualiter,' 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.

Furthermore, that all christian kings and lords ought to exclaim against the pope and those that be his fators, 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 iudicium 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 prisoners 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 'deivus 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. 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

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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 and 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 prophet, 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.

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.

A Sermon no lesse godly than learned, preached at Paules Crosse on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, anno 1389, by R. Wimbeldon.<sup>1</sup>

'Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.'—Lucæ xvi. 2.

My dere frends, ye shullen vnderstand, that Christ, autor and doctour of truth, 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,

also, about y<sup>e</sup> third, sixt, nienth, and eleuent houres, he went out, and found men standing idel, and said to them, \* Why<sup>1</sup> 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 stward and high to geue eche man a peny.<sup>2</sup>

The spirituall vnderstanding 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,<sup>3</sup> he cleped, by enspiring Abel, Ennok, Noe, and Abraham; in time of the old law, Moses, Daud, 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 waxing, 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 away the void branches, some maken forkis and railes to beren vp the vine, and some diggen away the old earth from 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<sup>4</sup> destroy the vine; for but if<sup>5</sup> the vine be kutte, she shall waxe wilde, but if she be rayled, she shall be ourgo with netles<sup>6</sup> and wedis; and but if the rote be fatted with dong, she for feblenes shuld waxe 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 knythode it falleth to letten wrongs and theftes<sup>7</sup> 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 traual 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 hardnesse, theeues and enemies shulden so encreas, that no man shuld liue in peace: and if the laborers were nought, both knightes and priestes must become acre men and herdys; and els, they shuld, for default of bodily sustenance, deye. And, therefore, saith clerke Auicenne, that euery vnreasonable best, if he haue that, that kind<sup>8</sup> 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<sup>9</sup> man in the world, though he had all that good that is therein, yet, for default, 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, changed 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 changed or<sup>9</sup> it be able to cloth any man; and certis, o man, by himselfe, shuld neuer doo all these

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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 Quinquagesima Sunday, by Tho. Wimbleton." In the Catalogue of Caius College, Cambridge, is "R. Wimbleton Concio: extat quoque: Anglice 1593, 8vo." In the Bodleian Library, is the same document, "by R. Wimbleton, an. 1388." This sermon was first printed by John Kyng, 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 year of our Lord God m.ccc.lxxxviii. In these our later dayes moste necessary to be known. Neyther addinge to, nor diminishing from. Sauer 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. Wimbleton's Sermon.—Ed.

(1) The sentences in asterisks are from the Edition of 1563.—Ed.

(2) "Law of kind," nature.—Ed.

(5) Ed. 1570, "Thistles.—Ed.

(7) "Kind," nature.—Ed.

(3) "Other," or.—Ed.

(4) "But if," unless.—Ed.

(6) "Theftes," hestes. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(8) "O," one.—Ed.

(9) "Or," ere before.—Ed.

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labours. And therefore, saith this clerke, it is neede that some be acre men, some bakers, some makers of cloth;<sup>1</sup> and some marchaunts, to fetch that, that one londe fetteth from an other, as there it is plentie.

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 vn honest, 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, maintaining 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 bis degree. Thou that art a laborer or a crafty man, do this truely. 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,<sup>2</sup> praye, and reprove, in all maner patience and doctrine. Vndernime thilke that ben negligent, pray<sup>3</sup> for thilke that bene obedient, reprove 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.  
2 Cor. 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.<sup>4</sup> 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 ioie of this world, then the minde of the dreadful reconing. As much as suffice, I shall shew you how ye shall dispose you to auoide the vengeance of God, when there shall be time of so straight doome, that we shall geue reconing of euery idle word that we haue isproken. For than it shall be said to vs, and we shall not flee it: 'Yelde reconing of thy bayly.'

Nota.

But, for further process of this first party of this sermon, yee shall wete that there shall be three baylives 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 account onely for himselfe, and that is, euerye christen man, of that he hath receiued of God. And euerye of these shull aunswer to three questions: to the first question, How hast thou entred? the second, How hast thou 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 ioie, 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. Therefore the desire of so great ioie, 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  
ques-  
tions.

Therefore, as I say to thee, the first question that shall be proposed to the first

(1) "Makers of cloth," "men of occupations." Ed. 1563.—Ep.

(2) "Vndernime," &c., "instruct, praise, and reprove." Ed. 1563.—Ep.

(3) "Pray for," "praise." Ed. 1563.—Ep. (4) "Bayly," villicatio; bailiwick, or stewardship.—Ep.

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<sup>1</sup> that thou tary for to learne; for, vp hap ere night thou shalt be cleped. And if thou stande dombe for vnknowing, 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<sup>2</sup> of teeth.' Therefore I rede thee, thou aduise thee how thou shalt answer to the question: How hast thou entred? whether by cleping,<sup>3</sup> or by thine owne procuring: for that thou wouldest trauaile in Gods gospell, other for thou wouldest be richly arayed? Answer now to thy owne conscience, as thou shalt answer to God, that 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.

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 shoulde 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 booke of man's worldly wisdom? 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<sup>4</sup> what they shall suffer in the tother. Some ordeinen fees for their children, but none ordeine them to godward. The lust<sup>5</sup> 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.'<sup>6</sup>

And, if we take heede truly what abominations be scattered and spread abroad 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 errors 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 desirabile 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 themselves 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,<sup>7</sup> 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 second question, that euery curate and prelate of holy chirch shall

(1) "Rede," counsel.—Ed.

(2) "Grenning," grinding, or, as in Ed. 1563, "greeting," grating.—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.

Henry,  
IV.

A. D.  
1409.

Against  
simony.

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The rash  
making  
of minist-  
ters.

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1409.

answer to, is this: How hast thou ruled? that is to say, the soules of thy suggestts, and the goods of poore men: geue now thine account. First, how thou hast governed 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<sup>1</sup> 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 reckon with Christ. Trowest thou not then, that thou ne shalt be disallowed of God, of that thou hast mispended<sup>2</sup> 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.

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 reckoning, how thou hast liued, as a priest or as a leude<sup>3</sup> man, as a man or as a beast: 'That is to wonder truly, how the life of priestes is changed! They be clothed as knights; they speaken as vnonestly as carels, other of winning as marchants; 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,<sup>4</sup> and medled with bloud. The slates were hard to be vndoe, for they were baked with fire of couetise, and with the light<sup>5</sup> of lust. In this trauaileth rich men, in this they wake, awaiting poore men. In these trauaileth prelates, that ben too much blent<sup>6</sup> 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?' 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,<sup>8</sup> 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 priestes, 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. Therefore 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.

Sap. 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 noue geuen them by thee." Ed. 1563, p. 177.—Ed.

(2) "Mispended;" and in bringing vp of yonge idle fellows nourished or taught, as it were, in a sehole, to blasphemc God in al manner of poyntes of euil; liuyng in feeding, &c. Ed. 1563 p. 177.—Ed.

(3) "Leude man;" a layman, unlearned.—Ed. (4) "Stinking;" styckeng Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(5) "Light," &c.; lyster or carths of luster. lb.—Ed. (6) "Blent;" blinded.—Ed.

(7) Esa. xxii. Quis tu hic aut quasi quid hic. (8) "Queint;" quenchcd.—Ed.

The second bayliff that accounteth at this dome for himselfe, and also for other, is hee that keeping hath of any communitie, as kings, princes, maiers, and shireues, and iustices: and these shall 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 falsched 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 communitie, 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 worshipp, that is but winde \* and '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 \*advanced 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.<sup>2</sup> My father grieved you somewhat, but I wil eehen 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,<sup>3</sup> 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.

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 delais, that though the poor man's right be open to all the cuntry, 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. Therefore 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.'

The third question is, How hast thou liued, that thou deemest and punishest other men for their trespas? A great doctor saith: 'Thee behought 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 dedes.' But it is to dread, that many fareth as twe false priestes, that woulde 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

Henry IV.

A. D. 1409.

Kings, princes, and magistrates admonished. How hast thou entored?

Osc. viii

II. Chron.

x.

How hast thou ruled. Deut. ix.

Prov. xiii. Matt. vii.

How hast thou liued.

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.

- 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<sup>1</sup> a man his house and his lande from him and from his heires for evermore, other he that, for making of great need, stealeth a sheepe or a calfe?<sup>2</sup> 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.
- The third bayly. The third 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.'<sup>3</sup>
- 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<sup>4</sup> 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 gobette 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;<sup>5</sup> 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 leeseeth 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 traauayls 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<sup>6</sup> harte by penance. For, as Iob saith, 'When he is fulfilled, he shal be stopped.'
- Iob 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, wisdom, and counsell, with such other many; for which gifts many men waxe proud. The second wing is bodily grace, as strength, fairehood, gentric, and many other such, whereof men waxe proud. The winges of the second woman, that is, fleshlie desire, both gluttonie and sloth. Of gluttony speaketh Sainct Gregory: 'When the wombe is fulfilled, the prickes of lecherie beth meued.' And of slouth Sainct 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) Morali. Greg. viii.

(4) "Eize," resemblance.—Ed. (5) "Gledes," hawks.—Ed.

(6) "The chinchc," the keeper. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

hil, slowe,<sup>1</sup> for sykkernes,<sup>2</sup> he, in his drunkennes, lay by his daughtren.<sup>3</sup> And these women had winges like kytes, that, with a crying voice, seecheth their mente, as Bartholomeus saith.<sup>4</sup> And thus fareth couetise of men, witnessing Saint Austine, what is the greedines of fleshlic 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 manhood<sup>5</sup> 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 couetise, 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 overcome and led away with couetousnesse, which enforced him what he might.<sup>6</sup> 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.

And couetise maketh, also, that rich men eat the poore, as beastes done their losous<sup>7</sup> 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 middist, 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,<sup>8</sup> slow the poor man Naboth, for that he woulde not sell him his vineyarde that was nye to the kinges palace. Vpon which proces, thus saith Saint Ambrose:<sup>9</sup> '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, challenge 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 profite 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 listen 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.

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

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covetous-  
ness.

Ps. lii.

Numb.  
xxii.  
Josh. vii.  
2 Kings  
v.

Acts v.

o o

Job xxiv.

(1) "Slowe," idle.—Ed.

(2) "Sykkernes," security.—Ed.

(3) August. 'de conflictu virtutis et viciorum.' (4) Bartholomaeus 'de proprietatibus rerum.

(5) "Manhood," madness. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(6) Edition 1563.—Ed.

(7) "Lesous," &amp;c, even as beastes eate grasse, keeping it under. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(8) "Ginne," snare.—Ed.

(9) Ambrosius 'de suo libello de Naboth.'



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oe both one. This is thilke foule lecherous woman the kinges and marchauntis of the earth haue done lecherie with, and of her vertue they haueth be made rich; whose damnation is written in the booke of Priuities<sup>1</sup> in these words: 'In o day shall come all this vengeance of her death; weping, and hunger; and fire shal brenne her; for strong is God that shall venge him on her. And than shulleteh wepe and howle vppe on her the kinges of the earth, that haueth done lechery with her, and haueth liued in delices, when they shulde see the smoke of her brenning, standing aferre, weping and weyling, and saying: 'Alas! alas! thilke great city that was clothed with bis,<sup>2</sup> and purple, and brasile,<sup>3</sup> 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 trowth and rightwisnes, light haue not shined to vs, and the sonne of vnderstanding 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.

Here endeth the first part of this sermon, and beginneth the second part.

### The Second Part of this Sermon.

\* Here<sup>4</sup> should be asked, 'How haste thou governed 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 villi-cationis tuæ.' But and if thou wilt anoyd al the straight and hardle accomptes, I counsell thee, whatsoeuer thou be, to fal and cleaue vnto the mercy and goodnesse of God through Christs merits, 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 weteon 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 every man shal be cleped after other, as the worlde passeth. To the secunde shall come o togedre, in the stroke of an eye, al mankind. To the first, men shall be cleped with three sumners other sergeauntes: the first is sicknesse, the second<sup>5</sup> is age, 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 sune we seeth dyeth, that neuer vist what was sicknesse ne age, as children that ber suddenlie slaine; and sune, ye the most part that deyeth now a daies, deyeth byfore her kind agee of death. Therefore I say, that the first that clepeth to this speciall reckening is sicknesse that foloweth all mankind, so that every man hath it; and sum is sicknesse that sune men haueth, but nought all. Yet the first sicknesse is double, for sune is withinne, in the mightes of the soule, and sune is without, in feblenesse of the body that needis mo be stroyed, when time by hem selfe is cause of corruption, as philosophie saith, that, thereby, feblenesse and sicknes. And so may we see hereby, though that a man shut out of the house of his hart all manner of worldie and fleshlie thoughts, yet

Three  
summers  
Sickness,  
age,  
death.

{1} "Priuities," 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 Acts and Monuments, p. 179.—Ed.

{5} "Age;" 'Eldre,' is used for age in edition 1670.—Ed.

vnneth 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, sith 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 waxe an edge.'

Henry  
1V.A. D.  
1409.

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 misenses.' 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 vnderstand, 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 vnderstand 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 saith 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 this 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,<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> of other vnreasonable bestes, when, for werinesse, he had leyde him to rest, through Goddis sufferance the swallows that bredden aboue on his hous, maden ordure into his eye, and he waxet 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 agreede ayenst God that the mischiefe of blindnesse fell to him, but vnmooueable 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.—Er.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1409.Anti-  
ochus.

the sicknesse of king Antioche,<sup>1</sup> 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 stinche, 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 cite 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,<sup>2</sup> and also \*ary and multiply the holy vesselles, and finde of his owne rent and spenses pertyning to the sacrifice; and he would become a Iewe, and goe ouer all the londe to preach Goddes might: and yet God gaf him not such merce as he desired. And I trow certain 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,<sup>3</sup> 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.

The  
second  
somner.  
Proper-  
ties of  
death.

The second somner 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 thogh they haue this somner 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 vexit heuy to her. What meaneth all this, but that age sunneth 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 forfetheth both body and soule to damnation for ouer. If, seing a litle worldly mirth on the way, he thinketh so mekill thereupon, that he forgetteth who draweth him,<sup>4</sup> 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 plights, 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, whosoener that thou be that art thus summed, that thou might not scape, that thou ne shalt yeld the reckening of thy bayly.

The third  
somner,  
'Distinctio  
moris.Augus-  
tinus.

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,<sup>5</sup> 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 world, 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 reoning of thy bayly.

The day  
of judg-  
ment.

I said also, that there shal be another doome, to the which all men shal come together \* in 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 ryche, aged nor yonge." Ed. 1563.—Ed. (6) Ed. 1563.—Ed.

to the other dome, euery man shall bee cleped with these three sunnours; 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 \* feeblesse; and the thirde is the end. The sicknesse of the world thou shalt know by charity a cooling: his elde and feblesse 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

Henry IV.

A. D. 1409.

To know the world's sickness.

That this be acknowlich of this sicknesse, I may prouue 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 summer is come. And thus seyth Seyn<sup>t</sup> Poule; 'Wit ye wel, that in the last daies shall come perilous times. And there shal be men louing them selfe, that is to say, their bodies, \* and<sup>2</sup> all things belonging thereto,\* couetous by pride, vnobedient to father and mother, vnkynde fellows, 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 sunnour warneth al the world, that the day of reconing draweth toward.

Mat. xvi.

Tim. iii.

The second sunnour that warneth all the world, is elde or age of the world and his feblesse, 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 autoritie 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<sup>3</sup> 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 seruauents and hynen of God, eate and drinke, and make him dronke;' I shall shewe that this day is at the honde, howe ny, neuerthesse, 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 doubtst that the day is go; first on the valeys is darknes, whan the day draweth downward. Whan, therefore, thou seest the valcies yderked, why doubtst thou whether it be nigh euen,<sup>4</sup> 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 derkneses 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 spiritual dignities, that sludden 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. 1562.—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-seuer, 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. in the booke of her Prophetie, \* if<sup>1</sup> it be leful to give them credyt, \* the thirde partie, the xi. vision, the seventh 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 reformed. And as in the seventh 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 giv 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 things when they shoulde 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 destroyed.'

Augustine.

Mat. xxiv.

Note.

..

Apoc. 6.

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 abhominacion of elengencesse,<sup>2</sup> sayd of Danyel the prophet, standing on the sanctuarie, then who so readeth, vnderstood.' Vpon 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 abhominacion, 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 abhominacion, that doctour sayne, shall be in the great Antichristes daies, 1290. Nowe prouoeth 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 Reuelacions; 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.

The opening of the first seale, telleth tae 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) " Elengencesse," from Elenges, strange, forcigne; alluding to the Roman Eagle. In the Edition 1563, the phrase " Abhominacion of holiness" is used.—Ed.

(3) Antichrist to come an. 1400. This sermon ergo was made an. 1389.

(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 belecue 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.  
1409.

In the opening of the second seale, there cried the second beast, that is, a calfe: that was a beast wanted 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 blood, 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.  
Siluester.

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 vnderstanding 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 eretikis 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<sup>1</sup> to blinde the people. And he that sate vpon this horse, his name was Death; for they shulle slee gostly them that they leden<sup>2</sup> and teacheth to trust vpon other thing than God: and helle followeth him; for helle receiue 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 gospel, and to preise that lawe aboue other; least mens witte, and their traditions, ouergone and treden downe the lawe of God, by enforcing of these ypocritis: and this is the last state that is, other shal be in the church, before the comming \*and<sup>3</sup> clear appearing\* of the great \*member of\* Antichrist.

The  
fourth  
seal.  
Exposi-  
tio.

The opening of the fifth 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 sixth 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 standing vpon four corners of the earth, holding the four windes of the earth, that they blown 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 gosselles to bee preached, and so let<sup>4</sup> the breath of the grace of the Holy Ghost to fall vpon men morning for sinne, and calling them to amendment; and to other that wolden increase 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 seruautis 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 protued. I seyed 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," &amp;c.; "leden 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.

Henry

IV.

A.D.

1409.

Apocal.

of our hert, opening to al the world the rightfulness 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, standing 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 things that weren written in the bokes, after their worchings.'

These bokes both 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 Christis liuing and doctrine, that is now 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 seruantes 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, ' shall 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, reproving false christen men for the leuyng of them, rehearsing the deedes of the same, and other truthis, by the which his true seruantes than folowed hym. Than shulle thilke false seruantes goe with the deuill, whom they haue serued in the earth, them swallowing into the endlesse fire : and rightfull 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 wrought 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<sup>1</sup> of God ; that is, minde of his passion, holy contemplation of his goodnesse, and mémorie of his benefites,\* and<sup>2</sup> 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 vnclene thoughtes and delightes ; as thou here hast sperd God out of thine hert, so he shal spere thee out of heauen. Thou hast herberwid<sup>3</sup> 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 vnonestly, cursing, fraud, deceit, leasinges, forswearing, scorning, and backbiting, to praise God in the fellowship of saints : for louing<sup>4</sup> 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 Almightye ! ' 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.

(3) "Herberwid," harboured.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563.—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 shoulde 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 deede's: 'nyssawe 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 vnclene man, that is a glutton other chynch,' 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, *Note.* that is ywritten in the booke of Mourning.<sup>2</sup>

Henry

IV.

A. D.

1409.

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 bliase 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.

This I thought good to annex further in our story, after the examination of William Thorpe, and the martyrdom of William Sawtre, and of John Badby thus described, as ye have heard; which was about the year 1409. 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 the whole, for the space of twenty-nine years; the origin whereof, as was said before, first began at Urban V., which Urban being dead, A. D. 1389, next followed pope Boniface IX., who sat fourteen years. 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-

The cardinals' device to cease the schism.

(1) "Chynch," a covetous person.—ED.

(2) Lament. v. 16.—ED.



*Henry IV.*A. D. 1409.Oath and  
vow of  
pope Gre-  
gory XII.The pope  
falsely  
perjured.  
Cardinals  
leave the  
perjured  
pope.

tionously 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 1407, 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.'

This so passing on, great murmuring was among the cardinals, to see their holy perjured father so to neglect his oath and vow aforementioned; 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, cardinal Bituriensis 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 1409. The contents of the letter be these.

### The Letter of King Henry IV. to Pope Gregory XII.

Two hundred  
thousand  
slain by  
schism of  
Rome.  
Thirty  
thousand,  
slain in  
camp,  
fighting  
for the  
bishopric  
of Liege.

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 Leodium<sup>2</sup> 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

(1) Ex Chron. D. Albani.

(2) "Leodium," Liege.—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.<sup>1</sup>

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.'<sup>2</sup>

This being done in the year of our Lord 1409, afterwards in the year following,<sup>3</sup> the cardinals of both the popes, to wit, of Gregory and Benedict, by common advice assembled together at the city of Pisa, for the reformation of unity and peace in the church. To that assembly a great multitude of prelates and bishops being convened, 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-Thursaday, 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 others, was not able to give one year of life to himself, for within the same year he died: in whose stead stept up pope John XXIII.

A. D. 1410

Council  
of PisaThree  
popes to-  
gether.Vain  
remission  
by the  
pope's in-  
dulgence.

In the time 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,<sup>4</sup> 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 gos-  
pel begin-  
ning to  
take root  
in Bohe-  
mia.

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.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Cholceo, de Historia Hussitarum, lib. i.

*Henry  
IV.*

A. D.  
1410.

Letter of  
pope  
Alexander V. to  
the arch-  
bishop  
Swinco of  
Bohemia.

said pope Alexander addressed his letters to the archbishop of Swinco, 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.

The  
pope's  
cruel bull  
against  
John  
Huss.

John  
Huss  
objecteth  
against it.

The  
pope's  
bull con-  
trary to  
Christ.

Notable  
judgment  
of God in  
striking  
the adver-  
saries of  
the gos-  
pel.

Against this bull, on the other side, John Huss, justly complain- ing, 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."

The gos-  
pel sel-  
dom long  
quiet.

Pope  
John  
XXIII.

Then the archbishop of Swinco 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 Wincellaus 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 Wincellaus. 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-

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.

*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 Wincellaus, 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<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 say certain Prayers at the tolling of the 'Aves,' or ringing of Curfew.

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 inspiral 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 labours in the vine of the Lord of Sabbath, we sung 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

Ringin of curfew.

(1) "Mute," mutter.—Ed.

(2) "Gaud," a bauble.—Ed.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1410.

These  
men  
make a  
Bellona  
of our  
Lady.

False  
help  
sought  
and set  
up of  
idolaters.

Papists'  
blasphem-  
y, fight-  
ing  
against  
the grace  
of Christ.  
Ringing  
of curfew.

Forty  
days' par-  
don for  
five Aves.

Heaping  
up cere-  
monies  
in the  
church.

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,<sup>1</sup> as the servants of her own 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<sup>2</sup> 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.

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<sup>3</sup> of her grace, in all those things that we shall have to do; at the request of the special devotion 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<sup>4</sup> 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.

Given under our seal, in our manor of Lambeth, the tenth day of February, anno nostræ translæt. 9, A.D. 1405.<sup>5</sup>

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."—Ep.

(3) The papists would suck our Lady's paps.

(4) Will ye stand to this doctrine, ye catholics?

(5) Ex Regist. Thom. Arundel.

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.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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,<sup>2</sup> 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.

*Henry  
17.*

A. D.  
1410.

Pomp of  
the pope's  
church  
noted.

Churches  
of London  
suspend-  
ed, for not  
ringing at  
the coming  
of the  
arch-  
bishop.

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.

Organs suspended in the church, because the bells did not ring.

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.

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, appercth to be seen as followeth:<sup>1</sup>

#### 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.

Ring-  
ing-  
in the  
arch-  
bish-  
op,  
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;<sup>2</sup> 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.







In iunctio penitentia penitentibus  
Qui in non peccando sustinet  
quantitatem sem et staminis.



INJUNCTION OF PENANCE.

Page 315.



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, 1425, at St. Alban's, the twelfth year of our government.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

William  
Courtney  
arch-  
bishop  
of Can-  
terbury.

### 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 disdainng 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 Statewood, yielded and submitted themselves to his lordship's

Penance  
enjoined  
for bring-  
ing 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, in non portando sufficientem quantitatem fœni et straminis."—Ed.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1410.Excom-  
munica-  
tion and  
absolu-  
tion  
abused.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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 treat also something of his parliaments as we have done of others before: first, we will begin with the parliament holden in the first year of his coming in.

1399  
to  
1413.

Moreover, forasmuch 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  
jurisdic-  
tion ex-  
cluded  
out of  
this  
realm.

Forasmuch as the crown of this realm of England, and the jurisdiction belonging to the same, as also the whole realm itself, at all times lately past, hath been at such liberty, and enjoyed such prerogative, neither the pope, nor any other out of the same kingdom, ought to intrude himself or intermeddle therein: it was, therefore, objected unto the afore-named king, Richard II., for procuring the letters apostolical from the pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certain statutes of his, and that his censures might be prosecuted against the breakers thereof, which seemed then to the parliament to tend against the crown and regal dignity, as also against the statutes and liberties of this the said our realm of England.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, in the second year of the said king, this was in the parliament required, that all such persons as shall be arrested by force of the statute made against the Lollards, in the second year of Henry IV., may 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 their advice therein.<sup>3</sup>

In the eighth year, moreover, of this king's reign, it was likewise propounded in the parliament, that all such persons as shall procure, or sue in the court of

(1) Erroris mater ignorantia, quosdam Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, et Johannem White, tenentes domini de Wengham taliter obed-avit, quod ante adventum dicti domini archiepiscopi ad palatium suum Cantuarie in vigilia dominica in ramis palmarum, Anno Dom. 1399, de ceriendo et duceudo ad dictum palatium, fœnum, stramen, sive literam, (' mark ye grammarians, literæ for litter,') prout ex tenura terrarum, et tenura suorum, quas et que tenent de domino et ecclesia sua Cantuarie astringuntur, per ballivum domini ibidem jussi et legitime præmoniti debita servitia more solito impendere dedignant, stramen hujusmodi non in carrucis et vehiculis publice in sufficienti quantitate, sed modice in saccis sub latibulo, pontificis ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt; in vilipendio domini, ac subtractionem, jurium ecclesie suæ Cantuar. Unde super hoc evocati coram domino, die Jovis in hebdomada Paschæ in castro suo de Statewode pro tribunali sedente personaliter comparentes, ipsius iudicio in hac parte se humiliter submiserunt, veniam et misericordiam pro commissis devote petendo. Et deinde dominus præfatus, Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, et Johannem White, de stando mandatis ecclesie, et fideliter peragendo pœnam eis pro eorum demeritis injungendam, juratos absolvit in forma juris, nunciata eis et eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpe, pena salutari; videlicet, quod die dominica tunc proxime sequente, prædicti penitentes 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 prominere, lentis incessibus procederent humiliter et devote. — Ex regist. W. Courtney.

(2) Act. Parl. An. 1. reg. Hen. IV. act. 27.

(3) Anno reg. Hen. IV. act. 20

Rome any process touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, shall incur the pain of the statute of provisors, made in the thirteenth year of Richard II.: whereunto the king granted that the statutes heretofore provided should be observed.<sup>1</sup>

Henry IV.

A. D.

1399

to

1413.

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 thereon. Thereunto the king answered, that the ordinaries should do their duties therein, or else he would provide further remedy to stay their pluralities.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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 commons do beseech, that forasmuch as divers provisors of the benefices of holy church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their singular covetousness, now newly imagined 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 by the title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of provisions, relations,<sup>4</sup> and other grants made to the said provisors by the apostoil, of the said benefices, do pursue processes in the said court by citation made beyond the sea, without any citations made within the realm, in deed, against the same incumbents, whereby many of the said incumbents, through such privy and crafty processes and sentences of privation and inabilitation, 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 an especial remedy be had by parliament: pleaseth it the king 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 none presented be received by any ordinary unto any benefice of any such incumbent for any cause of privation or inabilitation, 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 inabilitations are granted, were made within the realm; and that if such ordinaries, or such presented, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they, and their procurators, fautors, and counsellors, do incur the pains contained in the statute made against provisors in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late Richard II., 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, predecessor to our lord the king that now is, any royal licenses or grants in any manner 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.

The wickedness of pope's provisors inciting and depriving beneficed men in England, their citation being not known in the realm.

That the king's council have power by authority of parliament, in case that any man find himself grieved in particular, that he may pursue; and that the said council, by the advice of the justices, do right unto the parties. This to endure until the next parliament, reserving always unto the king, his prerogative and liberty.

Item, 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.<sup>5</sup>

(1) An. 8. reg. Hen. IV. act. 116.

(2) Ibid. act. 114.

(3) Ibid. act. 37.

(4) "Relation," an obtaining again of something previously forfeited, or resigned.—Ed.

(5) Ex Rotulo Parliamenti, an. 9 Hen. IV. act. 43.

*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:

Relief of the poor.

That the temporalities 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 almshouse, to the relief of poor people, more than in those days within England. And over all these aforesaid charges, the king might put yearly in his coffers twenty thousand pounds.

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 almshouse 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 almshouses 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 temporalities, being in possession of spiritual men, amounted to three hundred and twenty-two thousand marks a-year, whereof they affirmed to be in the see of Canterbury, with the abbeyes of Christ's-church, of St. Augustine's, Shrewsbury, Coggeshal, and St. Osus, twenty thousand marks a-year; in the see of York, and abbeyes there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Winchester and abbeyes there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of London, with abbeyes and other houses there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Lincoln, with the abbeyes of Peterborough, Ramsey, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Norwich, with the abbeyes of Bury, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see 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 abbeyes 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 abbeyes of Ravens or Revens, of Fountains, of Gernons, and divers others, to the number of five more, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Leicester, Walthun, Gosborne, Merton, Ticeter, Osney, and others, unto the number of six more, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Dover, Battle, Lewes, Coventry, Daventry, and Tourney, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Northampton, Thornton, Bristol, Killingworth, Winchcomb, Hailes, Parchisor, 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 allege, 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 temporalities 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.

A. D. 1413

These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching such acts and matters as have been incident in the lifetime of this king, followeth next the thirteenth year of his reign. In that year the said king Henry IV. (after he had sent a little before a certain company of captains

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 prophesy, 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.<sup>1</sup> The like prophesy 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

*Henry IV.*  
A. D.  
1413.

The King had a prophesy, that he should die in Jerusalem. The prophesy of pope Silvester II.

### HENRY THE FIFTH.<sup>3</sup>

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 scarcely any vacant leisure shall be left to intermeddle with matters profane.

A. D.  
1413.

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 church: in holy kitchen, I would say.

Great tempest at the coronation.

A synod called at London.

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 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 holy mother, catholic church, be divided into

The feasts of the pope's church described and divided.

(1) Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cujus initium est: "That all men called.

(2) See vol. ii. p. 25.—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.



*Henry V.*

A. D.  
1413.

Constitution  
against  
custom.

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 itsel 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 belongeth 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 inventory, or a double, or else a single inventory; 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 only is to be honoured.

### The Trouble and Persecution of the most valiant and worthy Martyr of Christ, Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, Lord Cobham.

\*After<sup>2</sup> 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 1387, as is aforesaid, and was buried in his own parish church at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire.<sup>3</sup> 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.\*

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.Thomas  
Arundel  
'in mag-  
no pro-  
cessu'

The chief and principal cause of this assembling, 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: 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' prelates, with their pharisees and scribes, were thus gathered in the 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 forty-six conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the said books.<sup>2</sup> The name 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 Earthisdale, John Lucke, Richard Snedisham, Richard Flemming, Thomas Rotborne, Robert Ronbery, Richard Grafdale.

\*In<sup>3</sup> 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), unless certain great men were brought out of the way, who seemed to be the chief maintainers of the said disciples of Wickliff. Among them this noble knight, sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, was

(1) Edition 1563, p. 261.—Ed.

(2) Walden, in fasciculo zizaniorum Wicklevi.

(3) See Edition 1563, p. 261.—Ed.

*Henry V.*A. D.  
1413.

Lord Cobham accused, for maintaining the godhead of Christ. Accused for his christian belief. Process against him.

A spiritual practice.

The king speaketh for him.

His gentle promise.

The king's admonishment to lord Cobham.

His answer to the king.

Lord Cobham forsaken by the king.

complained of by the general proctors to be the chief principal. Him they accused, first, as a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of the 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.

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.

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.

Anon after, the king sent for the said lord Cobham, and as soon as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himself to his mother the holy church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himself culpable. Unto whom the christian knight made this answer: "You, most worthy prince," saith he, "I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you a christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evil doers, and for safeguard of them that be virtuous. Unto you, next my eternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto, as I have done ever, all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But, as touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him, by the Scriptures, to be the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." When the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talk no longer with him, but left him so utterly.

And as the archbishop resorted again unto him for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish

him, according to their devilish decree, 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.

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.

Summoned by the archbishop.

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.

Citation 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.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Confess-  
eth his  
faith in  
God be-  
fore men.

The apo-  
stles'  
faith.

This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight, sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, beholding the unpeacable 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 arch-bishop 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.

### The Christian Belief of the Lord Cobham.

The  
common  
Creed of  
Chris-  
tians.

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.

Declara-  
tion 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.<sup>1</sup>

Christ,  
the only  
head  
of his  
church.  
The  
church  
divided  
into three  
parts.

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. 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

The  
church  
militant  
divided  
into three  
estates.  
What  
priests  
should  
do.

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. 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  
knight-  
hood  
should  
do.

In the 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) 1 John v. Gal. iv. John i. Luke ii.

(2) Contrary wrote he, 'ad Parliamentum.' Ex Waldens.

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 the law or office, to compel them to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to God's precept ordinance.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.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 tithe 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  
concern  
ing the  
sacra-  
ments.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 promises 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; 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 pre-  
ferred  
before  
man's.A christ-  
ian de-  
sire 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

His christ-  
ian sto-  
mach and  
manhood.No rea-  
sonable  
offer  
would  
serve.

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.

Cobham  
appealeth  
to the  
pope.

Cobham  
would not  
obey the  
beast.

The con-  
fession  
and an-  
swer  
newly  
copied.

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 mild 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.

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.

Caiaphas  
sitteth in  
consi-  
tory.

Anti-  
christ  
here,  
in full  
power.

A sign of  
God's  
true ser-  
vant.

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.

#### Lord Cobham's further Confession of his Belief.

Sacra-  
ment 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 do 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.<sup>1</sup>

Images.

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.

Pilgrim-  
age.

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.<sup>2</sup> And 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 an-  
swers ex-  
amined.Quarrels  
picked  
where  
none was  
given.

After certain other communication, this was the answer of the good lord Cobham: That none otherwise would he declare his mind, nor yet answer unto his articles, than was expressly in his writing there contained. Then said the Archbishop again unto him: "Sir John, beware what ye do; for if ye answer not clearly to those things that are here objected against you, especially at the only time appointed you for that purpose, the law of the holy church<sup>3</sup> 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.



*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1413.

His answer not to their minds. Anti-christ set-teth men above God.

The lord Cobham resorteth to Christ.

A doctrine of devils to blind the simple.

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.

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."

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

### The Determination of the Archbishop and Clergy.<sup>2</sup>

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 shaven 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.

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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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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Putteth  
his life in  
God's  
hand.

The  
Council of  
Caiaphas.

The Pha-  
risers and  
Scribes.

A rabble  
of Anti-  
christians.

Concili-  
um ma-  
lignan-  
tium.

For a  
false  
colour  
swear  
they.  
All done  
to deceive  
the igno-  
rant.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.The curse  
of Anti-  
christ.A wolfish  
offer of  
gentle-  
ness.Lord Cob-  
ham con-  
fesseth  
himself  
unto God.Man's  
law be-  
fore God's  
law pre-  
ferred.The true  
christian  
belief of  
lord Cob-  
ham.Sacra-  
ment of  
the altar.  
John  
White-  
head gone  
from his  
opinions :  
all this  
would not  
help.  
A bias-  
phemous  
brood.  
Quarrel-  
pickers.

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 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 assailed 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.'

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.]

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.'

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.'

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.'

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.'

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.'

And divers of them asked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the consecration, or not?

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.'

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's 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.'

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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.

The pope's divinity.

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.'

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!'

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.'

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<sup>2</sup> 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 christiana answer.

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 are founded 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.

*Henry V.* 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.'

*A. D. 1413.* This, they said, was an exceeding heresy<sup>1</sup> (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,<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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.'<sup>4</sup>

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.'

*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: '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, [ch. v.] concludeth, chap. lv., 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.<sup>5</sup> But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath, I trust, been otherwise with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions.'

*A perfect answer.* 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.'<sup>6</sup>

*A great adversary.* 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.' They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretics, and that must your doctors prove, when you have no Scripture to do it.' Then said he to them all: 'To judge you as you be, we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all God's law, that ye should thus sit in judgment on any christian man, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the Scripture so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiaphas, who sat thus upon Christ, and upon his apostles after his ascension. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Christ's members as ye do; and neither of Peter nor John.'

*Doctors when the Scriptures fail, they begin to rail.* Then said some of the lawyers: 'Yes, forsooth, Sir, for Christ judged Judas.'

*The clergy to sit on life or death, hath no ground in Scripture.*

*Followers of Caiaphas.*

(1) A heresy after the papists.

(2) Consider him to be then in shrewd handling.

(3) Walden, contra Wiclevistas, li. ar. 2. cap. 67.

(4) How we may judge, or not, judge by the Scriptures.

(5) Walden, in præfatione doctrinæ. vii.

(6) Hierom. in breviar. in minor.

(7) Luko 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.

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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, 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 pill’d 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 bishopa.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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;<sup>2</sup> 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.’

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.

*Henry V.* 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.'

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Lord Cobham's belief in the sacrament. Second Article.

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.'

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 shaven of a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir, what say you to this?'

Confession of sins to God only.

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 shaven unto God, who only knoweth our diseases, and can help us. [Mal. ii.] 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. 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's health.'

Third Article.

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?'

Who is next to Peter. Succession not of place but of condition, maketh Peter's heir. Anti-christ's head, body, and tail.

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.'

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.'

Fourth Article. Pilgrimage.

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?'

What is to be done with images.

Saints are become covetous beggars.

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.'

'Why Sir,' said one of the clerks, 'will ye not worship good images?—'What worship should I give unto them?' said the lord Cobham.

A whelp of the same hare.

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.

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?'

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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 the 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.'

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Then said the bishop of London: 'Sir, ye wot well that he died on a material cross.'—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.'

The cross,  
whether  
it is to be  
worship-  
ped.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.'

Then said the archbishop unto him: 'Sir John, ye have spoken here many wonderful words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spirituality, giving a great evil example unto the common sort here,' 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  
gentle-  
ness.

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  
murder-  
ers.

And with that the archbishop stood up and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity veiling their bonnets. And this was the tenor thereof.

### A Bill of the Lord Cobham's Condemnation.

In the name of God; so be it. 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 con-  
fessing 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.



Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

The wolf  
would ap-  
pear cha-  
ritable.  
See if  
they show  
not them-  
selves.

Who willethe not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live;<sup>1</sup> 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.

Then brought he forth another bill,<sup>2</sup> 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 own 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;<sup>3</sup> 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 sentimentally and definitively, by this present writing, judge, declare, and condemn<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce

A colour  
of deceit.

Christ is  
condemned  
in his  
faithful  
members.

(1) Ezek. xviii. and xxxv.

(2) Ex magna 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.

Henry

F.

A. D.

1413

And that these premises may be the better known by all faithful christian men,<sup>1</sup> 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 excess, 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 us 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.<sup>2</sup>

Keep the sepulchre never so much, yet Christ will rise. None office left undone pertaining to Anti-christ.

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.<sup>3</sup>

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.

Richard Clifford.

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.

Robert Maschal.

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 ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure, that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan unto the soul of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promise save it. 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."

Ex utroque exemplari.

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.—Ep.

(1) How spiritual these fathers are.

(2) What care is here to hold up their popery.

(3) Tho. Walden. in fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevi.

*Henry  
V.*A. D.  
1413.He pray-  
eth for his  
enemies.

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.'"

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:<sup>1</sup>

#### A Testimonial made by the Lord Cobham's Friends.

To stop  
lying lips,  
a rehear-  
sal of his  
belief,

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.<sup>2</sup>

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. They caused it by and by to be blown abroad by their feed servants, friends, and babbling sir Johns,<sup>3</sup> 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  
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.

An Abjuration counterfeited by the Bishops.<sup>1</sup>Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.

In Dei nomine, Amen. I John Oldcastle denounced, detected and convicted of, and upon, divers articles savouring both of heresy and error, before the reverend father in Christ and my good lord, Thomas, by the permission of God, lord archbishop of Canterbury, and my lawful and rightful judge in that behalf, expressly grant and confess: That as concerning the estate and power of the most holy father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, especially of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other observances besides of our mother, holy church, as pilgrimages and pardons; I affirm, I say, before the said reverend father archbishop, and elsewhere, that I, being evil-seduced by divers seditious preachers, have grievously erred, and heretically persisted, blasphemously answered, and obstinately rebelled; and therefore I am, by the said reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for a heretic.

Mark  
from  
whence  
this grace  
cometh.Fine  
work-  
manship,  
I trow.

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.

Alas!  
good  
man,  
thou art  
sland-  
ered.

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 Scrip-  
tures?

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 Scrip-  
ture have  
they to  
show.Intole-  
rable  
yokes lay  
they.

(1) Walden. in fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevi.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.The  
popo-holy  
Bible of  
papist.  
Mark this  
handling.This  
charge  
give they  
com-  
monly.

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,<sup>1</sup> and these holy evangelists.

And I shall from henceforth faithfully obey, and inviolably observe;<sup>2</sup> 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, sumspapal 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.

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<sup>3</sup> 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, like as they did afore, in his father's time, that<sup>4</sup> 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 diocessaries 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.

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

The clam-  
mour of  
the pa-  
pists.Christ  
always  
prohibit-  
eth  
them.

(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 Bref: Chronycle," observing that "the history is not equally full or well told in Foxe." This observation arises from that learned writer not having consulted the first edition of the *Acts and Monuments*, as is evident by the numerous omissions which occur in his *Life of John Wickliffe*. Compare *Ecc. Biog.* vol. i. p. 15, with this edition of the *Acts and Monuments*. vol. ii. p. 795—797, and elsewhere.—Ed.

(4) *Ex Statuo Parlamenti 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.

A bill was put in there again by the commons, against their continual wasting of the temporalities,<sup>1</sup> like as it had been twice before, by procurement of the said lord Cobham, both in the days of king Richard II., A. D. 1365,<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.

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<sup>5</sup> of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; working there many marvels against their false kingdom too long to write.<sup>6</sup> 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

Henry V.

A. D. 1413.

An old practice of theirs yet used.

A cruel act of king Henry V. for religion.

Christ hath less favour than thieves.

Never tyrant more cruel.

A sore persecution in England for religion.

(1) Robertus Fabianus, in Chronicis. Waldenus in fasciculo.

(2) Fabianus in Chroni-is.

(3) "Disme," a tenth.—Ed.

(4) Waldenus ad Martinum papam, cap. 46, et in Synod. Polydorus.

(5) "Weld," or "weold," (Saxon) a forest.—Ed.

(6) Waldenus ad Martinum papam, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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,<sup>2</sup> 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:<sup>3</sup> whereby may appear the manifest error 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.

Edward  
Hall de-  
ceived.

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, Polidore.

(2) Waldenus ad Martinum et in prologo de sacramentis.

(3) Ex Epistola Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond.

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.

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.

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

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.

A thing  
thought  
right ne-  
cessary  
that the  
lord Cob-  
ham  
should be  
made out  
of the  
way, or  
else not  
possible  
for papis-  
try to  
flourish.

Sir John  
Oldcastle  
in favour  
with the  
king.

The keys  
of the  
church  
falsely  
wrested.



Henry

V.

A.D.

1413.

The lord  
Cobham  
excom-  
muni-  
cated.Lord Cob-  
ham cast  
into the  
Tower.The tears  
of the  
crocodile!Popish  
absolu-  
tion neg-  
lected.

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-fourth 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 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 had instituted for the use of his church.

The sa-  
crament  
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 pen-  
ance.

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 run 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 pil-  
grimages.

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 whe-  
ther 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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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

Confes-  
sion.

(1) There is no mention made of the word of God.

(2) Wolves clothed in sheep's skins.

Henry  
V.

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?

A. D.  
1413.

The  
pope's su-  
premacie.

' 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?

Pilgrim-  
age.

' 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?

Convenc-  
runt in  
unum-  
adversus  
Domi-  
num 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 Carleton, 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 soft 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 sa-  
crament,  
both body  
and  
bread, in  
divers re-  
pects.

How con-  
fession is  
to be al-  
lowed.

What ho-  
nour to be  
done to  
the cross.

The pope  
is Anti-  
christ; the

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

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:

Henry

V.

A. D.

1413.

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 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,<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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, to 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 act 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 the Shepherd, neither will he 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 definitely condemned the said sir John Oldcastle, knight, lord Cobham, being convicted in and upon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to return unto the unity of the

They call  
light  
darkness,  
and dark-  
ness  
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.

*Henry V.*

A. D.  
1413.

So did the  
Pharisees  
deliver  
Christ to  
Pilate.

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.

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 most people are present, in their mother-tongue, through all your cities and dioceses, 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 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<sup>1</sup> 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 dia-  
logues.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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 unscemly 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 cholera 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 dishonest 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.

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

Henry V.

A. D. 1413.

Copus intemperately abuseth his pen.

Copus a barker against dead men.

Answer to Copus.

Indifferency of the reader craved.

Whether lord Cobham be to be judged a traitor, or a martyr.

Lord Cobham, true and obedient to king Henry IV.

(1) "Erostratus," or Erytrostratus, an Ephesian, who, to immortalize his own name, burned the famous temple of Diana, the night in which Alexander the Great was born.—Ed.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.

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.

clergy, complaining to the king, made bate 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.

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 i. 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?

But here now steppeth in dame ἡ διαβολῆ, with her cousin-scolld 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

Lord Cobham worthy the name of a martyr: the name of a martyr, what it signifieth.

Calumnia.

Sir Roger Acton, John Brown, John Beverly.

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 o. 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.

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Yet further proceedeth this furnish 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 Turning 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 pretended 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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An un-  
likely  
tale.

seditionously 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 Simon'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 clamped together let the reader judge, and believe, as he seeth cause.

Cobham  
no traitor.

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,<sup>1</sup> "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 Oldecastle 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.

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.,<sup>2</sup> 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, ὡπερ τις δλυμπιάδα 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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 all manner of policy and the laws of the land (e) ; finally, 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 :

(a)  
The pre-  
face or  
preamble  
of the  
statute.  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  
(e)

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  
supplia-  
tion this  
statute  
was set

(1) The first edition of the Acts and Monuments. London, 1563, p. 173, col. 2.—Ed.

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as also  
the  
cause.  
Astite-  
runt reges  
et phari-  
saci.(f)  
(g)

(h)

(i)

(k)

(l)

and diligence to put out, to do 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 that the said officers and ministers when they 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, that the same ordinaries and commissaries do pay for their costs(g) reasonably. And that the services of the king, unto whom the officers be first sworn, be preferred before 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, but 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.

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-

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.<sup>1</sup> 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 oftentimes rise in

Preface  
before  
statutes  
not to be  
regarded  
in trial of  
truth.

(1) "If he may," &amp;c. Unless hindered by sickness. Ed.

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face be-  
fore the  
statute  
de com-  
burenda.

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:—

“*Conventiculas et confederationes 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 in populo faciunt, et alia diversa enormia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant, in fidei catholicæ, et ecclesiæ subversionem, divinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam destructionem status, jurium, et liberatum dictæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*”<sup>1</sup>

And afterwards 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 ac-  
cusation,  
no news  
in  
Christ’s  
church.Example  
of Ne-  
mesion,  
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.

Example  
of Cy-  
prian.

Against Cyprian, in like sort, it was slanderously objected by Galenus Maximus, proconsul, that he had long continued with a mind full of sacrilege, and that he had gathered unto him men of wicked conspiracy.<sup>2</sup>

Justin  
Martyr,  
and Cor-  
nelius  
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.<sup>3</sup>

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.*(2) *Quod diu sacrilegia mente vixerit, et nefariæ sibi conspirationis homines adjunxerit.*(3) *Quod ad Cyprianum litteras daret contra rempublicam.*

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 pretended 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,<sup>1</sup> &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;<sup>2</sup> 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.

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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 *Douvais* and *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 phantez."

See *Du Cange* in his *Glossarium*, vol. iii. p. 426. Paris 1733. Also *Velley's Histoire de France*, vol. iii, p. 537. Paris, 1761.—Ed.

(2) *Euseb. lib. v. cap. 21.*

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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 a 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 mole-hills, 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 πειρασμοῦ 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.

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.

Ru-  
mours.  
congre-  
gations,  
insurrec-  
tions.  
(a)  
•

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 pretended, 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?

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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-paunched 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,<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>(c)</sup> 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.

Earl Godwin of Westsax, who had married Canute's daughter,

Lord Cobham falsely slandered for intending to destroy the king (c).

How unlikely.

(1) "Et qui quantum ad ejus devotionem pertinet et timorem, passus sit quicquid pati potuit," Cyp. 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.

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What a hard matter it is to rise against the king.

In the time of king Henry III., Simon Montfort earl of Gloucester, Gilbert Clare earl of Leicester, Humfrey Rone earl of Ferrence, with a great number of lords and barons, thought themselves to have great right on their sides ; yet durst they not, for all their power, openly assail the king in his realm, before great debatement and talk first had between.

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.

Against king Edward 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.

Against king Richard II.

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.<sup>1</sup>

Against king Henry IV.

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 difficulties 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

The insurrection of lord Cobham judged by circumstance.

(1) 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.

No rebellion in England; but the special country, from whence they came, was known.

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.

It folloiweth 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 sweep-stake 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, perchase, 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, 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, mild 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. 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. (c)

" Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri."

But here will it be said again perhaps, that the matter of such

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tion.  
Answer.

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.

The reason and cause how chroniclers oftentimes be deceived.

Cope deceived by his chroniclers.

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.

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."<sup>1</sup>

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 information, 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.

(f) 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.

(g) Secondly, Where it followeth, that "the same ordinaries and commissaries do pay for their costs," &c.(g): this allowance of the

(1) Horace, 'De Arte Poetica,' l. 151; or, 'Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet inum'—Ed.

officers' charges in this sort proveth this offence neither treason nor felony. Henry  
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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.  
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(*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.<sup>1</sup> (*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. John  
Stanford,  
of the  
Pleas of  
the  
Crown.  
(*m*)

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. libr.

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of pre-  
lates to  
couple  
treason  
with  
heresy.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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,<sup>2</sup> with your author Edward Hall, do allege the records, “et publica iudicii 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 sue 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.

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ac notorie et manifeste dignoscatur, quod quam plures subditi nostri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alii mortem nostram contra ligeancie sue debitum proditorie imaginaverunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholice, 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 perimplend. fecerunt in nostri exheredationem ac regni nostri destructionem manifestam: nos hujusmodi Lollardos ac alios predictos 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 prefati Major et Hugo, duos esse volumus justic. nostros ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum et legal. hominum de civitate predicta et suburbiis ejusdem, ac de comitatu Middlesexia, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de omnibus et singulis prodicionibus et insurrectionibus per hujusmodi Lollardos in civitate, suburbiis, et comitat. predictis, factis et perpetratis necnon de omnimodo prodicionibus et insurrectionibus et felonibus et felonis in civitate, suburbiis, et com. predictis, per quoscunque et qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, et ad easd. prodicion. 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 premissa omnia et singula audiat et terminetis in forma predicta 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 inquire. In cujus, etc. T. R. apud Westm. (b) x. die Jan. Per ipsum Regem.—In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.

(b)

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?

Exam-  
ples of di-  
vers false-  
ly accused  
for trea-  
son.

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.

English  
chroni-  
clers ex-  
amined by  
the words  
of the  
commis-  
sion.

- (a) 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 chronicles, 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.

The Indictment 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 prodicionibus et insurrectionibus, per quamplures subditos domini regis lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, et alios in civitate, suburbiis, et com. prædictis, factis et perpetratis, necnon de omnibus prodicionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, et felonis in civitate, suburbiis et com. præd. per quoscunque et qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, et ad easdem prodiciones, 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

manuteneꝛe, ac in factu minime perimplere valentes, quamdiu regia potestas et tam status regal. Domini nostri regis, quam status et officium prelatice dignitatis infra regnum Angl. in prosperitate perseverarent, falso et proditorie anachinando, tam statum regni, quam statum et officium prelatorum, necnon ordines religiosorum infra dictum regnum Angl. penitus adnullare; ac Dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, prelatos, 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 predictum (d) quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem tam fidei catholice 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 predicti predicto apud villam et parochiam Sanctii Egedii extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem unanimi. convenirent et insimul obviarent pro nefando proposito suo in premissis perimplend. quo quidem die Mercurii apud villam et parochiam predictas predicti Johannes Oldcastle et alii in hujusmodi proposito proditorio, perseverantes, (h) predictum dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz. Tho. ducem Clarentiæ, Joan. de Lanc. et Humfred. de Lancast. necnon prelatos et magnates predictos interficere, necnon ipsum dominum nostrum regem, et heredes suos de regno suo predicto exheredare, et premissa omnia et singula, necnon quamplura alia mala et intolerabilia facere et perimplere falso et proditorie proposuerunt et imaginaverunt (i) et ibidem versus campum predictum, 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 prefatum 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 premissis, etc. Ad quos diem et locum, coram domino rege vic. return. quod predictus Johan. Oldcastle non fuit inventus in balliva sua, etc. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod exigi faceret eum de oom. 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 prodicionibus et felonibus 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 predictus Johannes Oldcastle exactus fuit, et non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem com. predict. utlagatus fuit, per quod inquiretur de terra et catallis suis.

NOTES AND CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE INDICTMENT AND  
COMMISSION ABOVE PREFIXED

(a) "Die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ," &c.

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

*Henry V.* (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 temporalities," 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.

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(h) "Prædictum dominum nostrum regem, fratressuos, viz. Tho. du-  
cem 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 arri-  
vati proditorie, modo insurrectionis, contra ligentias 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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V.*

if they had truly committed and been convicted of such high treason?

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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, 'ἀντιπαίζει,' and to repay again as I am provoked. But, in spiteful 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 besee meth, 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  
com-  
mended  
in writ-  
ters.

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.

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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 chroniclers, 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 witnesss as whose testimony beareth always a necessary truth, and bindeth belief.

Historics  
not rashly  
to be be-  
lieved.

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.

Testimo-  
ny of Fa-  
bian  
against  
the lord  
Cobham  
examin-  
ed.

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.<sup>1</sup>

Testimo-  
ny 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 ?

Wit-  
nesses  
against  
the lord  
Cobham  
agree not  
together.

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

(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.

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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,<sup>1</sup> 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 Turning, 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.

Fabian  
convicted  
of a mani-  
fest un-  
truth in  
his story  
of the  
lord  
Cobham.

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.

The tes-  
timony of  
Polydore  
ex-  
amined.

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,<sup>2</sup>) 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.

Five un-  
truths of  
Polydore.  
First  
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

Second  
untruth.

(1) Fab. part vii. In vita Hen. p. 390.

(2) "Apuleius," Apuleia Lex, was enacted by Apuleius the tribune, A. U. C. 652, against seditious and tumults.—Ed.



Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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 Poly-  
dore  
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 twenty-two years;<sup>2</sup> 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."<sup>3</sup> Albeit in this I do not greatly contend with Polydore, and peradventure the adversary will find some easy shift for this matter.

The testi-  
mony of  
Hall  
against  
the lord  
Cobham  
ex-  
amined.

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'<sup>4</sup> 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. vii. p. 833, line 11.

(2) In Edition 1583, the words "thirty-three years" are given, and in the Edition 1569 the words "twenty-two" are inserted in the text, while the quotation from Polydore remains unaltered.—Ed.

(3) Lib. xxii. Aug. Hist.

(4) "Dealbabor," a purger, or whitener.—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.

Thus did Aventine, thus did Sleidan, write. These helps also the eldest and best historians 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.

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.

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

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.Cope, a  
carper  
of stories  
whereof  
he hath  
no skill.Answer  
to  
Edward  
Hall.

*Henry V.*  
A. D.  
1413.

Hall  
raseth  
out his  
own story  
written  
against  
lord  
Cobham.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

Hall, in  
his story  
agreeth  
not with  
others.  
Untruth  
in Hall  
noted.

And thus Edward Hall, your author, revoking and calling back that he had devised before against the lord Cobham (whereof I 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  
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 spirituality, 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.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.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.

Repug-  
nance  
noted in  
the wit-  
ness  
against  
the lord  
Cobham,  
and sir it.  
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. Repug-  
nance 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1413.

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.

Popes,  
traitors to  
their em-  
perors  
and  
princes.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> and with the like diligence accuse 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?

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?

Many  
of the  
pope's  
saints  
and con-  
fessors  
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 Swinstead, that poisoned king John, 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, or Mass Book.—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.

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.

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.

Scrope,  
arch  
bishop of  
York,  
traitor;  
and yet  
counted a  
holy man.  
Popes  
commonly  
traitors.

In the reign of king Edward II., mention was made before of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, 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.

Lancaster  
a traitor,  
and yet  
made a  
saint.

In the fourth book of the Acts and Monuments, mention was made of Edmund Abbingdon, archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>1</sup> 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.

Abbing-  
don, arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury,  
rebelled  
against  
his  
prince,  
and yet  
made a  
saint.

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 Thicket's 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."

Arundel  
a rank  
traitor  
against  
his king,  
and yet  
accounted  
a great  
pillar in  
the pope's  
church.

All these things well considered, tell me, Master Cope, I pray you,

(1) See vol. ii. p. 427. — Ed.

*Henry V.*  
A. D.  
1413.

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?<sup>1</sup> 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, and laid before your faces in a parliament holden in France, by the lord Peter de Cugneris? 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.

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.

Now to the other part of his accusation; wherein this Alanus Copus Anglus, in his ἕξαπλα, 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.

But I cease here, and temper myself, considering not what Master Cope deserveth to be said un'o, 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.

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

Henry

V.

A. D.

1413.

Answer to the second part of Cope's accusation concerning his untrue charging of the book of Acts and Monuments.

The book of Acts and Monuments too true, if it had pleased God otherwise.



*Henry*  
*V.**A. D.*  
*1413.*

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 excerpting those matters which make for cavillation. 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.

The  
nature of  
the spider.

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.

“ Et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses.”

A. D.  
1413.

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,*”<sup>1</sup> &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 præm. ad lectorem.* [See vol. I.—Ed.]

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Untruth  
noted in  
Cope.

And where he chargeth me for thrusting and shouldering out the old and ancient holy saints aforementioned 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;"<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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 cælo ad tartara deturbat?"<sup>3</sup> that is, "who tumbleth

(1) Copus, p. 130, line 18.

(2) In præfat. ad doct. lector. II. Acts and Monuments. [See vol. I. Ed.]

(3) Copus, p. 161, 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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V.  
A. D.  
1413.

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,  
Fas 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 this 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 cælo in tartara detrudat?" and therefore, as you falsely belie me in this, for detruing 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 'αποθεωσιw,' 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.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
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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 idem ne adorentur, modo quam sint vetusti, tam etiam vere sancti sint," &c.<sup>1</sup>

Untruth  
in Cope.

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

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 eye: 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 hyperbolism; where you, comparing my making of saints with the pope's making, can find, as ye say, in the pope, no such impudent arrogance in presuming, as ye find in me.<sup>3</sup> 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.

Double  
abomina-  
tion in  
the pope's  
calendar.

But where will you find, Master Cope, any man to believe this your hyperbolic comparison to be true, who seeth and knoweth the infinite and unmeasurable excess of the pope's arrogance, 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.

The great  
saint-  
maker of

And now, to consider what saints these were, or what were the causes of their sancting: what saint almost among all the pope's

(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 'κονηρόπολις,' that is, in the pope's calendar, either in red colour, or else in black?

Henry

V.

A. D.

1413.

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

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Canonization of  
St. Gilbert of  
Sempringham.

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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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, willet 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?

The blasphemous  
collect of  
the pope's  
making  
for St.  
Gilbert.

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.<sup>2</sup> "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.<sup>3</sup>

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 litteris 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 annuum faciatis cum reverentia et solemniter observari; ut apud dominum et ab illo valeat et possit devotio commendari, necnon et ipsius sancti supplex intercessio vobis proficiat ad salutem. Valet.—*Ex Lib. de Vita Gilberti Confessoris.*

(2) "Plenam in nobis æternæ Salvator tuæ virtutis opere medelam, ut qui præclara beati Gilberti confessoris tui merita veneramus, ipsius adjuti suffragiis a cunctis 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.

*Henry  
F.*  
A. D.  
1413.

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  
counsel-  
led to  
cease  
his rail-  
ing.

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 ex-  
pended.



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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, "Opprobra 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.

The painter colour-eth, with red, the nose with blood.

The author clear-eth himself of lies and untruths laid against him.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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 pretended 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.

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 'Pseudopigrapha.' Here come in their forged canons, their foisting and cogging in ancient councils and decrees, as in *ὡς ἀπὸ ἐμοῦ πέρρου*, 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.

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,

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Lies and fictions innumerable in the pope's church.

Untruth in the popish epistle decretal. And in their liturgies

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in coun-  
terfeited  
books.  
Gregory's  
Dia-  
logues.

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, Amphilocheus, Dionysius Arcopagita; 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. Likewise that worthy and imperial sermon entituled, 'Eusebii Pamphili Sermo ad Conventum Sanctorum,' hath to this day wrongfully borne the name of Eusebius;¹ 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 the  
popes  
doctrine.In the  
popes le-  
gend and  
mass  
books.  
In his  
miracles  
and relics  
and in his  
sacra-  
ments.A master-  
lie.

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-see, 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.

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) 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.

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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 ob-  
jection.

Cope  
cavilleth  
without  
cause.

Secondly: whereas I affirm that the king in that parliament made a grievous law<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> with his 'Cope' on his back, and proving me to be a liar, denieth plainly that the king made any such statute; see page 853, line 6, where his words be these: "Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus, et deinceps geminatas pœnas suspendii et incendii lucrant, ut nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur," &c.

Second  
objection.

Third ob-  
jection.

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,<sup>3</sup> his own witness in this behalf, whose words, in his twenty-second book, page 441, be these: "Quare publice edixit, ut si uspiam deinceps reperientur qui eam sequerentur sectam, patriæ hostes haberentur, quo sine omni lenitate severius ac ocuus 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 Wick-  
liff made  
heresy  
and trea-  
son by the  
king.

(1) Stat. an. 2. Hen. V. cap. 7.

(2) Copus, p. 853, 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 confiscated 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 fidei 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, et 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 solemnnes 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 parlamento nobilitas regia hostes Christi sibi reputans pro-

(1) T. Walden. In tomo primo, Doctrinali ad Mari. papam in prologo.

ditores, volens dare intelligere universis, quod ipse absque cujuscunque fluctuationis dubio, quamdiu auras lauriret 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, reputed 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.

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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 confrenda, 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  
Sacerdo-  
tum.'

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<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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?<sup>3</sup>

Answer.

And where 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, unto whom 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 first preferred for the liberty of holy church, &c., and punishment of heretics, &c., made before these days and not repealed," *ut supra*: what meaneth this, but to make these congregations of the Lollards to be forcible entries, riots, great ridings, unlawful assemblies, affrayers of the people, armour, routs, and insurrections, and so to send 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. vi., 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, and to the statute Anno 2. Hen. IV., cap. xv., where the penalty is burning: also to the statute, Anno 5. Rich. II., cap. v. 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), 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

Answer.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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. Also read the constitution provincial of Thomas Arundel above-mentioned, 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,

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) Stat. an. 1. Hen. IV. cap. xiv. vid. sup.

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,’<sup>1</sup> margined against me, for crafty dealing in my story?

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of Amer-  
sham  
caused to  
set fag-  
gots 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?”<sup>2</sup> 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 13.



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Sundry  
statutes  
proved  
not suffi-  
cient to  
burn any  
man.

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 pretended 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:

The  
printed  
statute  
Anno 2.  
Hen. IV.  
c. 15.  
falsely  
corrupt-  
ed.

"Quas quidem petitiones prælatorum et cleri superius expressatas do. noster rex, de consensu magnatum et aliorum procerum regni sui, in præsentî parlamento 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 parlamento 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.

And thus you see how this aforesaid statute, printed both in English and in Latin among the provincial councils of Oxford,<sup>1</sup> 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. Autho.

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."<sup>1</sup> And yet this aforesaid revocation notwithstanding, in queen Mary's time, they inquired upon that statute.

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.

\* 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.

*Henry**V.*

A. D.

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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.

Proposition  
disjunctive.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.'

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.

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<sup>2</sup> 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 where it is so proved by the laws, that the sincere worshipping of Christ is counted for heresy, and a heretic counted a traitor, what citizen can, in that commonwealth, live in safety, 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

(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.

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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<sup>1</sup> 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 au-  
thors.  
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,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury; whose death following after the execution of these good men above recited, by the marvellous stroke of God,<sup>3</sup> 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,  
arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury.

Arundel  
giveth  
sentence  
against  
lord Cob-  
ham, 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.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1414.

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.

An example of God's hand working against the enemies of his word. It is in vain to gainstand God's word.

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; <sup>1</sup> 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. <sup>2</sup> 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." <sup>3</sup> 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.

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 five 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 treat.

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

Sheen and Zion builded.

(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.

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 temporalities, 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 voyage ; who, when furnishing himself with strength and armour, with powder and shot, and gunstones, 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 besides, as Meldune, or Melione, and married with Katharine, the French king's daughter. And yet, notwithstanding, he made his voyage again the third time into France, where at length, at Blois, he fell sick and died : concerning all which voyages, because they are sufficiently discoursed in Fabian, Hall, and other chronographers, referring therefore the reader unto them, I will turn my story to other matters of the church more effectual.

*Henry V.*  
A. D. 1414.  
*Crafty practice of the prelates. The king stirred up to wars by the bishops.*

#### 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1414.

The pope  
against  
them.

John  
Huss  
cited by  
the pope.

John  
Huss  
appealeth  
from the  
pope to  
the pope.

John  
Huss ac-  
cused to  
pope  
John.

John  
Huss ex-  
commu-  
nicated  
by card-  
nal de  
Columna.

began first to taste and favour 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 Swinco, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in churches, schools, or other places, should maintain that doctrine; citing also John Huss to appear before him. To whom the said John answering 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 o. the pope he appealed to the same pope better advised. But, while he was prosecuting his appeal, pope Alexander died, as is aforesaid.<sup>1</sup>

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 sentence 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 meek 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.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as his procurators had appealed unto the high bishop, they had other judges appointed unto them, as cardinal Aquileianus and cardinal Venetus, with certain others; which judges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter for the space

(1) Ex Cochlaeo in Hist. Hussit.

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 whercin, 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.<sup>1</sup>

The Bohemians  
against  
the pope  
and his  
doings.

Over and besides this, at the same time John Huss did propound publicly, and by the notaries 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 more firmly to adhere to the truth; three doubts arise here to be solved: The first doubt is, Whether we 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 being drowned in the Red Sea, and of the Sodomites being subverted, be saved?"

Three  
doubts of  
John  
Huss pro-  
pounded.

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. "The second doubt" saith he, "the master of the sentences<sup>2</sup> doth answer, lib. iv. dist. 17. cap. 11, 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 Egyptians destroyed in the sea, and of the Sodomites destroyed with fire, and of the Israelites destroyed in the desert. "Know you," saith Jerome, "that God, therefore, punished them

Credere  
in Deum.  
Credere  
Deo.  
Credere  
Deum.Against  
avarice  
confes-  
sion.

(1) Ex Cochleao in Hist. Hussit. iib. 1.

(2) Pet. Lumb.



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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 by all men.

It followeth, moreover, after the death of the archbishop Swinco above mentioned, 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 :

### Council of the Prelates 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 Wickliff 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.

Purum  
bonum :  
purum  
malum :  
medium.

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.

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.

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.

X. Item, That this council doth appear to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissension that is in the kingdom of Bohemia.

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XI. Item, If Master John Huss with his accomplices 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 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.

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This counsel and device being considered amongst the heads of the university of Prague, the aforesaid administrator, named Conrad, presented it 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 council, 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 marquiship 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 right and just decreement of the princes, and of the king's council, be holden and stand in force, which, between the lord archbishop Swinco, on the one party, and between 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 lord Swinco 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 marquiship 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 let 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 embassy 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, &c.

The pope  
maketh  
war.

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 had besieged 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 this 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 captains, 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, 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.

John,  
Martin,  
and Stas-  
con, mar-  
tyrs.

Stephen  
Paletz, a  
great ene-  
my to  
John  
Huss.

John  
Huss  
banished  
out of  
Prague.

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 for the

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 Ikoyma, 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 Bethlem, and there also preached unto the people.

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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.

I. The foundation of the doctors, whereupon they found all their writings and councils, 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, and that no 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 also of the holy church of God, but of the devil and of his synagogue.

VII. The clergy of the gospellers, 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 not only because 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, ' De baptismo et ejus effectu.' Cap. ' Majores.' Et in Can. 17. dist. cap. ' Hinc sedi,' &c.

VIII. The second cause of the 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, ' De accusationibus,' cap. ' 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 gospellers, who in all their doings receive the holy Scripture, which is the law of God, the way of truth and life, for their judge and measure : and afterwards they themselves do allege the Scripture [Deut. xvii.], where all judges, both popes and cardinals, are taught to judge and discern between leper and leper, and

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called  
pope.Pope  
Joan a  
woman.Three  
causes of  
dissen-  
sion in  
the  
clergy.

in every ecclesiastical cause, only after the rule of God's law. And so are they contrary unto their second article, wherein they say, that in every catholic matter we must run to the pope; which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the articles aforesaid.

X. Consequently, like idiots they do most falsely allege for their purpose the canon, under the name and authority of Jerome, written in the 24. q. 1. 'Hæc est fides papa,' &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.

XI. By which place of Jerome it is manifest that the first article of those doctors is false: forasmuch as by these words appeareth that others 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 afterwards in Rome. Also other popes did sit some in Bononia, 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 erred, 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 infinite canons do declare.

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 extirpated, not only by the clergy-gospellers, but also by the secular power. And so these three vices, to wit, symony, luxury, and avarice (which is idol-worship), 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 restored in the clergy.

XVI. Moreover, their last article is too 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 common sort 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 ancestors before us were pagans; wherefore we must obey them, and also be pagans.

XVII. But let this frivolous opinion go, this is certain truth, that the said processes, made against Master John Huss, by law, are none, forasmuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed, contrary to the commission of the pope, against the determination of the holy mother church, as appeareth Cap. 'Sacro de Sententia excom.', and a thousand other laws besides.

XVIII. Finally, whosoever wittingly and obstinately doth defend and execute (the said process 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 general bishop Olomucense; and more shall be declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the doctors.<sup>2</sup>

Substance of the Answer of the Catholic Doctors to the foregoing Objections.

Unto these objections of John Huss and his party, the catholic doctors again did answer in a long tedious process, the scope whereof principally tended to

(1) "Olomucense." Olmutz in the Austrian States.—ED. (2) *EX ÆNÆA SYLVI. ET COCHLÆO.*

defend the principality of the pope, and to maintain his obedience 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> 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 after he departed out of the world, because 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.

Tedious it were to recite all the bible-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,

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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.

Catholic, that is, universal.

The promise of Christ doctorly applied.

O deep divinity of these doctors!

(1) He might so be, if God had so appointed him; but where doth he so appoint?

(2) Ex Cochleus in Hist. Hussit.

(3) 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.

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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 lives. 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 displeasethem. 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  
displayed,  
and taxed  
for their  
ill life.

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 by lay-men, as by learned men of the clergy, insomuch that women also and children were against them; and by the same reason 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, living and continuing still in the custom of iniquity; now, when the king and the lords temporal began to amerce them, and bereave them of their temporalities 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 alms, now, coming to the Guildhall, they were fain to entreat for their temporal goods not to be taken from them; pleading the same temporalities to be mere alms and devotion of good men, given unto the church.<sup>1</sup>

The  
popish  
doctors  
and  
priests  
over-  
thrown  
in their  
own rea-  
son.

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 Cochlet.

## The Letter of Pope John to King Wenceslaus.

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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 heart, who, although, unworthy, represent 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 concord (by which concord kingdoms do increase, as, contrary, by discord they are diminished) which is between your honour and our well-beloved in the Lord, Sigismund, your brother German and cousin, for the noble king of the Romans, &c.

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 lean to 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 by their superior powers for their excess, to cover their naughtiness and stubbornness in despising the commandments of the apostolical seat), 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, so effectually 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 cometh a catholic prince; whereby this blot of heresy, which doth so lamentably and miserably spring up 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 Bononia, in the ides of June, in the fifth year of our pope-  
dom, &c.

In this epistle of pope John above prefixed, forasmuch 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 Cle-mangis, of a certain spirit which ruled the popish councils: his words are these:

"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,

An owl  
appears  
at the  
council  
of pope  
John.



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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 to 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 understood, 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, as I said, of twenty-nine 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 four years, wherein all their matters mostly were decided by four nations, namely, 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 the presidents were these: John, the patriarch of Antioch, for France; Anthony, archbishop of Riegen, for Italy; Nicholas, archbishop of Genesucensis, for Germany; and Nicholas, bishop of Bath, for England; 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 abiden the salt of the gospel, and if they had loved the truth. But, as Gregory of Nazianzen writeth, "There lightly come few general councils, but they end more with disturbance than

Three  
popes  
together.

(1) The prelates assembled in this council were numbered together with their deputies, 1940. Philip and Cheney, &c. Gregorius in Epistola quadam.

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.

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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 county 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 Marculus 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 spirituality, 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.

*Henry V.* 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, for the space of four years, and had in it five and forty sessions, wherein many things were concluded, 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. Yct I mind to make some brief recapitulation of the most principal matters there done in the sessions orderly ensuing.

### A Recapitulation of Matters done in each Session in the Council of Constance.

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.

Commissioners to hear John Huss.

In the sixth session, procuration and citation were sent out against the pope. 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. 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.

Citation against Jerome of Prague.

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.<sup>1</sup>

(1) “ Quod nullus presbyter, sub pena excommunicationis, communicet populo sub utraque specie panis et vini.”

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.

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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  
publish-  
ing of the  
sentence  
of condem-  
nation  
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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

Consti-  
tum credi-  
fragum.

In the twentieth session, letters and instruments were made and set upon church doors, to require and admonish duke Frederic to restore again unto George, bishop of Austria, such lands, rents, and revenues as he detained and withheld, under pain of interdement, 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 Londe, 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 ser-  
mon of  
the bishop  
of Londe.

(1) "Quod non obstantibus salvis conductibus imperatoris, regum, &c. possit per iudicium competentem de hæretica pravitate inquiri."

(2) And how chanceth it that the chart of Constantine's donation is not here mentioned?

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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.

In the twenty-sixth session there was nothing else handled, but the uniting 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, named Comes Virtutum, for laying violent hands upon Albert, bishop of Asce, 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 Beron.

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 aforesaid 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.

Decrees for general councils.

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:

"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: Nice the first, Constantinople the second, Ephesus the third, Chalcedon the fourth, the fifth and sixth of them in Constantinople, the seventh of Nice, the eighth of Constantinople. And also of the general councils of Lateran, Lyons, and Vienna, 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 sacraments canonically 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 the Almighty God upon such an altar, &c. In the presence of such witness, &c. Given," &c.

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fession  
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 so 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 choos-  
ing the  
pope.

I. That they should enter into the conclave within ten days after the fortieth session, which was this present day, 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, and the entry to the privy-chamber be kept so straightly, 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, certain should be called about matters concerning the election.

V. That no man should send to them either messenger or writings.

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 any more dishes but one of one only kind, either of flesh or fish, eggs, pottage made of fish or flesh, not after the daintiest sort; besides salads, cheese, fruit, and conserves, whereof there shall be no principal mess made, but for sauce and taste.

VIII. That not one should be compelled to go into the conclave; but if they did all refuse to go in, 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 without the excuse of infirmity, if any went out, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

X. That such as went out, by reason of infirmity, to be absent and return before the election be determined, may be admitted again into the conclave in the same state wherein they shall 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, sitting in his throne of estate, he should receive the same oath of the 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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 they had hatched out a pope, being St. Martin's even, 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.

Pope  
Martin  
hatched.

The  
emperor  
leadeth  
the pope's  
horse on  
the right  
hand, the  
prince  
elector,  
on the  
left hand

The twenty-first day of the said month, this aforesaid Martin, according to their accustomed pomp, was honourably brought in to be crowned with sumptuous procession from the high church of Constance, unto the monastery of St. Austin; the emperor on foot leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the marquis of Brandenburg, prince elector, likewise leading his horse on the left hand; the pope himself riding in the midst upon his palfrey.

And thus being brought into the monastery aforesaid, and so reduced round about again from thence to the high church of Constance, he was there crowned with all magnificence.

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 county palatine, touching the safe custody of pope John, 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 of the church. 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 what place the next council should be kept in. 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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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.

The  
number  
of pro-  
lates in  
the coun-  
cil of  
Con-  
stance.  
Number  
of stran-  
gers at  
the  
council.

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.

Commu-  
nion 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 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 paraliplomino Abbatis Ursi.



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### The Safe-conduct given to Master John Huss.

Sigismund by the grace of God king of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmark, Croatia, &c. To all princes, as well ecclesiastical as secular, dukes, marquises and earls, barons, captains, borough-masters, judges and governors, officers of towns, burgages, and villages, and unto all rulers of the commonalty ; and generally, to all the subjects of our empire, to whom these letters shall come, grace and all goodness.

The safe  
conduct  
given to  
Master  
John  
Huss.

We charge and command you all, that you have respect unto John Huss, who is departed out of Bohemia, to come unto the general council, which shall be celebrated and holden very shortly at the town of Constance. The which John Huss we have received under our protection, and safeguard of the whole empire, desiring you that you will cheerfully receive him when he shall come towards you, and that you entreat and handle him gently, showing him favour and good will, and show him pleasure in all things, as touching the forwardness, ease, and assurance of his journey, as well by land as by water.

Moreover, we will, that he and all his company, with his carriage and necessaries, shall pass throughout all places, passages, ports, bridges, lands, governances, lordships, liberties, cities, towns, burgages, castles and villages, and all other your dominions, without paying of any manner of imposition or Danemoney, peage, tribute, or any other manner of toll, whatsoever it be. We will also, that you suffer him to pass, rest, tarry, and to sojourn at liberty, without doing unto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble ; and that if need shall so require, you do provide a faithful company to conduct him withal, 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 God, 1414.

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.

Notwithstanding, briefly to touch and pass, let us consider part of the reasons of the said Cope,<sup>1</sup> 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 this 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.<sup>2</sup> Vide infra.

Answer  
to Copus.

(1) Alanus Copus, p. 929.

(2) 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. Vide infra.

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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 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 abbeyes, signifying unto them all, that he would go to the general council at Constance; whereof, 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 example of his letters and intimations set up, were these, the copy whereof here followeth:

John  
Huss  
taketh  
the em-  
peror's  
safe con-  
duct.

### 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 seat, in their next convocation of all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia; being ready always to satisfy all men who shall require him to give a reason of his faith and hope that he holdeth, and to hear and see all such as will lay unto his charge either any stubbornness of error or heresy, that they should write in their names there, as is required both by God's law and man's. And if so be that they could not lawfully prove any stubbornness of error or heresy against him, that then they should suffer the like punishments that he should have had; unto whom all together 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, show forth his innocency in the name of Christ.—Dated the Sunday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew.

### Another Intimation of John Huss, for his going to Constance, drawn out of the Bohemian Tongue.

I, Master John Husnetz, 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 embassy, 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, though evident in itself, the safe-conduct makes no mention), it must also be inferred 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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The offer  
of John  
Huss to  
his ene-  
mies.

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 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.

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. Forasmuch as without any desert, as I trust by God's grace, the fame or noise is sprung and blown abroad, 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 procurers 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.

The same time John Huss sent his procurers 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 procurer 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.

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### The Testimonial of the good Bishop of Nazareth.

We, Nicholas, by the grace of God bishop of Nazareth, and inquisitor, specially deputed by the apostolic seat, for heresies both of 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 his faith and hope that he holdeth, 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 of our seal.—Dated in 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 Prutha-tictz; 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, one thousand four hundred and fourteen, the thirtieth of August, 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 the lord Peter of Zwogsta, called Zuirglits, master of the mint of the most famous prince and lord, the lord Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of Bohemia,

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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.

There was personally present Master John Jessenitz, master of arts, procurer in the name of the honourable man, Master John Huss, bachelor, formed 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, inquisitor of heresies for the city and diocese of Prague, specially appointed by the apostolic see, being there also present, saying, 'Reverend father, do you know any heresy or error in Master John Husnetz, 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.

'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 that doth savour of any error or heresy.'

Again, the said Master John's procurer in the behalf as above, required and asked the said lord Nicholas, bishop and inquisitor, whether any man have accused the said Master John Huss of any heresy before him, being inquisitor for heresy, and have 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 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 our said lord, our lord the king, and 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 he held, and to see and hear all and singular that would lay any obstinacy of error or heresy unto him; that they should determine themselves there to suffer the like punishment, according to the extremity both of God's law and man's 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, procurer, and in the procurer's name or behalf as before, required and desired that he might have one or many public instruments made unto him by me the public notary here underwritten. These things were done the year, indiction, month, day, hour, place, and bishopric, as is aforesaid, in the presence of these noble and famous men, the lord William de Zwingelitz, baron of the kingdom of Bohemia; Peter his son; the lord Hlawaczion de Renow, likewise baron Wenceslaus de Lunarx, Vassone de Miekonitz, burgrave of the castle of Lichetenburg, Czitborius de Bodanetz, esquire, and William de Dupoer, knight of the said diocese of Prague, with many other worthy and credible 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 affairs aforesaid, at the 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 drawn and written, 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.

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.

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Conrad  
the arch-  
bishop,  
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 procurer, 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  
testi-  
mony of  
his faith,  
and could  
not be  
admitted.

*Henry*  
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1414. he, and also Master John Huss and his party, 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,<sup>1</sup> how Master Huss and his Procurer were denied entrance into the public Procuration, celebrated and holden in the Archbishop's Court.

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 thereabouts; in the fifth year of the bishopric 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, prebendaries, 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, and procurer, in the name and behalf of that honourable man, Master John Huss, formed bachelor of divinity; by the commission of whose procuration, it is evident enough, unto me, the public notary within written, that 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, for so much as Master John Huss is ready to satisfy all men, who shall require him to show any reason of his faith and 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, of 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 lord 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 holy fathers, show forth and declare his innocency in the name of Christ. Unto whom Master John de Jessenitz, doctor, a certain famous man called Ulricus Swabe, of Swabenitz, marshal of the said lord archbishop, coming forth from 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 that the lord archbishop, with the prelates aforesaid, were occupied about the king's affairs, or business; requiring, notwithstanding, that the said Master Doctor would tarry in some place without the said court; also, 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, 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 party, 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 many public instruments. These things were done the year, indiction, day, month, hour, bishopric, and place above written, these

(1) This instrument of testimonial is introduced from the Edition of 1563, p. 196.--Ed.

honourable and wise men being there present: Simon Tysnove, bachelor of divinity; Simon de Rochezana, proctor of Pilsna; Nicholas de Stogitzin and John de Partizibram, masters of arts; also Frana Etzotronis and Jerome Dzrolonis of Prague, John de Nichintz and Jerome de Ugezd, students of the dioceses of Prague and Litomistens,<sup>1</sup> as witnesses of the premises. And I, James Voles, sometime son of Ambrose of Prague, by the imperial authority also of all the masters, doctors, and scholars of the famous university and study of Prague, being sworn public notary, 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 and published it with mine own hand, 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.

About the ides of October, 1414, John Huss being accompanied by two noble gentlemen, that is to wit, Wencelate 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:

John  
Huss  
taketh  
his jour-  
ney to  
Con-  
stance.

The Copy of the Letters which John Huss set up in the common 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.

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was departed out of Bohemia and entered into Almain, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained by his hosts through all the towns of Germany, and especially by the citizens and burgesses, and oftentimes by 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 weré desirous to see John Huss, and gratify<sup>2</sup> him; and, amongst all others, especially at Nuremberg, where certain merchants who went before, and certified the citizens of

How  
John  
Huss was  
received  
by the  
way, go-  
ing up  
to the  
council.

(1) "Litomistens." Leutomischl, or Litomysl. A manufacturing town in Bohemia, formerly a bishop's see.—En.

(2) "Gratify him," do him a good turn. Bailey's Etym. Dict.—En.



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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 bugger-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 the curate of St. Sebould, who did improve<sup>1</sup> all that he had said.

A charter-house monk against John Huss.

John Huss's hostess, named Faith.

The twentieth day after that he departed 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 Faith, in St. Galle's-street.

The morrow after, the gentleman, Master John de Clum, and Master 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 albeit 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 town of Constance.

The pope consenteth to the safe-conduct of John Huss.

Huss's enemy going to Constance, dieth by the way. Steven Paletz and Michael de Causis, chief enemies to Huss.

In the meantime, the greatest adversary that John Huss had, named Master Steven 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,<sup>2</sup> whereof he died. As soon as the said Paletz was come to Constance, he did associate unto him one Michael de Causis, who had before falsely accused and blamed 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, forasmuch as he saw that it was wicked and nought.

And as touching the said Paletz, albeit 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, forasmuch 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 Gilory, which were perished and lost, might be renewed and set to work again. By this means he did so

(1) "Improve," speak against.—Ed.

(2) "Imposthume," a gathering of humours and swellings upon the body.—Ed.

much with the king Winceslaus, 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, Steven 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 bishop of Augusta, 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.

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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He comes before the pope and the cardinals.

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

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 Master John de Clum, under the guard and keeping of the armed men.

Dolus malus cardinalium.

A friar minor putteth two questions to John Huss.

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 pronouncement 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, Master 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 Master 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,

Master 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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Didace, a  
crafty  
friar.  
Many a  
man be-  
guiled  
under a  
cloak of  
simplici-  
ty.

In this manner the said Huss and Master 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 has paid the uttermost farthing."

The ac-  
cusers of  
John  
Huss  
triumph  
over him  
when he  
is taken.

A little before night, they sent the provost of the Roman court unto Master 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 Master 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 Master 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 Master 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 Master Clum returned very pensivful and sorry; he complained very sore, both privily and

The pope,  
to please  
the coun-  
cil, is  
against  
John  
Huss.

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openly, of the injury and outrage that the pope had done; but all profited nothing. After this, the said John Huss was led by the officers to the chapter-house of the great church of Constance, where he was kept prisoner for the space of eight days; from thence he was carried unto the Jacobines, hard by the river Rhine, and was shut up in the prison of the abbey, which was hard by the Bogardes.

Impri-  
sonment  
and sick-  
ness 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 :

Articles presented unto Pope John XXIII., for the Condemnation of Master John Huss, after he was newly imprisoned.<sup>1</sup>

The sup-  
per 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  
adminis-  
tration of  
the sacra-  
ments.

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 by his writings 'De Ecclesia;' the which if he deny, let there then be some divines and others appointed, to peruse and look over his said writings of the church. 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 from the school-men, and is in no case to be holden or allowed. This article is manifest by his said treatise upon the church.

Ecclesi-  
astical  
revenue

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 by 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 reservations of the pope's casualties, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of the priests, were invented only for covetousness. This article doth somewhat appear by those foregoing, but by his examination shall be more evident.

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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 bishops' power. The power of the keys of the church. Excommunication.

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 ways between this and the city of Prague, and thereby hath profaned the process and authority of the church.

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.

Investitures.

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.

The office of preaching.

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 withstood 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.

Lupus agnum accusat, quod turbarit fontem. A heaping together of many grievous crimes.

The departure of the Germans from the university of Prague.

Moreover, when there were questions moved amongst the divines of the university of Prague upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff, and they had called a convocation, and all the divines of Bohemia (for the Germans were already departed), they 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.

The forty-five articles of Wickliff.

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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The office of preaching forbidden by the arch-bishop. Insurrections against the clergy feared in Bohemia.

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 the souls committed unto them, neither by the apostolic see, nor yet by the ordinary of the place.

Also as 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 dissimulated 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. Going about by this means, he 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 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.

Master Paletz lieth, for the Holy Ghost had no leisure to come to that council.

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.

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 Castile, and the bishop of Lybusse; which prelates

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.

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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 tediousness. Howbeit, some of them shall be declared, when we come to the process of his judgment.

John  
Huss sick  
of an  
ague in  
prison.  
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.

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 means 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  
Con-  
stance.

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

Noble-  
men of  
Bohemia  
labour for  
John  
Huss.



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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 least unto 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.

The safe  
conduct  
of the em-  
peror  
challeng-  
ed.

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, Master Wenceslate 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 ex-  
tremities  
John  
Huss suf-  
fered in  
prison.

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 1410, 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 or 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.

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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1415.The con-  
futation  
of certain  
slanders.

As soon as this their supplication was read, the bishop of Luthonis, 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 seventeenth day of May, at 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 Luthonis; which thing indeed was afterward performed, for, the seventeenth 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 Luthonis defended himself against that which is before written.

#### Answer of the Bishop of Luthonis, to the last Part of the Supplication which the Nobles of Bohemia presented unto the Council.

Most reverend fathers and noble lords! as Peter de Mladoneywitz, 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; whereupon, 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 and rooting out of that most wicked and detestable sect of Wickliff's, which now (alas! for sorrow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said kingdom, as it is well known: notwithstanding, here, in this my oration, not for any shame or reproof, but for the honour of the kingdom aforesaid, I have propounded and declared a certain new sect, which is now lately sprung up in the said kingdom, the followers whereof do minister and communicate the sacraments in many cities, towns, and places of the said kingdom, under both kinds, both of bread and wine, and do constantly teach

Answer  
and accu-  
sation of  
the bishop  
of Lutho-  
nis  
against  
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Huss.

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the common people, both men and women, 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 recount 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 con-  
duct of  
John  
Huss.

And first of all, whereas the lords alleged and said, how that Master John Huss was come hither unto Constance freely of his own good will, under the safe-conduct of the lord the king, and the protection of the sacred empire; it is answered on the behalf of your reverences, how that the said lords are misinformed as touching the safe-conduct, and that you have understood by such as are worthy credit, that the friends and favourers of the said

John Huss, did first procure and get his safe conduct, fifteen days after his imprisonment.

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The safe  
conduct  
of John  
Huss  
obtained  
and  
showed  
before his  
imprison-  
ment.

The lords of Bohemia, and especially the lord John de Clum here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth answer, that not only 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 Master 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.

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 safe-conduct unto many. And for the 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.

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.

The  
bishops  
of the  
council  
falsely  
informed  
touching  
the safe  
conduct  
of John  
Huss.

Secondly, Whereas the lords aforesaid, alleging how Master John Huss, coming unto Constance of his own free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned, your reverences have made answers 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 procurers.

John  
Huss  
imprison-  
ed before  
he was  
either  
condemned  
or  
heard.

And forasmuch as he refused obstinately to appear, he was excommunicated; in which excommunication he continued, as you affirm, by the space of five years: for which he was 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 heresies; 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 come thither, and deadly enmity had not letted: and, moreover, his procurers which he sent unto the court of Rome, alleging reasonable causes for his non-appearance, some of them were cast into prison, and others were evil entreated.

The  
answer  
touching  
the cita-  
tion of  
John  
Huss to  
the court  
of Rome.

His pro-  
curers  
evil en-  
treated  
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; 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

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John  
Huss  
falsely  
reported  
to preach  
openly at  
Con-  
stance.

John  
Huss  
falsely  
charged  
to preach  
coming  
to the  
council.

Hasmany  
wellwish-  
ers in  
Bohemia.

aforsaid, and especially 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.

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 mocking or deriding of the pope, whose ambassadors came thither for unity or concord, who were suffered, and gently treated, as their lords were most inclined unto unity and peace; or else that they did understand or mean the particular heretics, who were there condemned; adjoining thereunto, that the heretics also coming unto the council under the pretence of that unity, should be gently handled and entreated, &c. Reverend fathers and lords! whether they be counted the first, or that they be thought the second or last, the lords aforsaid require none other thing, but that the said Master John Huss may use such liberty as they used, forasmuch as he came willingly unto this most sacred council, not for any other purpose, but only publicly to recognise his faith. And that in what point soever he shall seem to vary from the word of God, and the union of the holy mother the 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.

Last of all, most reverend fathers and lords! forasmuch as your reverences have most favourably answered unto the principal request made by the lords aforsaid, that the process of Master John Huss, through God's help, should be determined and ended with all expedition and gentleness; the lords aforsaid 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 most immortal 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 Luthonis, that Bohemian, but also against the cavillations of Alanus Copus Anglus,<sup>1</sup> touching the safe-conduct of John Huss, whereof sufficiently before hath been said.

#### The Copy of a public Testimonial of the whole University of Prague for John Huss, offered up to the Council.<sup>2</sup>

•In the name of God, Amen. The year of our Lord 1411, the tenth day of September, in the second year of the bishopric 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 treated and talked of. The honourable and devout man, Master John de Hussenetz, 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 the whole college of doctors and masters, in the presence also of the public notaries, which he would send unto our most holy father, the tenor whereof followeth, word for word.

According to my due reverence which I owe unto Jesu Christ, the high bishop, I am ready to satisfy every man, who shall require me to render my

(1) Dial 6, p. 929.

(2) This document is introduced from the edition of 1563, p. 205.—Ed.

account or reason, of the faith which I do hold. And, first, I do confess, with my whole heart, Jesus Christ to be the only Lord, very God and very man, and all his laws and commandments to be of such firm and steadfast truth, that no iota or tittle thereof can fail. Moreover, I do confess his most holy church to be so surely founded and set upon the most strong and steadfast rock, against which the gates of hell can, by no means, prevail; and, in the hope of this head, our Lord Jesus Christ, I am ready to sustain the punishment of most cruel death, rather than, under the hope of election, to say or do any thing which should be contrary to the will of Christ and his church. Whereupon, boldly and truly I do affirm, that, wrongfully, I am accused unto the apostolic see by such as are enemies unto the truth, for which, falsely, they have accused me; 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.

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Falsely, likewise, do they affirm, 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 temporalities 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 by any manner of mine. Unjustly have they accused me, that I should be the cause that certain masters of the Germans were expelled 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 continue or stand: whereupon, without any compulsion, they departed and went their ways.

Truly I do grant, that I do appeal from the sentence of the most reverend father in Christ, the lord Swincow, archbishop of Prague, unto the apostolic see; and, again, that I did appeal from the processes which came forth from the holy apostolic see, through sinister and false accusation and information. For the enemies of the truth, not having any respect or regard unto their own honour or salvation, have falsely made suggestion unto the apostolic see, that, in the kingdom of Bohemia, and under the marquis of Moravia, manifold errors are sprung up, which have infected the hearts of many; so that, for the number and multitude of those who are infected with such errors, it is necessary that speedy remedy and correction be had. Finally, they have falsely made suggestion, that the chapel of Bethlehem should be the private place for the purpose; forasmuch as that place is appointed and confirmed by the ordinary bishop, for an ecclesiastical benefice, the destruction whereof would, not a little, diminish and take away the honour of God from amongst the people, hinder the profit and furtherance of souls, give great offence, and provoke and stir up the people, not a little, against those who should be the destroyers thereof.

Further, I being cited personally to appear at Rome, with all humility wished and desired so to do. But, forasmuch as both within the kingdom, and also without, there were snares laid for my life 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, I appointed my advocates and procurers. I therefore most humbly do implore and desire your clemency and holiness to be a mean unto the high vicar of Christ, that he will vouchsafe, even for the tender mercy of the most Almighty God, freely to absolve me, though I did not personally appear; and other things which followed thereupon. Forasmuch 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 Wencelaus 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 afore-

Why  
John  
Huss  
went not  
to Rome.

*Henry  
V.*

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said most reverend father in Christ, the lord Swinco; 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 (except that I would give place and be ready to amend the same), I am contented, even with my whole heart, 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 a reason 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.’

Which brief or epistle being thus put up and read, the said Master John Huss required, that, for the more evidence and greater evidence to be had, the said writing should be written over again by us the notaries hereunder written, and should be reduced to a common form and order, and afterwards, by the rector, doctors, and masters, of the universities aforesaid, to 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 aforesaid 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 Tachonia, and John de Tepla, priests; Matthew de Chlumtzan, 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, by the imperial authority, public notary of the diocese of Prague, and also of the lords, doctors, masters, and scholars of the university and study of Prague; and Nicholas de Brewma, by the apostolic and imperial authority, public notary of the diocese of Olmutz.\*

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 being 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 Bohe-  
mians for  
John  
Huss.

The lords  
could  
have no  
answer to  
their sup-  
plication.

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, which may be understood and known by the schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifully consider and foresee, that all those griefs and evils, so far different from

all brotherly love and charity, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred.

To the intent, therefore, that the 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 especially in all his public and open sermons, hath made, and hath accustomed to make, these manner of protestations; and which, without any thing to the contrary, he hath always endeavoured to have them strong and firm, as by this his protestation here following (which he made about the determination of a certain question), it 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.

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### 'The Protestation of John Huss.

'Forasmuch 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 to hold, the very true and infallible truth and verity; so that before 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, which I do believe, every part and parcel thereof, to be given and promulgated for the salvation of mankind, by the counsel and determination of the most holy Trinity and the saints of God.

• 'Moreover, I do believe all and singular the articles of that law, according to the sense and understanding in 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; being truly informed and taught, that it were contrary unto the truth.'•

By the which his protestation, and also other protestations by the said Master John Huss, being well observed and noted, it may be easily gathered and known, that his whole intent and purpose was and is, that he neither would nor will have spoken or written any thing in his books, treatises, doctrines, or public sermons; or else to have affirmed any articles, which willingly and wittingly he did understand or know to be erroneous, offensive, seditious, heretical, or offending the godly ear: albeit that these and such like things are falsely imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath always been his chief intent and purpose, and so is, that every point, conclusion, or article, contained in his books or articles, to have put and affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the gospel, the holy doctors, and writers upon the holy Scriptures; and to that end and purpose, as is before expressed in his protestations: and if in any point he should be found to vary or go astray, or that he were not well understood of others, by like information to be informed, understood, corrected, and amended; and that he will by no means sustain or defend any manner of article against the holy church of Rome, or the catholic faith.

Wherefore, most reverend fathers! 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 and not looking upon the allegations and reasons, neither having any relation unto the distinction of their equivocations, have compounded and made

(1) This paragraph is supplied to complete the document, from the edition of 1563, p. 207.—Ed.



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thereof certain false and feigned articles against him to this end, that, all charity and love being set apart, they might the better overthrow him, and bring him unto death, contrary unto the safe-conduct upon good and just occasion openly assigned and given unto the said Master John Huss, by the most noble prince the lord Sigismund, king of the Romans and of Hungary, for his just defence against all the frivolous accusations and assaults of the enemies, not only of the said Master John Huss, but also of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and for the quiet appeasing of all such tumults and rumours rising and springing up in the said kingdom of Bohemia, or elsewhere; the avoiding of which most perilous uproars, the said king of Romans doth greatly desire and wish, as the right heir and successor of the said kingdom.

Articles  
foisted  
out of  
Huss's  
books by  
his ene-  
mies.

Whereupon the barons and nobles aforesaid, most humbly desire and require, the premises being considered, and respect had unto the great infamy and slander which may happen by the premises unto the said kingdom and inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands and take some order and means, that Master John Huss may be distinctly heard by some famous men, divines already deputed, or otherwise to be appointed, 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 this purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equivocations, in which the drawers-out of the most part of his articles have also made equivocations, that so, according to the disposition of the witnesses, of which a great number of them are and have a long time been his mortal enemies, that at the frivolous instigation of his enemies, when he was miserably detained prisoner, he should not be condemned unheard. Forasmuch as by the said declarations your fatherly reverences might be the more better informed of the truth, 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 incurably obstinate for a long time, in most perilous articles, which your reverences may now plainly perceive to be untrue: and for the more evidence herein to be showed, there is presented unto your reverences an instrument of public recognition of the most reverend father in Christ the lord Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, an inquisitor of heresies, especially appointed by the apostolic see in the diocese of Prague, which by your reverences is more diligently to be hearkened unto.

The  
council  
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against  
John  
Huss.

The no-  
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Huss not  
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be de-  
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out of  
prison.

Wherefore it may please your fatherly reverences to command the said Master John Huss, neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chains, in which he is now most grievously detained and kept, and to put him into the hands of some reverend lords, bishops or commissioners appointed, or to be appointed, by this present council; that the said Master John Huss may somewhat be relieved, and recover again his health, and be the more diligently and commodiously examined by the commissioners. And for the more assurance, the barons and nobles aforesaid of the kingdom of Bohemia, will provide most sure and good sureties, who will not break their fidelity and faith for any thing in the world; who also shall promise in this behalf, that he shall not flee nor depart out of their hands, until such time as the matter be fully determined by the said commissioners. In the execution of which promises, we have determined to provide and foresee, unto the fame and honour of the said kingdom of Bohemia, and also to the safe-conduct of the most worthy prince, the king of Romans; lest that the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the kingdom aforesaid, might not a little slander and reprove the said lords; pretending and showing forth hereafter, that they had made unreasonable or unlawful requests: for the withstanding of which mischief, we require your fatherly reverences, that you will decree, and most graciously consent, that this our petition and supplication may be drawn out again by your notary, and reduced into a public form and order.

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.

## Substance of the Answer of the Council to the Supplication.

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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; where, 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 this 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 that they would 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 friend in all things, and at all times. Most noble prince, and gracious lord, we signify unto your worthiness, 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.<sup>1</sup>

'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 will, with your favourable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and just supplications which we have put up to the lords aforesaid, put to your helping hand toward the said most reverend fathers and lords, that they will effectually hear us in this our most just petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforesaid; lest the enemies of the renown and honour of the famous kingdom of Bohemia (and such be our slanderers also) hereafter may detract and slander us, that we should make unreasonable and unlawful requests unto the said reverend fathers and lords; and therefore, we required and desired of them, that it would please them to decree, by setting to their public hand and seal, to authorise our said supplication. Likewise, we do most heartily require your highness, that you would vouchsafe in like manner to give us your testimony of 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 im-  
portunity  
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 444.

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Mischle-  
vous  
counsel  
of the  
popish  
band.

The  
crafty  
counsel  
of the  
papists  
stopped  
by the  
emperor.

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 hercafter 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 Master Wencelate de Duba, and John of Clum, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the emperor, who, understanding their intent, sent Louis, the county 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.

In the mean season, these gentlemen, Master Wencelate of Duba, and John of Clum, did give unto the two princes, whom the emperor had sent, certain small treatises which the said John Huss had made, out of which they had drawn certain articles 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 reprov'd, 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.

John  
Huss  
forced  
to keep  
silence by  
outrage  
of the  
bishops  
and  
priests

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

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."<sup>1</sup>

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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 departed from the council for that present, and appointed to meet there again on the morrow after, to proceed in judgment.

An outrageous council.

The next day, which was the seventh of June, on which day the sun was almost wholly eclipsed, somewhat after about seven of the clock, 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 gentlemen, Master Wencelate, of Duba, and John of 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 that in the accusation of Michael de Causis, they read these words following: "John Huss hath taught the people divers and many errors both in the chapel of Bethlem, and also in many other places of the city of Prague, of 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 pronounciation of the words in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth material bread." And this is 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; forasmuch as Christ, in the sixth chapter of John, doth oftentimes 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: "Will you put any universalities 'a parte rei,' i. e. 'as touching the thing?'" When John Huss answered, that he would, 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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The cardinal sophist-  
cateth with John Huss.

then," said he, "that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of material bread; and that I do thus prove: that the consecration being done, while 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 our purpose at an end. If contrariwise, then doth it follow, that by the decision of the singularity, the universal ceaseth any more to be."—John Huss answered, "Truly it ceaseth to be, in this singular material, bread, by means of this transubstantiation, when it is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ; but notwithstanding in other singularities it is made subject."

The dis-  
putation  
of the  
English-  
men.

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 means of the alteration of its substance into the body of Christ."

Another  
English-  
man.

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 sacra-  
ment.

Stokes,  
an Eng-  
lishman.

False  
witness

John  
Huss  
falsely  
accused  
for  
calling  
St. Gre-  
gory a  
rhymet.

Then they returned again unto the witnesses 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 rhymet, 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.

These contentions and disputations being somewhat appeased, the cardinal of Florence turned himself towards John Huss and said: "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."

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 certain points or articles out of your books to betray them afterwards; it seemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in mine advice he hath used and showed a great fidelity and amity toward you, in that 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."

Then was there read a certain article of accusation, in 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 of 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, which were first condemned at Rome. And afterwards also, when the archbishop of Swinco, 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

Henry  
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Florence.  
Twenty  
witnesses  
prevailed  
against  
John  
Huss, but  
the testi-  
mony of  
all Bohe-  
mia could  
not serve  
on his  
part.The car-  
dinal of  
Cambray.He  
meaneth  
Gerson.Another  
accusa-  
tion for  
defending  
Wickliff's  
articles.

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 Certain articles of Wickliff that John Huss stood to.

heretical, erroneous or offensive; he answered, that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending 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 or baptize. "This article," said he, "I have thus determined, as if I should say, that he doth unworthily consecrate or baptize, when he is in deadly sin, and that 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 in the very same words of the treatise which John Huss made against Stephen Paletz. "Verily," said John Huss, "I fear not to submit myself, even under the danger 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, as touching the alms: "It is required that it should be given freely without bond or duty. But tenths are not given freely without bond or duty; therefore are they no alms." John Huss, denying the major of this syllogism, brought this reason against him: "Forasmuch as rich men are bound, 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."

Aims stand of duty.

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 Swinco 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 Jaroslous, 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.'

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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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Sedition  
laid to his  
charge.

Huss ac-  
cused for  
moving  
certain  
tumults  
against  
the cler-  
gy, and  
division  
in the  
univer-  
sity of  
Prague.  
A story of  
popes.

Why  
Swinco  
and other  
of the  
clergy did  
fly out of  
Prague.

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.

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.

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 Wincelate king of Bohemia, who was then king of the Romans, made Louis, duke of Bavaria, emperor.

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, neither yet with Benedict XII., bishop of Avignon, who was then named pope, as it doth appear by chronicles. In this cause then, forasmuch as the archbishop Swinco with the clergy were against the king, and abstaining from the divine service, many of them departed out of the city, and the archbishop himself, breaking down the tomb of the lord Wincelate, contrary and against the king's will, did also take Wickliff's books and burn them. Thereupon the king, without any gainsaying, suffered that certain goods of theirs, who of their own wills were fled away, should be spoiled; because they should not consent or accord with the bishop. Whereupon it is easy to be understood and known

that John Huss was falsely accused for that matter. Howbeit a certain man, one Naso,<sup>1</sup> 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."

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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; whereat the Germans grudging that they should be exempted from their voices, of their own accord departed and went their ways; binding themselves with a great oath, and under a great penalty,<sup>2</sup> both of their fame, and also money, that none of them should return again unto Prague. Notwithstanding, I am not ashamed to confess, that I did approve and allow the doings of the king, unto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commodity and profit of my country. And because you shall not think that I have spoken any untruth, here is present Albert Warren Trapius, who was deacon of the faculties, 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 decla-  
ration  
how the  
Germans  
departed  
from the  
univer-  
sity of  
Prague.

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 Polesians 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 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 slan-  
der of the  
unshame-  
fast sycco-  
phant.

(1) This doctor Naso was counsellor to king Wincellaus.

(2) The penalty of money was a hundred silver shock.

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1415.Paletz  
speaketh  
against  
John  
Huss.Huss  
commit-  
ted to  
custody.The car-  
dinal of  
Cambray.John de  
Clum.

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.

This done, the said John Huss was committed to the custody of the bishop of Reggio, 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."

And the emperor himself began to tell him the same tale, saying:

The em-  
peror's  
oration 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.

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Unto whom John Huss answered in this sort; "O most noble emperor! I render unto your highness most immortal thanks, for your letters of safe conduct." Upon this lord John de Clum did break him of his purpose, and admonished him that he did, in no point, excuse himself of the blame 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 serjants.

Answer  
of John  
Huss  
unto the  
emperor.

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;' the copy whereof was showed me by the notaries of the three

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**First article.**  
 presidents of the council; that is to say, the patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Castile, and the bishop of Libusse: which deputies or presidents, 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.  
 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 xx.
- 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 a true disciple of Jesus Christ.' I answer, and I do confess the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is passed before, and by St. Augustine in his Book of Penance, 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: And therefore, I say 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: and 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 remain in my word, you be my disciples; forasmuch, 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 means 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.' Forasmuch 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.'

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V.  
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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.

Eighth  
article.

The  
church is  
taken  
sometime  
for the  
congregation  
of the  
elect and  
faithful,  
and so is  
the article  
taken in  
the creed.

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.'

Ninth  
article.  
Peter  
never was  
head of  
the whole  
universal  
church.

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

Tenth  
article.  
The vicar  
of Christ,  
how he is  
to be  
taken.

*Henry V.*

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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 deprived, forasmuch as the church was deceived by N., as it appeareth by St. Augustine.

Fifteenth article.  
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.

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.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1415.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' 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.'

Seven-  
teenth  
article

Then said the cardinal of Cambray, 'Behold both this and all other articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable things in his book than are presented in his 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 meet 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.

Eight-  
teenth  
article.  
John  
Huss con-  
demneth  
the cruel-  
ty of the  
prelates  
in seek-  
ing 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 be-  
traying  
and con-  
demning  
of inno-  
cents.

(1) The cardinals do count it heresy, that they should be compelled to be followers of the apostles.



Henry  
V.A. D.  
1415.Nine-  
teenth  
article.  
The  
church  
militant  
standeth  
in three  
parts.Twenti-  
eth arti-  
cle.Three  
kinds of  
obedi-  
enceTrue  
obedi-  
ence  
ruled by  
God's  
com-  
mand-  
ment.Twenty-  
first arti-  
cle.Appeal-  
ing unto  
Christ :Forbidden  
by the  
cardinal  
of Cam-  
bray.Twenty-  
second  
article.  
A knot  
found in  
a rush.

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.'<sup>1</sup>

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.'

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. 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.'

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<sup>2</sup> again, they mocked him.

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

(1) And how could this bishop 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, and as 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 cxlvi. 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.'

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?'

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

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*Henry V.*

A. D.  
1415.

How the pope's cursings are blessings.

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.'

Twenty-fourth article.

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.

Censures of the pope's church multiply the pope's covetousness.

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!

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 the audience, they have gathered certain clauses most contrary thereunto; 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.'

Twenty-sixth article.

Christ interdicted none, but prayed for all.

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.

And these are the articles which are alleged out of John Huss's book, entitled, '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.

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.

He  
appeals  
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John  
XXIII.  
unto  
Christ.

The  
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prayer of  
Christ,  
against  
wicked  
judges.

After the  
example  
of Christ,  
he  
maketh  
his  
prayer to  
God.

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 of St. Angles, dean of the church of Rome, and cardinal, and also ordained judge by pope John XXIII. who hath continued almost these two years, and would give no audience unto my advocates and procurators: 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

A godly  
prayer of  
John  
Huss. He  
appealeth  
from men  
to Christ.

John  
Huss  
com-  
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of Mi-  
chael de  
Causis,  
his great  
enemy.

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V.A. D.  
1415.The  
procu-  
rator of  
John  
Huss,  
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in prison  
at Rome.  
The pope  
proved  
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his own  
canon  
law.

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 procurator in the said court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. Forasmuch 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.

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  
judgment  
of John  
Huss.

While these things were thus entreating, the emperor, looking out of a certain window of the cloister, accompanied with the county 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.'

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V.A. D.  
1415.The car-  
dinal 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  
articl

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  
articl

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,  
articl.

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 the searticles, 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

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1415.

Fifth  
article.

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.

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.'

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The cardinal of  
Cambray.

Now there remain six articles of 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.

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.'

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



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Third  
article.

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.'

The third article: 'There is no spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head in the spirituality, 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 spirituality, ruling and governing the militant church by much more and greater necessity than Caesar ought to rule the temporality; 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 spirituality 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, 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; forasmuch 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 it is. And what doth let and hinder, that Christ should not now also rule the same, better by his true disciples, without such monstrous heads as have been now of late? 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.

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.

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### Other Nineteen Articles objected against John Huss, being in Prison.

The first article: 'Paul, according unto present justice, was a blasphemers 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 blasphemers, 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 blasphemers, 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 willet 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,<sup>1</sup> 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, forasmuch as it is impossible 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 loos-  
ing  
chiefly  
and prin-  
cipally  
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  
absolu-  
tion 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<sup>o</sup> 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 Canonicals, he

Priests  
more  
given to  
their own  
lucre and  
belly,  
than to  
the ser-  
vice 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 honour,' &c.

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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 un-  
godly, 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  
articleThe pope  
doing  
contrary  
to Christ,  
is not the  
vicar of  
Christ,  
but Anti-  
christ.

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.'

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  
com-  
mand-  
ment.

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. Isodore, 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.

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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 clergy  
and  
laity may  
judge of  
the works  
of their  
prelates.

Secret in  
the court  
of con-  
science.  
Open in  
the court  
of autho-  
rity.

Thir-  
teenth  
article.  
To god-  
ward all  
wicked  
ministers  
be sus-  
pended.

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 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 ministrations 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.

Four-  
teenth  
article.  
The lay-  
people  
sup-  
planted  
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 Canonicals. 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), luxuriousness, 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 Canonicals, plainly saith; 'Wicked and evil priests prepare the way for Antichrist.'

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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.

Fifteenth  
article.The dishonesty  
of such as  
gathered  
charges  
against  
Huss.

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.

Sixteenth  
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.

Seven-  
teenth  
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.'

Eight-  
teenth  
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.

Nine-  
teenth  
article.

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John  
Gerson  
chancel-  
lor of  
Paris.

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.

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 willett 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 arrogance 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. Henry  
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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. Eleventh.

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. Twelfth.

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.] Thirteenth.

The fourteenth article: 'That the clergy living wickedly, ought to be reprov'd 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. Fourteenth.

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 reprov'd 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. Fifteenth.

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. Sixteenth.

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. Seventeenth.

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. Eighteenth.

The nineteenth article: 'That every deed done without charity, is sin.' This error was reprov'd 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. Nineteenth.

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 learning: 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 of him, who slacketh to withstand a manifest mischief.

These things are intermeddled by the way under correction, as by way of doctrine.

John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, unworthy.

These things thus declared, a man may easily understand, that John Huss was not accused for holding any opinion contrary to the articles of our 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.

A double inconvenience for John Huss to fall into.

'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 shouldst 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.'

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 started 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.”

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. Moreover, that thou shalt promise by an oath, that from henceforth thou shalt not teach, hold, or maintain, any of these articles. And, last of all, that thou shalt openly recant all these articles.”

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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 Book of Universalities, that to abjure, is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And forasmuch 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

*The force of false witness. The emperor to John Huss.*

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."

*An old bishop of Poland.*

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.

*Objection of a priest better fed than taught.*

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.

*Paletz against John Huss.*

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."

*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."

*John Huss waxeth faint and weary.*

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.

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.

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Another  
quarrel  
against  
John  
Huss  
touching  
these  
three  
men be-  
headed 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 corpses were by me conveyed with any such pomp unto their sepulture or burial: 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; and these three spake against the pope's bulls: ergo, by virtue of the king's commandment, they were beheaded.<sup>1</sup> And what John Huss's opinion and mind was, as touching these men, it is evident enough by his book entitled, 'Of the Church,' wherein he writeth thus: "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 afterwards he saith; "How is this fulfilled in these two lay-men, who not consenting, but speaking against the feigned lies of Antichrist, have offered their lives there-for, and many others were ready to do the same, and many were fraudulently associated unto them, who, being feared by the threatenings of Antichrist, are fled, and have turned their backs," &c.

John  
Huss be-  
lieved.

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  
English-  
men  
against  
John  
Huss.

The testi-  
monial of  
Oxford  
for Wick-  
liff,  
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.

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the stone  
of Wick-  
liff's se-  
pulchre  
brought  
for a relic  
to Prague.

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.

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 Cambridge: "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 Mi-  
chaol de  
Causis.  
John  
Huss  
witness-  
eth the  
Lord.John de  
Clum  
doth com-  
fort John  
Huss.

When he had spoken these words, the bishop of Reggio, 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 or the council in this manner following:

#### 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.

*Henry V.*

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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 Master Wencelate 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 more regardeth to obey man, than manifest verity.

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
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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 Londe went up into the pulpit, and made this sermon following.

The Sermon of the Bishop of Londe, 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.

His  
theme  
confirmed  
by Ari-  
stotle.

It appeareth by the authority of Aristotle, in his book entituled 'De Cælo 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.

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 schism 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.

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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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schism  
continu-  
ed forty  
years.He stir-  
reth up  
the empe-  
ror Sigis-  
mund.Lorip-  
dem rec-  
tus redi-  
deat,  
aethiopem  
albus.  
Note the  
vile flat-  
tery of  
these pa-  
pists,  
when  
they  
would  
have any  
thing of  
the em-  
peror for  
their pur-  
pose.

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!

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 shouldst 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 shouldst help the people, pluck down and destroy iniquity. And by exercising of justice thou shouldst, 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!

The pro-  
curer of the  
council  
calleth  
for the  
sentence.

When this sermon was thus ended, the procurer 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.

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The cardinal of Cambray commanded Huss to keep silence.

Huss could not be heard in the council. Commit- teth his cause to the Lord.

When the articles abovesaid were ended, last of all theré was added a notable blasphemy, which they all imputed to John Huss; that is, That he said there should be a fourth person in divinity, 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 a blasphemy and slander!"

Mark the unshame- facedness of them, to feign what they list.

Afterwards the twenty-first article was repeated, how he appealed 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 ex- communication 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 briars, 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 reprovèd and condemned. And forasmuch as the said articles are expressly contained in the books of the said John Huss, therefore this said sacred<sup>2</sup> 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 herèsies, 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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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<sup>2</sup> 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 reprovved 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 clearth 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.

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<sup>3</sup>

Com-manded 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 safeguard. 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 ora-  
tion 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 de-  
grading  
of John  
Huss.*

*His  
words  
unto the  
emperor.*

*The  
crown of  
Huss cut  
with  
shears.*

In the mean season, John Huss, turning himself toward the emperor, said: “ I marvel that forasmuch as they be all of like cruel mind and stomach, yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty.” 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 commit my spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ! unto thee I commend 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 gate Gottlieben, between the gardens and 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 fiftieth 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 fell down.

When, by the commandment of the tormentors, he was risen up

(1) Ex Epist. Joann. Huss. 31.

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John  
Huss  
fastened  
to the  
stake.  
John  
Huss  
turned  
towards  
the west.

Pardon  
offered  
again to  
John  
Huss.

The last  
confession  
of  
John  
Huss.

The  
martyr-  
dom 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 con-  
sumed  
with fire.  
His ashes  
cast into  
the  
Rhine.

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 safeguard, 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.

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.

I know very well that these things are very slenderly written by me<sup>1</sup> 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 Pizibram, 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.

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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 Pizibram, 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 Pizibram thought to be his name.

This godly servant and martyr of Christ was condemned by the cruel council, and burned at Constance, A. D. 1415, about 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

### The Letter of the Emperor Sigismund, to the Nobles of Bohemia.

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, inasmuch 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.<sup>3</sup>

The emperor excuseth himself of the death of John Huss.

(1) Ex Cochleio de Hist. Huss. lib. 4.

(2) Interca (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 un-  
courteous  
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 MikestDweky 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 prophetic 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.

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 thralldom 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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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 rehearseih 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.'

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 Wincelaus and other nobles, 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 prison, I desire 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,<sup>2</sup> 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-favourably 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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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!

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.

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 Israelites 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

*Hen'ry*  
*V.*

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Praise of  
Hohemia.  
The abo-  
mination of  
the  
council of  
Con-  
stance de-  
scribed.

John  
Huss  
seemeth  
here to  
prophecy  
of the  
council,  
as it came  
to pass.  
The coun-  
cil afraid  
to be tried  
by the  
Scriptures.

St. Ka-  
tharino,  
disputing  
with fifty  
doctors,  
converted  
them; but  
Huss  
could not  
convert  
his fifty  
doctors.

Good  
books of  
good men  
have been  
burned of  
old time.

Good  
men with  
their  
books to  
be burned  
no news.

(1) This cardinal was cardinal Cambrensis.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1416.John  
Huss  
seemeth  
to prophesy  
of the council  
of Con-  
stance.The blas-  
phemous  
opinion of  
lawyers  
and pa-  
pists  
touching  
the sove-  
reignty  
of the pope.One si-  
monist  
condem-  
neth an-  
other.The  
bishops of  
the coun-  
cil noted  
for simo-  
ny.Pope John  
made a  
pope, be-  
ing  
known to  
be a mur-  
derer.Anti-  
ohrist,  
now first  
begin-  
neth to be  
revealed  
in the  
pope.A prophesy  
of John  
Huss.

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 accused 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.

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

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. 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.

*Henry*

*V.*

A. D.

1416.

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 Lumlovio, 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.

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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 devourereth 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 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<sup>1</sup> 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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A.D. 1416.

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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The  
prayer of  
John  
Huss to  
Christ.

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.

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

Ex-  
amples 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 al<sup>d</sup> 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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1416.

Henry  
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1416.

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.

A prophecy  
of Master  
Jerome of  
Prague.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

And shortly after the writing hereof, he sendeth also unto them another prophetic 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.

Pro-  
phetic.

This vision lord John de Clum, and John Huss himself, in his book of Epistles, in the forth-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 revolūtis 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.

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."

And because we are here in hand with the propheties 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 abominacione;" wherein the said John Huss, speaking prophetically of the reformation of the church, hath these words following.<sup>1</sup>

'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.

### 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.<sup>2</sup> 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

(1) "Ex istis ulterius advertente 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.

Henry V.

A. D. 1416.

Propheta.

Propheta.

He repenteth his gay garments.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1416.

He re-  
penteth  
his play-  
ing at  
the chess.

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 invoke 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.

### 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 con-  
demned  
for no er-  
roneous  
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 catholicus be carried. His words be these: '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 Cochleio, lib. ii. hist. Hussitarum, pag. 88. "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 Thiestes, killer of his own mother; and the Les-trygones 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.

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.**

\* Forasmuch<sup>1</sup> as the variety of men's affections, by means of A. D. 1415  
hatred of persons oftentimes coming between, and other causes <sup>to 1416.</sup>

(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.



*Henry**v.*

A.D.

1415

to

1416.

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, being the author of truth, may hereafter be the more celebrated and remembered.\*

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.

Henry  
F  
A. D.  
1415  
to  
1416.

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.

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.

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:

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.

### The Citation of Jerome of Prague to the Council of Constance.

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

Jerome cited by the council when he was taken.

*Henry**V.*

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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.

Jerome is brought bound unto Constance by duke John.

After Sigismund king of Hungary, with the rest of the council, understood by the aforesaid duke John,<sup>1</sup> 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, brought Master Jerome bound unto Constance, whom his brother duke Louis led through the city, to the cloisters of the friars minor in Constance, where 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

(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."

Henry V.

A. D. 1415 to 1416.

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 Divinity 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.

The master of the university of Heidelberg.

Then certain cried out: "Let him be burned, let him be burned."<sup>1</sup> 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

(1) "Crucifige, crucifige eum."

*Henry V.*A. D.  
1415  
to  
1416.Jerome is  
comforted  
by the  
notary.

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 out at a window of the cloister, 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.

Vitus, the  
compani-  
on of John  
de Clum.

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,"<sup>1</sup> and kept him. When it drew towards evening, the archbishop of Reigen 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 to the archbishop of Reigen, 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.

Jerome  
straitly  
bound  
hand and  
foot.Vitus had  
to the  
arch-  
bishop of  
Reigen.Vitus  
bound by  
oath.Jerome,  
hanging  
in the  
stocks, is  
fed with  
bread and  
water.  
Peter  
bringeth  
meat to  
Jerome.Jerome,  
in great  
sickness,  
calleth for  
a confes-  
sor.  
Kept in  
prison the  
space of  
a year.

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 desired that he might have leave given him to give him meat, because he would procure the same unto 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.

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;

(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.

*Henry V.*  
A. D.  
1415  
to  
1416.

### The forced Abjuration of Master Jerome of Prague.

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 reprov'd 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, forasmuch as I have laboured by scholastical arts to persuade the opinion, 'De universalibus realibus,' and that one substance of the 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 triangle, form, or figure, which I called the shield of faith: therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked understanding thereof, 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 triangle or form, 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 Aquilegia, 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.

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."<sup>1</sup> When the cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselves of Master Jerome's cause and matter.

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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.

The patriarch of Constantinople gives sentence of death both against Huss, and Jerome of Prague.

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.

In the year of our Lord 1416, the twenty-fifth 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 subtly 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 third day after the aforesaid Saturday 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.

Jerome brought again before the council.

False witness against Jerome.

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 astonished 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

The dexterity of Jerome in confuting his adversaries.

(1) "Si dimittis hunc non es amicus Cæsarum."



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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 shouldst 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.

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

Audience hardly given to Jerome to speak for himself.

The oration of Jerome before the council.

Socrates.

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,

Plato.

Anaxagoras.  
Zeno.  
Rupilius.  
Boetius.

Moses.

Joseph.

Esaias.  
Daniel.

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

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.

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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 retraction.

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 bewailth the death of John Huss.

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Jerome  
repenteth  
his speak-  
ing  
against  
John  
Huss.

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.

Huss ne-  
ver main-  
tained  
any doc-  
trine  
against  
the  
church of  
Rome,  
but only  
spake  
against  
their  
naughty  
life.

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 feasting, and keeping of horses and dogs, upon gorgeous apparel, and such other things unbecoming christian religion." And herein he showed himself marvellous eloquent; yea never more.

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 ex-  
cellent  
memory.

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 unkind humanity 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 be-  
fore the  
council.

The Saturday next before 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 Londe, made a certain sermon exhortative against Master Jerome, persuading to his condemnation.

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 Iudice 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 prophesy.

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 reprov'd 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.

Jerome committed to the secular power. Jerome passeth on singing, unto his martyrdom.

He prayeth.

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.

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.

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."

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V.A. D.  
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tied to  
an image  
like to  
John  
Huss.  
He sing-  
eth at his  
burning.  
The  
words of  
Jerome  
to the  
people.  
Jerome  
giveth  
testi-  
mony 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 shook 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 lving or falsifying any point thereof; as He, who is the searcher of all men's hearts, can bear me

The wit-  
ness of  
the wri-  
ter.

*Henry  
V.*

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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, Primate, 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

and of Hungary, the heir and successor of our kingdoms, which was also read and published in your congregations, which we will here also have enrolled), and have burned him, as it is reported, in reproach and contempt of us.

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Wherefore we have thought good even now to direct our letters patent to your reverences now present in the behalf of Master John Huss; openly professing and protesting, both with heart and mouth, that he, the said Master John Huss, was a just, good, and catholic man, and, a long season, worthily commended and allowed in our kingdom for his life and conversation. He also preached and taught us and our subjects the law of the gospel, and of the holy prophets, and the books of the Old and New Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approved by the church, and left many monuments in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and heresies; continually admonishing both us and all faithful Christians to do the like; diligently exhorting all men as much as in him lay, by his words, writings, and travail, unto quietness and concord: so that using all the diligence that we might, we never heard or could understand, that Master John Huss had preached, taught, or by any means affirmed any error or heresy in his sermons, or that by any manner of means he had offended us, or our subjects, either by word or deed; but that he always led a quiet and a godly life in Christ,<sup>1</sup> exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and works, as much as he might, to observe and keep the law of the gospel, and the institutions of the holy fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the church, and to the edifying of men's souls. Neither did these premises which you had so perpetrated to the reproach both of us and our kingdom and marquisdom, suffice and content you, but that also, without all mercy and piety, you have apprehended, imprisoned, and condemned, and even now, peradventure, like as you did Master John Huss, you have most cruelly murdered the worshipful man, Master Jerome of Prague; a man abounding in eloquence, master of the seven liberal arts, and a famous philosopher; not being seen, heard, examined, neither convicted, but only at the sinister and false accusations of his and our accusers and betrayers.

The cause of John Huss cleared by the testimony of the nobles of Bohemia.

Defence of Jerome of Prague.

Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and understanding (which we do not without great grief rehearse), as we may also evidently gather by your writings, how that certain detractors, odious both to God and men, privy enviers and betrayers, have wickedly and grievously, albeit falsely and traitorously, accused us, our kingdom and marquisdom aforesaid, before you in your council; that in the said kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, divers errors are sprung up, which have grievously and manifoldly infected both our hearts, and also the hearts of many faithful men; insomuch that without a speedy stop or stay of correction, the said kingdom and marquisdom, together with the faithful Christians therein, should incur an irreparable loss and ruin of their souls.

These cruel and pernicious injuries which are laid unto us and to our said kingdom and marquisdom, albeit most falsely and slanderously, how may we suffer? forasmuch as through the grace of God

(1) "All that will live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution." 2 Tim. iii.



*Henry**V.*

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(when in a manner all other kingdoms of the world have oftentimes wavered, making schisms and antipopes),<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 revered 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 noble-men 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 noble-men.

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:

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V.  
A. D.  
1416.

- |  |  |                                  |
|--|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Alsokabat de Wisco-<br>witz.        | 20. N. Studenica.                            | 38. Joannes de Pater-<br>swald.  |
| 2. Ulrichus de Lhota.                  | 21. N. Brischell.                            | 39. Parsifal de Namy-<br>escz.   |
| 3. Joan. de Ksimicz.                   | 22. N. de Cromassona.                        | 40. Zodoni de Zwietzick.         |
| 4. Jossko de Sczitowcz.                | 23. Arannisc Donant de<br>Polonia.           | 41. Raczek Zawskalp.             |
| 5. Pærdus Zwiranowicz.                 | 24. Joan. Donant de Po-<br>lonia.            | 42. Jon de Tossawicz.            |
| 6. Joan. de Ziwla.                     | 25. Joan. de Cziczow.                        | 43. Diwa de Spissnia.            |
| 7. Joan. de Reychenberg.               | 26. Wenceslaus de N.                         | 44. Steffko de Draczdw.          |
| 8. Wildo Skitzyny.                     | 27. N. de N.                                 | 45. Issko de Draczdw.            |
| 9. Diliko de Biela.                    | 28. N. N.                                    | 46. Odich de Hlud.               |
| 10. Kos de Doloylatz.                  | 29. Josseck de N.                            | 47. Wosfart de Paulo-<br>wicz.   |
| 11. Joan. de Simusin.                  | 30. Henricus de N.                           | 48. Pirebbor de Tyreze-<br>nicz. |
| 12. Dobessimus de Tissa.               | 31. Waczlas de kuck.                         | 49. Rynard de Tyrcze-<br>wicz.   |
| 13. Drazko de Aradeck.                 | 32. Henr. de Zreno-<br>wicz.                 | 50. Bohunko de Wratis-<br>dow.   |
| 14. Steph. de Hmodor-<br>kat.          | 33. Baczko de Con-<br>vald.                  | 51. Ulrichus de Racdraw.         |
| 15. Joan. Dern de Ga-<br>bonecx.       | 34. Petr. dictus Nienick<br>de Zaltoroldeck. | 52. Deslaw de Nali.              |
| 16. Barso dictus Hloder<br>de Zeinicz. | 35. Czenko de Moss-<br>now.                  | 53. Bonesb de Frabre-<br>nicz.   |
| 17. Joan. Hmrsdorfar.                  | 36. N.                                       | 54. Eybl de Roissowan.           |
| 18. Psateska de Wilklek.               | 37. Zibilutz de Clezam.                      |                                  |
| 19. Petrus Mog. de Sczi-<br>towicy.    |  |                                  |

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<sup>1</sup> 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 plentifully, 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<sup>2</sup> 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 1516;" 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 arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury.

Ye heard before, how, after the death of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Henry Chichesley, A. D. 1414, and sat twenty-five 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. 1416.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1415  
to  
1416.John  
Claydon  
exam-  
ined

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 Scarle, 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.

Claydon  
first im-  
prisoned  
by Robert  
Bray-  
brook,  
bishop of  
London.Claydon  
had be-  
fore ab-  
jured.

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 judg-  
ment of  
the mayor  
of Lon-  
don.Claydon  
had be-  
stowed  
much  
money  
upon  
English  
books.

(1) Ex Regist. Cant.

*Henry V.*A. D.  
1415  
to  
1416.Claydon  
could not  
read.Richard  
Turning,  
baker.William  
Linde-  
wood,  
doctor of  
both laws.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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 twentieth 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:

#### 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.

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

The head  
and tail  
of Anti-  
christ.

(1) This Turning, belike, was then in prison.

in not by Christ, but damnably by the pope, be the venomous and pestiferous tail of Antichrist.

Henry  
F.

V. That no reprobate is a member of the church, but only such as be elected and predestinated to salvation; 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.

A. D.  
1415  
to  
1416.

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  
persecu-  
tion.

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 con-  
ditions 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 re-  
maineth  
in the  
sacra-  
ment.

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 sen-  
tence and  
condem-  
nation 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. The law 'do conturbendo' insufficient. The death and martyrdom of Claydon.

Claydon, Turming, both martyrs according to Fabian.

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, quaqu 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.

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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.

'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.

Twice  
every  
year to  
inquire  
for Lol-  
lards.  
Against  
privy con-  
venticles.

Against  
English  
books.



*Henry*  
*V.*  

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*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,<sup>1</sup> bishop of Lincoln, and so to be holden in prison, till he should hear further what should be done.

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,<sup>2</sup> 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 obtuded 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,<sup>1</sup> and approved by holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

*Henry  
V.*

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;<sup>2</sup> 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.

A. D.  
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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;<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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  
profit-  
able, if ye  
could tell  
where-  
fore.

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 in-  
quisition  
in Eng-  
land.

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 ab-  
jured.

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.

(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.<sup>1</sup>

Robert,  
the par-  
son of  
Hegge-  
ley, exa-  
mined.

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.

William  
Henry of  
Tenter-  
den exa-  
mined.

The same, likewise, did William Henry 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 converted, 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 Commonger, Nicholas Hooper, servant to the lord Cobham, Thomas Granter, with others more, mentioned in the aforesaid register.

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 sub-  
sidy ga-  
thered by  
the pope  
to fight  
against  
the faith-  
ful of Bo-  
hemia.

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 examinee, 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.

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.

A. D. 1416.

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 'Dialogus,' 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.

Dialogus. 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 above-mentioned, 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.Men tied  
to the  
church of  
Rome.

errors and heresies, and turn with good will and heart to the one head of the church,<sup>1</sup> 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 defenders, 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 holy dame, and these holy Evangelists by me bodily touched.

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.

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, Stapelherst, 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 persecut-  
ed in  
Kent.

W. White, priest,	William Everden,	William Somer,
Tho. Greppeded, 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  
F.  
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<sup>1</sup> 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.\*

About the end of which four years being expired, the lord Powis, whether for love or 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.

The lord  
Powis  
playeth  
Judas.

\*<sup>2</sup> Thus, after long process, they condemned him again for heresy

(1) For these, and other words following in asterisks, see Edition 1553, 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 breve Chronycle concernynge the Examinacyon and Death of the blessed Martyr of Christ, Sir Johan Oldecastelle 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.*

A. D.  
1418.

and treason, by force of the aforementioned act;<sup>1</sup> he rendering thanks unto God, that he had so appointed him to suffer for his name's sake. 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-fields, where they had set up a new pair of gallows. As he was coming 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 being 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 because he departed not in the obedience of their pope, it were too 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 souls think their lives very madness, and their passage hence without all honour; but, though they suffer pains 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 burnt 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 departed in the Lord." "Right dear," saith David, "in the sight of God, is the death of his servants."

Thus rested this valiant christian knight, sir John Oldecastle, 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, He, 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. 231.—Ed.









BURNING OF LORD COBHAM.



of his elect. The which He grant, in effect, who is one God eternal ! Amen.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1418.

Treason  
falsely  
surmised.

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 pretended 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, and 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 an execution of a traitor, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the judge, as by due order of law was requisite.

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 circumstance 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<sup>1</sup> is not to be forgotten, which is reported by many, that he should say : that he should die here on 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.<sup>2</sup>

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 perceive, in this absurd charge, a distorted version of the above narration.—Ed.

*Henry*  
*V.*  

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*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, 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 as 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.\*

Judas  
seeketh  
for his  
reward.

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.

\* 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 dominique potens Cobhamius Heros,  
Lux patriæ, et gentis gloria digna suæ:  
Pertulit infestas acies, tulit aspera multa,  
Bella profana gerens, pælia sacra gerens.  
Hæc mente, illa manu, parili cum laude, subibat  
Parte etenim victor semper utraque stetit.  
Hinc equitis debetur honos, hinc martyr is illi  
Gloria, qua victor tempus in omne manet.  
Victus erat. Quid tum? mens quando invicta manebat,  
Pars potior, nullis cedere docta malis.  
O tibi, te dignus 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 meliora, quidem, tempore dignus eras.\*<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, in the said parliament,<sup>3</sup> 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. 17.

In the same parliament also,<sup>1</sup> 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  
to  
1418.

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.

I. That the king of Bohemia shall be sworn to give obedience, and to defend the liberties of the church of Rome.

II. That all masters, doctors, and priests, shall be sworn to abjure the doctrine of Wickliff and Huss, in that council condemned.

III. That all they who, being cited, would not appear, should also be sworn to abjure; and they who would not appear, condemning the censure of the keys, should have process against them, and be punished.

IV. That all such laymen as had defended the causes of John Wickliff and John Huss, should swear to defend them no more, and to approve the doings of that council, and the condemnation of John Huss.

V. That all such secular men who had spoiled the clergy, should be sworn to restitution.

(1) Anno 5. Hen. V., act 17.

*Henry V.* VI. That priests being expelled from their benefices, should be restored again.

*A. D. 1417 to 1418.* VII. That all profaners of churches should be punished after the canonical sanctions.

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, should be restored fully again.

X. That the university of Prague should be restored again and reformed, and that they who had been the disturbers thereof should be really punished.

The fa-  
vourers of  
Huss in  
Bohemia.

XI. That the principal heretics 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 Brachatitz, Johannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de Loben, the provost of Alhallows, Zaislaus 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 hereafter.

XIII. That they who were ordained priests by the suffragan<sup>1</sup> of the archbishop of Prague, taken by the lord Zenco, should not be dispensed with, but sent up to the see apostolic.

Wickliff's  
books  
trans-  
lated.

XIV. That the treatises of John Wickliff, translated into the Bohemian tongue, by John Huss and Jacobellus, should be brought to the ordinary.

XV. That the treatises of John Huss, condemned in the council, should also be brought to the ordinary.

XVI. That all the tractations 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, should be forbid to be sung in cities, towns, and villages, under great and extreme punishment.

XVIII. That none should preach the word without the license of the ordinary, or of the parson of that 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 shall be commanded to obedience, under pain of excommunication; and that whosoever knoweth any person to favour any Wicklevists, or their doctrine, or that keepeth company with suspect persons, he shall present the same to his diocesans or his officials.

XXI. That the confederacy of the seculars made between themselves, or any of the spirituality, 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 others in the said council condemned, shall be dissolved.

Concilium malig-  
nantium.

XXII. That the rights and ceremonies of the christian religion, touching God's service, images, and worshipping of relics, shall be observed, and transgressors of the same be punished.

XXIII. That all and singular, either spiritual or secular, that shall preach, teach, hold, or maintain, the opinions and articles of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, in this council condemned and convicted of the same, shall be holden for heretics; and, falling in relapse, shall be burned.

XXIV. That all secular persons being monished and charged by the ordinaries, shall be bound to give their aid and furtherance unto them touching the premises.

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 the mean time it happened, that during this council of Constance, after the deposing of pope John, and spoiling of his goods,

(1) This suffragan was a good man, and held with Huss

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;<sup>1</sup> concerning whose election great preparation was made before by the council, so that besides the cardinals, five 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, they agreed upon this man, and, not tarrying for opening the door, like madmen, for haste they burst open a hole in the wall, crying out, "Habemus papam Martinum," "We have a Martin pope." The emperor hearing thereof, with 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.

1417

to

1418.

Deposing  
of pope  
John  
XXIII.  
Election  
of pope  
Martin.  
The em-  
peror  
kisseth  
his feet.

The next day following, this Martin was made priest, who was before but a cardinal deacon, and the next after was consecrated 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 fire; 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." This done, the same day the holy father was brought up unto a high scaffold, saith the story (I will not say to a high mountain, where was offered to him all the glory of the world), 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<sup>2</sup> 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 (both playing the pope's footmen), went on foot, leading the pope's horse by the bridle.

The coro-  
nation of  
pope  
Martin.

The pope  
on horse-  
back, the  
emperor  
on foot.

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.<sup>3</sup> 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 bishop 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.  
1418.

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?

A yearly memorial of Huss and Jerome kept among the Bohemians.

Wherefore 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, Pharisaiical temples, and idolatrous fanes; beginning, first, with the great monastery of the Black Friars, eight miles from Prague; 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 safe conduct of a certain noble man named Nicholas, 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.

Wenceslaus threateneth Nicholas.

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 Vissegrade, and within awhile after, into a new castle, which he himself had builded five stones' casts from thence; sending ambassadors to his brother to require aid.

Death of king Wenceslaus.

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 his dagger would have slain him; but, being letted by those who 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,<sup>1</sup> incessantly calling for aid of his brother and his other 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 seven and fifty years. A. D. 1419.

### The Story of Zisca.<sup>2</sup>

Immediately after the death of Wenceslaus, there was a certain nobleman named Zisca, born at Trosnovia, who, from his youth

(1) See the marvellous work of God's judgment, in defending his people.

(2) Out of Æneas Silvius.

upwards, 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 accomplices 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 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 Vissegrade, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said Zisca, under the conduct of 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 Vissegrade.

*Henry V.*  
A. D. 1419.

Then the queen Sophia, being very careful, sent letters and messengers unto the emperor Sigismund, and other nobles adjoined unto her, requiring aid and help; but the emperor made preparation against the Turk, who had then lately won certain castles of him. Whereupon the queen, seeing all aid so far off, together with Zenko Warterberge, gathered a host with the king's treasure, and fortified the castle of Praguc, and the lesser city which joineth unto the castle, making gates and towers of wood upon the bridge, over the river Multain,<sup>1</sup> to stop that the protestants should have no passage that way. Then it happened that at the isle of St. Benedict, one Peter Steremberg fought an equal or indifferent battle with them.

Zisca getteth Pilsen.

The queen sendeth for Sigismund.

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 length the Hussites won 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 utterly defaced and burned.

During the time of this troublous estate, the ambassadors of the emperor Sigismund were come; 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 Vissegrade being surrendered, it should be lawful for them to send ambassadors to the emperor Sigismund to treat as touching their estate, and that Zisca should surrender Pilsen and Piesta with the other forts which he had taken. These conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the foreign protestants departed out of the city, and the senate 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 have been safe. But this their hope was frustrated by means of certain letters which were sent from the emperor, wherein it was written, That he would shortly come and

The emperor's ambassadors agree with the citizens of Prague.

(1) The "Multain," the Moldau.—Ed.

*Henry V.*  
A. D.  
1419.

rule the kingdom, even after the same order and manner as his father Charles had done before him. Whereupon the protestants understood that their sect and religion should be utterly banished; which was not begun during the reign of the said Charles.

Prague falls from the emperor.

The complaint of the city of Prague against Sigismund.

The policy of Zisca.

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 his rulers and magistrates; whereunto the whole city obeyed, and the magistrates thereof, lifting up their hands unto heaven, rejoiced at the coming of the new king. But the emperor turned another way, and went unto Uratislavia,<sup>1</sup> the head 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 Uratislavians, distrusting their pardon, rebelled out of hand; and having obtained Zenko on their part, 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 bound the ancient city of the Prutenians under order by pledges, and put the marquis of 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 taught and followed. While these things were thus done, Zisca, having given over Pilsen by composition, was twice assaulted by his enemies, but, through policy, he was always victor. The places where they fought were rough and unknown, his enemies were on horseback, and his soldiers 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 unloose their feet.

After this, he went unto Ausca,<sup>2</sup> a town situate upon the river Lucinitius,<sup>3</sup> 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.

The city of Tabor builded.

Then, forasmuch 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 eight miles from the city of Ausca. This place he compassed in with walls, and commanded all 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 it was fenced with high rocks and cliffs, yet was it compassed

(1) "Uratislavia," Breslau.—Ed.

(3) "Lucinitius," the Lauschintz.—Ed.

(2) "Ausca," Austrachitz.—Ed.

with a wall and vaumure,<sup>1</sup> and the river of Lucinitius fenceth a great part of the town; the rest is compassed in with a great brook, which, running straight into the river Lucinitius, 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 scarcely 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 their 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 Vogize), was surprised by Zisca coming upon him suddenly in the night, taking away all his horse and armour, and setting fire to the village. Then Zisca taught his soldiers to mount on horseback, to leap, to run, to turn, and to cast a ring, so that after this he never led army without his wings of horsemen.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1420.

In this mean time Sigismund, the emperor, gathering together the nobles of Silcsia, entered unto Bohemia, and went unto Græcium,<sup>2</sup> and from thence with a great army unto Cutna, alluring Zenko, with many great and large promises, to render up the castle of Prague unto him, and there placed himself to annoy the town. This 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, Hilco Crusina of Lutemperg, and Hilco Waldestene, 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 passages 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, the dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg and his son-in-law, Albert of Austria. The city was assaulted by the space of six weeks. The emperor Sigismund was crowned in the metropolitan house in the castle, Conrad, the archbishop, solemnizing the ceremonies of the coronation. The city was straitly besieged. In the mean time the captains Rosenses and Chragery, 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 their tents, and Græcium, the queen's city, was also taken.

Sigis-  
mund  
getteth  
the castle  
of Prague.Zisca  
getteth  
the city of  
Prague.Besieged  
by Sigis-  
mund.

There is, also, above the town of Prague, a high hill, which is called Videchon. 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

(1) A bulwark or outwork.—Ed.

(2) "Græcium," Gratz.—Ed.

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1421.

The mar-  
quis of  
Misnia  
over-  
come.  
Sigis-  
mund  
raiseth  
his siege.

had gotten to the top of the hill, being driven back into a corner which was broken and steep, and fiercely set upon, when they could no longer withstand the violent force of their enemies, some of them were slain, and some, falling headlong from the hill, were destroyed.

Whereupon the emperor Sigismund, raising his siege, departed into Cutna; and Zisca, with his company, departed unto Tabor, and subdued many places; among which he subverted a town pertaining to the captain of Vissegrade. During this time the castle of Vissegrade was strongly besieged, where, when other victuals wanted, they were compelled to eat horse-flesh. Last of all, except the emperor did aid them by a certain day, they promised to yield it up; but under this condition: that if the emperor did come, they within the castle should be no more molested.

The em-  
peror,  
fighting  
against  
Zisca, has  
the over-  
throw.

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 Hungarians, and others, a great number. The castle was delivered up unto them. While these things were in doing, Zisca took Boslaus, a captain who was surnamed Cigneus, 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 Rhetium, and died. There were in the territory of Pilsen many monasteries, of which Zisca subverted and burned five; and forasmuch as the monastery of St. Clare was the strongest, there he pitched himself.

The ab-  
beys of  
Pilsen  
subvert-  
ed.

Zisca  
putteth  
the empe-  
ror 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 forasmuch as he saw the city so fenced, that he was in doubt of winning the same, he went from thence to Comittavia, a famous city, which he took by force, burning all the priests therein. Afterwards, as he lay before the town of Raby,<sup>1</sup> 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 by physicians to Prague, where, being cured of his wound, and his life saved, he yet 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 for-  
sake his  
army.

Zisca  
taketh  
divers  
towns.

The  
Saxons  
retire.

After this the garrisons of Prague went unto Verona, 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 Broda in Germany, and slew the garrison; and afterwards took Cutna 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 Bartholomew-tide they should, with their army, invade the west part of Bohemia, and he, with a host of Hungarians, would enter into the east part. There came unto his aid the archbishop of Mentz, the county palatine of the Rhine, the

(1) "Raby," on the river Wattawa.—Ed.

dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and many other bishops out of Almaine : all the rest sent their aids. They encamped before the town of Sozius, 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. Then it was broken up, because the emperor was not come at his day appointed ; but he, having gathered together a great army of the Hungarians and West Moravians, about Christmas entered into Bohemia, and took certain towns by force ; and Cutna was yielded unto him. But when Zisca (although he was blind) came towards him, and set upon him, he, being afraid, and many of his nobles slain, fled : but first he burned Cutna, which the Taborites, by means of the 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 Broda by force, set it on fire ; which afterwards, almost by the space of fourteen years, remained disinhabited. The emperor passed, by a bridge, over the river of Iglaria ; and Piso, a Florentine, who had brought fifteen thousand horsemen out of Hungary to these wars, passed over the ice ; which, by the multitude and number of his horsemen being broken, devoured and destroyed a great number. 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 which cause he was much the more envied amongst the states of Bohemia. And the consuls of Prague, being aggrieved at the insolency of John Premonstratensis, 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 commonwealth : and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterwards 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 channels ; 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.

About the same time the castle of Purgel, 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 Goributus with two thousand horsemen into Bohemia, who was honourably received by the inhabitants of Prague. At his coming they determined to lay siege to a castle situated upon a hill, which was called Charles' Stone.

Here Sigismund had left, for a garrison, four centurions of soldiers. The tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six months, and the assault never ceased day and night. Five great

Henry V.

A. D. 1421.

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.

*Henry P.* slings threw continually great stones over the walls, and about two 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.

A. D.  
1422.

Stench  
very  
hurtful to  
the teeth.

Another  
warlike  
policy of  
Zisca.

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 Coribttus, 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 unto 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, till the cattle feeding in the island, hearing the lowing and grunting of the cattle on the other side of the water, for the desire of their like, did swim over the river; by means whereof he got and drave away a great booty.

About the same time the Emperor Sigismund gave to 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 Infant, brother to the king of Portugal and father of James, cardinal of St. Eustace, came to 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 Lutemperge, a town of Moravia, and continued the siege for 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, forasmuch 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, forasmuch as he was strong and valiant, and also painful, he was greatly esteemed.

Valiant  
courage  
of Proco-  
pius  
Magnus.

This Procopius for his valiant acts was afterwards called Procopius Magnus, and had committed unto him the whole charge of the province of Moravia, and the defence of the Lutemperges, 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 delivered to the marquises of Misnia the bridge and town of Ausca,<sup>1</sup> upon the river Albis,<sup>2</sup> that they should fortify them with their garrisons. Whereupon Zisca besieged Ausca; and Frederic, the

(1) " Ausca," Auchc.—Ed.

(2) " Albis," the Elbe.—Ed.

marquis of Misnia, with his brother, the landgrave of Thuringia, gathering together a great army out of Saxony, Thuringia, Misnia, and both the Lusaces, 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 the battle the burgraves of Misnia or Chyrpogenses, the barons of Gleichen and many other nobles, besides nine thousand common soldiers; and the town of Ausca was taken and utterly rased.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1422.Victory of  
the pro-  
testants.

At 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 of Albis, and was almost taken, but that he had passage through the town of Poggiebras; but they of Prague, pursuing the tail of the battle, slew many of his Taborites. At length they came to 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 Cutna 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, others them of Prague. There were great tumults in the camp, the soldiers saying that it was not reasonable, that the 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, and standing upon a place 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 only that 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, while 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 avoided. 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 it, 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  
V.

A. D.  
1422.

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 sol-  
diers al-  
tered by  
the ora-  
tion of  
Zisca.

When he had spoken these words, the soldiers' minds were changed, and wholly determined to make wars, 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 be-  
tween  
Zisca and  
Prague.

The em-  
peror glad  
to be re-  
conciled  
with  
Zisca.

The  
death of  
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 Priscovia, he was stricken with sickness and died. A. D. 1424.

Is 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 Tabornites, despising all other images, yet set up the picture of Zisca over the gates of the city.

The  
words of  
Zisca at  
his death.

### 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.

ἸΩΑΝΝΕΣ ΣΙΣΚΑΣ ὁ Βωημὸς, τῶν αἰσχροκερδῶν ἱερέων ἐχθρὸς, ἀλλὰ ἐν  
θείῳ ζήλῳ.

In English.—John Zisca, a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and covetous  
priests, but with a godly zeal.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1422.

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, 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.

Martin, bishop, the servant of God's servants, to our reverend brethren the archbishops of Salzburg, Guezenen, and Prague, and to the bishops of Olumitz, Luthomysl, Bamberg, Misnia, Patavia, Uratislavia, Ratisbon, Cracow, Posnamen, and Nitrien, 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.

Pope  
Martin's  
bloody  
bull to all  
bishops  
and arch-  
bishops.

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 expelled 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 wolfish 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 wolfish 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.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1422.

of paganism:<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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 bestraght 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,<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>4</sup> 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 fucus os leonis.'—i.e. 'And his mouth is like the mouth of a lion.' [Apoc. xiii.]

touching the most high and excellent, the most wholesome and super-admirable sacrament of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, or else of the sacrament of baptism, confession of sins, penance for sins, and extreme unction; or of any other sacraments of the church, and the articles of the faith, than that which the right holy and universal church of Rome doth hold, teach, preach, and observe; or that shall presume obstinately, by any ways or means, privily or apertly, to hold, believe, and teach the articles, books, or doctrine of the aforesaid arch-heretics, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, being by the aforesaid synod of Constance with their authors (as is said) damned and condemned; or dare presume publicly or privily to allow or commend in any wise the death and end of the said arch-heretics, or of any other their receivers, aiders, and favourers, in the favour or supportation of the aforesaid errors, as also their believers and adherents: that then, as before, you see and cause them and every of them to be most severely punished; and that you judge and give sentence upon them as heretics, and that as arrant heretics you leave them to the secular court or power. Let the receivers, also, and favourers and defenders of such most pestiferous persons (notwithstanding they neither believe, favour, nor have devotion towards their errors, but haply shall receive or entertain such pestiferous persons because of carnal affection or friendly love,<sup>1</sup>) besides the punishment due unto them by both laws (over and above the same punishment), by competent judges be so afflicted, and for such heinous acts of theirs, with such severe pain and punishment excruciated, that the same may be to others in like case offending, an example of terror; that at least those whom the fear of God by no means may revoke from such evil doing, yet the severity of this our discipline may force and constrain.

As touching the third sort, who shall be any manner of ways infected with this damnable sect, and shall, after competent admonition, repent and amend themselves of such errors and sects aforesaid, and will return again into the lap and unity of our holy mother the church, and fully acknowledge and confess the catholic faith, towards them let the severity of justice, as the quality of the fact shall require, be somewhat tempered with a taste of mercy.

And furthermore, we will and command, that by this our authority apostolical ye exhort and admonish all the professors of the catholic faith, as emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, and other magistrates, rectors, consuls, proconsuls, shires, countries, and universities of the kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, their lands and other places,<sup>2</sup> and all others executing temporal jurisdiction, according to the form and exigence of the law, that they expel out of their kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages and lands, and other places, all and all manner of such heretics, according to the effect and tenor of the council of Lateran, beginning, "Sicut ait Ecclesia," &c.: that those who publicly and manifestly, by the evidence of their deeds, shall be known to be such as, like sick and scabbed sheep, infect the Lord's flock, they expel and banish, till such time as from us or you, or other ecclesiastical judges or inquisitors, holding the faith and communion of the holy church of Rome, they shall receive other order and countermand; and that they suffer no such, within their shires and circuits, to preach or to keep either house or family, or yet to use any handicraft or occupations, or other trades of merchandise; or to solace themselves in any way, or frequent the company of christian men.

And furthermore, if such public and known heretics shall chance to die (although not so denounced by the church), yet in this so great a crime let him and them want christian burial, and let no offerings or oblations be made for them, nor received. His goods and substance, also, from the time of his death, according to the canonical sanctions being confiscated, let no such enjoy them to whom they appertain, till that by the ecclesiastical judges, having power and authority in this behalf, sentence upon that his or their crime of heresy be declared, and promulgated; and let such owners as be found suspected or noted with any such suspicion of heresy, before a competent and ecclesiastical judge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspicion, and

(1) *Draconis lex sanguine scripta.* The pope's religion hath left all sense of humanity.

(2) 'Et vidi bestiam et reges terræ et exercitus eorum pugnantem cum illo qui sedebat in equo, et exercitu ejus.' Apoc. xiii. 'Et data est illi potestas in omnem tribum, et populum, et linguam, et gentem.' i. e. 'And power is given him over all tribes, and people, and tongues, and nations,' &c. [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 besecmeth 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.<sup>1</sup> 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, invoking 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.

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 faciat 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.]

Satan  
raiseth  
his  
chains.

written, concerning the sect of those arch-heretics, for the better direction of the aforesaid catholic faith.

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. 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:

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The old  
manner  
of the  
popish  
oath.

### The Articles of John Huss to be inquired upon.

I. There is one only universal church, which is the university of the predestinate; as shall after be declared.

II. The universal church is only one; as there is one university of those that are predestinate.

III. Paul was never a member of the devil, although he did certain acts like unto the acts of the church malignant.

IV. 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.

V. The two natures, that is, the divinity and the humanity, be one Christ.

VI. 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; ever taking the church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice. And after this sort, the church is an article of our belief.<sup>1</sup>

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 whorshipping 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.

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

Speaking  
of the in-  
visible  
church,  
the article  
is true.

The papal  
dignity  
touched.

(1) 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, besides the express authority of the Scripture. 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 called a great offence or mortal sin, doth stain all the doings of a vicious man; so virtue doth quicken all the doings of a virtuous man.

XVI. 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 of the pope. And further, if the pope, or any other magistrate, doth forbid a priest, so disposed, to preach, the priest ought not to be obedient to him. For every one that taketh upon him the order of priesthood, receiveth in charge the office of a preacher; and of that burden ought he well to discharge himself, any excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

XVII. By the censures ecclesiastical (as of excommunication, suspending, and interdict), the clergy, to their own advancement, cause the lay-people to aid them; they multiply their avarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to Antichrist. And it is an evident sign that such censures proceed from Antichrist, which in their process they call 'fulminations'; that is, their thunderbolts, wherewith the clergy principally proceed against those that declare the wickedness of Antichrist; who, so greatly for his own commodity, hath abused them.

XVIII. If the pope be evil, especially if he be a reprobate, then is he, with Judas, a very devil, a thief, and the son of perdition; and is not the head of the holy church militant, nor any member of the same.

XIX. 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.

XX. The pope or prelate that is evil and a reprobate, is a pastor in name, and not in deed; yea he is a thief and a robber in very deed.

XXI. The pope ought not to be called the most holy one, for his office-sake; for then ought a king to be called by his office the most holy one: 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.<sup>1</sup>

XXII. If the pope live contrary to Christ, although he climb up by the right and lawful election, according to the common custom of men; yet, notwithstanding, should 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 lawfully elect of God, Christ Jesus, to his bishopric, and yet came not he the same way he ought to do, unto the sheepfold.<sup>2</sup>

XXIII. The condemnation of forty-five articles of John Wickliff, made by the doctors, is unreasonable, wicked, and nought; 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.

XXIV. Not for that the electors, or the most part of them, have consented together with lively voice, according to the custom of men, upon the person of any, therefore that person is lawfully elect; or, therefore, is the true and manifest successor and vicar of Peter the apostle, or of any other the apostles in the ecclesiastical office. Wherefore, whether the electors have either well or evil made their election, it behoveth us to believe the same by the works of him that is elected. For in this, that every one worketh more meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath so much the greater authority from God.

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not the  
successor  
of Peter,  
but imi-  
tation.

XXV. There is not so much as one spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head,<sup>1</sup> ruling and governing the church in spiritual causes, which should always be conversant in the church militant; for Christ, without any such monstrous heads, by his true disciples dispersed through the whole world, could, better a great deal, rule his church.

XXVI. The apostles and faithful priests of God have right worthily, in all things necessary to salvation, governed the church before the pope's office took place; and so might they do again, by like possibility, until Christ came to judgment, if the pope's office should fail.

Let every one that is suspected in the aforesaid articles, or else otherwise found with the assertion of them, be examined in manner and form as followeth:—

Imprimis: Whether he knew John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them? and whether during the lives of them, or any of them, he had either been conversant with them, or found any friendship at their hands?

The form  
and man-  
ner of the  
pope's in-  
quisition.

II. Item, Whether he, knowing them, or any of them, to be excommunicated, did willingly participate with them; esteeming and affirming the same their participation to be no sin?

III. Item, Whether after their deaths, he ever prayed for them, or any of them, openly or privily, doing any work of mercy for them, affirming them either saints, or else to be saved?

Heresy to  
pray for  
Wickliff  
or Huss.

IV. Item, Whether he thought them, or any of them, to be saints, or whether he ever spake such words, and whether he did ever exhibit any worship unto them as unto saints?

V. Item, Whether he believe, hold and affirm, that every general council, as also the council of Constance, doth represent the universal church?

VI. Item, Whether he do believe, that that which the holy council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath and doth allow, in favour of the faith and salvation of souls, is to be approved and allowed by all the faithful Christians; and that whatsoever the same council hath condemned, and doth condemn, to be contrary both to the faith and to all good men, is to be believed, holden, and affirmed, for condemned, or not?

Heresy  
not to be-  
lieve the  
council of  
Con-  
stance.

VII. Item, Whether he believe that the condemnations of John Huss, John Wickliff, and Jerome of Prague, made as well upon their persons, as their books and doctrine, by the holy general council of Constance, be rightly and justly made, and, of every good catholic man, are so to be holden and affirmed, or not?

VIII. Item, Whether he believe, hold, and affirm, that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics or not, and for heretics to be nominated and preached? yea or not: and whether their books and doctrines were, and be, perverse or not; for which, together with their pertinacy, they were condemned by the holy sacred council of Constance for heretics?

IX. Item, Whether he have in his custody any treatises, small works, epistles, or other writings in what language or tongue soever, set forth and translated by any of these heretics, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, or any other of their false disciples and followers? that he may deliver them to the ordinaries of that place, or his commissary, or to the inquisitors upon his oath. And if he say that he hath no such writing about him, but that they are in some other place, that then you swear him to bring the same before his ordinary or other aforementioned, within a certain time to him prefixed.

(1) One head of the universal church, beside Christ, hath no foundation in all Scripture.



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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, be not catholic, which saith that some of them are notorious and heretical, some erroneous, some blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, some offensive to godly ears?

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 only 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 in-  
dul-  
gences.

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, 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?

XXVIII. Item, Whether he believe that all bishops may grant unto their subjects, according as the holy canons do limit, such indulgences, or not?

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XXXIX. Item, Whether he believe and affirm, that it is lawful for faithful Christians to worship images and the relics of saints, or not?

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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?

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 laymen 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?

These  
popes will  
be sure to  
lose  
nothing.

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?

Wealthy  
wicked-  
ness  
maintain-  
ed.

XXXVI. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful for laymen, 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?

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 arch-heretics 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.

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Papa  
spirat  
minas et  
cædea.

condition soever he or they be, patriarch, archbishop, king, queen, duke, or of what other dignity, either ecclesiastical or secular, he be; also with their advocates and procurators whosoever, that are believers, followers, favourers, defenders, or receivers of such heretics, or suspected to be believers, followers, fautors, defenders, or receivers of them, to be excommunicated every Sunday and festival day, in the presence of the people.

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, pre-eminence, 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 privation 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 whatsoever 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 iudicii,’ 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 invoking, 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 without his city or diocese (except in certain cases), or in places being one day’s journey distant from thence where he inhabiteth, shall be called into judgment; and that no man do presume to depute judges from the see apostolic, without the city and diocese, where they are deputed to proceed against any; 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, or at most two days’ journey, if it be in a general council; as also all other constitutions of any bishop of Rome, touching as well judges delegate, as persons not

Pope  
Martin V.  
contrary  
to pope  
Boniface  
VIII.

(1) See here the dragon casting out whole floods, to swallow up the saints.

to be called to judgment beyond a certain number ; or else any other edict, indulgence, privilege, or exemption general or special, 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 to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Constance, the first year of our popedom.

Henry V.

A. D. 1422.

Pope Martin undeth 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, 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 Ammon, 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 Anti-christ rareth 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 un noble, 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.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1422.The pope  
seduceeth  
the world  
with vain  
promises  
of things  
which he  
cannot  
give.The devil  
and the  
pope rich  
in prom-  
ising, and  
poor in  
giving.False pre-  
tences of  
the pa-  
pists.  
Huss and  
Jerome,  
by wrong-  
ful vio-  
lence, put  
to death.A just  
and godly  
request of  
the Bohe-  
mians.

give you forgiveness of all your sins,<sup>1</sup> 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 infelity 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 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.<sup>2</sup> 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

(1) Fair words do make fools vain.

(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.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1422.Where-  
fore the  
pope's  
clergy  
will abide  
no confer-  
ence 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

Experi-  
ence of  
God's  
blessing,  
where the  
pope hath  
cursed.Objec-  
tion.

Answer.

The  
pope's  
false ac-  
cusation  
answer-  
ed.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1422.

Abuse  
of popish  
religion  
in mak-  
ing  
priests,  
cardinals,  
&c.

Abuse of  
popish  
religion  
in taking  
orders.

Popish  
excom-  
muni-  
cation  
abused.

The  
popes  
church  
poisoned  
with buy-  
ing and  
selling  
their  
praying  
and sing-  
ing, and  
all their  
doing for  
money.

The sub-  
tlety of  
the devil  
in mak-  
ing the  
church  
rich.

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.

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.

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 revered upon earth. For every one waiteth upon his priest as a thief and a robber, as John writeth, chap. x.

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 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.<sup>1</sup> And, with such goods, bishops, canons, and monasteries have made themselves so rich, that now they fall at variance with cities and princes:<sup>2</sup> 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.

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.'

Henry V.

A. D. 1422.

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 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.'

The pope's church poisoned with idleness and belly-cheer.

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.

Infamous for notorious lies.

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.

Erreth in diminishing one part of the sacrament.

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 pope's church charged with partiality.

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  
V.

A. D.  
1422.

The  
popes  
church  
charged  
with  
usury.

Men ap-  
pointed,  
may  
preach,  
though  
the pope  
forbid  
them  
When the  
pope  
holdeth  
his coun-  
cil, let  
men look  
to their  
wives and  
daugh-  
ters.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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 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<sup>2</sup> 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.

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.

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 condemn 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.<sup>3</sup>

Procopius, Smahors, Conrad, Samsmolich; captains of Bohemia.

Now to prosecute the wars of the Bohemians again. After Zisca was dead, A. D. 1424, whereof we did treat 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 the army, the soldiers accusing fortune which gave over such an invincible captain to be overcome with death. Immediately there was a 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

V.

A. D.

1422.

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, by means 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, which they used as a bulwark; for whensoever they went unto battle, they made two wings of them, which closed in the footmen. The wings of the horsemen were on the outside, and when they saw their time to join battle, the waggon-men who led the wings, going forth unto the emperor's standard, and compassing such part of their enemies as they would, did close themselves in together, whereby the enemies being enclosed so that they could not be rescued, they were, partly by the footmen, and partly by the men that were in the cars, with their darts slain. The horsemen fought without the fortification; and if it happened that they were oppressed or put to flight, by and by the cars, opening themselves, received them as it were into a fenced city; and by this means they got many victories, forasmuch as their enemies were ignorant of their policies.

The order  
and policy  
that the  
army of  
Zisca  
used in  
war after  
his de-  
cease.

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, continually 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 length the battle was broken off, and the Taborites lost their cars, and Albert was put out of his camp and tents. Within a while after, Procopius Magnus came again and enclosed the city of Rhetium in Austria with a notable siege. They of Prague were in his army, and Boslaus Cygneus, of whom we spake before, was slain there with a dart, and the city of Rhetium was taken by force, sacked, and burnt. The burgrave of Malderburg, lord of the town, was also taken and carried unto Prague, where he died in prison.

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 of 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

Sigis-

mund,

who

burned

Huss and

Jerome

before,

now is

fain to

treat for

his king-

dom.

*Henry V.*

A. D. 1422.

The death of John Huss and Jerome dwelt upon.

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 a 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 become valiant victors in arms, would not be overcome with words; and so, nothing being finally concluded, the emperor returned home.

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 to 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 lower cities.

The second army, which was gathered of the Franconians, was under the conduct of the marquis of Brandenburg.

God respecteth his people newly converted.

The third army was led by Otho, archbishop of Treves, whom the Rhenenses, the Bavarians, and the imperial cities of Swevia followed. These armies, entering into Bohemia in three several parts, after they were passed the wood, joined together and pitched before Misnia. 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 came with all speed towards them; they fled before they saw their enemies, and went unto Tacovia, 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 Tacovia, 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 had scarcely entered the wood, when the Bohemians, coming upon them, set upon the rearward. Then was their flight much more disordered and fearful than before, neither did they leave flying, before the Bohemians left following. Then, all impediment or let being taken away, they vanquished Tacovia; and, having obtained great store of warlike engines, they destroyed 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.

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. Angel, into Germany with his

ambassage, to make war against the Bohemians, and that he should, in the council of Basil, which doth now shortly draw on,<sup>1</sup> 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

F.

A. D.

1422.

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 entered into Bohemia by the way that leadeth unto Thopa, and Albert, prince of Austria, was appointed to bring his army through Moravia.

In this expedition were Albert and Christopher of Bavaria, and Frederic, dukes of Saxony; John and Albert, princes of Brandenburg, with their father who was general of those wars; also the bishops of Hyperbolic, Bamberg and Eysten; also the company of the Swevians, which they called the company of St. George, and the magistrates of the imperial cities, the bishop of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, sent their aids, and with them the chieftains 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 Rhenatus, prince of Lorraine, promised to come to these wars; but being letted by his civil wars, forasmuch as he went about to vanquish the earl of Vandome, he could not keep his promise; and the county palatine of Rhine, who did aid and succour the earl of Vandome, 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 (understanding 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 had heard tell that their enemy was come, made ready and gathered their host with all speed, and laid siege to a tower called Stiltiverge, 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 battles, 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 honour, and the religion of Christ,<sup>2</sup> and for the salvation of souls.

God striketh fear into the pope's army.

(1) The History of the Council of Basil is given in detail, in a subsequent page in the chronological order of events; the council of Constance, as we have seen, commenced its sittings in 1414, and was dissolved in 1418. In 1431, the council assembled at Pavia, from whence it was removed to Sienna, and finally met at Basil, on the 23d of June, 1431; the particulars of which are given, under that date.—Ed.

(2) Rather for the religion of Antichrist. This cardinal belike loved to preach rather in the camp than in the church.

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1422.

The  
cardinal's  
army  
run  
away for  
fear.

“How ignominious a thing is it,” saith he, “for the Germans to flee 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 be in greater bondage, more miserable than any death.” But this exhortation was all in vain, for fear had put away all boldness; 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 captain, 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.

Great  
slaughter  
in Bohemia  
by  
duke  
Albert.

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 Prezorabia. 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 fifty 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.

A letter  
of the  
emperor  
to the  
Bohemians.

Then was there an ambassage sent out of Bohemia unto Basil, where Sigismund held the council, who, during the time of the wars, had kept himself at Nuremburg. When he should take 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 no other cause but to be crowned; which his honour should also be a renown to the Bohemians, whom to advance, it hath 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 would not maintain any quarrel contrary to the holy mother the church; that the council would lovingly and gently hear their reasons; that they should only endeavour themselves to agree with the synod 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.

The  
Bohemians  
sent for.

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

spea<sup>k</sup> what they would. The Bohemians in 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,<sup>1</sup> prince of the new House, said, that they ought to go to the council, and that they are not to be suffered who had invented those new and strange opinions of faith, and that new kind of religion, 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 took place, and an ambassage of three hundred horse was sent to Basil, the chief whereof were William Cosca, a valiant knight, and Procopius, surnamed Magnus, a man of worthy fame for his manifold victories; John Rhochezana, preacher of Prague, Nicholas Gallicus, minister of the Taborites, and one Peter,<sup>2</sup> an Englishman, of excellent, prompt, and pregnant wit. A. D. 1433. The people came in great number out of the town, and many out of the synod and council, attending before the gates to see the coming of this valiant and famous people; others gathered together in great numbers 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. Notwithstanding all men beheld 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 any terror, labour, or travail.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1422.Safe-con-  
duct  
given  
them.A doubt  
among  
them  
whether  
to go.Three  
hundred  
Bohe-  
mians,  
horse-  
men,  
sent am-  
bassage  
to the  
council.  
The re-  
ceiving of  
them at  
Basil.Proco-  
pius  
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 a profane, an ethnic and publican, neither can this church be represented better by any means than in this council. He exhorteth them also to receive the decrees of the council, and to give no less credit to the council than unto the gospel, by whose authority the Scriptures themselves are received and allowed. Also that the Bohemians, who call 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 have 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 sought for out of the church, and that this is the garden and famous fountain of

(1) This Maynard was afterwards a great back friend to the faithful Bohemians.

(2) This Englishman was Peter Paine.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1422.

water, whereof whosoever shall drink, shall not thirst everlastingly; that the Bohemians have done as they ought, in that they have sought the fountains of this water at the council, and have 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 will 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. Whercunto the Bohemians answered in few words: That they neither had contemned the church nor the council; that the sentence given at Constance, against those who were unheard, doth diminish nothing of the christian religion; that the authority of the fathers hath always remained amongst them inviolate; and that whatsoever thing the Bohemians have taught, was confirmed by the Scriptures and gospel; and that they are now come to manifest their innocency before the whole church, and to require open audience, where the laity may also 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, which are in no wise to be suffered, for the avoiding of greater evil.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the council in the name of the whole realm. Then another ambassador affirmed, that he had heard of the Bohemians divers and sundry things offensive to christian ears, amongst which this was one point: that they should preach 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, and 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 of God only, 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 declare 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.

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 Blois and died, after he had reigned nine years, five months, three weeks, and odd days, from his coronation. This king, in 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.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1422.Death of  
king  
Henry V.,  
called  
prince of  
priests,  
for fa-  
vouring  
the pope.

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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 Witlesey . 5 ..	61. Henry Chichesley . 29 ..
58. Simon Sudbury . . 6 ..	

END OF BOOK THE FIFTH.



# ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

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## BOOK VI.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT  
OF SATAN.<sup>1</sup>

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### 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.—E.D.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

### William Tailor, Priest.

\*There<sup>3</sup> 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 their 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, being a favourer of Wickliff, under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury.

Of this William Tailor I read, that in the days of Thomas Arundel he was first apprehended, and abjured. Afterwards, in the days of Henry Chichesley, about A. D. 1421 (which was a year before his burning), the said William Tailor appeared again in the convocation before the archbishop, being brought by the bishop of Worcester, being complained of to have taught at Bristol these articles following:

William Tailor the first time apprehended.

First, That whosoever hangeth any scripture about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the devil

Articles objected to him.

Secondly, That no human person is to be worshipped, but only God is to be adored.

Thirdly, That the saints are neither to be worshipped nor invocated.

(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. Ex. Regist. Cant.

(3) See Edition 1563, p. 347.—Ed.

*Henry**VI.*

A. D.

1422.

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 Rikinhale, the two vice-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 archbishops 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, 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 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 again before him; where he, laying aside his 'arunlousa,' 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 'Misereere,' &c., his chaplains answering the second verse. After that, was said the collect, 'Deus cui proprium,' &c., with certain other prayers. 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. And 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.

In the mean time, while William Tailor was thus in the custody of the bishop of Worcester, 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. 1422, the eleventh of February; unto 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,

The form of canonical absolution in the church, used against them that were excommunicated.

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':<sup>1</sup> and he further so prosecuteth his mind herein, that he seemeth 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 inferreth 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, and alleging the example of Stephen, he saith, "Quod nunc magis exauditur pro veneratoribus suis, quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus."<sup>2</sup> And at length he cometh to this conclusion, proving by St. Austin, in this manner, "Ne igitur, cum impiis et idololatriis in Veteri Testamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquam deveniendo ad centrum, sanum est quod faciamus secundum consilium Apostoli sic dicentis, 'accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ ejus, ut misericordiam consequamur, et gratiam inveniamus in auxilio opportuno,'" &c. 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 wholesome and good counsel, that we follow the mind 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.

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A. D. 1422.

The opinion of Tailor concerning the worshipping of saints.

Thus much out of the aforesaid writings of William Tailor I have excerpted, 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 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. Also, another opinion there was much like to the other, to make up the fourth; 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 Saturday was come, which was the twentieth day of February, upon which day the four orders were appointed to declare their censure upon the articles, in the chapter-house of Paul's; first appeared friar Tille, for the black friars, then friar Winchelsey, then

(1) "Cultus latriæ," that is, worship which is only due to God.

(2) Augustin super Psal. xxi.

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friar Low, and after him friar Ashwel ; each friar for his order severally bringing his heresy, as is above specified.

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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 twentieth 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, condemned as a relapse, first was 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, 1422.

William  
Tailor de-  
graded,  
and  
burned in  
Smith-  
field.

The  
pope's  
manner  
of degra-  
dation.

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 the priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and patin; from deaconship, by taking from them the gospel-book and tunicle; from sub-deaconship, by taking from them the epistle-book and tunicle; from acoluteship, by taking from them the cruet and candlestick; from an exorcist, by taking away the book of exorcisms or gradual; from the sextonship, by taking away the church-door-key and surplice; and likewise from bene't, in 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,<sup>1</sup> 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, 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 afterwards

(1) He meaneth they should not claim such riches by any exaction.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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; whercupon 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.

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 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 Dych-  
 ingham.

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 adjured, as shall be more at large declared in the history, when we come to that year. 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 :

Sir Hugh  
 Pie,  
 priest.

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  
 worship-  
 ped.

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 whercof hereafter ensueth.

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.

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Witness myself at Westminster, the sixth of July, the sixth 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 Tenterton, in the county of Kent; Bartholomew, monk of Ersham, in the county of Norfolk; a cornleader (a married man), William Scuts.

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 register 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.	John Middleton, of Halvergate.	Thomas White, of Bedingham.
William Skirving.	John Wayde, of Ersham.	Master Robert Beet, of Berry.
John Terry, of Ersham.	Richard Clark, of Sething.	Richard Page, of Clipsly.
John Abtre, of Ersham.		

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



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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.	William Osbourne.	Katherine, wife of William Wright.
John Wardon.	John Rene, of Beckles.	William Collin, of Southcreke.
John Baker.	Baldwin Cooper, of Beckles.	Richard King, of Windham.
John Middleton.	John Pert, Master Moon's servant.	Thomas Plowman.
John Kynget.	Robert Brigs.	John Fellis.
Margery Backster.	John Finch.	Thomas Love, of Rokeland.
John Skilley.	John Wrotham.	Richard Knobbing, of Beckles.
John Godhold.	Thomas Moon.	Richard Grace, of Beckles.
Thomas Albeck.	Isabel Chaplain, of Martham.	John Eldon, of Beckles.
John Pierce.	William Masse, of Ersham.	William Hardy.
Nicholas Canon, of Eye.	John Goodwin, of Ersham.	William Bate.
Thomas Pie.	Henry Latchcold, of Ersham.	John Weston.
John Mendham.	Henry Boode, of Ersham.	Katherine Hobs.
John Middleton.	Richard Horne, of Ersham.	John Daw.
Thomas Chatris.	John Belward, sen., of Ersham.	Robert Grigs, of Martham.
Thomas Wade.	John Belward, jun., of Ersham.	William Calis, priest.
William Tailor.	John Spire, of Bungay.	Thomas Pert, priest.
John Cupper, vicar of Tunstal.	Rob. Cole, of Turning.	Katherine Davy.
Sir Hugh Pie, priest.	The herd of Shepemedow.	Jacob Bodhome, and Margaret, his wife.
Bartholomew Tatcher.	Isabel Davy, of Costes.	John Manning, of Marton.
Thomas James.	Sibyl, wife of John Godesel, of Dicham.	John Culling, of Beemster.
John Foulng.	John Pyry, of Bartham.	Richard Fletcher, of Beckles, and Matilda, his wife.
Bertram Cornmonger.	John Baker.	John Elden, of Beckles.
Thomas Swerden.	Margery Wright.	Robert Canel, priest.
Alanus Andrew.	Thomas Burrel, and his wife.	Nicholas Drey.
William Wright.	John Pert.	William Hardy, of Mundham.
William Everden.	Edmund Archer.	John Poleyne.
William Tailor.	The clerk of Ludney.	
Avis, the wife of Thomas Moon, and her daughter.	Richard Clark, of Sething.	
Richard Fletcher, of Beckles.		
Nicholas Belward.		
Thomas Grenemere.		
John Clark.		
William Bate.		
William Scherming.		

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 novelty, 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.

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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 superfluous 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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The papists are but quarrel pickers.

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 falsly slandered, as saying and affirming, that no tithes are to be given to the ministers and curates of the churches.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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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.

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.

The  
Romish  
church  
aptly re-  
sembled  
to the  
cursed  
fig-tree.

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.

The  
bishop's  
man  
smiteth  
him on  
the  
mouth,  
exhorting  
the peo-  
ple.

(1) En Waldeno.

*Henry VI.*

A. D.  
1428.

Father Abraham, John Waddon, priest, martyrs, and burned.

About the same time also were burned Father Abraham, of Colchester, and John Waddon, priest, for the like articles.

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:

Copy of the Letter of the Bishop of Norwich, respecting Thomas Pie and Thomas Mendham.

William, by the sufferance of God 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. Forasmuch 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 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 disciplinings about the parish church of Aldborough aforesaid, before a solemn procession six several Sundays, and three disciplinings 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 and stays, and, at every of those same pauses, humbly and devoutly receive at your hands three disciplinings. 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 Southereke, 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<sup>1</sup> from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tomblands, and 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

The penance of John Skilley.

(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-Thursaday, 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 ensueh 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.  
Against  
images.

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.'

The bee  
will sting.  
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 glee 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 sa-  
crament  
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.

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.

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.

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.

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: '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.Thomas  
Becket a  
traitor:  
slain, not  
before the  
altar, but  
in his  
flight.Father  
Abraham,  
William  
White,  
John  
Wadden.Against  
the  
popes'  
fasting  
days.White,  
willing to  
speak at  
the stake,  
is stricken  
on the  
mouth.

†



*Henry VI.*

A. D.  
1429.

Against  
auricular  
confes-  
sion.

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.

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. 1.  
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.<sup>1</sup>

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 before-mentioned, 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.

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. *Pilgrimage to the poor. Masses for the dead unprofitable.*

(1) Ex Regist. Norw.

*Henry VI.*

Upon which articles he, being convicted, was forced to abjure, and suffered like penance as the others before had done.

A. D. 1430.

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 Pic, 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, Pic, Pett, Callis, priests, persecuted.

Grigges of Martham.

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.

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

he 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

*Henry VI.* 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.

*A. D. 1431.* 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.

Another examination. Articles objected.

Now remaineth to declare what these doctors aforesaid concluded upon the articles; whose answer unto the same was this:

Judgment on his articles. Heresy to doubt whether the sacrament be the perfect body of Christ.

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.

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 disciplins 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.<sup>1</sup>

Henry

V. I.

A. D.

1431.

**The Story of Thomas Rhedon, a Frenchman and Carmelite Friar, Burnt in Italy, for the Profession of Christ.<sup>2</sup>**

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, broke out and passed into Bohemia, and afterwards, 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 Rhedon, 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,<sup>3</sup> 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;<sup>4</sup> 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

Rhedon  
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) "Mud novum mustum;" sweet wine. Lat. Edition, page 73.—Ed.

(4) "Coals," discord.—Ed.

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The wickedness and pride that reign there.

The corruption will admit no reformation.

Piety rewarded with persecution.

Heresy made where none is.

Papery armed with policy, and defended with tyranny.

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

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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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 which Eugene this godly Rhedonensis, the Frenchman, 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 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 of 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 ever 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

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Rhedon i  
persecuted and  
brought  
before  
pope  
Eugene.



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1431.He is  
burned  
at Rome.  
Thomas  
degraded.

order and manner of this popish degrading is partly touched upon in the story of William Taylor.

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,<sup>1</sup> A. D. 1436. \* These<sup>2</sup> 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 both be taken away from us at the will and pleasure of the bishops. For thus we are taught by such a 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 accused 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.<sup>3</sup>

Pope Eu-  
gene 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

(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 given in the appendix from 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.

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### The Order and Manner of the Council of Basil,

WITH A BRIEF RECAPITULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL MATTERS DECREEED AND CONCLUDED THEREIN,<sup>1</sup>

With a full Discourse of the Disputation holden amongst the Bishops, upon Eight Conclusions propounded 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 afterwards was made Cardinal and Pope, called Pius the Second.<sup>2</sup>

In the thirty-ninth session of the council of Constance, as is before mentioned, 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 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. 1424; but it soon broke up. After which council the term of seven years being expired, another council was holden at Basil, A. D. 1431; 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. This council continued almost the space of seventeen 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 the general council; which is the cause that the contrary part doth derogate so much from the authority of this present council.

When pope Martin V. had appointed Julian, cardinal and deacon of St. Angel, his legate, to celebrate and hold a general council at Basil, for the reformation of the church, and the rooting out of heresies, within a 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 at 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 transport the council unto Bononia,<sup>3</sup> and thereby hindered the success of the council of Basil. And first he held a contrary council at Ferrara, and afterward at Florence: for, after the death of the emperor Sigismund, there were no princes nor noblemen that had any care or regard of the council. Eugene, the pope, pretended causes as touching the

Death  
of pope  
Martin.

(1) Ex Æneas Sylvio. Ex Cochleo in Hist. Hussit. Et ex paralipom. Abbat. Urspes.

(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.—Ed.

(3) "Bononia," Bologna in Italy.—Ed.

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Pope Eugene seeketh to dissolve the council. Dissension between the council and the pope.

Greeks who should come unto the council, and the uniting of their church unto the West church, which Greeks would in no wise pass the Alps; also as touching his own incommmodity, that he could not come unto Basil, being so long a journey, and that all his men might have easy access unto Bononia, 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 Bononia, 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, assembled together first at Nuremberg; and when they could determine nothing there, they assembled again at Frankfort to appease the dissension between the council and the pope; 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 to Basil, and having conference with the ambassadors of the other princes who were there, and sending for the cardinal of St. Peter's, (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 unity of concord which they would offer. The request of the princes was, that the fathers would transport the council, and go unto another place; 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.

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 Patavia<sup>1</sup> and Augusta (being much required and stirred thereunto), appointed a noble and valiant baron called Conrad Weinsperge, by the king's commandment, to be protector and defender of the council and the fathers. Whereby, as the enemies perceived the emperor's mind to be alienated from the pope, so the fathers of the council understood his good will towards them, forasmuch 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 a council in Basil, if he had given credit to pope Eugene. But, by means of a great pestilence which began to grow, the assembly that should have been holden at Frankfort, was transported 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 all the ambassadors of 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 Aquila, the bishop of Vicenza, and the bishop of Argens:<sup>2</sup> divines,

(1) "Patavia," Passaw on the Danube.—Ed.

(2) "Argens," Strasburg.—Ed.

John Segovius, and Thomas de Corcellis, with divers others. 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 out of Florence, who, albeit they had sworn to the contrary, yet favoured they more Eugene than the council, \*whose sect, William of Constance, afterwards called the sect of Grisons.\* 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.

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While these things were thus debated at Mentz, there sprang up a certain very doubtful question amongst the divines who remained at Basil, whether 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, and others holding the negative part. Upon this their disputation there arose three several opinions, some affirming that he was a heretic; others not only a heretic, but also a relapse. The third sort would neither grant him to be a heretic, nor a relapse. Amongst these divines, the chief and principal both in learning and authority, were the bishop of Ebrun, 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 deputies, all the masters, and doctors, and clergy, were called together, with the residue of the prelates, into the chapter-house of the great church, there openly to dispute and discuss Eugene's heresy: which thing sorely grieved the bishop of Milan, fearing lest this disputation would work the deprivation of Eugene, which, as he said, he had always letted, for fear of a 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 last, there was a great assembly in the chapter-house, some coming thither to dispute, and others to hear. This disputation continued six days, both forenoon and afternoon, amongst whom cardinal Ludovicus, archbishop of Arles, was appointed as judge and arbiter of the whole disputation; who, besides many other notable virtues, was both valiant and constant. Nicholas Amici, who was also a protector of the faith, a famous man amongst the divines of Paris, demanded of every man what his opinion was. John Deinlefish, public notary, wrote every man's sentence and

The am-  
bassadors  
return  
from  
Mentz.

The  
pope's  
heresy  
discuss-  
ed.  
The  
bishop of  
Milan  
taketh  
Eugene's  
part, for  
fear of a  
schism.

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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 the sacred general council hath power over the pope, or any other prelate.

II. The pope cannot by his own authority, either dissolve, transport, or prorogue the general council being lawfully congregated, without the consent of the whole council: and this is of like verity.

III. He who doth obstinately resist these verities, is to be counted a heretic.

IV. Pope Eugene IV: hath resisted these verities, when at the first, by the fulness of his apostolic power, he attempted to dissolve or to transport the council of Basil.

V. Eugene, being admonished by the sacred council, did recant 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 transport 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, after that his contumacy was declared, persevering in his rebellion, and erecting a council at Ferrara, showed himself thereby obstinate.

These were the conclusions which were read in the chapter-house before the fathers of the council: upon which when they were desired to speak their minds, they all, in a manner, confirmed and allowed them. Notwithstanding, Panormitane, archbishop, disputed much against them, as did the bishop of Burgos, 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 subtly dispute against the last conclusions, endeavouring, himself, to declare that Eugene was not relapsed; and had great contention with the bishop of Argens, John Scgovius, and Francis de Fuxe, divines.

### The Argument of Panormitane for the Pope.

Articles  
of faith  
divided  
into three  
sorts.

He divided the articles of the faith into three sorts; straitly, as in the Creed; largely, as in the declarations made by the church; most largely 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 the councils; and that it seemeth not unto him to rise of the 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, forasmuch 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 is thereof at all spoken. And if, peradventure, Eugene had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstanding, he ought to be holden excused, because he did it by the council of the cardinals, representing the church of Rome; whose authority he said to be such, that the judgment thereof should be preferred before all the world. Neither had there been any sacred council found to have proceeded against Eugene as a heretic; and that is an evident sign that the council hath not thought him to have swerved from the faith, neither to have any occasion that he should be called a heretic for his errors revoked; and that he himself hath read the whole text, that the pope did not revoke the dissolution as contrary unto the faith, but as breeding offence.

Panormi-  
tane pre-  
ferreth  
the judg-  
ment of  
the card-  
inals be-  
fore all  
the world.

Also that the last dissolution hath no such cause in it, forasmuch as likewise he had done it by the council of the cardinals, and for the uniting of the Greeks, that he might not be compelled in a criminal cause to answer by his procurator, when he, being letted by sickness, could not come personally: that is to say, forasmuch as in the first dissolution Eugene hath fallen into no error of faith, he cannot be persuaded that he can be called a relapse, forasmuch as neither in the first, neither yet in the second dissolution did he violate his faith.

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The pope pretendeth the uniting of the Greeks, but meaneth another thing. The pope, no relapse, but protapse.

This oration of Panormitane was more praised, than allowed of all men. Notwithstanding this effect it wrought, that afterwards this word "relapse" was taken out of the conclusions, and instead thereof this 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 Segovius, an expert divine, rising up, answered him reverently, as was comely for such a prelate.

### The Answer of John Segovius.

He said, he granted that which Panormitane had spoken touching the division of the articles of the faith into three points, because it made for this 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 were manifest that the conclusions whereupon we now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the church, that is to say, of the council of Constance; for if therein the pope be made subject unto the general council, who is it that will say that the pope hath power over the council which is above him; or that Eugene ought to remain pope, because he could not dissolve the 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 made thereof, let him who thinketh thus, 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, ought to instruct and teach all men. But if so be he will not, then he shall be convicted for being dead, because he continued long in the dissolution after the declaration of the council, 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 it 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 true believer; so that Eugene, by disobeying the church, may worthily be called an infidel. Neither is it true that the pope hath not offended in the faith; forasmuch, as well in that answer which beginneth 'Cogitanti,' as 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 through cowardliness to give place.' By which saying it is evident that the synod had sufficiently admonished the pope what he did against the faith, and therefore it seemed that afterwards, when Eugene revoked the dissolution, he also revoked the error of faith contained in the same. There are also divers offences sprung and risen up through the error of faith: for some say that the pope is under the council, others deny it, and this diversity of doctrine bringeth offence. Also it is expressly against the authority of the council, that the pope did revoke the assertions made in their name.

The pope neglecting to do good, is a member not of Christ, but of the devil.

And albeit in such revocations the style and order of judgments are not observed, notwithstanding it doth suffice in such case when the council doth proceed against the pope, in which case only the truth is to be observed, neither is the council subject unto any positive law, that it ought to observe any terms or judicial orders. Also he said that he utterly condemned that same singular gloss which did prefer the pope before all the world: that it was well called singular, which decreed such foolish and fond things, and unworthy to be followed

Councils bound to no positive law.

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of any man; and that he did much marvel at Panormitane, and other doctors of those days, who, while 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 constantly written and ageable in all places, than that which, in any one place, teacheth any thing which may seem to be an error; and that, as touching the verity and truth? St. Jerome, a grave and ancient doctor, is contrary to this gloss, who doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authority, is above the city itself; that is to say, Rome.

Segovius could scarcely finish this his oration without interruption; for Panormitane oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this, and now that reason. Whereupon the bishop of Argens 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; yet they proceeded so far, that they passed the manner of disputation, and did not abstain from opprobrious taunts.

When the bishop of Argens, asking license, chanced to say that the bishop of Rome ought to be the minister of the church, Panormitane could not suffer that; insomuch that he so forgot himself that day, and his knowledge (which otherwise was great) did so fail him, that he was not ashamed to say and affirm, that the pope was lord over the church. Whom Segovius answered thus:

The pope appointed lord of the church. He and the clergy desire dominion, contrary to the Scriptures.

Mark, saith he, O Panormitane, what thou sayest; for this is the most honourable title of the bishop of Rome, wherein he calleth himself 'the servant of the servants of God.' Which is gathered upon this point, when 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 people have rule and dominion over them, but amongst you is it not so,' &c.; wherein he doth utterly prohibit lordship and dominion. And Peter, who was the first vicar of Christ, said: 'Feed the flock of Christ which is committed unto you, providing for them not by compulsion, but willingly:' and immediately after he saith; 'Not as lords over the clergy.' For if Christ the Son of God came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to serve, how then can his vicar have any dominion, or be called 'lord,' as you Panormitane will affirm? forasmuch 'as the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.' And the Lord himself saith; 'Be ye not called masters, forasmuch as your only master is Christ, and he who is the greatest among you, shall be your servant.'

Panormitane being somewhat disquieted with this answer, the council brake up and departed.

The French king's ambassador against Eugene.

The next day there was a general congregation, and they returned all again unto the chapter-house after dinner, where the archbishop of Lyons, the 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, detesting the negligence and ignavy of those that had preferred such a man unto the papacy, and so moved all their hearts who were present, that they all, together with him, did bewail the calamities of the universal church.

The bishop of Burgen.

Then the bishop of Burgen, the ambassador of Spain, divided the conclusions into two parts, some he called general, and others personal, disputing very excellently as touching the three first conclusions; affirming, that he did in no point doubt of them, but only, that the addition, which made mention of the faith, seemed to be doubtful

unto him. But upon this point he stayed much, to prove that the council was above the pope; which, after he had sufficiently proved both by God's law, and man's law, he taught also by physical reason, alleging Aristotle for witness. He said, that in every well ordered kingdom it ought especially to be desired, that the whole realm should be of more authority than the king; which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kingdom, but a tryanny: so likewise did he think of the church, that it ought to be of more authority than the prince thereof, that is to say, the pope. Which his oration he uttered so eloquently, learnedly, and truly, that all men depended upon him, and desired rather to have him continue his oration, than to have an end thereof.

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The council above the pope.

But, when he entered into the other conclusions, he seemed to have forgotten himself, and to be no more the same man that he was; for neither was there the same eloquence in his words, neither gravity in oration, nor cheerfulness of countenance; so that if he could have seen himself, he would peradventure greatly have marvelled at himself. Every man might well see and perceive then the power and force of the truth, which ministered copy<sup>1</sup> of matter unto him, so long as he spake in the defence thereof.<sup>2</sup> But when he began once to speak against her, she took away even his natural eloquence from him.<sup>3</sup> 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, who 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 let and hinder the council. Against whom an abbot of Scotland, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much; and Thomas de Corcellis, a famous divine, alleged much against him out of the decrees of the sacred council, and with a certain modest shamefacedness, always beholding the ground, did very largely dispute in defence of the conclusions.

### The Conclusions of the Disputations, as summed up by Æneas Sylvius.

But now, to avoid tediousness, I will only proceed to declare arguments whereby the conclusions were ratified and confirmed, not minding to treat of the five last conclusions, which concern the person of Eugene, but only upon the three first, whereunto I will join certain probable arguments, 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 required and examined. The one, whether the 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 the 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) "Copy of matter;" a pattern or standard to which he might appeal, or from which he might argue.—Ed.

(2) "The force of truth" which appeared also in Æneas, the writer hereof, although afterwards, when he was pope, he denied the same.

(3) Note what it is for a man to labour against his knowledge.



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A king not of more authority than his kingdom.

What a king is.

The institution of kings.

The pope ought to be subject unto the council.

'Tu es Petrus' expounded.

Sins are the gates of hell.

Against the papists' opinion, that

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.

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;<sup>1</sup> 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; which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alleged wherefore kings were ordained.

At the beginning (as Cicero in his Offices saith) it is most 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. For 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 temerarily; 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.

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, forasmuch 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, where it is said in Job, that there is no power upon the earth that may be compared unto the power of the malign spirit: whereby it followeth, that the power of the church is above all other power.

We may, also, upon the same saying, reason after another sort: forasmuch as the gates of hell, that is to say, sins, cannot prevail against the church, the church thereby is declared to be without sin; which cannot be spoken of the

(1). These kind of flatterers come now, in our days.

pope, who is a mortal man, forasmuch 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, forasmuch 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.

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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 spoke 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, forasmuch 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.<sup>2</sup> Which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the apostle to confess that the church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle.<sup>2</sup> 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.

(2) The church is without spot or sin, is to be understood not by nature, but only by imputation.

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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.

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, 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.'

Behold, Christ prayeth that his disciples should not fall, but should be preserved from evil, although they were still lying 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.]

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 forasmuch as the Scripture saith: 'No man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred,'<sup>1</sup> 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 oftentimes done; and we are also commanded to sing the same in our creed, 'nam sanctam catholicam, et apostolicam ecclesiam,' that is to say, 'one holy catholic and apostolic church;' which article

The church comprehendeth both the evil and good.

(1) 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 if the church be holy, it is also without sin. But to return to our former purpose, this word 'sanctum,' which signifieth 'holy' (as Macrobius, alleging Trebatius, affirmeth), is sometimes taken for religious, and sometimes for 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

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To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by St. Paul, that 'Christ is the Head of the church;' for if the church should wholly 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.' Hereupon 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 overcomes. 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,' saith St. Jerome (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 prov-  
eth by  
authority,  
the pope  
to be  
under the  
council.  
If the  
church be  
the mo-  
ther, 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; forasmuch 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 them: '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.

Exposi-  
tion of  
'Quod-  
cunque  
ligaveri-  
tis.'

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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The church, and not the pope, compared to the sun.

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.

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.

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? 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 the 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 the 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 depositions of the chief bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirm, that the bishop of Rome, although he carry souls in ever so great number unto hell, yet he is not subject to any correction or rebuke.

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.<sup>1</sup>

But these things being passed over, forasmuch 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 the 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 the general council. And first of all they allege this saying of the gospel, 'Dic ecclesie,' '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 ecclesie,' '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 high bishop, 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 aedificabo 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 ecclesie,' 'Tell it unto the church;' that is to say, 'Tell it unto the congregation of the faithful;' which, forasmuch as they are not accustomed to come together but in a general council, this interpretation shall seem very good: 'Dic ecclesie,' 'Tell it unto the church,' that is to say, 'Dic generali concilio,' 'Tell it unto the general council.'

In this case I would gladly hear if there be any man who doth think these words to be more properly expressed in any prelate, than in the 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 this 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 are these, written in his Register unto the bishop of Constantinople: 'And we,' said 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 declare the church here to be taken for the 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, the general council; for that which is dispersed abroad cannot be had, except it be gathered together.

Henry  
VI.  
A. D.  
1431.

Things  
spoken  
of the  
church,  
He  
serve  
also for  
the gene-  
ral coun-  
cil.

Peter  
repre-  
senteth  
a double  
person.  
Christ  
nameth  
the  
church  
but twice.

Interpre-  
tation of  
'Dic ec-  
clesia.'

The  
church  
taken  
for the  
general  
council.

(1) How foolishly the church of Rome doth wrest the Scriptures, neglecting the expositions of the fathers.

*Henry VI.*

A. D.  
1431.

The council of Constance decreeth the pope to be under the 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 the council is understood.

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.

Also pope Nicholas, reproving Lotharius the king for adultery, 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, the 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.

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 generale 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 be in the 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 the 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 the general council; except we will call the pope's constitutions the laws of the church, which cannot be properly said but of the 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, the general council.

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 the 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 the 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, 'obedience:' that all men might understand obedience to be necessary even in the bishop of Rome.

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 the general council: 'The authority of this seat 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 the 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 are in no part to be violated and broken: thereby (as it were) excluding himself and the high patriarch.

The authority also of Damasus upon this sentence is more manifest, writing unto Arelius 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 forwardly 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 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 the 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 rulers of the sacred canons, which are consecrated by the Spirit of God, and the reverence of the whole world, are faithfully to be known and understood of us, and diligently looked upon, that by no means, without a necessity which cannot be eschewed (which God forbid), we do transgress against 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.

But now, to return again unto Damasus; mention is made in the epistles of Ambrose, bishop 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 which hath been before the council. By which saying he doth manifestly reprove all those who affirm and say, that the bishop of Rome is above the council: 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 forasmuch as the council is above the pope, Damasus knew himself to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilary also, acknowledging the 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 the council; for the full judgment of the universal church is not found elsewhere but in the general council. Let not any man doubt, in 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 the council; which altogether declareth the superiority of the 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 to 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 understood, signify no other thing by the verity of the gospel, than the canon of the council decreed

Henry

VI.

A. D.

1431.

The pope cannot abide general councils.

'Non obstante' in the bulls.

The council above the pope.

The full judgment of the church to be found in the council. No appeal to be made from the council to the pope.

Peter constrained to obey the general council.



*Henry VI.*

A. D.  
1431.

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.

Weighty matters treated of only in general councils.

The pope not sufficient to judge heretics: he may err.

Whether the pope may be deposed by the council.

amongst the apostles: for the disciples being gathered together, have 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 preferment whereof these things also come in place: '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! save them whom thou hast given me,' &c. 'And I will be with them 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 apostles spake of the authority of many, which altogether are alleged for the authority of the universal church.

But forasmuch 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 consist in the general councils where they assemble together. And therefore it was observed in the primitive church, that difficult and weighty matters were not treated upon, but only in the general councils and congregations. The same is also found to be observed afterwards; for, when the churches were divided, 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 heresies of Eutychius were also condemned; forasmuch 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, forasmuch 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.'

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

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.

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 understood otherwise than it is spoken.

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 what he was ordained to do; 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

Henry  
VII.A. D.  
1431.'Tibi dabo  
claves  
regni  
cœlorum;'  
'Pasce  
oves  
meas;'  
make no-  
thing for  
the pope's  
suprema-  
cy.Peter re-  
presents  
the per-  
son of the  
church.The keys  
given  
to the  
church,  
and not to  
one man.Pope Bo-  
niface  
erresth.The  
bishop of  
Rome im-  
properly  
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.  
1431.

Fruitless  
branches to  
be cut  
off.

The  
words of  
Peter to  
Clement.

The epistle of  
Clement to James,  
doubted.

The pope  
to be both  
accused and pun-  
ished.

Whether  
he may be  
deposed.

He is  
rather to  
be called  
the vicar  
of the  
church,  
than of  
Christ.

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 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.' Whereupon in the person of Peter and Paul he 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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, referring 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, as a man, for not teaching those things which pertain unto 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 understood, do not much differ, for deposition is oftentimes used in the place of punishment.

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 ecclesiastical history 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 messengers of the Christians came not often 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 is much allowed, 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.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our adversaries, but that the pope may be deposed; which defence 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,<sup>3</sup> 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.

(1) If the pope be unsavoury salt, he is to be cast away.

(2) A note for all naughty prelates.

(3) See Edition 1563, p. 295.—En.

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.

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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 the general council.

Whereupon, if the universal church (as no man can deny) may depose the pope, the general council may also do the same.\* Also the gloss, which Panormitane in his writing doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence, 'That the 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 the council; and the council to judge and determine of every doubtful matter or question that doth arise concerning the bishop of Rome. Neither let any man doubt thereof, because 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 said, 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? 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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The first council of the apostles

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

Councils, in times past, congregated by emperors, not by popes.

When a council may be holden.

How the pope is a schismatic.

He cannot dissolve a council against the will of the same.

Saying of Macrobius.

Whether the pope may dissolve a council.

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 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 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 fourth council, where certain things contained in the law are permitted, seemeth to be 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 it is written thus of the synod of Chalcedon: 'The sacred and universal synod gathered together at Chalcedon, the chief city of the province of Bethunia, according to the grace of God, and the sanctions of the most godly and christian emperor.' Valentinian and Martian do not make any mention of the bishop of Rome, although his consent was there

Wherefore, if the pope would resist, and would have no council congregated, yet, if the greater part of the church do judge it necessary to have a council, the council may be congregated whether the pope will or no. \* For<sup>1</sup> when the clergy is generally inspired, the judgment of one man must needs give place, although he be the successor of Peter; neither do I judge this always to be observed, that there should be no council holden without the authority of the pope.\* The council holden at Pisa, was not congregated 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 John 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.

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.

And, as this 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.

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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.

Faith, as the divines do define it, is a firm and steadfast cleaving unto things believed by 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 it the faith of 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, forso much 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 the 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 ecclesie;' 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.

Defini-  
tion of  
faith.Defini-  
tion of  
the catholic  
faith.What is  
catholic.

\*And Saint Austin saith: 'Quod evangelio non crederet, ni autoritas ecclesie 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 the things unto us, to be believed.\*

Whereupon pope Martin IV., 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 the 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 the 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 congregated 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. 1663, p. 297.—Ed.

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The words of the council of Chalcedon.

To this purpose also serve very well the words of the synod of Chalcedon, written in this manner:—‘It is not lawful for him that is condemned by the whole synod, to nominate any bishop.’ 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.

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 forasmuch 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 physick 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 the general council, which is confirmed by so many testimonies and authorities, \*when he is counted a heretic, who taketh away the supremacy from the church of Rome, which is one of the Greek heresies that are condemned.\* Also Panormitane allegeth St. Jerome, saying, ‘He who understandeth the Scripture otherwise than the consent 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, the general council.

Whereupon it followeth, that he, who, upon the words of Christ, saying unto Peter, ‘Dic ecclesie,’ i. e. ‘Tell it unto the church,’ doth not understand by the church the general council, understandeth it otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may be noted as a heretic. And to prove that the sense of the Holy Ghost is otherwise than he doth judge it, the council of Constance doth declare; which, interpreting those words, ‘Dic ecclesie,’ that is, ‘Tell it unto the church,’ spoken by the Holy Ghost, understandeth them to be spoken of the general council.

By these and many other weightier 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 premised; neither do I think any man now to be in doubt of these three first conclusions. Now, to return again unto our story, it is our purpose to declare those things which happen after the conclusions of the divines; for there are many things worthy of remembrance, which also may happily be profitable unto posterity.

\*When the matter was allowed by the divines, it came to the examination of the deputies, whereof three, without much ado, consented with the divines. The fourth, who was named the common deputy, admitting the three first conclusions, seemed to stop upon the residue. George, bishop of Vicenza, 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

persuaded, without a new convocation, that Eugene should 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 the deposition of the pope to come on apace.

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There were, in this deputation, many who not only now, but always had favoured Eugene's part. This deputation, lest, according to the ancient custom of the council, it should be concluded by three deputations, did suspend all deliberations; for by that suspending, they brought a greater stop and let than they should have done by denying, and so protracting the matter a long time. For this cause the messengers of the other deputies were sent, through whose exhortation the deputies of the commons did revoke there suspension upon the three conclusions. Friday drew near, on which day they were accustomed to have a general congregation, and a final conclusion of their business.\*

When the disputation was ended, 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, by their letters and messengers, they called back others who were gone away. The cardinal of Terraconia, who then sojourned at Solodorus, was sent for; likewise was Ludovicus, the prothonotary of Rome, who was gone unto the baths, not so much for his health's sake, as because he would not be compelled to defend Eugene contrary to his own mind. There were many of the other bishops of the Arragons sent for, who came all back again the day before the congregation should be holden, but only the cardinal, who returned after the congregation.

As soon as the congregation was begun, by and by, the ambassadors of the princes were present, and, as though they had before conspired together, they all agreed in one mind to hinder the conclusion as much as in them lay.\*

And first of all, as soon as the congregation was assembled together, the bishop of Bergen,<sup>2</sup> a man both wise and eloquent, exhorted them to defer the conclusion, and to tarry for the ambassadors of other princes, who would return from Mentz.

After him Panormitane, a man of singular learning, and chief ambassador of his king, with a grave and rhetorical oration, spake, in a manner, as followeth.

### The Oration of Panormitane.<sup>3</sup>

'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 he ought to have cried, this matter specially, which is now in hand, lacketh crying and roaring out, when the state of the universal church is 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) More probably 'Burgos,' see page 610.—Ed.

(3) Ed. 1583, p. 677.—Ed.



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Four things to be considered in every request.

Panormitane would have dignity to be considered, not voices.

He seemeth to delay the process against the pope.

The third part of his oration.

His persuasions.

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, forasmuch 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, forasmuch 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.

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.

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 a commonwealth; 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

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 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.

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When Panormitane had made an end of his oration, Ludovicus, 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 aforetime; insomuch that he had always in memory whatsoever he had heard or read, and never forgot any thing that he had seen; \* 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 praise of Ludovicus the prothonotary.

### The Oration of Ludovicus 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, that it seemeth not to be against the truth, that only bishops should have a deciding or determining voice in councils. And, albeit some in this disputation do 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 effect, 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 followed; and that it doth not appear there, that the apostles called the elders of duty, but that 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 were admitted to determine with the bishops but of grace and favour only, because the bishops may communicate the 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 Concen, a man of great authority, who would not suffer any incorporation or fellowship of the meaner sort, and therefore neither any inferior, neither himself, who as yet was not made bishop, to have any deciding voice in the council. Wherefore, forasmuch as the matter was weighty which was now in hand, and that the bishops spake against it, he required the council that they would, of necessity, stay and tarry for the ambassadors of the princes coming from Mentz.

Bishops only to have a determining voice in councils.

His oration<sup>1</sup> was so much the more grievous, in that many were touched with his words, and especially in that point, that he said the apostles were not to be followed; for that, all men did impugn as a blasphemcy. But here a man may marvel, that a man of such excel-

(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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lency, alleged no more or better matter. But in this point the memory of the man is to be pardoned, who did not willingly speak in this matter, and desired nothing so much, as not to obtain that which he entreated for.

\* After<sup>1</sup> him the bishops Cathamensis and Bosianus, who were also the king's ambassadors, after a few words, had inclined to the sentence and mind 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 Albigania, and Francis Barbavaria, were not yet returned from Mentz. He, being a follower of Jerome, alleging many authorities out of the said doctor, persuaded greatly to have the matter declared, abhorring all haste, which, he said, was an enemy to the council. And specially with his countenance and gesture he declared himself to be greatly against the matter. At 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 Dertusia<sup>2</sup> and Jerundia, and the elect abbot of Mount Segobria, and many other men of that sect, who altogether allowed the sentences and determination of Panormitane. The bishop of Parma agreed with the bishop of Milan and the king's almoner, who, flying from Basil, because of the plague, unto Zosingen, died in a town of the Switzers, between Lucerne and Basil. These, with Martinus de Vera, ambassador of the king of Arragon, did confirm and stay themselves upon the saying of their fellow Panormitane. Then the other Arragons and Castilians, every man willing to speak for himself, said: that they did all agree to the desire of their king. The matter seemed to be craftily handled, that thereby they might spend the time and defer the conclusion. When a great number had spoken their minds, and were heard, and the Castilians had made an end,\* Ludovicus, the cardinal Arelatensis, a man of marvellous constancy, and born for the governance of general councils, gathering 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 manner he spake unto the Castilians and Lombards: afterwards, he, entering upon the matter, spake in this wise:

#### The Oration of the Cardinal Arelatensis.

Most reverend fathers! this is now no new or strange business, nor begun to-day 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 days continually, and fully discussed, and, after that, not without great delay approved by the deputies; and as the truth seeketh no corners, so all things were done publicly and openly, neither can any man pretend ignorance, neither are the prelates or princes contemned; for we called all that were present at Basil, and exhorted all the rest to be present. And forasmuch as mention is made of the most noble king of Castile; who is it that is ignorant that the king's orators were there present? The bishops of Bergen 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, was twice present yourself in the chapter-house, and disputed twice most subtilly, and twice declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. What do you desire any more? 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) "Dertusa," Tortosa in Spain.—Ed.

When he had spoken these words, the archbishop, being somewhat moved, said unto him, "My lord cardinal, you supply the room of a president no better than I do the place of a duke's orator;" and began to taunt him with many words. But the cardinal (as he was a man most patient, and would not be provoked to anger by any means), said as followeth:

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### The Oration of Cardinal Arelatensis continued.

This is it that I have even now desired. 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 bishop 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 declared in the council; whereunto, if they had been willing to come, they would have been present ere this.

• Besides that, it is not true what Panormitane sayeth, that secular princes ought to be admitted to any matter of faith, and especially, if he understand it to decide or determine. And, albeit that Martianus the emperor doth say, 'Nos, ad fidem conformandum, 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 sayeth; 'Nos ad fidem confirmandem, non potentiam exercendam volumus interesse synodo;' that is, 'We will be present at the synod or 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 means of their absence they cannot threaten themselves, yet will they put men in fear by their ambassadors. But God shall provide for them.\*

Why this matter should need so much discussing as some will have, I do not understand; for if I be well remembered, Panormitane and also Ludovicus 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,<sup>2</sup> 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, they are not only 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; forasmuch 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;<sup>1</sup> 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 state; 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 forasmuch 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 temporalities; 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 spiritualities; 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.'<sup>3</sup> And, contrariwise, the Lord will not confess him before his Father who is afraid 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 ever 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 the 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?' 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, forasmuch 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 others was most famous, Athanasius, being then 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.

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 priests. 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 the ecclesiastical history, how that there was a council gathered at Rome of sixty bishops, and as many priests and deacons against the Novations, who called themselves Cathary. Also, when Paul,<sup>2</sup> 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, many other bishops, priests and deacons; and it is said, that for that cause the council was often holden. And at 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<sup>3</sup> to what purpose do I stand so long in this matter? these are the words of the sixth council holden at Toulouse: 'After all the bishops be entered in and set, let the priests be called, who are allowed, for any 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,' 'forasmuch 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;

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Athanasius, being but a priest, vanquished an arch-bishop.

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.

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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;' which words, if they be well understood, do not exclude the inferiors.

Of two things the bishops complained: 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 denied that it was a council, yet is it called a synod of bishops, and not of clerks. For this does not exclude all the inferiors, but only such as have taken Bennet and Collet,<sup>1</sup> whom we also do exclude, observing the order, which the council of Toulouse 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.

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.

Moreover, if abbots, as we do see it observed in all councils, having 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 should be done but what pleased the Italian nation, which alone doth equiperate or exceed

St. Augustine upon this sentence, 'Tibi dabo claves regni eorum.'

How bishops are of greater power than priests. Bishops and priests ought to rule together.

Abbots not instituted by Christ.

(1) "Bennet and Collet;" the orders of St. Benedict and St. Nicholas.—Ed.

all other nations, or at 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.

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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 withstood 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.<sup>1</sup> 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; which indeed they have done. Neither could they be feared with threatenings, or discouraged 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 Pictavia,<sup>2</sup> although they were ever 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.

(2) "Pictavia" Poitiers.—Ed.



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In mat-  
ters of  
faith and  
religion,  
there  
ought to  
be no  
delays.

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 forasmuch 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:

'Vincere scis Hanibal, uti victoria nescis.'

'Hannibal! thou knowest victory to get,  
But how to use it, thou know'st not yet.'

Likewise the Frenchmen, 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.

The  
eighth  
year of  
the coun-  
cil of  
Basil.  
How  
subtly they  
sought  
delays.

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. Neither 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 the 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  
Con-  
stance.

Alas! most reverend fathers, alas! what times and days, what manners and conditions are these! 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 intolerable, 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 alienated 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 do not resist against us, but against the holy Scriptures, yea, and against Christ himself; which conclusions 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 afraid of them that kill the body (the soul they cannot kill), neither shall ye forsake the truth, although you should shed your blood for the same.<sup>1</sup> 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 an 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 Menocheus for Thebes, and Codrus for Athens, willingly took upon them.

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 Theremeus 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 examples, instructed with so great learning, yea and redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, so greatly to fear death.

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 Thermopylae, of whom Symonides 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.'

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 Christehdom lost Constantinople and all the East parts, unto the Turks.

Henry  
VI.

A. D.  
1431  
to  
1438.

A christian  
exhortation  
to constancy  
and martyrdom.

Exam-  
ples of  
good men  
dying for  
their  
country.

The noble  
Lacede-  
monians.

Henry  
VI.

A. D.  
1431  
to  
1438.

The  
blessed  
state of  
the life  
to come.

The  
worthy  
answer  
of Theo-  
dorus.

No death  
to be  
feared for  
Christ's  
church.

Example  
of mari-  
ners and  
hunters.

Example  
of the  
eleven  
thousand  
virgins.

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 Theodorus Cyrenensis 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 Theodorus, 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.

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 along by the city, in times past hath carried eleven thousand virgins unto martyrdom.<sup>1</sup> In India, as Cicero writeth, when any man was dead, his wives (for there they had many wives) came into contention who should be burned with him; and she whom he loved best, having vanquished the others (all the rest joyfully following her), was cast into the fire with the dead carcase of her husband, and burnt. The others, who were overcome, departed full of heaviness and sorrow, wishing rather to have died than live.

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 let them die! 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.

When cardinal Arelatensis had made an end of this oration, \*there<sup>o</sup> was a great noise, crying out and brawling every where; some praised

(1) See note, vol. iiii. p. 269.—Ed.

(2) Editio 1563, p. 308.—Ed.

his memory, some his doctrine; others saying, that he alone did most worthily rule and govern, who knew how to confute objections, and, as it became a president, bare himself without all blame or reproach. But the Castilians, when they saw that all delay was denied them, with great noise and cry, they letted the concordances of the twelve men, going about with all their endeavour that the protestation which Panormitane had made, should go before the reading of the concordances.

*Henry VI.*

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1431  
to  
1438.

This matter was not done without violence,\* for the president's commandments were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order observed; for sometimes they spake unto Panormitane, sometimes unto Ludovicus; no man was suffered to speak, but in haste the bishops brawled with bishops, and the inferiors with their fellows. All was full of contention and debate, which when Ludovicus, the patriarch of Aquileia, perceived (a man of no less courage and stomach, than of nobility and birth, being also a duke), for the zeal that he bare unto the universal church, turning himself unto Panormitane and Ludovicus, 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 lawful for you to depart out of this country with whole heads." With which words Panormitane, Ludovicus, and the archbishop of Milan, being stricken, as it were, with lightning from heaven, rose up, and said, "Is our liberty thus 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 preserve all men in their liberty, or no?

*Lewis, patriarch of Aquileia, duke of Deck in Swevia.*

*The earl of Diernstein.*

The citizens, also, and senators, were present to provide and foresee that no offence should rise; for the citizens observed always this order, that they would be present in all affairs which they supposed would breed dissension; foreseeing specially, that no tumults should rise, otherwise than with words. They used always such a marvellous foresight and providence, that no man unto this day could have any cause against them, to complain for their violating 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, gave a sign of preservation of their liberty. 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 all should 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 as once 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 to 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 his whole mind to be declared unto John Bacheistein, auditor of the chamber, a man both grave and eloquent, whose assistance the council had used in

*The praise of the citizens of Basil.*

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VI.

A. D.  
1431  
to  
1438.

divers ambassades; who affirmed that the patriarch's mind was not 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 to 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.

Humility  
sister to  
nobility.

Therefore he admonisheth the fathers to foresee and provide for the peril, that they should not depart from the council, nothing 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 declared it to be true 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.

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.

Bishops  
that lie at  
home,  
have  
tongues  
to speak  
for the  
pope.

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 the matter at that point which it is now at, most like unto a miracle; for even presently I do behold most wonderful signs of miracles: for it is 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 lie lurking at home, are now suddenly started up? who hath given hearing to the deaf, and speech to the dumb? who hath taught the poor man to preach the gospel? I do see here a new sort of prelates come in, who, unto this present, have kept silence, and now begin to speak. Is not this like a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth, and not to impugn justice.

Constancy  
lacked in  
divers of  
this coun-  
cil.

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 most certain and true; and they who now reprove them, in times past allowed them. You are not ignorant how that Ludovicus, the prothonotary, preached these verities at Louvaine and at Cologne, and brought them from thence, confirmed with the authorities of the universities.<sup>1</sup> Wherefore, albeit he be now changed, yet is the truth in no point altered. And, therefore, I desire you and beseech you all, that ye will not give ear unto these men, who, albeit they are most excellently learned, yet have they no constancy in them, which doth adorn all other virtues.

When he had ended his oration, Ludovicus, the prothonotary, rising up, said, "It is most true that I brought those verities; but you do call them verities of faith, which addition seemeth very doubtful unto me." 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 companions and other Arragons, cried out with a

(1) Mark how they are turned back who sometime favoured the truth, and are now become liars and flatterers.

loud voice, saying, "You fathers do contemn our requests, you contemn kings and princes, and despise prelates; but take heed lest, while 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 greatest part of prelates, we make the council, and it is our part to conclude; and I, in the name of all other prelates do conclude, that it is to be deferred and delayed." With this word there sprang such a noise and rumour in the council, as is accustomed to be in battle, with the sound of trumpets, and noise of horsemen when two armies join; some cursing that which Panormitane went about, others allowing the same; so that diversity of minds made divers contentions.

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A. D.

1431

to

1439.

Panormitane spake like himself.

Then Nicholas Amici, a divine of Paris, according unto 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 party seemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other party had neither concluded, neither was it seen how they could conclude amongst so great cries and uproars. Notwithstanding, amongst all this troublous noise, John Segovius, a singular divine of the university of Salamanca, lacked not 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 it that is so stony or hardhearted, who can abstain from tears, when the authority of the church is so spoiled, liberty taken away both from us and the council, and that there is no place given unto the verity? 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 require nothing for ourselves, and our desire is only that truth might appear. We trusted now to have concluded upon the verities, which were sometimes 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 Valentinian the emperor, in this manner: 'If we shall treat upon the order of the holy Scripture and ancient times past, who is it that will deny but that in case of faith (I say, in case of faith), the bishops ought to judge upon christian emperors, and not emperors upon bishops? neither do we admit their petition but upon most urgent causes: notwithstanding, we heard them patiently and willingly, while 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 the council? What has now become of the decree of the council of Toulouse? Where are our decrees, which do not only prohibit tumults, but also small babblings and talk? They say, it is because we contemn them; but they are 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 do any thing 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 under-

Ambros. ad Valentinianum.

How far bishops ought to judge emperors.

He excuseth the patriarch.

Henry  
VII.

A. D.  
1431  
to  
1493.

He show-  
eth the  
ascen-  
dents of  
the ad-  
versaries  
by their  
own con-  
fession.

Moreth  
the bi-  
shops by  
the ex-  
ample of  
Paul.

Paul  
would  
give Pe-  
ter no re-  
spite  
when he  
swerved  
awry.

stand; for if they be the council, why do 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<sup>1</sup> are they, from whom the liberty is taken; but they say, that the inferiors ought not to judge any thing, and that we ought not to entreat any matter with the least part of bishops, albeit we be the greatest part 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, albeit it did not please the prelates, the cardinal of St. Angelo, then president (associated scarcely with five bishops and the most part of the inferiors), 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 ambition of the bishops.

Moreover, ye have for example, that at the coming of Alexander, abbot of Vergilia, who was the first that came to this place, the council beginning when there was no bishop as yet come, as Eugene doth confess: wherefore that which these men say, is to no other purpose, but only utterly to subvert the council. But that 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 also grant that which is spoken by the apostle: That Christ, when he ascended into heaven, did institute other apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, to the ministry and edification of his church. And, as the bishops do succeed the apostles, so the divines do succeed the doctors, and the priests, the pastors; and all others in their degrees: and that 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.\* But this doth most of all grieve me, and this do I most marvel at, that Panormitane, a man of singular wit and doctrine, did conclude without any discussing or deciding of the deputies, and without the examination of the twelve men, and any writ or order; which, except mine eyes had beheld and seen, I would scarcely believe, if any other man should report it unto me of him. Neither do I yet know whether I may sufficiently credit myself, 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.<sup>2</sup> \*For<sup>3</sup> it is more dangerous than the pernicious decree which ye were wont to call 'Parvum,' for that the legates of the apostolic see, and their other accomplices, did propound in the deputations, having a certain number of voices, to know who were with them, and who would be against them. But this is done in confusion, which, if it pass unpunished, it will raise up 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 cometh successively unto another: that is, when those who are presidents, will not conclude according to the will of three or four deputies, or the concordance of twelve men, which, whether it have now happened, you yourselves do see, and Panormitane himself, who hath made the conclusion, doth best know.\*

And, albeit Panormitane hath proved (as he thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verity 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 one hour's respite 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 once grown, are hardly taken away. Wherefore, I desire you speedily to help and aid: hoist

(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.

up your sails, and launch out your oars. Why should we tarry looking for either the prelates or the princes? \*There<sup>1</sup> is no other power or authority to be sought for, where the Divine Majesty is present. They of Eugene's sect, preach heresies in every place: yet is there no man who sayeth unto them, that they should stay or leave off. But against you, who do intend to publish and set forth the truth, a thousand do murmur that you should hold your peace; which is a great sign and token of your sincerity.

Henry VII.

A. D.  
1431  
to  
1439.

It is reported, that in time past Benedict, a holy monk, did visit the monastery of certain holy men, and did see there an infinite number of devils contending with the holy fathers, and striving to perturb their good work. By-and-by he saw one devil alone, all sad and heavy, going unto a fair, where were a great many people buying and selling; whereat Benedict, greatly marvelling that the holy place, appointed for prayer, should be so full of devils, and the place that

The Eugeni-ans preach heresies without let.

• was occupied only with sin and perjury should be kept but with one devil, ad-  
jured him to tell him the cause thereof: The devil answered, that the holy place needed more the assaults of devils, than that place where men sinned of their own wills; for there, there was no great need of devilish deceit.

The like thereof seemeth unto me to be happened unto the Eugenians.\* You are now in conflict; I only desire that you would hasten unto the victory. Regard not the threatenings of those princes, neither the opprobries of those contumelious persons: For you are blessed, saith the Lord, when men curse you and persecute you, speaking all evil against you, making lies and slanders upon you for my sake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. What is it, I pray you, that the princes do so much object against us? Is not our Lord God able to take us out of the furnace of hot burning fire, and deliver us out of the hands of those princes? I beseech you, most reverend fathers and loving brethren! have no less hope in Jesus Christ, than Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had, who feared not that old king Nabuchadnezzar; and let the princes know, That the most highest ruleth over the kingdoms of men, and giveth them unto whom he pleaseth.<sup>2</sup> God beholdeth all things from above. He is, I say, in the midst amongst us.—Wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of good courage, and show yourselves as a strong wall for the church of God. Suffer not the faith to perish under your hands. The Almighty God is present with you. He is present that will defend you. Fear not those who seek only to kill the body. Do justice and equity, and be assured that he will not deliver you over into the hands of the backbiter and slanderer. Again I say unto you, show yourselves valiant and stout; defend your mother the church! And unto thee, O thou president! I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God than man; for if thou depart thence without a final conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render account in the strait judgment of God.

Anexhor-tation to constan-cy.

And thus, without any more words, he sat down in his place. In the mean time many grave and ancient men had exhorted Panormitane that he should give over his conclusion. The bishop of Bergen was very instant and earnest with him, that he should make unity and concord amongst the fathers, and went about to make a unity with all men. But neither the fathers of the council were determined to depart without a conclusion; neither was Panormitane minded to alter his intent and purpose.

The bishop of Bergen seeketh concord.

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\*The<sup>3</sup> archbishop of Lyons having gotten opportunity to be heard, said that Panormitane's conclusion was of no force, neither needed any revocation, because it was of no force; notwithstanding he thought a delay would be profitable, if peradventure that, as the bishop of Bergen had said, a concord might be treated upon by the fathers. His oration was not very acceptable to Panormitane's companions, who, as soon as they heard their conclusion to be nothing regarded, they contrariwise affirmed, that it was of force, and that they made

The arch-bishop of Lyons's oration.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 311, cols. 1 and 2.—Ed.

(2) Mark the great constancy and christian zeal of this man.

(3) Edition 1563, p. 312.—Ed.



*Henry VI.*  
A. D.  
1431  
to  
1439.

Good men  
feared  
that the  
world  
would  
prevail  
before  
Christ.

How men  
be ready  
to hear  
news.

The godly  
policy of  
the card-  
inal.

the council: whereupon there was so great noise and cry, that nothing could be heard that was read. On that day there was great terror and fear upon all good men, lest the adversaries should prevail, more than the council. The matter seemed to be in great danger, lest their adversaries, persevering in their obstinacy, would 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<sup>1</sup> it drew toward night, and the bishop of Lausanne, a wise and circumspect man, and Nicholas Grossetanus, rising out of their places, foreseeing rather into the council, than unto themselves, went unto the cardinal Arelatensis, threatening him, if he would rise without a final conclusion. Also Francis de Fuxe, and Andreas Hispanus, divines, were always whispering in the ears of the cardinal, and would suffer him to take no pause; also Laurentius Rocella was importunate upon him, saying, "Why stoppest thou, now, president? where is thy mind? where are thy policies? what fearest thou? why 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 now received letters out of France, which declare unto me marvellous things; that there are incredible news sprung up there, which, if you will give me willing 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, without either fable or history of any letters sent, he opened the whole order of the matter, and, as it is requisite in 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 the general council; 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 Eugeni-ans 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 the three first: "even as I also," saith he, "here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

The Holy  
Ghost  
working  
against  
the pope.

When he had finished his oration, with a cheerful and merry countenance rising up, he departed. 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 great policy. Howbeit 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

others 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 overcome. 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 unwillingly, impugned the truth.

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The sorrow of Panormitane, for impugning the truth.

After this there was great consultation amongst the Eugenians, what were best to be done in this matter. \* The same day the cardinal of Terragona returned, a man of excellent wisdom and learning, who, at the time the Armenians did come, sequestered himself to two diets, and, forasmuch as he could not be present at the general congregation, the Castilians and Lombards went suddenly unto him, devising and counselling many things with him.\* Some thought good to depart and leave the council, others thought it meet to tarry, and withal endeavour to resist that nothing should further be done against the Eugenians: and this opinion remained amongst them.

The bishops of Lyons and Bergen. The cardinal of Terragona.

The next day, being Saturday, the fifteenth day of April, the archbishop of Lyons and the bishop of Bergen, calling together the prelates in the chapter-house of the great church, began many things as touching peace. The bishop of Bergen persuaded, 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 they said, There could be no unity of concord made before the adversaries confessed their fault, and asked pardon there-for.

Just answer of the council.

On the day following, the said bishop of Bergen,<sup>2</sup> with the other Lombards and Castilians, went unto the Germans, and from thence unto the senate of the city, speaking much as touching the prohibiting of schisms. The Germans, as I did afterwards understand, referred themselves to those things which the deputation should determine. The senate of the city (as they were men of great wisdom, who would do nothing without diligent advice and deliberation) answered: That the matter pertained 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 believe 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 only their duty to defend the fathers, and to preserve the promise of the city.—With this answer the bishop of Bergen departed.

Answer of the senate.

In the mean time the fathers of the council had drawn out a form of a decree upon the former conclusions, and had approved the same in the sacred deputations; only the deputation of the commons thought the decree to be more amplified. By this time the princes' orators

Form of the decree approved.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 312.—ED.

(2) "Bergen," Burgos.—ED.

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were returned from the assembly at Mentz, and holding a council amongst themselves, they had determined to hinder the decree. On the ninth day of May, there was a general convocation holden, whereunto all men resorted, either party putting forth itself unto the conflict.

The princes' ambassadors were called by the bishop of Lubeck, and Conrade de Winsperge, the protector, into the choir, and there kept; where they treated of a unity, and by what means it might be had. And there they tarried longer than some thought to do; which matter gave occasion to bring things well to pass, beyond all expectation, for the only form of the decree was appointed to be concluded that day.

Policy of  
the car-  
dinal  
Arelaten-  
sis.

Whereupon, as soon as cardinal Arelatensis perceived the congregation to be full, and that the twelve men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation with silence, he thought good not to delay it 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 according as the manner and custom is. The ambassadors of the princes, being yet in the choir, as soon as they understood how the matter passed, being very much troubled and vexed, brake off their talk, imputing all things to the bishop of Lubeck, who of purpose had kept them in the choir, and had protracted the time. Whereupon they, entering into the congregation, filled the church full of complaints.

The  
bishop of  
Turnon.

First of all, the orator of Lubeck complained both in his own name and the name of the protector, as touching the conclusion, and required that the council would revoke the same. If that might be granted, he promised to entreat a peace, and to be a protector between the council and the ambassadors of the princes. But the archbishop of Turnon said, That it seemed unto him, that every man should have free liberty to speak against that law which should be promulgated, until the session, when the canons should be consecrated and receive their force; when the bishops, in their pontificalibus, after the reading of the decree in the session, should answer that it pleased them: 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 the knowledge thereof but even now; notwithstanding that he, being an archbishop, ought to have known 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, before any session should be, would both hear and be heard of others. Neither doth it seem good unto 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 and change the minds of the fathers. Then the bishop of Concen,<sup>1</sup> ambassador of the king of Castile, who was also lately returned from Mentz, a man of great understanding, but lacking utterance, grievously complained that the prelates were

The  
bishop of  
Concen.

(1) "Concen," Cuenca in New Castile --ED.

contemned. "Neither had it been," said he, "any great matter if they had been tarried for, who, not without great danger and expenses, went to Mentz, not for their pleasure, but of necessity." And afterwards, as it were smiling, he said: "How mad am I, that would have the prelates to be tarried for until they return from Mentz, when they are not tarried for, while they can come out of the choir 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."

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Here were it long to repeat, with what rebukes and taunts they inveighed against the cardinal Arclatensis; but especially the bishop of Milan railed most cruelly upon him, saying, That he fostered and maintained a rabble of sophisters and schoolmasters,<sup>1</sup> and that he had concluded in matters of faith with them; calling him also another Cataline, unto whom all desperate and naughty persons had 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.—Albiganensis, a bishop, and a man of great nobility, descended of the emperor's blood, albeit he had never alienated his mind before from the council, yet, lest he should seem to dissent from the other ambassadors of the princes, he made the like complaint touching the contentment 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 seemeth 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, because they would not hear the words of God, that is to say, the words of peace, which the ambassadors had spoken; because they fled from the light in the absence of the ambassadors, privily concluding; and because, in their deputation, they had not holden and kept the holy day, but had concluded thereupon; also because they had the upper hand in the aforesaid conclusion, not by reason, but by deceit.

Mark  
what the  
truth  
must  
suffer.

The fa-  
thers of  
the coun-  
cil slan-  
dered by  
Panormi-  
tane.

Four  
signs to  
know the  
good from  
the bad.

As touching the 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, 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 archbishop, as in the name of his prince, who reigned not

What is  
it that  
ambition  
will not  
do?

(1) O marvellous despite and contumely in a bishop! for if Arclatensis had kept concubines, he would have praised him: but to maintain learned men was a great offence.

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Abbot of Vergilia.

Ludovicus the prothonotary, labouring to seem learned, forgot to be good.

The apostles, principally gathered the Creed.

Oration of the cardinal Arelatensis to the imperial ambassadors.

To the ambassadors of France.

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.' At last, he required pardon if he had offended the fathers of the council, forasmuch as very sorrow and grief forced him to speak so.

Then the abbot of Vergilia 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, among whom, last of all, Ludovicus, the prothonotary, the Homer of lawyers, rose up. And albeit that he spake unwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not refrain his words. And while he went about to seem learned and eloquent, he utterly forgot to be good. He said, That the council ought to take heed, not to entreat of 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 the matters of faith did pertain only unto the apostles, and so consequently unto bishops. Neither that they ought hastily to proceed in matters of faith, which ought to be clearly distinct, forasmuch 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 those verities wherupon question was then had, were articles of faith, if they were verities of faith. And, forasmuch as every man should be bound to believe those, therefore he would be better instructed and taught in that matter which he should 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 require it, touching the faith which it holdeth.

After every man had made an end of speaking, the cardinal Arelatensis, calling his spirits together, 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 treat of a peace and unity; but neither necessity, nor honesty, he said, would suffer those things which were concluded to be revoked. He answered also, That the petition of the ambassadors of France is 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

(1) Look if it be not spoken of them in the gospel, where mention is made of the beast which is fallen into the ditch.

the bishop of Concen so greatly complaineth of, he doth 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, forasmuch as a just man would require no unjust thing. Also, that his protestation had no evil sense or meaning, in that he would not have it imputed either unto him, or unto his king, if any offence should rise upon the conclusions. Notwithstanding, it is not to be feared, that any evil should spring of good works. But, unto the bishop 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 Ludovicus the prothonotary, who desired to be instructed, he said, He willed him to be satisfied with the words which were spoken unto the bishop of Turnon.

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To the  
bishop of  
Concen.

To Ludovicus.

Notwithstanding, he left not this untouched which Ludovicus 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 have 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 Nicholas Picenius, that most valiant 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, Ludovicus ought to know and understand, that they are not only articles of faith which are contained in the Creed, but all other determinations made by the councils as touching the faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be some articles of the Creed which we now use in the church, that were not put to by the apostles, but, afterwards by general councils; as that part, wherein mention is made 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 judge together with the bishops." But, forasmuch as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before passed, he would stay 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 word;" "which is very well taken out of the gospel, but not well applied unto the council," said he; for he firmly believed, that his predecessors have judged the Holy Ghost to be in the midst of the councils; and, therefore, the words of the councils to be the words of the Holy Ghost, which if any man do reject, he denieth himself to be of God." Neither doth the council hate the light, which doth all things publicly and openly, whose congregations are evident unto all men; neither doth it, as the conventicles of the adversaries, admit some, and exclude others. Moreover, the thing which is now in hand was begun to be treated of two months ago; and, first, the conclusions were largely disputed upon in the divinity schools, and, afterwards, sent unto Mentz, and other places of the world.

Nicholas  
Picenius,  
an Italian.Articles  
of the  
Creed not  
all put in,  
by the  
apostles.Article  
of the  
Holy  
Ghost, put  
in by the  
council of  
Lyons.Panormi-  
tane  
wounded  
with his  
owndarts.

"After all this the fathers were called into the chapter-house of the

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great church, to the number of a hundred and twenty; amongst whom Panormitane, who now complaineth, was also present, and, according to his manner, did learnedly and subtilly dispute, and had liberty to speak what he would. Likewise again in the disputations, every man spake his mind freely, and in the disputation 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 hath there been, at any time, any thing more ripely or exactly handled; both openly, and also without any fraud or deceit. And whereas the deputation did sit upon a holy day, there is no hurt in that; neither is it any new or strange thing, forasmuch as they have often holden their sessions upon festival days, when the matter hath had haste, forasmuch as the 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 reported, but publicly and openly, at the request of the promoters: neither hath any man any just cause to complain of him, forasmuch as when he was made president, he was sworn that always, when three or four of the deputations did agree, he should conclude thereupon.<sup>1</sup> And, forasmuch as he had already concluded, in divers causes, touching the pope, he saw no cause why he should not conclude in the matter of faith; for that he was a cardinal, and did wear his red hat for this purpose, that he should shed his blood in the defence of the faith.<sup>2</sup> Neither had he done any thing now against the pope, for that omitting the five conclusions touching Eugene, he had concluded but only the general conclusions; which except he had done, the fathers should have had just cause to complaint against him (in that they, trusting in his fidelity and faithfulness, had chosen him president), if by him they should now be forsaken in this most necessary cause of faith. And, turning himself unto the people, he desired the fathers to be of good comfort, forasmuch 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 flattery or threatenings put him from his purpose: that he would be always ready to do whatsoever the council should command him, and never leave the commandments of the deputies by any means 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 cannot be augmented or increased by any man’s praise or commendation, or be diminished by any opprobry or slander. These things thus promised, 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.

Then Panormitane and those who took his part, would needs have a certain protestation to be first read. There was great contention on every side. 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 up, would not suffer it to be heard any further: and the bishop of Catania cried out, saying,

(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.

That it was uncomely that Arelatensis, with a few other bishops by name, should conclude the matter. The like did also all those who favoured Panormitane. The cardinal of Terragona, also (who, until that time, had holden his peace) did grievously rebuke his partakers, that, as men being asleep or in a dream, 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 perturb the reading of the concordances, so would not the fathers of the council now give place to the reading of the protestation. Which when Albiganensis did consider, he commanded the writing to be brought unto him, 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 Terragona 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.

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Every man may determine of faith, having the Scripture on his part. Contention in the council.

There was in that congregation, in his place, George, the prothonotary of Bardaxina, sitting somewhat beneath his uncle, the cardinal of Terragona; 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 congregation, 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, of those things they had to do. His voice was the voice of the Holy Ghost, and words more necessary than could be thought. 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 void 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 Mattheus Albiganensis, a bishop, read the protestation to none else but to himself, for it could not be heard for noise; which being ended, the Lombards and the Castilians confirmed the protestation. When the cardinal of Terragona said, That he did agree to that 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? what do you marvel then, if I do say I consent unto their dissensions?" 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 ambassadors of the empire and of France, talking together of their affairs.

Albiganensis readeth the protestation, but none could hear him.

The affairs of the council are read.



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Arelaten-  
sis con-  
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without  
the con-  
sent of  
the depu-  
ties.

Notwithstanding the bishop of Tournon heard mention made of the conclusions, and turning himself to the bishop of Lubeck,<sup>1</sup> 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 heard it, 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 deputies, concluded; and so, making an end, dismissed the congregation. Twice it is declared, with how great difficulty Arelatensis concluded, forasmuch as neither the matter, nor the form, could be concluded without dissension; and the conclusions were miraculous,<sup>2</sup> and past all men's hope; but were obtained by the industry of Arelatensis, or rather by the special gift of the Holy Ghost. \*And<sup>3</sup> therefore it is reported that Panormitane, afterwards, going out of the church, turning himself unto his friends, should say, in the Italian tongue; and, in our tongue 'Et duæ, meaning, thereby, that his part had either been twice overthrown or twice deceived; for he spake it not without great anger.\*

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, in the Ides of May, Nicholas Amici, promoter of the faith, was called into the congregation, and briefly rehearsed those things which were done the days before, and declared how Arelatensis might appoint a session. Wherefore, forasmuch as delay in matters of faith was dangerous, he required that a session should be appointed against the morrow after, requiring the cardinal, for his dignity's sake, in that he was called the Principal of the Church, and the other bishops, that, as they had promised in their consecration, they would not now shrink from the church in these weighty affairs, and suffer the faith to be oppressed; but the other 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 men 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 his 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, consented to 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

(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 consent unto 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 doth well remember, and would be obedient thereunto. After whom the bishop of Concen, according to his accustomed manner, made his protestation, and after him also followed Panormitane; whose words, before I will repeat, I desire 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.

It happened in these matters, even as it doth in warlike affairs; for, as there, such as are most valiant and strong, and do most worthy feats, obtain most fame, as, in the battle of Troy, Achilles and Hector; so, in these spiritual wars and contentions, those who most excel in learning and eloquence, or do more than others, should be most renowned and named. For, on the one part, Panormitane was prince and captain; and on the other, Arelatensis: but his own will made not the one captain, but only necessity, for it behoved him to obey his prince. Notwithstanding, he was not ignorant of the truth and verity, neither did he resist willingly against it; for I have seen him oftentimes in his library complain of his prince, that he followed other men's counsel. When his time came to speak, he said, That he did not a little marvel, why the protector 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 matter did presently touch the state of the apostolic see, and for that cause the see ought to be heard before any session be holden. "Neither is that to be regarded," said he, "which the council of Constance seemeth to have decreed, that it should now be spoken of, forasmuch as pope John was not heard at Constance, neither any man else, to speak for the see." By which words he seemed both to condemn and bring in doubt all the decrees of that most 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 is holy, and the authority thereof ought to be inviolate.<sup>1</sup> But he, being still instant, with a stout and haughty courage affirmed, that the matter could not be finished 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 cannot consent, forasmuch as in the colloquy holden at Mentz, they had promised, that during the treaty of peace by them begun, they would receive and allow nothing that the pope should either do against the council, or the council against the pope; and that he doubted not but that the three first conclusions declared Eugene a heretic, insomuch that it was evident that Eugene did vehemently resist the two first. And therefore, forasmuch as the session was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for every man, before that session, to speak what he would, he desired and required them, most instantly, that there might be no session as yet holden.

<sup>1</sup>) The papists extol that which maketh for their purpose, but the contrary they contemn, whether it be Scripture or profane.

Henry  
VI.

A. D.  
1431  
to  
1439.

Conrade  
Wins-  
perge,  
baron.

The  
Achilles,  
of the  
Euge-  
nians,  
and the  
Hector  
of the  
council.

*Henry  
VI.*

A. D.  
1431.  
to  
1439.

Arelaten-  
sis' an-  
swers  
Panormi-  
tane..

How  
politely  
and sin-  
cerely he  
doth con-  
fute his  
adver-  
saries.

No man  
more  
than  
Panormi-  
tane pub-  
lished the  
errors of  
Eugene,  
whom he  
now defend-  
eth.

Unto whom Arelatensis answered, That it was not to be doubted but that the promoter of the faith, by his office, might call the prelates to determine a matter of faith, and especially forasmuch as the deputation of the faith<sup>1</sup> and the whole council had so given him in commandment. As touching the prelates, he said, that albeit, without all doubt, bishops have chief authority, yet, notwithstanding, it is 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 hath decreed certain laws in this council which should remain inviolate. Neither let the bishops think the presence of the inferiors grievous unto them, when oftentimes, under a bare and torn coat, wisdom lieth hid, and under rich vestures and ornaments folly lurketh. Bishops ought also to be mindful of the saying of Domitius, who (as St. Jerome reporteth)<sup>2</sup> 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 will have reverence done unto them as bishops. Neither ought the princes to be looked for to the deciding of this matter, forasmuch as the church is not congregated in the name of the princes, but in the name of Christ, who hath not received his power from princes, but immediately from God: to the defence whereof he should perceive the inferiors to be no less encouraged than the bishops, for that he did well understand and 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 will 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 doth not regard them, forasmuch as (it is said) they counted without their host; for he saith, he doth not understand how this can be, that they had decreed neither to obey the pope, nor the council. The one or the other they must needs be obedient unto: for there is no third tribunal whereunto any obedience is due, in these matters which concern the faith and 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 is not subject unto princes, but princes unto him: and upon this conclusion he would not fear either the loss of his goods, or any death or martyrdom. And whereas Panormitane doth now show himself so great a defender of Eugene, he saith, that he doth not a little marvel at it, for that in times past no man hath 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 saith that he was utterly ignorant, forasmuch as neither Eugene had altered his life, neither could the church continue in so great a schism. Wherefore he desired Panormitane diligently to consider, whether he spake according to his conscience or not: "For," saith 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

(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.

is contained in them : against which if Eugene did contend, it were more meet that the pope should be corrected than the verity 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 ; forasmuch as he was ready to observe the safe conduct of the emperor, and, together with the senate of the city, to prohibit all quarrellers for doing of injury.

*Henry VI.*  


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A. D.  
1431  
to  
1439.  


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The session proclaimed.

As soon as Saturday was come, being the 16th of May, all they whom the session contented and pleased, assembled at the hour. The ambassadors, also, of the princes, were come together into the choir of the church, to attempt further what they could do ; and, sending the bishops of Lubeck and Concen, and the dean of Turnon (an excellent learned man), they offered themselves to be present at the session, if 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 Arelatensis : unto whom answer was made, That the chief force did consist in the two other conclusions, and that the council would specially determine upon them. If the ambassadors would not be present, they should understand, that the concord was broken by them, who would not observe that which they had offered. With this answer they departed, and the session began to be celebrated. There was no prelate of the Arragons present at it, neither out of Spain ; and out of Italy, only the bishop of Grosseto, 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 worthy stoutness of the Arragons and Castilians appeared in the inferior sort, who would not shrink away from the church in her necessity. Of the two other nations, there were only present twenty bishops. The residue lurked in their lodgings, professing the faith in their hearts, but not in their mouths. 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 ; 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, which I judged to be about the number of 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 whole consent of them all, to defend the church. The bishop of Marseilles, a noble man, read the decree, \* who<sup>1</sup> had so great familiarity with the bishop of Albiganensis, that they were called brethren ; for both at home and also abroad they

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.

*Henry VI.*

A. D.

1431

to

1439.

The thirty-third session. The ambassadors consent to the former session.

Two kinds of injustice.

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, forasmuch as Albiganensis read the protestation against the decree, and Massiliensis, the decree; both these readers coming out of one house: but, as some suppose, the verity did abound in the one, and dissimulation in the other. The reading of the decree was very brief and short; for the decree itself was but short, notwithstanding it \* was attentively hearkened unto, and not one word interrupted. 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 dissolved, which was in number the thirty-third session, and, amongst all the rest, the most quiet and peaceable.

The Friday next following, being the 22d of May, the princes' ambassadors, without all men's expectation, came unto the general congregation, by that their doing at least giving their assent unto the session before passed; in celebrating whereof, if the fathers had erred, it had not been lawful for the princes and ambassadors to have holden the council with those fathers. But it was thought, that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and even now detested and abhorred that which they had done; as it was not hidden to the ambassadors of the empire and France. For the bishop of Lubeck said, That the cause of his absence was, for that he was appointed, by the emperor's commandment, to entreat a peace: wherefore it was not comely for him to be present at any business, whereby he should be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace should be entreated. 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 bishop of Tournon, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for him and his fellows, said, That he heard how that he was evil spoken of amongst some, in that they had not honoured his king in that most sacred session, 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 their embassy should be stopped or letted. Also there are two kinds of injustice, said he, whereby either things are done that should not be done, or things that should be done, are not done. The first doth not always bind, because it is convenient to have respect of time, place, and person. But the last doth always bind; wherein, he said, they were not culpable. But, as touching the first point, 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, forasmuch as, if they had been present at that session, they should have been unmeet to have entreated any peace with Eugene. And, therefore, 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, it was deferred. So likewise, he said, that they had 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 came : 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.

I would that I had been then in the place of some great prelate ; surely they should not have gone unpunished,<sup>1</sup> who thought to have played bo-peep. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the entreaty of peace ? or, if it do hurt, why is he not accounted as great an offender, who consenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he who doth declare it ? What shall we need any further testimony ? 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 afterwards unto the king of France, that he did understand the bishop of Tournon to have become his enemy.

After the bishop of Tournon had made an end, cardinal Arelaten-  
sis 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 bishops of Lubeck and Tournon, for that oftentimes in the council, and also of late at Mentz, they had defended the authority of the council. But specially he commended this their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestered themselves from the faith of the church.

Afterward, entering into the declaration 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, should transport the council from one place to another, as Eugene attempted to do, now to Bononia,<sup>2</sup> now to Florence, then again to Bononia, afterwards to Ferrara, and after that again to Florence ; and that, hereafter, the bishops should withdraw their minds from the carefulness of temporal goods, who (as he himself did see) had no mind 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<sup>3</sup> how the deposition of Eugene did pass, the Book following shall declare at large.

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) " Bononia," Bologna.—Ed.

(3) See Edition 1563, p. 320.—Ed.

Henry  
VI.A. D.  
1431  
to  
1439.THE SECOND BOOK OF THE COMMENTARIES OF ÆNEAS SYLVIUS,  
UPON THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF BASIL.<sup>1</sup>

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 adorned her as a beautiful spouse with the crown, vouches, and vesture of justice.

It is before declared in the former commentaries, in what state the church was, in these our days, which Eugene, a little before, being pope, did vex and trouble as the wind doth a reed. Notwithstanding it is always true, which John Chrisostome 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 that some do lie in wait for it, and that the floods do strike against it, notwithstanding the foundation which is laid upon a rock, is never shaken. Wherefore iniquity hath deceived Gabriel, and the Lord hath destroyed him in his malice; for he, being thrown down head-long out of the apostolic see by the sentence of the council, the Lord becomes the refuge of the church, who hath given a pastor unto his flock, who will visit the desolate places, seek those things which are scattered abroad, and will not eat the flesh of such as are fat, but will 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 Sebaudia, was chosen bishop of Rome.\*

The  
council  
doth de-  
liberate  
upon the  
pope's  
election.

Sixty  
days  
must be  
delayed  
after the  
see is  
void.

Gabriel Condulmarus 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 whether it were expedient that a new bishop should be created out of hand, or 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 infected the rich, and now was come unto the fathers of the council: amplifying moreover, and increasing the tenor 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 understood 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, is to be certified all under one message.”<sup>2</sup>

The others, who thought good that there should be a delay, said.

(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.

that the council did lack no head, forasmuch as Christ was the head thereof; neither did lack a ruler, forasmuch 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 unto stout and strong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thing daunt or fear those who contend for the christian faith. As for that pestilence, which doth now increase and grow in the city, forasmuch as judgment is now given, it is to be hoped that it will assuage, which was thought to have come for the neglecting of justice. Also, that in so doubtful a matter, they ought rather to use the princes against their will, than to neglect them; and that it is not to be feared, but that, in this case, God will help those that are stout and valiant. The matter being thus discussed amongst them, albeit that there were as many minds as there were men, yet it seemed unto them all, that it was most profitable to choose the bishop by and by, but most honest to defer it.

Hereupon John Segovius, 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 to come to a speedy election, it seemeth good, to speak after man's judgment; but to delay it for two months, to speak after God's judgment, it seemeth much better. \*I do not see how that which is provided by the laws, can be cut off.\* 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 dangerous honesty, than secure utility; albeit that indeed utility cannot be discerned from honesty." This opinion of delay took place among the fathers, and they determined 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.

During this time, the corrupt air was nothing at all purged, but the mortality daily increasing, many died and were sick. Whereupon a sudden fear came upon the fathers; neither were they sufficiently advised what they might 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 would not seem to shrink, for the persecution of any plague or sickness. But, forasmuch 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 more establishment of the matter, there were certain things read before the fathers, which they called 'De stabilimento,' whose authority continued long time after. When the dog-days were come, and that all herbs withered with heat, the pestilence daily increased more and more, so that it is incredible how many died. It was too horrible to see the corpses 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

Henry VI.

A. D. 1431 to 1439.

Dangerous honesty preferred before secure utility.

A great pestilence in Basil.



*Henry  
VI.*

A. D.  
1431  
to  
1439.

Ludovicus the prothonotary died of the plague.

The exhortation of those who died.

The bishop of Constance dieth.

The abbot Dona, a true abbot.

Æneas the author hereof escaped death hardly.

others 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 merry in the street now, and within ten hours have heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead corpses was such also, that they lacked place to bury them in; insomuch that all the cloisters were digged up, and filled with dead corpses, and great holes were made in the parish churches, where a great number of corpses 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 especially the sudden death of Ludovicus, the prothonotary, did make all men afraid, who was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both laws, whom the same envious and raging sickness took away in a few hours. By-and-by after, died Ludovicus, 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.

About the same time, also, died the king of Arragon's almoner in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being bishop of Liege. The abbot of Vergilia died at Spire, and John, the bishop of Lubeck, between Vienna and Buda.

These two last rehearsed, even at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembrance. When they perceived the hour of their death 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 high bishop, 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 in the Lord. In Bohemia, also, departed the bishop of Constance, who was ambassador for the council. There was great fear and trembling throughout all the council. There had been also in the council, by a long time, the abbot of Dona, of the diocese of Cumana, a man poor unto the world, but rich unto God, whom neither flatterings nor threatenings could turn away from his good purpose and intent; choosing rather to beg, in the truth of the fathers, than to abound in riches, with the false flattering adversaries.

Whereupon, after the lords were departed who gave him his living, he, remaining still, was stricken with the plague and died; likewise Henry, chaplain of the cardinal Arelatensis, died within three days. A great number of the registers and doctors died; and of such as fell into that disease, few or none 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 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 Tridentum,<sup>2</sup> found John Pynanus, a man born at Rouen, to be dead of a venomous ague, through negligence of the physicians; with which news he was so troubled and ravished in his mind, that he seemed to have lost the one half of his spirits, neither was there in him, afterwards, 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.  
1431  
to  
1439.

At that time when the pestilence was most fervent and hot, 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; for these were the words of all his friends and household: "What do you, most reverend father? At least void this wane of the moon and save yourself; who being safe, all we shall also be safe; if you die, we all perish. If the plague oppress 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 corpses 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 have tarried behind, and that deceit should have been wrought in his absence.

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 that all such as do serve the world, do prefer it 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 pestiferous year brought upon them, at length, all desire of life also being set apart, they have overcome all dangers, and have not doubted, with most constant minds to defend the verity of the council even unto this present.

\*The<sup>3</sup> time of the decree being passed, after the deposition of

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 322.

(2) "Tridentum," Trent; it was here that the memorable council was held, which commenced in 1545, and ended in 1563.—Ed.

(3) 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.  
1431  
to  
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Gabriel, it seemed good unto the fathers to proceed to the election of another bishop, whereupon they, counselling amongst themselves touching the order of proceeding, it was afterwards 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 took place: wherefore the decree was made, and the conclave prepared with all speed. Which being done, they proceeded to the nominating of the thirty-two, that, together with the cardinal, should elect and choose the pope. This was about the first of October.

The matter, at first, was very difficult and hard, some of them naming one, and some another for electors, as they thought good. At last William, archdeacon of Metz, a famous 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 Donduno, of the diocese of Candiderace, commonly called of Greece; John de Segovia, archdeacon of Vissosa; and Thomas de Corcellis, canon of Ambiane:<sup>1</sup> 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 Fuxe, a divine, and Æneas Senensis, were sent unto the other deputations to persuade with them. But they, suspecting some fraud, would not give ear to any persuasion. But, forasmuch as there was no better or readier way found by the other, the deputation of faith took effect. 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 abbot of Scotia seemed rather to be 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 electors of the bishop of Rome, and full authority was given unto them, to choose and take unto them 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; so that none named by them to be chosen or elected, should be received, except he be named and elected by the greater part of the electors. It was also enjoined them, that they should nominate and choose the

(1) "Ambiane," Amien — Ed.

residue of the electors out of the whole body of the council, having respect, as much as might be, to the nations and deputations being in the council. Whereupon the three men were sworn and bound 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, and to keep their election under their seats, in some safe and sure place, until the day of their publication, which was the thirteenth of October, in a general congregation. It seemed strange unto all men, that a matter of so great importance should be committed unto three men. Notwithstanding virtue overcame all, and excluded all kind of suspicion of fraud and deceit from these men.

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The matter being thus concluded, Arclatensis, 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. Others, 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 deputies, 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 Gregreginus, president of St. Peter's church, in the diocese of Olmutz, in the heart of Germany; a divine, a man of constant mind and judgment.

The twenty-eighth of October, assembling together in the house of the friars minors, they fulfilled their commission, 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 and considered the manners of every man; and so, by a subtle mean, understood how every man was esteemed in his country. Many also came unto them of their own wills, who were desirous either to praise their friend, or to reprove their enemy; whom they, being desirous of the truth, that they might not be deceived in so weighty a matter, willingly heard: so that there was no mischief done in the council, and nothing done abroad, but that they heard and understood. These men, the fourth calends of November, being called by the council to report what they had done, came unto the congregation, where all they who were incorporated were assembled; neither was there any man absent that might be there. And, forasmuch 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 three men.

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Then they talked together amongst themselves, and spake much of the three men, conjecturing upon the nominating of the electors; some saying that this man, and others, that that man, should be an elector; speaking as affection and likelihood did move them: but, forasmuch as no man knew any certainty, every man was the more desirous to hear the conclusion. Some had put on their best apparel, others had hired new servants,—some had committed their houses unto their friends, because they thought to be of the number of the electors. It came to pass, I know not how, that every man esteemed himself above his ability, whose ambition was afterwards more mocked and derided, than fulfilled.

Mark the  
earnest  
affection  
of Arela-  
tensis.

Cardinal Arelatensis, being very careful in this weighty business, and being occupied with other affairs, came somewhat later unto the congregation than time required, whose long tarrying was not a little marvelled at of all men. When he was set down in his seat, having first excused his long tarrying, he said: “This day a weighty matter is entreated as touching the nomination of the electors, which shall be straight opened, whereupon the state of the church doth depend. If the three men unto whom you have committed these affairs have done well, I grant I have tarried too long; but if they have not done well, I am come too soon:” which words he pronounced with a fearful voice, and a pale countenance, even of the abundance of his heart. When he had thus spoken, through his sad countenance and gesture he made all men afraid, and showed such a sadness of mind, that many wept who knew the state that he was in by his countenance. For this same good father feared lest those three men, contemning the high prelates, had chosen the most part of the inferiors, which thing was the more to be suspected, for that he could never know any thing of their mind. When the three men perceived the cardinal so sad (even as if the air had waxed troublous), they prepared themselves to bear out the storm. Notwithstanding all men were greatly afraid, lest the church should be that day divided again, and lest a greater tumult would follow, than that which was before passed, by means of the election: for every man, according as his affection led him, prepared himself either to the commendation or dispraise of the three men. Which things being understood and known, the three men thought it good, before they would enter into the declaration of the matter, somewhat to speak, to pacify the minds of the audience; knowing that after a wound once given, no man would willingly hearken or give ear. Scotus, the abbot, spake first, and after him John Segovius, making this preface beforehand:

#### The Preface of John Segovius, and his Associates.

The pre-  
faces of  
the three  
men.

No man (they said) should think himself contemned, if he were omitted; for that they did diligently foresee and consider, what men they should receive unto the conclave, and whom they should leave out: for that it seemed needful unto them, to appoint as sober and discreet men without the conclave, as within, who might defend the conclave, and prohibit all new sects or uproars in the synod. This they had learned of the precepts of the most famous philosopher Plato, who commanded the governors of cities so to rule the whole body of the common wealth, that whilst they do defend the one part, they leave not the other void: which thing, also, did admonish them to nominate the electors

by their provinces, that some should not seem to be revered, and others to be neglected. And in their election, they had been circumspect; and in all others which were nominated by themselves, they had either found some singular goodness, or nobility joined with goodness, or else some singular learning joined with both. Also, as touching the bishops, they, together with the cardinal, were unequal with the number of the apostles. Also then they had nominated seven abbots, five divines, and one from amongst the most famous doctors: all these being in the order of priesthood. As for the officers whom they had nominated, they were famous for nobility and virtue: that is to say, one vice-chamberlain, eight keepers of the conclave, two clerks of the ceremonies, two promoters, one procurer-fiscal, one soldan, whom they had about the election and deputations, as it was enjoined them.

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The number of the electors of every order.

With these words they did somewhat pacify the multitude, and opening the tables of the election, which John Segovius did read, the order of the nations was omitted therein; which thing was greatly imputed unto the three men, to prefer one nation before another: for, as every man did excel in dignity and priesthood, so was he first named:

‘For I,’ continued John Segovius, ‘will not fear to observe the order of the nations which was observed at Constance; neither do I fear any envy, because I will neither show any favour unto those who are preferred, nor do any injury unto those who are placed after: for neither nobility nor authority, hath brought in this order, but time itself; for, as every nation did first receive the word of God, so is it first preferred. For the early or late conversion of my elders, is not to be praised or dispraised of me that am a Christian: for he had no more reward in the gospel, who came early in the morning to the vineyard, than he who came late.’

‘Notwithstanding, the Roman empire, and the see of Peter, prefer the Italian nation. Wherefore, for the better understanding of those who shall hear the same, we will observe the order of nations. But this must first be considered, that the cardinal Arelatensis cometh unto the election, not by any favour of the three men’s nomination, but by his own proper right: wherefore I will set him first, out of the order of the nations. The like place also should the other cardinals have had, if they had been reconciled unto the church, or, not being spotted with Eugene’s heresy; they had come in time. The first and principal of all the electors, was the cardinal Arelatensis, a man of invincible constancy and incomparable wisdom, unto whose virtue I may justly ascribe whatsoever was done in the council: for without him the prelates had not persevered in their purpose, neither could the shadow of any prince so have defended them.’

But now, to proceed to the nomination. Out of the Italian nation, there were chosen the bishops William of Vercelli, George Augustensis, John Epurgimus, and Ludovicus Faurinensis, all men of nobility and great wisdom; also abbots, Alerianus, the abbot of St. Beningo, and James of Cecusia; of doctors, friar John de Mont Conuto, master of the house of St. Anthony de Roversio; friar Bartholemew. In these men was appointed the election of the Italian nation.

Of the French nation were elected John, archbishop of Tarantaise, who took upon him that place and dignity against his will; Francis, bishop of Seben; and Barnard Aquensis, a subtle lawyer, who, for the manifest impediments of his body and grievous gout, excused himself; in whose place was chosen Ludovicus, bishop of Marseilles. Also Raymond, abbot of Conquest; Nicholas Tibot, a Norman and

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a divine ; John de Walle, a Briton ; and Thomas Corcellis, who was one of the three men : of lawyers, William, archdeacon of St. Hewes of Metz. All these were chosen with the cardinal Arelatensis, to the election of the pope.

Out of the German nation, which is the greatest of all the rest, were chosen Frederic, bishop of Basil ; Conrad, abbot of Lucella ; and Thomas de Scotia, who was one of the three men appointed. Of doctors, Detzelaus, archdeacon of Cracovia ;<sup>1</sup> John Wylor, dean of Basil ; Henricus de Indeis, of Cullen ; and James de Saltzburgacan, of Ratisbone ; and Christian, who, as is before said, was taken into the number of the three men.

Out of the Spanish nation were chosen for the election of the pope, eight bishops ; as the bishop of Dertusia ;<sup>2</sup> George, bishop of Nice ; Ludovicus Nicensis, who was ambassador for the king of Portugal. Also abbots ; as Peter, abbot of St. Cuccophat, and Antonius Arrularis. Of doctors ; Barnard Busco, canon of Ilerda ; Raymond Albioli, canon of Tirasonen ;<sup>3</sup> and John Segovius, who was one of the three electors. These were they who were elected to the nominating of the pope, out of the four nations. As for the Englishmen, they were not received, because they were not present, and none could be chosen, but such as were present. For officer about the conclave, was elected and nominated, Ludovicus, bishop of Lausanne. For keepers of the conclave, were elected, Porceanallus, bishop of Belicen ; Nicholas Crossetanus, John de Thauronensis, Francis Abundance, all abbots ; Francis de Fuxe, a divine ; William of Constance, canon of Spire ; John de Turesella, dean of Segrobrecen ;<sup>4</sup> and Theodorice Nagel, canon of Riegen. For clerks of the ceremonies were appointed, Æneas, canon of Tridentum,<sup>5</sup> and Michael Brenout, canon of Belluacensis. For promoters, they were elected, who had before, in the council, a long time promoted causes : Hugh Gerardi, and John Slitzenrode. For procurer-fiscal was appointed Robert Magnani ; and Peter de Atro, for the soldan, who had used the same office before in the council.

These men being thus nominated, and the tables read by John Segovius, as is before said, the cardinal, who, until that present, was amazed and afraid, because he could not be persuaded that such an election should have been made, was relieved and took courage unto him. For when he saw the bishops, and a great number of abbots elected and chosen, and that the nations were equally preferred in the council, he began to take a courage unto him, and his face to receive its accustomed beauty and 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 three men, which they had at all times showed in the 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

(1) "Cracovia," Cracow.—Ed.

(2) "Dertusia," Tortosa.—Ed.

(3) "Tirasonen," Tarazona.—Ed.

(4) "Segrobrecen," Segorbe, in Valencia.—Ed.

(5) "Tridentum" Trent.—Ed.

themselves, touching the division of the chambers, and, for as much as there was great difference of the chambers, it was appointed, that they should be divided amongst the prelates, according to their dignities; as every man was most ancient of dignity, so to choose the best and principal place. For they said, it was not to be suffered, that the cardinal and the archbishop should come to a lot with the doctors and inferiors, whereby it were greatly to be laughed at, if the cardinal should be placed beneath, and the doctors above. And, forasmuch as the prelates were the greater number, they all agreed upon the same, so that it seemed but vain to speak of lots. The doctors also 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 divided by lots, and that, not only amongst the cardinals, but also amongst the cardinals and others: for at Constance, albeit there were many cardinals, yet did they not refuse to cast lots with the bishops and doctors. For the prelates do favour themselves too much, in that they, being the greater number, do seek to have the victory rather by voices, than by reason. If the election of the chambers be without lots, some collusion is to be feared, and schism among the electors, lest they who stand beneath, and shake for cold, might envy those who are placed above.

By these reasons the cardinal being persuaded, consented to the mind of the doctors, and after him the good bishop of Dertusia prophesied. "If there be any man," said he, "unto whom the lots would be hurtful, it is I, whom the lots will place in the lowest room. Notwithstanding because we will not subvert the ancient customs, neither be envious against the doctors, I think it good that the matter be tried by lots." And upon this point they did conclude.

Immediately there were certain of every sort of the electors sent unto the conclave, with the cardinal Arelatensis, by the advice of the vice-chamberlain, to cast lots upon the chambers. The electors' names were written, every one in a several bill by itself, 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 schedule 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 went throughout the chambers orderly, 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 Dertusia the last, according as he himself had prophesied. The distribution of the lots in this case was very strange, or rather a divine dispensation, reproving the devices of man, in that a doctor was first placed, and a bishop last, when the prelates had determined to have the best chambers appointed for themselves.

The next day following, being Friday, the thirtieth of October, there was a general congregation holden, and the deliberations of the next deputations concluded. Immediately there followed a session, and cardinal Arelatensis sung the mass, where, after the gospel was sung, Mark, a famous divine, made an oration unto the electors,

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The  
time of  
the mass  
was not  
yet abro-  
gated.



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of Ga-  
briel.

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 justice. And as Gabriel was covetous and full of rapine, so this man should show himself continent.

The church was full of people on every part. The noble matrons of the city stood between the uppermost pillars, beholding the congregation, and considering the order of things not without great devotion. There was present John earl of Tierstain, who supplied the place of the emperor's protector. The senate of the city was 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 prohibit that there should be any uproar made.

The elec-  
tors com-  
municate  
together.

There was so great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the church, nor in the streets, any man could pass, insomuch that there was great press even within the church. When the cardinal Arelatensis had communicated, the other electors, according to their order, were called unto the altar, to communicate; then the archbishop of Tarantaise, and ten other bishops did communicate. After them seven abbots, then five divines, and last of all 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 others 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.

Then Ludovicus, the bishop of Lausanne, going up upon the scaffold, read three things there by order. First of all the answer of the synod, to the famous libel of Gabriel, which beginneth, 'Moses.' Secondly, a certain limitation touching a decree lately set forth by the council upon elections. And, thirdly, the election of the three men, which the sacred council had allowed.

The oath  
of the  
electors.

Which being read, the fathers were demanded whether it pleased them or no: whereunto they answered, that it did please them. 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  
Arelaten-  
sis.

"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. This shall be my whole care and study that the

authority of the 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 respect any thing in this point, either for mine own cause, or for any friend, but only God, and the profit of the church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart, will I take mine oath before the council.”

His words were lively and fearful, \*moving<sup>1</sup> the minds of all those that stood by. Who is it then that would not think him meet for the bishopric, who is allowed by the judgment of so many bishops and priests; especially when they, before receiving the sacrament, had taken their oath that they would choose none, but only such as they should think meet and fit for the dignity and office. In the same session also the vice-chamberlain, the keepers of the conclave, the clerks of the ceremonies and the promoters, promised by another to execute their office truly; 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 by-and-by 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 night drew on, 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, 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.

But now to declare the order of the election in the place where the cardinal and the bishop of Vicenza 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,\* who did swear and take their oaths. The manner of their election was after this sort. Before the cardinal’s seat was set a desk, whereupon there stood a bason of silver, into which bason all the electors did cast their schedules, which the cardinal, receiving, read one by one; and four others of the electors wrote as he read them.

The other electors take their oaths.

The tenor of the schedules was in this manner: “I, George, bishop of Vicenza, do choose such a man, or such a man, for bishop of Rome;” and peradventure named one or two. Every one of the electors subscribed his name unto the schedule, that he might thereby know his own, and say ‘nay,’ if it were written contrary to that which was spoken; whereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The first scru-

(1) See Edition 1563. p. 327.—Ed.

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Amedeus  
duke of  
Savoy.

A scruti-  
ny is a  
privy  
election  
by voices.

Prayer  
for unity  
and con-  
cord.

tiny 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.

After this (at three of the clock in the afternoon) there was a 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 fourth of the nones of November,<sup>1</sup> the said Amedeus had twenty-one voices, and likewise in the third and fourth scrutiny, twenty-one voices. And, forasmuch as there was none found in all the scrutiny to have two parts, all the other schedules were burnt. And forasmuch as there lacked but only one voice to the election of the high bishop, they fell unto prayer, desiring God that he would vouchsafe to direct their minds to unity and concord, worthily to elect and choose him who should take the charge over the flock of God. Forasmuch as Amedeus seemed to be nearer unto the papacy than all others, there was great communication had amongst them touching his life and disposition. Some said that a lay-man ought not so suddenly to be chosen; for it would seem a strange thing, for a secular prince to be called unto the bishopric of Rome; who would also too much derogate from the ecclesiastical state, as though there were none therein meet or worthy for that dignity. Others said, That a man who was married and had children, was unmeet for such a charge. Others again affirmed, That the bishop of Rome ought to be a doctor of law, and an excellent learned man.

When these words were spoken, others rising up, spake far otherwise; that albeit Amedeus was no doctor, yet was he learned and wise, forasmuch as all his whole youth he had bestowed in learning and study, and had sought not the name, but even the ground of learning.

### An Oration in favour of the Claims of Amedeus to the Popedom.

Then said another these words: <sup>2</sup> '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 in-  
vectives  
against  
Amedeus.

(1) "Fourth of the nones of November." The nones were the days after the calends; so called, because, from the last of the calends, to the ides, was always nine days. "The nones," was the name adopted for the fifth day of every month with the exception of March, May, July, and October. "The ides" were the eight days reckoned backwards to the end of the nones, and fell on the thirteenth day of every month, with the above exceptions, when they occurred on the fifteenth day.—Ed.

(2) 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 to his subjects, or importune against strangers, throughout all his country: there were no grievous exactions of money throughout all his dominions. He thought himself rich enough, if the inhabitants of his dominions 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, but resisting against such as made war upon him, he studied rather to make peace, than to seek any revenge; desiring rather to overcome his enemies with benefits, than with the sword.

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‘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 his wife had changed her life, 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 examples 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 a thousand years and more being Christians, doth now serve God in a monastery.

Com-  
menda-  
tion of  
Amede-  
us, 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 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 were many popes that had wives; and Peter, also, was not without a wife. But what 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 great age) be impediment or let unto the father, being a bishop? 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 the Genoese. 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; I will 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 obe-

(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.

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VI.

A. D.  
1431  
to  
1439.

Schism  
in the  
Church.

Good it  
were,  
that tem-  
poral  
domi-  
nions  
were di-  
vided  
from the  
church.

dient unto this council? for some will not confess that the council is here, neither receive our decrees; others confess it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at Florence. For, albeit that by their words and 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, Virtue is praised, but is coldly followed. 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 broken, and all put in danger. The memorial is yet fresh before our eyes, that the princes do neglect the authority, which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantness showed in this point, in that you, fearing no peril or danger, either of life or goods, have so long contended for the truth of Christ? But the most mighty and high God looketh down from on high, and will resist this their pride.

'I have often consented unto their opinion who said, it was expedient that the temporal dominions 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, forasmuch as, at this present, the churches of the world 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 time 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 that could fulfil these things, except we choose this man? Believe me, these sayings must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will move your minds thereunto. Notwithstanding, do whatsoever you shall think most good and holy.'

Ame-  
deus,  
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 and ended. \*About the nones of November somewhat afore noon, a collation was made,\* and the scrutiny being opened, 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. \*Whereby,<sup>1</sup> on the notaries and witnesses being called in, a great writing was made on the election, which thing thus finished, and the witnesses being sent away, about one of the clock in the afternoon, there was great noise made against the windows which were towards the street side, and all the pillars thereof cut down 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.

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A. D. 1431 to 1439.

Then all the city came into 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 elect bishop. After this, about three of the clock, all the prelates, in their robes, pontificalibus, and mitres, and all the clergy of the city, coming unto the conclave, the electors being likewise adorned, they brought him 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 about November, was called Felix V., and was crowned in the city of Basil, in the month of July following. There were present at his coronation, Louis, duke of Savoy; Philip, earl Gebenensis; Louis, marquis of Salutz; the marquis of Rotelen; Conrad, of Winsperge, chamberlain of the empire; the earl of Dierstein; the ambassadors of the cities of Strasburgh, Berne, Friburg, Solatorn, with a great multitude of others beside, to the view of fifty thousand persons. At this coronation, the pope's two sons did serve and minister to their father. Louis, cardinal of Hostia, 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 Winsperge, leading his horse by the bridle. The procession finished, they went to dinner, which lasted four full hours, being excessively sumptuous; where the pope's two sons were butlers to his cup. The marquis of Salutz was the steward, &c.

Pope Felix V.

The number of people at the coronation of pope Felix.

Of this Felix, thus writeth Volateran in his third book, 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 sheweth 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.<sup>2</sup>

And thus you have heard the state of this council hitherto, which council endured a long season, the space of seventeen years.

Death of Sigismund.

About the sixth year of the council, Sigismund the emperor died,

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 330.—Ed.

(2) A note for our gentlemen and Jords, to learn how to hunt, and what dogs to keep.

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1431  
to  
1439.Albert II.  
emperor.  
A. D. 1438.  
Death of  
Albert.The  
plague at  
Basil in  
the time  
of the  
council.  
Æneas  
Sylvius  
sick of  
the  
plague in  
Basil.The con-  
stant zeal  
of Arela-  
tensis to  
the truth.The  
wealthy  
prelates,  
afraid of  
truth,  
slide  
away  
from the  
council.  
'Fide  
quam  
plebe,  
carere  
malunt.'  
Promo-  
tions  
choke  
the  
clergy.

leaving but one daughter to succeed him in his kingdoms, whom he married to Albert the Second, duke of Austria, who first succeeded in the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia, being before adversary to the Bohemians, and afterwards 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.

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 bishops of Tournon and Lubeck, lay sore sick three days of the same, 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.

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, prior, and such others of the inferior sort. Of this, Æneas Sylvius, in his one hundred and eighty-third epistle, maketh this relation, where one Casper Schlick, the emperor's chancellor, writeth to 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 Solaturn, 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?"

Moreover, in one of the sessions of the said council, the worthy cardinal Arelatensis is said thus to have reported, That Christ was sold for thirty pence: "But I," said he, "was sold much more dear; for Gabriel, otherwise called pope Eugene, offered threescore thousand crowns, 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 Armiakes 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 embassage, 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.

#### 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.

\*Forasmuch<sup>2</sup> 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 accused by the new bishop Eugene, yet

(1) Ex Paralip. Abbat. Ursper.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 335. Ed.

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A. D. 1431 to 1439.  
Sixty thousand crowns offered by pope Eugene, for the betraying of Arelatensis, who is taken and rescued. God's defence toward his servants.

The story of the Bohemians prosecuted.



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A.D.  
1431  
to  
1439.

it was thought good that they should be called unto Basil, where the council was appointed. Whereupon cardinal Julian sent thither before John Pullumair, doctor of the law, and John de Raguso, 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 Gellusius, monk of the same cloister; which men, for dexterity of their wit, and their experience, and knowledge of countries, were very meet and necessary for embassages.

The Bo-  
hemians  
invited to  
come to the  
coun-  
cil.

Within a few days after, Julian also came thither, as he had promised, and immediately sent out John Gellusius, and Hammon Offenbourgh, a senator of Basil, first, unto the emperor Sigismund, being at Feldkirch, and, afterwards, 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 embassy, 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, forasmuch as he himself went into Italy, to receive the imperial crown of the bishop, 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 Niderius, a divine, and John Gellusius, 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.

They, departing from Basil about the end of October, took their journey toward Monachum,<sup>1</sup> 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 embassy, 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-

(1) " Monachum," Munich.—Ed.

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 embassy. 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 Brandenburg, 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 treat upon the safe-conduct, and other matters.

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1439.

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 Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, with other nobles, almost to the number of two hundred and fifty-two horse.<sup>1</sup> But none of the Bohemians were present, because the inhabitants of Pilsina, and the lord Swamberg, 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 Humpelz, secretary of the greater city of Prague, and Matthew Clumpezane, president of Picta, should be brought forth by them of Egra and the Elenbogenses; and so they came unto Egra with nineteen horse, the eighth day of May. The next day after, Henry Togye 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 now, at length, there was some hope that they should be heard.

The ambassadors at Egra.

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, forasmuch as it did not content the ambassadors, and that the matter should so be put off, the common people of Egra began to cry out, That for a long time a concord had not been made with the Bohemians by the ecclesiastical princes. Then Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, bound themselves of their own good wills; 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 afterwards 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. 336.—Ed.

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was required by the Bohemians, That if it were possible the emperor should be present at the council.

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The Bohemians send two ambassadors.

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 Humgolizius, and John Zaczenses, who should go to Basil, and diligently inquire out all things. These men, Conrad, bishop of Ratisbon, and Conrad Seglaver, dean of Estein, brought unto Cattelspurg, where the marquis 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 county he was. He answered that he was a Zaczen. "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 Ebera, 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.

Good justice upon a slanderous railer. Gentleness of the Bohemian ambassadors.

The ambassadors of the Bohemians return home.

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 Tusca, were brought from thence with thirty-two horse, and divers noblemen, unto Chambia. From thence they came to Swenkendorph, 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 Sulgotia, where James Tunches, a knight, receiving them, brought them to Stockacum, and from thence the bands of the duke of Bavaria brought them unto Schaffhausen. There they, taking ship the 4th of January, came to Basil the 9th of the same month. 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. When they came unto the synod, 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, forasmuch as all men are bound to submit themselves to the judgment of the noly church, which the general council doth represent.—Which oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

Oration of the cardinal Julian.

Three articles of the Bohemians.

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 Wenceslaus, the Taborite, disputed upon the second article, touching the correction and punishing of sin, by the space of two days.

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.

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Last of all, Peter Paine, an Englishman, disputed three days upon the fourth article, touching the civil dominion of the clergy, and afterwards 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, condemning John Huss and John Wickliff for their doctrine. Whereupon John de Raguso, a 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 Sistertia, made an oration unto the Bohemians, that they should submit themselves to the determination of the holy church, which this council (said he) doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the Bohemians. John Ragusinus, a 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.

Oration of the abbot of Sistertia.

John Ragusinus replieth against the first article.

After him a famous divine, one Egidius Carlerius, dean of the church of Cambray, answered unto the second article, by the space of four days. To the third article answered one Henricus, surnamed Frigidum Ferrum, three days together. Last of all one Johannes Polomarius, 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, forasmuch 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.

Egidius Carlerius to the second.

Henry Coldiron to the third.

J. Polomarius 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, forasmuch 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, wherewith 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 embassy with the Bohemian ambassadors, unto Prague, where the people should assemble upon 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

The ambassadors return without agreement.

were ten chosen out of the council, to go with the Bohemian ambassadors unto Prague.

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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.

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 obtractions 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, wherewith their brethren, their enemies, had spoiled them, &c.

The coming of the legates to Prague.

To this Polomar 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.

Hercunto Polomar, reclaiming again, began to advance and magnify the honour and dignity of general councils. To conclude, as much as the said Polomar 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 declarations of the three articles in form following:

#### A Declaration of the Council of Basil touching the three last Articles of the Bohemians, already alleged.

Forasmuch 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 understood, 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.

The second article of the Bohemians, with the declaration of the council.

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.<sup>2</sup>

Punishing of public offences, how and by whom.

The third article of the Bohemians, with the declaration of the council.

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 understood; 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 every where, but faithfully and orderly, to be preached by the priests and Levites of the

(1) Ex Chochleo, 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:

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 understood, forasmuch as he understandeth this article of civil dominion, formerly meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be understood, 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, forasmuch as the doctrine of the church is not to be treated 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.

'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 treat and conclude with you, trusting that you will show yourselves as you will continue.'

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken de- liberation, they said, That they would give no answer unto the pre- mises, 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 shall treat, that he who hath instituted this most blessed sacrament of unity and peace, will vouchsafe to work this effect in us, and to make us that we may be one in the said Lord Jesus our head, and that he will 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, while Christians do contend touching the manner of communi- cating, they be not deprived of the fruit of the communion. Whereupon

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This is to set up the church above the Scripture.

The holy communion requireth amendment of life.

Holy things nothing profit the wicked.

The reverend receiving of the sacraments.

Receiving under one kind, for avoiding two perils. Error grounded upon error. Causes why to minister under one kind.

St. Augustine, in his Sermon upon Infants, in the decree 'De consecrat.' distinct. 2. 'Quia passus,' saith thus: 'So the Lord Jesus Christ certified us, and willed that we should appertain unto him, and consecrate 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; for holy church, upon reasonable occasions, may grant liberty unto the people to communicate 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; because, as the apostle saith, 'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.'

Whereupon St. Isidore, of the second distinction upon the Consecration, 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, saith, 'Holy things may hurt the evil, for unto the good they are salvation, but unto the evil, damnation.' There are besides this many other authorities. The apostle Judas was amongst those who did first communicate, but, forasmuch as he received unworthily, having that 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 the lord honestly? Much more he that shall receive the 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 receiving 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.

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 the 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, forasmuch 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

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 thoroughly 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.

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Receiving in both kinds, permitted to the Bohemians.

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 prelates 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; forasmuch 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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Of extra-ordinary 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.

Objection.

Answer.

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.

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 understood of all other cases expressed in the law.

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 there is great cunning and knowledge in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule; for oftentimes it seemeth that there is diversity in the thing made by the rule, when there is none indeed; but the default is in the applying, because the rule is not duly applied to the thing made by it.

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, do 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. Also, that they never heard of any such complaints in those parties, but that the prelates do favour good preachers, and stir them up to preach, by entreaty, favour, and promotion. In all such cases there are remedies already provided by the law; for, when any man is so prohibited to use his right, he hath remedy to appeal: and if he do trust his appeal to be just, he may use his right, all violence both of the spiritual and secular power set apart; for the end of the matter shall declare, if he had just cause to appeal. Then shall it be declared that the superior hath done evil in prohibiting, and the plaintiff justly in doing, and the superior, for his unjust prohibition, shall be punished. But if he be justly prohibited, and that through his temerity he do condemn the just commandment of his superior, he is worthy to be punished with condign punishment.

Objection.

Answer. Acts of secular dominion to be exercised of

Where it was moved concerning the third 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 understood acts which a secular lord may do or exercise, then it is to be said, that a prelate

may lawfully exercise some such acts in his proper person, as to sell, 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, afterwards, 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."

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the clergy, after a double respect, 'vel per se vel per alium.' Objection. Answer. Coactive power, whether it be longeth to the clergy, and how.

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 Polomar answered, That this question pre-supposeth another, whereof there are divers opinions amongst the doctors, In whose power the dominion of the church should be: and furthermore, whether the actions be in the person of the tutor or proctor; or, if they be not in their person, they be notwithstanding, by the constitution of any actor or proctor, whose exercising of those actions doth give authority under the actor or proctor; with other difficulties, whereof it is not needful to speak at this present. But forasmuch 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 should be in the power of Christ; and 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 constituting a steward or vicegerent, &c. their constitution being made, the steward or vicegerent hath the same coactive power and exercise of jurisdiction.

Also, as touching the fourth article, for the declaration of the first conclusion, it is agreed that these words, "juste requisita," i. e. "justly gotten," alleged therein, determine all things contained in the same.

Also, as touching the second conclusion, where 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 divers other opinions there be amongst the doctors, in whose power the rule thereof should be; as it is noted in the Glossary, cap. "Expedi." 12 Quæst. 1. "They do 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 thinketh 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 temporalities 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 at Egra, with one consent. In this manner did the ambassadors make answer unto the Bohemians.

The clergy be administrators, not lords of the temporalities of the church.

At last, after much communication had to and fro, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by setting-to 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. 1438, about the feast of St. Martin. It was afterwards agreed,

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both by the ambassadors of that council, and of Bohemia, that whatsoever remained should be determined and agreed upon, first at Ratisbon, afterward at Brunn, in the diocese of Olmutz; then at Alba in Hungary, before the emperor Sigismund. But the matter could not be ended in any place.

At last the concord was confirmed by writing with their seals at Inglavia, 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.

The communion in both kinds to be generally granted.

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 bishop of Luthonis, Olmutz, and other prelates of the kingdom and marquisdom, having charge 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.

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 spiritualities, 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.

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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.

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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 Slavonic language it hath been used of old in the church, and likewise in our kingdom.

The gospels and epistles to be read in the vulgar tongue.

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.

Incorporations to be granted to universities, an unlawful request.

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.

A request for necessary reformation and discipline.

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-seventh 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. 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 celebrated and holden yearly in the month of July. We have also thought it good, before we do end this story, to annex hereunto certain decrees, profitably and wholesomely ordained in 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.

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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 prosecuted and followed with an earnest care

Vowsons of benefices before

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they were void, debarred by the council; which vows are here called 'Expectative graces. Inconveniences that arise by vows of benefices.

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 hath 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 these prerogatives, antelations, and such others as do associate these expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Also, oftentimes, the ministry is taken away from young men by their ordinary givers, while, by the troubles of those contentions, and divers discourses, running to and fro by means of those graces, they are vexed and troubled; 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 hindrance of God's true worship, and public salvation.

Respecting controversies to be brought to Rome.

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, besides 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

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.<sup>1</sup>

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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.

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 dioceses 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 their 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 Vienna, 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 thereof, 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.



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An Epistle of Martin Meyre to Æneas Sylvius, translated into English, the Latin whereof is extant in the former Edition of this Book.<sup>1</sup>

Unto the reverend father, the lord Æneas, cardinal of Sienna; Martin Meyre, chancellor to the bishop of Mentz, wisheth health.

The corruption of the church of Rome detected.

I have understood, 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 rejoyce, 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 rejoyce 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<sup>2</sup> the vehemency of these floods may be stayed. Thus, fare ye well.

From Hasthaffenberg, 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. [The Latin will be given in the Appendix.—Ed.]

(2) "By what means," &c.; "by what means the flames of fire may be resisted." See Edition 1563, p. 346. "Quibus repagulis fluminis impetus coarctari 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.

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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 in 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 enemies, 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 at all, for so great hope and necessity, it ought to have been 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 well be disposed and done by legates and vicars.

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What the  
church is.

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 attend 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 go unto any thing more profitable or concordant to your office, than to go unto the place where innumerable benefits and goodness 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 more part of the reverend lords, 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.

Your holiness may believe me, that only charity moveth me to counsel you in this sort; be ye 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 there came news hither, for 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 congregated in this place; and that it is necessary that it should be holden and celebrated here at this present; and how the prelates of France should come unto it. He also directed hither the cause 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?

Eugene  
provoketh  
the church.

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. Suffer not your holiness to be seduced by any man, who, peradventure, shall inculcate fear unto you (whereas there is nothing at all to be doubted), or that doth persuade you this to be 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 layeth a burning corrosive unto the disease, and healeth the sore; for the 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 done he being yet alive. If Martin were no true pope, neither is your holiness, who was chosen by the cardinals that he made: wherefore, it standeth no man more upon, 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

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 other sacraments shall be put in doubt, if there be once any doubt made of the force and power of any council lawfully congregated. There was a decree made in the council of Constance, entitled 'Frequens,' whereby it was ordained that the first council after that, should be holden within five years, and another, within seven years after that again. The council of Constance being ended, and the five years passed, the councils of Pavia and Sienna were holden, after which, seven years being also run over, this council is begun to be celebrated. 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 celebrated? For these words, from seven years or five years, signify, according to the law, that all parts of time should be passed, and the last day looked for. Wherefore it behoved that seven years should be fully complete, before this council of Basil should begin; like as five years were fully expired, before 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 four 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 before: but it is not prohibited to celebrate it after; neither doth this word, 'In quinquennium,' that is to say, against five years next following, which is alleged in the chapter 'Frequens,' and seemeth to be repeated also for the seven years; for it is not understood that it is necessary to be holden the first day precisely after the seventh year, but because it should not be understood of other seven years to come. For, in speaking simply of seven years, it is understood of seven years next ensuing. Admit also that in the chapter 'Frequens,' any of these words had been joined with these immediately following, as 'by and by,' 'out of hand,' 'immediately,' or 'straightways after,' or such other words: yet ought they to be understood with a certain moderation and distance 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 that it was the mind of those who made the decree, that, considering the long journey and hard preparation of such affairs, and also the manifold impediments which may happen, that they would restrain so precise a time, even at the first day, that if it were not then celebrated, it should not be holden at all; for, by such subtle means, it should also be holden even in the first moment and very instant after, the same year.

But, forasmuch as words are civilly to be understood, this sense or understanding is far too disagreeable. For if any man will say, 'Then it is commanded to be prorogued,' that is also forbidden in the chapter 'Frequens.' He that doth so argue, doth not understand himself nor the force of the words. It is not prorogued, if it be begun the second or third month; but it is rather a continuation or execution of that which is in their power. For, if it were a prorogation, then, forasmuch as a prorogation doth savour of the nature of the first delay, it could not be begun before the time prorogued: 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 a hundred pounds after Easter; before 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 understood 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 done, if there had been any

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prorogation made. Also, it is the nature of prorogation, to be made before the first term or day be passed; for otherwise, it is no prorogation, but a new appointment. And albeit it may be said, that then it may be long delayed; it is answered, that in this point we must stand unto the judgment of the church, which, considering divers circumstances, would think 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 greatly absurd and too much 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; for as much as when the time drew near, pope Martin died the 20th 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 to Basil.

Cause of  
the long  
delay of  
the pre-  
lates.

And the same legate, being oftentimes required 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 bishop. 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 holden the council, and feared to bring themselves into trouble: and good cause had they so to fear, through those things which happened in the council of Sienna; for there were many things spoken which caused great suspicion. It was reported unto me, that many had said, I came unto 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 consistory dissolution.

But what need we any other proof, than by the letters of your holiness? In which your letters, dated the 2d of the calends of June, and delivered unto me long after the time, by the space of three months, you do command me, that, my business being done in Bohemia, I should take my way to Basil, to hold the council, and there to 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 Parentine; the words whereof are these: 'Unto your circumspection! Since your going into Germany no prelates have assembled in Basil for the celebrating of the council: we gave you in commandment that, in the mean time, you should be diligent about the expedition against the Bohemian heretics, which is committed to your charge, and afterwards you shall come unto Basil, the place appointed for the council, and there rule in our place in the name of the church.' What is more evident than this? If any thing were doubtful, 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 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 is in 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 it presupposeth the habit. 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 Vergilia, even upon the same day of the time appointed or before, gathering together the prelates of the great church and many other prelates and notable men, made a solemn protestation, how the time was come to celebrate and hold the council, and that he was come unto Basil for the same purpose; requiring them that they would confer and treat together upon matters touching the council: and, hereupon, there is a public instrument or testimonial.

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Within a month after, the ambassadors of the university of Paris came thither, and began to treat 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 which authority the councils are grounded. Now therefore, your holiness doth manifestly see the said objection to be but frivolous. For 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 congregated. And, peradventure, it is scarcely found where any council hath been confirmed by so many authorities as this; that is to say, by the two councils before passed, of Constance and of Sienna, and confirmed 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, especially seeing that not I alone have called them, but I, together with the rest who are 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 which he cannot exercise his jurisdiction; for 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 enim 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, they may be excommunicated 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 effectual, and therefore do persevere in it; whereby, forasmuch 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 it is said that it was 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 means of a certain decree of the council of Constance in that behalf provided; that in such matters as pertain unto faith, the extirpation of sin, 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 those matters which he doth 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; in that for one of the said three cases the council did deprive John, and for another Benedict, neither could the pope dissolve the council, in that, he that is inferior unto the council, cannot bind or compel the superior, as 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 himself, why doest thou so? There is to be understood in the three cases, first, that there was proviso made for the faith in the chapter ‘Si Papa;’ and in the other two points, by the decree of Constance. Otherwise it should be understood, 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.

Thus endeth the epistle of cardinal Julian, written unto pope Eugene; wherein, forasmuch 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 ambassage, 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.

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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.

\* But,<sup>1</sup> 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 what 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 for them to have their wives, 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.\*

These be the words of Sylvius.—Furthermore, as touching the

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 384.—Ed.

(2) For this epistle of Huldericke, see Vol ii. p. 11.—Ed.



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The authority of the council of Basil maintained. The practice of pope Eugene to undo the council.

Stirreth up war.

The dauphin driven away by a few Germans.

Dissolution of the council of Basil.

Frederic of Austria, great father to this Ferdinand.

The legates of the Greeks descend first to the pope's law.

authority and approbation of the 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 excommunicated 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; others with Eugene and the council of Ferrara; and some were neuters. 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. 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 Helvetians, 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.

Although Basil, by the valiantness of the Helvetians, 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.

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, by which Nicholas the said Frederic was confirmed at Rome to be emperor, and there crowned, A. D. 1451.

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 Grecians therè present, were persuaded to receive the sentence of the church of Rome, concerning the proceedings 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 Grecia would in no wise assent, at their coming home; insomuch that with a public execration they did condemn, afterwards, all those legates who had consented to these articles, that none of them should be buried in christian burial: which was, A. D. 1439.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Ex Casp. Peucer.

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 ease them to keep the conditions, which, in the beginning of the council, were enjoined their priests to observe; as testifieth Cochleus:<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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The Greek churches refuse the pope's doctrine.

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.<sup>3</sup> 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 Octo, archbishop of Treves.<sup>4</sup> 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;<sup>5</sup> whereby it may appear that the holy angels of God do fight for them who embrace the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel.

Marvelous 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.

Hist. Hussit. lib. viii.

(3) Ex Paral. Abb. Urspr. in Epitaphio Joan. Zisc.

(2) Anton. iii. part. hist. tit. 22, cap. 10.

(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;<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

Thou-  
sands of  
the Ho-  
hemian  
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 slay-  
ing in  
England.

### Richard Wiche, Priest, Martyr.

After the burning of Richard Hoveden, and Nicholas Canon, 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.<sup>3</sup>

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 F. nec. Sylv.

(2) Ib. lib. de hist. Bohem. cap. 15.

(3) Ex Fabia. par. 7. Ex antiquo filo 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.

*Henry  
VI.*

A. D.  
1440.

The  
bishops  
consult to  
abolish  
the law of  
Præmun-  
niri fa-  
cias.

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;'<sup>1</sup> for so were the hearts then of the temporality 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. 1439.<sup>2</sup>

The  
king's an-  
swer to  
the bill.

A BRIEF ANSWER TO THE CAVILLATIONS OF ALAN COPE'S CON-  
CERNING LADY ELEANOR COBHAM.

In my former edition of Acts and Monuments,<sup>3</sup> so hastily raked 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 con-  
cerning  
lady Elea-  
nor Cob-  
ham.

(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 she burned in the year of our Lord, 1490." See Edition 1563, p. 371.—Eo.

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  
Vt.*  

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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 the fact, 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.

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 not 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

*Henry*  
*VI.*  
A. D.  
1440.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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  
raileth  
without  
a cause.

Furthermore, I profess and denounce in like manner, that neither have you any just nor congrue<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>4</sup> (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.

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. Dal. cap. 4.  
(3) “Congruè,” convenient.—Ed.

(2) “Ascertain,” assure.—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 Jourdeinan, 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.

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.

The story pre-  
termitted:  
Whether  
Eleanor  
the  
duchess  
was cul-  
pable of  
treason  
against  
the king

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 oath upon his death, that they never intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

Certain  
conjectures that  
the  
charge  
was not  
true.

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



*Henry VI.*A. D.  
1440.

such a pernicious counsel, as the witch of Eyo, 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 this 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, whercin 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, forasmuch 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 sponge 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

Certain Points or Articles objected by Duke Humphrey against the Cardinal of Winchester.

First, He complaineth to his sovereign prince his right redoubted lord 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 presumed 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.*

*Henry VI.*

A. D. 1440.

Intrudeth himself to be the king's governor.

Defraudeth the king of his Jewels.

Delivereth the king of Scots.

Playeth the merchant.

A defrauder of the king.

Taketh upon him like a king.

A traitor to the crown.

A purchaser of the king's lands.

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.'

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 temporality 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.

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.

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 praemuniri.

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 hercof, 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.

Duke Humphrey commended for his learning.

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, quam 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.

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 my tale, when the king was come, and the town full, suddenly this blind man, at St. Alban's shrine, had his sight again, and a miracle solemnly rung, and 'Te Deum' sung; so that nothing was talked of in all the town, but this miracle. So happened it then, that duke Humphrey of Gloucester, a man also no less wise than 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 eyes, and asked whether he could see nothing at all in all his life before. And when his wife, as well as himself, affirmed falsely "no," then he looked advisedly upon his eyes again, and said, "I believe you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot see well yet." "Yea sir," quoth he, "I thank God and his holy martyr, I can see now as well as any man." "You can," quoth the duke, "What colour is my gown?" Then anon the beggar told him. "What colour," quoth 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, traitor," 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.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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

Commen-  
dation of  
duke  
Humphrey.

(1) Polyd. Hist. lib. xxiii. Hall in 25 Hen. VI.

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1447.

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.

His enemies.

The malicious, working of the cardinal against him.

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 Quember, 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.

William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, the cause of the duke of Gloucester's death. Unprofitable marriage between king Henry and queen Margaret.

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 Regnier, 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.

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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A. D. 1447.

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 Beaumont, 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 politicially, by the space of twenty-five years, governed this realm, five of his household, to wit, one knight, three esquires, and a ycoman, 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, whose will read the stories, shall right well understand.

A. D. 1448.

The death of the cardinal. Beaufort.

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 pretermitt ; who, hearing that he should die, and that there was no remedy, murmured and grudged, wherefore he should not have 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

His words at his death.

William Wanfleet bishop of Winchester. Magdalen college builded.

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.

God's punishment upon the marquis of Suffolk.

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, moreover, 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.

The vain glory of man's heart for getting himself honour. The duke accused by the commons.

(1) Ex Edwar. Hallo.

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 rejoined 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.

Henry VI.

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.<sup>1</sup> The sum and effect whereof in English is this:

(1) "In Dei nomine, amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod A. D. 1428, indictione septima pontificatus sancti in Christo patris, et D. nostri D. Martini, etc. "Ego Richardus Candry, procurator et nomine procurator christianissimi principis domini Henrici, Dei gratia regis Angliæ et Franciæ, et domini Hiberniæ, domini meo supremi, de assensu patris et advisamento illustris et potentis principis Humfredi ducis Gloucestræ, comitis Pembrochiæ, protectoris et defensoris regni Angliæ et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, et cæterorum dominorum meorum de consilio suæ regniæ celsitudinis ac consilium ejusdem facientium et hæc vice representantium, dico, allego, et in his scriptis propono, quod dictus christianissimus princeps, dominus meus supremus, siquæ inelytissimi 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 inelyti 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, pro totum tempus supradictum, premissa 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.*

Substance of the King's Writ against admitting the Pope's Legate.

A. D.  
1450.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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 inventing of printing. Naucelerius, and Wymselingus following him, refer the invention thereof to the year 1440. In Paralipomena,<sup>2</sup> 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 christianissimî 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, autoritate ratificare, vel approbare, seu ipsum ut legatum quovismodo admittere seu recognoscere; aut exercitio legationis, seu hujusmodi, atquibusve per ipsum ut legatum sedis apost. actis, seu agendis, attentatis, seu attendendis 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 præsentem," etc.

(1) Ex typographia per Mattheum Judicem.

(2) Paralip. Abbatis Ursæ.

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:

“Anser Tarpeii custos, vigilando quod alis  
 Constreperes, Gallus decidit, ultor adest  
 Ulricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum,  
 Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.”<sup>1</sup>

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A. D. 1450.

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 Aut. Campari.

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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 print-  
ing.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Croyden 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.

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\* Herein<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 Aprutinus doth truly report :

Triple  
commodity by  
printing.

' Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno uno.'

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) Vol. III. p. 597.—Ed.

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 When  
 guns  
 were first  
 invented.

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.

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, Sicily, and such others; which places had the name yet of Christians. Thus, one neighbour, for lucre's sake, helped to destroy another.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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 to-  
 ward 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) "Reculo," 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.

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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 invoke, 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! <sup>1</sup>

A warning to all Christendom by Constantinople.

(1) Ex Hist. Wittenbergica Peucer.



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1457.**The History of Reynold Peacock, Bishop of Chichester,**AFFLICTED AND TORMENTED BY THE FALSE BISHOPS FOR HIS  
GODLINESS, AND PROFESSION OF THE GOSPEL.<sup>1</sup>

\*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 decree 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 Pharisaiical 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, first, bishop of Chichester, and afterwards, by the title of St. Asaph, if there were any such saint.

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. 102—114.—Ed.

his benefits towards us, and of our amity and joining with him? For we do understand by the bread, which is communicated and given unto every man, that his body once broken was given unto all and every one of us.

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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 understood 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.

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 no where 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.

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-

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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.

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 not 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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*Henry VI.*  
 A. D. 1457. neither taking away others. "I will not," said he, "that he should answer me, who by power and might may oppress me; but teach me he 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 Helvidias, 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. Jeromè 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 poor blind 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

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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.

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 Circes. 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.\*

After the death of Henry Chichesley before mentioned, next succeeded John Stafford, A. D. 1445, who continued eight years. After him came John Kemp, A. D. 1453, who sat but three years. 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 spirituality 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

The story  
of Rey-  
nold Pea-  
cock.



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 A. D. 1457. 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 burdened. 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.

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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 Retracting 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

Articles formerly held by Peacock.

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 Pea-  
cock,  
mentio-  
ned by  
Thomas  
Gas-  
coigne.

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 Ball, 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

Polydore  
noted.

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. Be-like it made but little for the honesty of his great master the pope.

(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.

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\*The<sup>1</sup> 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 pragmatistical 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.\*

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

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plucked down, to make the way broader. And this is the fruit that cometh by idolatry.<sup>1</sup>

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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.<sup>2</sup>

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.

Promotion choketh religion.

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.

### 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

Marriage of priests allowed by Æneas Sylvius.

A bishop without learning may be likened to an ass.

An evil physician destroyeth bodies, but an unlearned priest destroyeth souls.

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.

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.

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### 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> This epistle of Huldericke is before expressed at large.<sup>4</sup>

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this Æneas Sylvius and Diotherus, archbishop of Mentz, and what discord was stirred up in Germany upon the same between Frederic the palatine, and the duke of Wittenberg, with others; by the

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 scat 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 11.—Ed.

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occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the city of Mentz, which was free before, lost her freedom, and became servile.

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The causes of the discord betwixt pope Pius and Diotherus, were these :—First, Because that Diotherus would not consent unto him in the imposition of certain tallages and taxes within his country. Secondly, For that Diotherus would not be bound unto him, requiring that the said Diotherus, 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 Diotherus 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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

The feast of the Conception and Preservation of our Lady.

Beads brought in.

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. 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.

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."

†

Innocent VIII. He condemns eight men and six women for heresy.

George, king of Bohemia, condemned.

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 Polus apud Equicolos, 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 come 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

(1) Ex Stanisl. Rutheno. Cent. viii. Bal. j.

stock to be utterly rejected and put down, giving his kingdom to Matthias, king of Pannonia.

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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. 1453. After this followed long division and mortal war between the two houses of Lancaster and York, continuing many years. At length about A. D. 1459, 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.

A. D. 1459.

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<sup>1</sup>) 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.

The title of Edward to the crown proved at Paul's Cross. He taketh possession of the crown.

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.

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 Fauconbridge, 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.

Pierce 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,

Philip, his only daughter and heir; 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 Philip, 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 Philip, 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, agreeeth 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

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.<sup>2</sup>

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.

Neither again is here to be overpast a certain tragical act done

Leaden-hall. The standard, the conduit in Fleet-street, and Newgate: the colleges of Eton and King's.

The king rejects the pope's bulls.

*Henry VI.*

A. D. 1461.

Example of God's rod and judgment.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

EDWARD THE FOURTH.<sup>2</sup>

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 quietness, 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.<sup>3</sup>

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, &amp;c. Et ex Fabiana.

(2) Edition 1583, p. 712.—Ed.

(3) Ex Scala Mundi.

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.

*Edward  
IV.*

A. D.  
1465.

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.

King  
Henry  
taken,  
arrested,  
and committed to  
Tower.

The  
king's  
sudden  
marriage  
with  
queen  
Eliza-  
beth.

The first  
falling  
out  
between  
king  
Edward  
and the  
earl of  
Warwick.  
Conspi-  
racy  
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.

King Edward taken prisoner by the earl of Warwick. The rebellion in Lincolnshire repressed.

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.

The inconstant levity of the people of England.

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.

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.

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

here of England, whose nature is never to be content long with the present state, but always delighting in news, seeketh new variety of changes, either envying that which standeth, or else pitying that which is fallen. Which inconstant mutability of the light people, changing with the wind, and wavering with the reed, did well appear in the course of this king's story. For he, through the means of the people when he was down, was exalted; now being exalted, of the same was forsaken. Whereby this is to be noted of all princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firm and stable; so there is no trust nor assurance to be made, but only in the favour of God, and in the promises of his word, only in Christ his Son, whose kingdom only shall never have an end, nor is subject to any mutation.

Edward  
IV.A. D.  
1470.

These things thus passing on in England on the earl's side against king Edward, he, accompanied with the duke of Gloucester his brother, and the lord Hastings, who had married the earl of Warwick's sister, and yet was never untrue to the king his master, and the lord Scales, brother to the queen, sent abroad to all his trusty friends for furniture of able soldiers, for defence of his person, to withstand his enemies.

The  
constant  
heart and  
truth of  
the lord  
Hastings.

When little rescue and few in effect would come, the king himself, so destitute, departed to Lincolnshire, where he, perceiving his enemies daily to increase upon him, and all the countries about to be in a roar, making fires, and singing songs, crying, "King Henry, king Henry," "a Warwick, a Warwick," and hearing moreover his enemies, the Lancastrians, to be within half a day's journey of him, was advised by his friends to flee over the sea to the duke of Burgundy, who not long before had married king Edward's sister.

King  
Edward  
forsaken  
of his  
people in  
his need.

Here, peradventure, might be thought, by the common judgment and policy of man, that king Edward, as he had in his hands the lives of king Henry, his queen, and his prince, so if he had dispatched them out of the way when he might, he had not fallen into this misery: but because he took not the vantage, which time rather than godly reason gave him, therefore that sparing pity of his, turned now to his confusion and ruin. And, certes, I suppose no less, but if the same case had fallen in these our pitiless days, in which charity now waxeth utterly cold, and humanity is almost forgotten, the occasion of such a time should not be so neglected. But let us here note and learn, how godly simplicity always, in the end of things, gaineth more than man's policy, forasmuch as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

Whether  
godly  
simplici-  
ty or  
man's  
policy be  
stronger.

And so far is it off, that the event and success of things be governed by man's advised policy, or unadvised affection in this world, that that is judged to be weaker which flourisheth in man, than that which is cast down in the Lord; as in the double case of both these kings may well appear. And first, let us consider the case of king Edward, who, being so beset and compassed with evils and distresses on every side, first was compelled to take the Washes between Lincolnshire and Lynn, which was no less dangerous to his life, than it was unseemly for his estate. Being come to Lynn, in what peril was he there, through the doubtful mutability of the townsmen, if he had been known to his enemies? and how could he but be known, if he had tarried any space? But, though men and friends forsook him, yet

The  
double  
case of  
these  
two kings  
consider-  
ed.  
King  
Edward  
taketh  
the  
Washes.

*Edward IV.*

A.D. 1470.

God provideth.

King Edward taketh shipping.

King Edward near taken of the Easterlings.

God again provideth.

King Edward delivered from the Easterlings.

Charles duke of Burgundy, king Edward's brother-in-law.

Queen Elizabeth taketh sanctuary. Prince Edward born in sanctuary.

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 Mounseieur 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.

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.

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.

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.

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. 1471, which he did not long enjoy.

Edward  
IV.A. D.  
1471.Henry VI.  
brought  
out of the  
Tower,  
but  
restored  
again  
to his  
kingdom.

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.

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'  
returneth  
again into  
England.

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

King  
Edward  
with only  
two  
thousand  
soldiers  
cometh to  
Raven-  
spur, alias  
Ravens-  
port.  
The  
dissem-  
bling  
policy of  
King  
Edward.He  
cometh to  
York.He is  
repelled  
by the  
citizens  
of York.



*Edward IV.*

A. D.  
1471.

King Edward changeth his title. His gentle and fair words.

safeguard. The desolate king was here driven to a narrow strait, who neither could retire back, for the opinion of the country and loss of his cause; neither could go further, for the present danger of the city. Wherefore, using the same policy as before, with loving words and gentle speech he desired the messengers to declare unto the citizens, that his coming was not to demand the realm of England, or the title of the same, but only the duchy of York, his old inheritance; and that he therefore determined to set forward neither with army nor weapon. The messengers were not so soon within the gates, but he was at the gates in a manner as soon as they.

The citizens, hearing his courteous answer, and that he intended nothing to the prejudice of the king, nor of the realm, were something mitigated toward him, and began to commune with him from the walls, willing him to withdraw his power to some other place, and they would be the more ready to aid him; at least he should have no damage by them.

Notwithstanding he again used such lowly language, and delivered so fair speech unto them, entreating them so courteously, and saluting the aldermen by their names, requiring at their hands no more but only his own town, whereof he had the name and title, that at length the citizens, after long talk and debating upon the matter, partly also enticed with fair and large promises, fell to this convention: That if he would swear to be true to king Henry, and gentle in entertaining his citizens, they would receive him into the city.

Two conditions put to Edward.

King Edward put to his oath.

Victory, got by perjury, punished at length in posterity.

This being concluded, the next morning at the entering of the gate, a priest was ready to say mass, in which, after the receiving the sacrament, the king received a solemn oath to observe the two articles before agreed upon. By reason of which oath so rashly made, and as shortly broken, and not long after punished (as it may well be thought) in his posterity, he obtained the city of York; where he, in short time, forgetting his oath, to make all sure, set in garrisons of armed soldiers. Furthermore, perceiving all things to be quiet, and no stir to be made against him, he thought to fore-slack no opportunity of time, and so made forward toward London, leaving by the way the marquis Mountacute, who lay then with his army at Pomfret, on the right hand, not fully four miles distant from his camp: and so returning to the high-way again, he went forward without any stirring to the town of Nottingham; where came to him sir William Parre, sir Thomas of Borough, sir Thomas Mountgomery, and divers else of his assured friends, with their aids, who caused him by a proclamation to stand to his own title of king Edward IV., saying, That they would serve no man but a king.—

King Edward's friends resort unto him at Nottingham.

Resumeth the name of a king.

At the same hereof being blown abroad, as the citizens of York were not a little offended (and that worthily), so from other towns and cities, lords and noblemen began to fall unto him, thinking with themselves that the marquis Mountacute either favoured his cause, or was afraid to encounter with the man. Howsoever it was, king Edward, being now more fully furnished at all points, came to the town of Leicester, and there hearing that the earl of Warwick, accompanied with the earl of Oxford, were together at Warwick with a great power, minding to set on the earl, he removed from thence his army, hoping to give him battle. The duke of Clarence in the mean

Cometh to Leicester.

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 earl of Warwick refuseth to be reconciled.

King Edward cometh to London.

Londoners take part with king Edward.

King Henry's councilors 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.

The earl  
of War-  
wick  
cometh to  
Barnet.

The  
battle of  
Barnet.

The earl  
of War-  
wick  
and his  
brother  
slain.

Differ-  
ence be-  
tween  
Polydore  
and Fa-  
bian.

Polydore  
is said to  
have  
burned a  
number  
of our  
English  
writers.

The re-  
turn of  
Queen  
Margaret  
into Eng-  
land.

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.

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. 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, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 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.

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 alia.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Beaully in Hampshire, there to take sanctuary and privilege of the house.

Edward  
IV.A. D.  
1471.Queen  
Margaret  
for sorrow  
swoons.Taket  
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 Rhodes in St. John's. 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 Ed  
ward.

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  
Marga-  
ret.Queen  
Margaret  
debarred  
from  
Gloucester.

*Edward  
IV.*

A. D.  
1471.

The bat-  
tle of  
Tewkes-  
bury.

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.

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.

Prince  
Edward,  
son to  
king  
Henry,  
slain.

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,

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.<sup>1</sup>

*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 Mundæ,' I find these words: "Quod in turri, in vigilia ascensionis Dominicæ, ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thamesiam navicula usque ad abbatiam de Chertesev 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

A sore heresy preached at Paul's cross. Contention in the church, whether Christ was a beggar, or not. Times compared.

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," &c. This was in the same year when prince Edward, king Edward's son, was born in the sanctuary at Westminster, A. D. 1465.

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 conciliis damnatam, et eam pro damnata undique declarandam et conculcandam," &c. Ex Hist. Scelæ 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 'supersedas.' Two things I find here, among many others, specially to be remembered.

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.'

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,

Edward IV.

A. D. 1471.

King James of Scotland goeth from his promise of marriage.

Berwick recovered.

A. D. 1473.

John Goose, martyr. John Goose in English, as much as John Huss in the Bohemian tongue.

John Goose taketh his dinner, before he goeth to martyrdom.

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.



Edward  
IV.

A. D.  
1473.

began with a G, therefore he began to be feared, and afterwards privily, as is before said, was made away with.

CERTAIN NOTES UPON FALSE PROPHECIES.

Prophe-  
cies not  
rashly to  
be be-  
lieved.

Satan can  
say truth,  
for a  
wicked  
end.

Devilish  
prophe-  
cies, al-  
though  
they tell  
truth,  
yet are  
not to be  
followed.

Merlin's  
prophe-  
cies.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.

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  $\theta$ ,  $\sigma$ , and  $\delta$ . 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  
concern-  
ing false  
prophe-  
cies.

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 knowledg, God, many times, permitte:h 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: <sup>1</sup> 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.

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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 Chaldee, 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.<sup>2</sup>

False trust by devilish prophecies.

Johannes Picus, earl of Mirandula, in his excellent books written against these vain star-tellers and astrologers,<sup>3</sup> writeth of one Ordela-phus, 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 dissembles was taken, and brought into England.

(1) See vol. ii. p. 95.

(2) Ex Ambros. in Examer.

(3) Lib. ii. cap. 9:

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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 prophecy, 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.

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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.

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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 third part: how to avoid the danger of sinister prophecies.

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 bath 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.

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 subtilly 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

Man's policy can do nothing against the devil.

No power can withstand him but only Christ, and our faith in him.

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eyes. So qucen 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 propheticall 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  
prophe-  
cies  
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 simpliciety 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  
answ. r. in  
matters of  
divina-  
tion.

Curiosity  
of prophe-  
cies 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.

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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 Mysia, fighting against Bajazet, the great Turk, A. D. 1395, the second time fighting against Celebine, the son of Bajazet, about the town called Columbaciium. 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, A. D. 1437.

Sigismund, the emperor, unprosperous in his wars.

*Edward  
I<sup>r</sup>.*

## ALBERT, THE EMPEROR.

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1473.

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.The  
queen  
hath a  
son.Ladislaus  
prince of  
Hungary,  
born.Division  
and dis-  
cord in  
Hungary.The Turk  
warreth  
against  
Hungary.  
Uladis-  
laus slain  
by the  
Turks.

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 suppressed with pride of his former success against Sigismund aforesaid, with his whole main and force invaded the realm of Hungary; where Huniades, surnamed Vaivoda, 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 Vaivoda, the noble captain, and of his acts, and also of Ladislaus (Christ willing), more shall be said hereafter, in his time and place.

## 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 Silesia, rising up in armour, required of Frederic the emperor, either to give them their young king, or else to stand to his own defence.

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, the new city 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; Georgius Pogiebracius had Bohemia; and Ulric, the earl of Silesia, 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 of almost all the Austrians, and, shortly after, by the means of Eizinger, was excluded also from the king and the court, but afterwards 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.

Not long after, Ladislaus, the young king, went to Bohemia, there to be crowned, where Georgius Pogiebracius (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, in the high tower of Prague, was appointed and addressed, after the manner of priests, to say service before the king, being known to hold with John Huss and Rochezana, the king disdainng at him, commanded him to give place and depart, or else he would send him down headlong from the rock of the tower: and so the good minister, repulsed by the king, departed. Also at another time, the said Ladislaus, seeing the sacrament carried by a minister of that side, whom they called then Hussites, would do thereunto no reverence.<sup>1</sup>

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 Uratislavia in Silesia; in which city the aforesaid king Ladislaus, being there in the high church at service, many great princes were about him. Among whom was also Georgius Pogiebracius, who then stood nearest to the king, unto whom one Chilianus,

Edward  
IV.A. D.  
1473.Governors of  
Hungary,  
and  
Bohemia,  
under the  
king of  
Austria.Ladislaus, a  
young  
popish  
king,  
could not  
abide the  
doctrine  
of Huss.

(1) Ex Æn Sylv.



Edward  
IV.A.D.  
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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), spake in this wise as followeth :

The words of a popish parasite to Pogiebracius.

'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 then follow rather your preacher Rochezana, than these? 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 nobleman yourself?'

Unto whom thus Pogiebracius sagely again doth answer,

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, as not 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 captivated, will he, nill he; and as nature is instructed and taught, so is she drawn, some in one way, and some in 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, going contrary to mine 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 nobleman. 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.'

Ulric seeketh the death of Huniades.

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 Johannes Huniades, whose victorious acts against the Turks are famous. Against this Huniades, wicked Ulric earl of Silesia, 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, it was neither best (said he) for the king, nor safest for himself to come. 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 without 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.

Huniades spareth his enemy.

Alba besieged by the Turk.

Not long after this, the Turk with a great power of fighting men, to the number of a hundred and fifteen thousand, arrived in Hungary, where he laid siege to the city Alba. But through the merciful hand

of God, John Huniades, and Capistranus a certain Minorite, with a small garrison of christian soldiers, gave him the repulse, and put him to flight with all his mighty host; whereof more, Christ willing, hereafter.<sup>1</sup> 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 town of Alba, they viewed the place where the Turks before had pitched their tents. When this Ladislaus heard that the king was coming first towards the town, obediently he opened to him the gates. Four thousand only of armed soldiers he debarred from entering the city.

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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 might 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 open 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 Silesia, 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 meckly 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 twenty and two years), that talk was made

(1) Ex Hist. Bohem. Æn. Sylvi.

(2) Ex Peucer. Chron. lib. 5.

*Edward IV.*

A. D. 1473.

Preparation for the king's marriage. Ladislaus, the king, received in Bohemia. A fierce enemy against the Hussians.

The sacrament of the altar used to many purposes.

of the king's marriage with Magdalen, daughter to 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 would the king open his mouth to give thanks to him, or any cheerful countenance unto his company, but fiercely seemed 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.

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 to come; 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.<sup>1</sup> The author of this story (who was pope Pius himself) declareth further the opinion of some to be, that king Ladislaus, at 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, Elizabeth the king's mother, and his 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 convened in Bohemia, no doubt but

A great concourse of catholic princes intended against the Hussites.

(1) Ex Ænea Sylvio in hist. Bohem.

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.

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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 possint (tum vero de religionis constitutione multo minus), 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 the 21st day of November, A. D. 1461, this great adversary of Christ’s people, king Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and of Hungary, and prince of Austria, sickened, and, within six and thirty 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 dominions 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. Blood revenged by God.

THE LARGE DOMINIONS OF LADISLAUS.

<p>AUSTRIA.<sup>1</sup></p> <p>Vienna.<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Melck.</p> <p>Neustadt (nova Civitas).</p> <p>Gretz.</p> <p>St. Hypolit.</p> <p>Lintz.</p> <p>Stein.</p> <p>Haimburg.</p> <p>Kremsier.</p> <p>Karolsburg.</p> <p>Teben.</p>	<p>Kotzo.</p> <p>Raba.</p> <p>Lindenburg.</p> <p>HUNGARY.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Ofen Buda.</p> <p>Strigonium.</p> <p>Kalachia.</p> <p>Varadein.</p> <p>Nitria.</p> <p>Nicopolis, Nova et Vetus.</p>	<p>Agria.</p> <p>Orszaw.</p> <p>Bossen.</p> <p>Sabaria.</p> <p>BOHEMIA.</p> <p>Prague.</p> <p>Plizen.</p> <p>Tabor.</p> <p>Budweis.</p> <p>Kolm, or Kœlu.</p> <p>Egra.</p>
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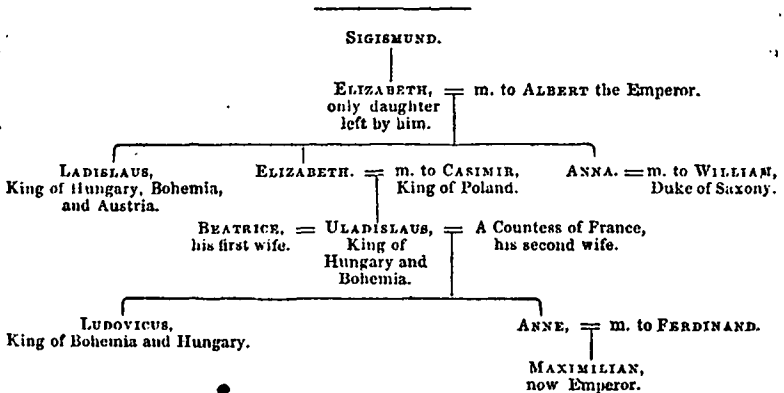
(1) Called once Pannonia Superior. To Austria be adjoining also certain provinces and earldoms: as, Stiria, Carinthia, Croatia; provinces. Silesia and Tyrolentz; earldoms.  
 (2) Besieged by the Turk, A. D. 1533.  
 (3) This Hungary was first called Pannonia Inferior, or Pœonia. After the coming of the 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.

<u>Edward IV.</u>	Kuttenberg. Leimiritz. Laun.	Austi. Maut, or Myto. Hof.	Krupa. Krumaw. Pardubice.
<u>A. D. 1473.</u>	Racownitz. Glataw. Bern, or Beraun. Bruck, or Most. Gretz, or Hradetz.	Jaromir. Dubitz, or Biela. Lantzhut. Gilgwey.	Chumitaun. Loket, or Teplitz. Hantzburg, or Zbraslau. Labes, or Ultawa.

After the death of Ladislaus, the kingdom of Bohemia fell to Georgius Pogiebracius above mentioned, whom pope Innocent VIII. did excommunicate and depose for his religion, as is before 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 Casimir 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 Anna; Louis, who was heir of both kingdoms, Bohemia and Hungary, was slain fighting against the Turks. Anna was married to Ferdinand, by whom he was archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia, &c.

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.

Not long after, pope Innocent being displeased with Georgius Pogiebracius (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, forasmuch 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 Uladislau, 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. A. D. 1471. George Pogiebracius 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 Pogiebracius 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 Pogiebracius, with his two sons Victorinus and Henricus, as also between Casimir, Uladislau, and Matthias, warring about Uratislavia; 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 Pogiebracius, 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, The pope's excommunication not obeyed by divers in Bohemia, A. D. 1474.

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, Winceslaus, Sigismund, Albert and Ladislau, 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

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IV.

A. D.  
1474.

the four  
greatest  
princes in  
Europe.  
Matthias  
a great  
lover of  
learning  
and of  
learned  
men;  
his noble  
library.

Commen-  
dation of  
Pogiebra-  
cius.

God's fa-  
vour to  
the sons  
of Pogie-  
bracius.

The death  
of Pogie-  
bracius.

Uladis-  
laus,  
Casimir's  
son,  
made  
king of  
Hungary.

Uladis-  
laus ob-  
taineth a  
dispensa-  
tion from  
pope  
Alexan-  
der, to  
forsake  
his first  
wife, and  
to marry  
another.

ye see by this Pogiebracius, king of Bohemia, whom the pope could not utterly remove out of the kingdom of Bohemia.

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.<sup>1</sup>

The constant fortitude also of Georgius Pogiebracius, 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.

After the decease of Georgius Pogiebracius, king of Bohemia, Frederic the emperor assigned that kingdom, not to Matthias, upon whom the pope had bestowed it before, but to Uladislus, son of Casimir king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Albert, and sister to Ladislus. For which Matthias, being discontented, and for that the emperor had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, went about to exclude Uladislus 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.

After the death of Matthias, departing without issue, Uladislus, son of Casimir king of Poland, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert the emperor, and sister to king Ladislus, 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 Uladislus 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

(1) Ex Feuc. 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 city Nuys, or Novasium, 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 Hel-

vetia, against Renatus, or Reinhardus, duke of Lotharing; then against the Helvetians, where he, being thrice overcome, first at Granson, then at Moratum, or Muret, in the higher part of Helvetia, at last, at the town of Nantz, 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, afterwards, by open wrong and privy fraud he brought about, defrauding Mary, the daughter of Charles, of her rightful inheritance; for 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 prevaieth 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.  
1477.*

*Ambition  
and avarice  
of the  
church  
of Rome.*

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.

*The see  
of Rome  
is turned  
into an  
ocean,  
that hath  
no bot-  
tom.*

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 Maidenburg, 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.

*Concili-  
um Bitu-  
riense.*

*Prag-  
matica San-  
ctio.*

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

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.<sup>1</sup>

*Edward IV.*  
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1477.

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.

Pope Pius laboureth that 'Pragmatica Sanctio' should be abolished.

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. 1438.<sup>2</sup>

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 Belg. de Schismat. et Concilio, cap. 24.

(2) Ex Joan. Mario.

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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<sup>1</sup> 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 principedom 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 Würzburg 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 Heidelberg 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. His articles and opinions.

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.

Edward  
IV.

IV. That the word of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with another.

A. D.  
1479.

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 reprov'd.

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 convened 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 facultics, 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 in-  
quisitor  
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 an-  
swer rea-  
sonable.

The cruel  
proceed-  
ing of the  
inquisi-  
tor.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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,

The treasure of saints' merits is not on earth.

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 : 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.’<sup>1</sup>

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 Greeks, 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 Pariensis, who was wont to say, That pardons were holy deserts, because that laymen there were provoked, by naughty deserts, to give good aims.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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:<sup>2</sup> '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.<sup>3</sup>

By this  
inqui-  
sition,  
Christ  
himself  
might be  
condemn-  
ed.Discord  
betwixt  
Reals and  
Nomi-  
nals.

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 opi-  
nions.

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 alias videtur non ita grave 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 abomin-  
ation 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.<sup>1</sup> Whereunto accordeth right well the epitaph of John Sapidus, which in the end hereof we will annex.

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.<sup>2</sup>

A large  
gift of the  
pope to  
the beg-  
ging  
friars.

Alanus,  
author of  
our Lady's  
Psalter.

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 fraternities large graces and privileges.

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 Laviarienses. (2) Ex Joan Laziardo, lib. hist. univers. c. 284.

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, wherciu 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. Menda- cem mem- 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 Bisselias, a nobleman of Aquine.<sup>1</sup> 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.

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, 'Rosacæ Mariæ Coronæ.'

*Edward IV.*A. D.  
1483.Death of  
king Ed-  
ward IV.The laws  
of the  
realm  
miscon-  
strued for  
the  
prince's  
pleasure.

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.

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!

## 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 [Ecl. x.], "Væ regno cuius 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.

Thus the ambitious protector and unnatural uncle, having the

Richard,  
duke of  
Gloucester,  
made  
protector.The  
young  
king com-  
mitted to  
him.  
Buckingham,  
a  
great doer  
for the  
protector.

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.

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.

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 shrive him apace,

Edward  
V.A. D.  
1483.Both king  
Edward's  
children  
in the pos-  
session of  
the pro-  
tector.The  
devilish  
protector  
picketh  
quarrels.The  
queen  
and  
Shore's  
wife  
falsely ac-  
cused of  
the pro-  
tector to  
bewitch  
his arm.Murder  
justly  
punished  
of God.Lord  
Hastings  
arrested  
for a  
traitor.  
Lord  
Stanley  
wounded.Bishop  
Morton.The ty-  
ranny of  
the pro-  
tector.

*Edward V.* 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.

A. D.  
1483.

The protector accuseth his own mother. Dr. Shaw's impudent sermon at Paul's Cross.

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 Cross 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 impudently 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.

Wisd. iv.

Example for all flattering preachers to beware.

The duke of Buckingham, another minister for the protector's fury, speaketh for the protector in Guild-hall.

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.

A hard thing, to make the tongue speak against the heart.

A stolen consent in the Guild-hall.

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.  
1483Eye of  
hypocri-  
sy.The hy-  
pocrisy of  
the pro-  
tector de-  
nying 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.

The truth of Robert Brakenbury to his prince. The two young children of king Edward murdered.

The just punishment of God upon the murderers of them two.

Also upon king Richard.

The punishment of God upon the duke of Buckingham.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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

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.

Earl Henry maketh preparation toward his journey.

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.

Arrival of Henry 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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.

(1) This lord Stanley was he who was hurt at the Tower, when the lord Hastings was arrested.

The history of sir Thomas More, word for word, taken out of Polydore Virgil.

The death of king Richard.

King Richard purposed to marry Elizabeth, his brother's daughter.

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.

*Richard III.*  
A. D. 1485.  
Lord Stanley, husband to king Henry's mother, forsakes king Richard.

The lord Strange marvelously 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.<sup>1</sup>

The shameful tossing of king Richard's dead corpse.

(1) Ex Polyd. et Thoma More.



END OF VOL. III.



THE Editor avails himself of this opportunity of acknowledging, with respectful thanks, the many gratifying communications and valuable suggestions with which he has been favoured relating to the Second Volume ; of these he solicits a continuance ; and, the work being stereotyped, he will not fail to avail himself of them. He regrets, however, that the rapidity with which this publication is proceeding, and the unavoidable size of the volumes, necessarily exclude from the Notes much valuable information.

FULHAM,

• *April 20th, 1837.*

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xl. ii. p. 716, in the note, for ' plety,' read ' tilting.'



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